

GENDER (IN) SENSITIVITY IN TELEVISED ADVERTISING ON HIV/AIDS CONTROL

Managing the media message for maximum impact

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Communication Studies

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September 2009



DECLARATION

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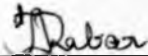
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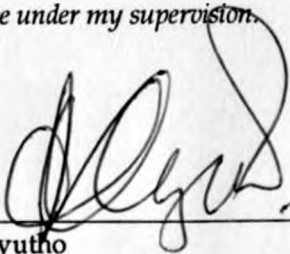
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I confirm that the work reported in this thesis was carried out by the candidate under my supervision.



Mr. Edwin Nyutho

DEDICATION

For my father, Wilson G.C.U. Rabar, in celebration of his 70th year

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to my advisor, Dr. [Name], for his guidance and support throughout the entire process of this dissertation. His expertise, patience, and encouragement were instrumental in my success. I also wish to thank my committee members, Dr. [Name] and Dr. [Name], for their valuable insights and feedback. My family and friends provided unwavering support and love throughout this journey. Finally, I dedicate this work to my late father, [Name], whose wisdom and values continue to inspire me.

In the past few years, I have been fortunate to have worked with many talented and hardworking individuals. I would like to thank [Name] for his leadership and mentorship. I also want to express my gratitude to my colleagues at [Company] for their support and collaboration. My friends, especially [Name] and [Name], have been a source of strength and joy. Finally, I thank my mother, [Name], for her unconditional love and support. This dissertation is a testament to the power of perseverance and the support of those who love us.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor, Mr. Edwin Nyutho for guidance to the successful completion of this project and to Dr. Absalom Mutere, for his assistance in the preparation of this manuscript, the initial brainstorming and setting me off upon my path. In addition, special thanks are due to Ms. Kavoi Mwangi who unknowingly acted a sounding board for the various views and perspectives that I sought to explore in the early programming phase of this undertaking. Thanks also to the following, whose valuable input and participation assisted in the completion of this project.

To Prof. Walter Oyugi, who encouraged me to start; to Jaindi Kisero, who browbeat, coerced, persuaded and shamed me into acquiring academic credentials; Patricia Muhia, for useful suggestions, information and guidance; Absalom Mutere, for veering me towards the right direction; Mukami Rimberia, Mathieu Mérino and Katherine Luongo, my inspiring PhD 'buddies'; and to the various unknown persons who participated in my surveys and responded to questionnaires.

To Dr. Philippe Bocquier, Dr. Hervé Maupeu and Dr. Musambayi Katumanga for insisting that it could be done despite the numerous pitfalls along the way. To my brother Alph, who to date, remains fascinated by my love for education. Most of all, I acknowledge with deep gratitude my mother, Dainah Rabar, who mainly fretted over my work, thus encouraging me to successfully complete the project, despite various delays.

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SUMMARY

The first section of the thesis is a historical overview of the development of communication studies in the United States. It begins with the early work of scholars such as Paul Lazarsfeld and Harold Lasswell, who focused on the quantitative analysis of mass communication. This is followed by a discussion of the work of scholars like Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton, who emphasized the importance of social structure and social change in the study of communication. The second section of the thesis is a critical analysis of the work of Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton. It examines their contributions to the field of communication studies and their influence on subsequent scholars. The third section of the thesis is a critical analysis of the work of Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton. It examines their contributions to the field of communication studies and their influence on subsequent scholars.

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ABSTRACT

The study covers the progress of advertising trends on HIV/AIDS control, focusing on televised advertisements from September 2005 to April 2007. Advertising is geared towards creating a shift in its audience's perception of issues. It is because of this very factor that advertising becomes a powerful tool in the spread of information on HIV infection and AIDS. This study focuses on advertising towards HIV/AIDS prevention and control, and analyses how women are (mis)used in televised advertising of this nature. It comprises a descriptive survey, in which selected advertisements have been studied within a specific population.

Televised advertisements for HIV control and prevention focus highly on condom use. The power of social marketing was seen to be so great that all condoms are generally referred to as 'Trust' despite the various brands that one might be speaking about. The most effective advertising is that which provides precise and accurate communication. Results of this study have revealed this to be true, as the advertisements that were rated highest had greater credibility towards the target population. Are advertisements managed such that the HIV prevention and control message comes through, without ignoring the key role of the fairer sex?¹

¹ Nowadays many women would object to being called the fair sex. This euphemism originated in the mid-1950s, and uses the term 'fair' in the sense of "physically beautiful". This usage appears to be dying out in contemporary language.

For the most part, this has not held true and further research is required to determine exactly what it is that makes an advertisement effective.

Gender is used as a sociological term, whose definition is based on cultural expectations of behaviour. Stereotyping plays a major role in the creation of advertisements, so much so that certain attitudes or characteristics are taken as a matter of course. Ultimately, the findings reveal that advertising cannot cause behaviour change. However, it can get the consumer to experiment with the use of condoms, and can also offer guidance among alternatives. At the end of the day, advertising can convince the consumer that in order to live well, to be admired and to be popular, one must use the endorsed condom. Females are in particular enticed to associate with men of this nature.

However, advertising is only as strong as the consumer's willingness to spend money. Without this compliance, all persuasive techniques of an advertiser will flat.

GLOSSARY

Advertising is defined as communication with a purpose. It seeks to alter the thinking and/or behaviour of those receiving the message, in a manner that is beneficial to the advertiser.

Education is instruction or teaching that clarifies issues, but mainly deals with non-controversial matter.

Gender is formally defined as sexual identity, especially in relation to society or culture. It is also the condition of being male or female, specifically their distinctive qualities, i.e., their masculinity or femininity.

Opinion leader: An individual whose ideas and behaviour serve as a model to others. Opinion leaders communicate messages to a primary group, influencing the attitudes and behavior change of their followers. Therefore, in certain marketing instances, it may be advantageous to direct the communications to the opinion leader alone to speed the acceptance of an advertising message. For example, advertisers may direct a dental floss promotion to influential dentists or a fashion campaign to female celebrities. In both instances, the advertiser is using the opinion leader to carry and "trickle down" its message to influence its target group.

Because of the important role opinion leaders play in influencing markets, advertisers have traditionally used them to give testimonials.

Press release, also known as news release, or press statement is a written or recorded communication directed at members of the news media for the purpose of announcing something claimed as having news value.

Propaganda refers to attempts to influence attitudes of large numbers of people on controversial issues of relevance to a group.

Public refers to a group of people confronted by an issue. They are often divided in opinion on how to meet the issue and they engage in discussion over the issue.

Public opinion is a composite opinion formed from the various views held. It is the central tendency in the views held.

Public relations is defined as persuasive communication sent out for the express purpose of influencing public opinion and galvanizing people to action. It is an attempt to influence the behaviour of other men, both individually and in groups.

Publicity involves supplying information that is factual, interesting, and newsworthy to media not controlled by you, such as radio, television, magazines, newspapers, and trade journals.²

Sex refers to the attributes of men and women created by their biological characteristics.

Sexism refers to discrimination based on gender, especially discrimination against women. It also concerns attitudes, conditions, or behaviour that promotes stereotyping of social roles based on gender.

Social change is an event or action that affects a group of individuals that have shared values or characteristics.

Social movement is a group of people with a common ideology who try to achieve certain general goals together.

Stereotypes are a typecast model, or a pigeon-holing of people, attitudes and behaviour into a certain mould, which is then taken as being true of all people/items of that nature.

² Definition taken from *Publicity Handbook* (Yale, 1991).

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

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1.2. Research Problem

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CHAPTER ONE

1 INTRODUCTION

"the public be damned"

- Commodore Vanderbilt, Head of New York Central Railroad

1.1 Background to the study

The opening statement is a prime example of what advertising does NOT hold to be a credo—it is the antithesis of sound public relations. It was this blatant disregard of the public that led to a transformation of publicity and propaganda into a high level of public relations that develops a healthy respect for public opinion. Ivy Ledbetter Lee³ confronted the problem of his client's arrogance in a manner that ultimately earned public approval and a positive press.

Advertising is geared towards creating a shift in its audience's perception of issues. Subliminal messages work on the unconscious mind, transforming what one might have ordinarily perceived as being abnormal into the mundane and commonplace.

³ He was hired to turn around the negative image of the New York Central Railroad, and of its Chief Executive. Lee issued what is often considered to be the very first press release, convincing the company to openly disclose information to journalists, before they could hear information from elsewhere.

It is because of this very factor that advertising becomes a powerful tool in the spread of information on HIV infection and AIDS. This study will focus on advertising towards HIV/AIDS prevention and control, and analyse how women are (mis)used in televised advertising of this nature.

Communication is interpreted by an individual basically in terms of his value systems, his expectations, his social and educational orientation. When ideas do not cohere with past experiences, they are often rejected, termed absurd or radical. This (state) blocks the communication process as seen with Commodore Vanderbilt above, who, due to his higher social class, did not see the need to consider the needs of the public (a lower social class) as significant to his business enterprise. Social structure contributes to communication barriers based on differences in age, sex, economy, politics and religion. It is easier to communicate with those we can relate to or identify with. This leads to selective exposure, selective perception and selective retention. Media—despite the message it conveys, exerts a compelling influence on man and society. Television, as a 'cool' medium, demands high audience participation and creative participant response.

Historically, advertising on AIDS was geared to shock and scare the audience into behaviour change. Initial advertisements had the skull and crossbones image,⁴ accompanied with illustrations of an emaciated man wasting away.



Figure 1.1: The skull and crossbones symbol

However, as various theorists (Rogers, 1983; Festinger, 1957)⁵ can attest, shock advertising only works well with people of a higher social class. At that particular time, HIV infection, much like any other infection, was rampant in low-income residential areas, and among those of a less significant educational background. They were the initial target group, but due to the approach taken, the control/prevention message did not reach them. A fear appeal is effective because

-
- ⁴ A skull and crossbones is a symbol consisting of a human skull and two bones crossed together under the skull. Today, it is generally used as a warning of danger (usually in regard to poisonous substances), and is the contemporary international symbol for poison.
- ⁵ In his Protection Motivation Theory, Rogers emphasises on the cognitive processes mediating behavioral change. Cognitive dissonance describes the uncomfortable tension that comes from holding two conflicting thoughts at the same time. This theory was further advanced by Leon Festinger.

it modifies the recipients' perceived susceptibility to and perceived severity of the threat in question. Fear is a powerful motivator but it should be noted that the level of fear does not necessarily relate to behaviour change. This theme will be further discussed in chapter four.

As television increasingly came to dominate the lives of people in the Third World, it has had a major impact on their thought, imagination and lifestyles. Hence the appeal and recognised strength of communication through televised advertising. Berelson (1948), in *Communication and Public Opinion*, acknowledges that "*some kinds of communication on some kinds of issues, brought to the attention of some kinds of people under some kinds of conditions, have some kinds of effects.*" Television has possibly had a substantial effect on public opinion, but studies on this particular subject are scant, and the effect on the public has not been satisfactorily measured.

Despite the thrust and reach of mass media, interpersonal communication still plays a powerful role in influencing behaviour and opinion. Discussions occur before decisions are made or courses of action taken. The impact of the media is buttressed by home, school, church or peer group but each media message must filter through interpersonal networks of communication. Advertising in itself may also be a powerful instrument of development. It opens up one's mind to

possibilities of which he might otherwise have been unaware. While it may be simple to transfer new consumption patterns, it may not be as easy to transfer a culture or a value system.

This study proposes to generate information on the effectiveness of televised advertising to pass on the HIV control message and attempts to suggest means in which the results of the study can be used in training on gender-sensitivity as well as in areas of policy-making. Another pertinent area is the response to such advertising, the socio-cultural factors that come into play, the messages transmitted via these attitudes and the target groups' response to the intended message.

1.2 Rationale

Whereas the study might have been a content analysis of gender stereotypes in televised advertisements, it fell short by the mere dearth of women in the advertisements under study. The research therefore went far beyond a simple content analysis of gender images that compare the portrayals of men and women. Much of the past research has not differentiated beyond gender and sex, which leads to an oversimplification of findings and unwanted generalizations.

This thesis is not intended as a polemical rant against perceived injustices against women in society; neither is it meant as a feministic diatribe concerning the status of women. The core question postulated is this: *“how can advertisements be managed such that the HIV prevention and control message comes through, without ignoring the key role of the fairer sex?”* More importantly, this study intends to dispel the notion of televised advertising as an effective means of communication for behaviour change. Apart from the blatant display of women as second-class citizens, advertising on television runs the risk of being considered merely as a form of entertainment. Women – the fairer sex – have always been subordinate to men, traditionally regarded as inferior to men, physically and intellectually. Both law and theology had ordered their subjection. In the Bible, the book of Genesis displays Eve as being created from an ‘extra’ rib of Adam’s.⁶ She (woman) is regarded as a womb, has peculiarities that imprison her in her subjectivity. Aristotle, the famous Greek philosopher, regarded the female as female by virtue of a certain lack of qualities; she is regarded as being naturally defective. In

⁶ Eve was the first woman in the Biblical creation story, and Adam, the first man.

Rapport d'Uriel, Julien Benda⁷ asserts that whereas the body of man makes sense in of itself, woman seems lacking in significance on her own. Where man is the Absolute, she is the Other.

The study intends to provide a means to influence policy geared towards effective and balanced communication in advertising. To borrow from the wisdom of McLuhan (1951), today's tyrant rules not by fist or club, but by shepherding consumers towards the advertised image. In this manner, advertising has ridden on the backs of women over the generations, confining them to less-than-adult status, often portraying them as helpless damsels in distress, requiring the ability of the HE-man – today's alpha male – to rescue them from their various predicaments.

⁷ Julien Benda (1867–1956) was a French cultural critic and novelist. He is now mostly remembered for his short 1927 book *La Trahison des Clercs* (The Betrayal of the Intellectuals), which was a notorious work in its day.



Figure 1.2: Stereotyped image of the alpha male?

Indeed, advertisements speak louder than words. Will effective advertising appeal to our cognitive or emotional nature? Further research is required to determine exactly what it is that makes an advertisement effective, and why its originators would consider an advertisement campaign successful.

Education is an important component of preventing the spread of HIV. It is expected to be an on-going process because with each successive generation, a new generation of young people become adult and need to know how to protect themselves from infection. Those that have already been educated would need to have the message reinforced and be kept informed so as to continue protecting themselves.

The main reasons for AIDS education are:

- a) to prevent new infections from taking place (Trust condom advertisements);
- b) to improve the quality of life for HIV positive people (see VCT advertisements);
- c) to reduce stigma and discrimination (VCT advertisements).

The advertising available today has attempted to cover all these areas in the diversity of advertisements that are produced. HIV positive people have not often been considered in terms of education that enables and empowers them to improve their quality of life. They have varying educational needs as well as need for access to medical services and drug provision, and appropriate emotional and practical support. Currently, these are being tackled on a small scale by some NGOs and community groups, but of interest here is the televised format. This is available in the Voluntary Counseling and Testing⁸ advertisements that make the effort to display HIV-positive people in a positive light. However, they do not go far enough in convincing them on the manner in which their quality of life can be improved.

The National Association of Broadcasters Television Code states that advertisers who use television to convey their message have a responsibility to the viewing audience. The message should be presented in an honest, responsible and tasteful

⁸ Voluntary Counseling and Testing (VCT) for HIV usually involves two counseling sessions: one prior to taking the test known as "pre-test counseling" and one following the HIV test when the results are given, often referred to as "post-test counseling". Counseling focuses on the infection (HIV), the disease (AIDS), the test, and positive behavior change. VCT has become popular in many parts of Africa as a way for a person to learn their HIV status. VCT. Details on the advertisements mentioned are in Chapter 4.

manner. Broadcasters must determine the best suited means by which to present the complexities of human behaviour. The same case goes for advertisers. In the section on advertising standards of the National Association of Broadcasters Television Code, Article X.11 states *"because all products of a personal nature create special problems, acceptability of such products should be determined with especial emphasis on ethics and the canons of good taste. Such advertising of personal products as is accepted must be presented in a restrained and obviously inoffensive manner"*.

1.3 Study objectives

As earlier stated, this study aims at finding a means in which to manage advertisements and by extension, the related publicity, on HIV prevention and control such that the role of women is not demeaned or reduced to mere aesthetic level.

The study will seek an answer to the following key questions:

- Does the advertiser succeed in passing on the message that women have the power to make informed choices on matters concerning their sexuality?
- Does this reach the intended target and does it result in any behavioural change?
- Is advertising driven by audience needs or by the originator of the advertisement (i.e., audience-driven or client-driven)?

This study is guided by the following assumptions:

- That advertising has had an impact on the HIV/AIDS control message.
- That the portrayal of the female gender on televised advertising is backward and chauvinistic in nature.
- That the effectiveness of the HIV/AIDS control message depends on the delivery and the intended target.

Throughout the text, the term 'man' will be used generically to refer to a male or female individual, except in specific cases of gender differences. The same case applies to the pronoun 'he'. The words 'advertises' and 'advertisements' will be used interchangeably.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

CHAPTER II

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CHAPTER TWO

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Historical background

Media studies are increasingly being recognised as subjects worthy of academic consideration. The study of HIV/AIDS control is a relatively recent area of interest, and specialised literature on media-specific topics is scanty. Additionally, documentation specifically focusing on televised advertising is hard to come by. Published works specific to this study have mostly been drawn from news articles, research reports and news features. Trends in published works seem to be geared towards strategies, issues of sexuality, adolescents and peer education. Most research and scholarship has been on pure content analysis, classifying and quantifying media advertisements. For this reason, the study draws from classical works in communication studies, which have proven to be relevant, proving the old adage that *"the more things change, the more they remain the same."*

The orthodox theory holds that a public opinion constitutes a moral judgement on a group of facts. Walter Lipmann (1932)⁹ suggests that in the present state of education, a public opinion is primarily a moralised and codified version of the facts. In putting together public opinion, we are obliged to see more than is in our view, to feel more than we have, to summarise and to generalise. In short, we pick out samples and treat them as typical. An effective advertisement will engage the audience and cause its members to be exercised or spurred into action by the image.

Interestingly, Lipmann (1932) identifies two forms of exercise that can be exploited by advertisement-makers, viz. sexual passion and fighting. As the sexual factor becomes hackneyed and blasé, fighting imagery could be creatively used to construct a different form of advertisement. However, there is a real danger in the use of fighting imagery in that this might be construed as a glorification and approval of violence.

Bearing in mind that one story is not the same to all that hear it—one advertisement means different things to different people—we must recognise that

⁹ Lipmann, W. (1932). *Public opinion*. London: George Allen & Unwim Ltd.

each viewer 'enters' the story from the viewpoint of his own experiences. Therefore, the more mixed the audience, the greater the variation in response. This changes with sex, age, race, religion and social position. Nobody confronts every situation with the same character. Character varies through the sheer influence of time and accumulated memory, and also with circumstance.

Epstein (1988)¹⁰ in *Deceptive Distinctions* reminds us that it is difficult for members of any social order to question it, and not to regard it as necessary for the continued functioning of social life. Social structure also makes some kinds of thinking and knowing easier than others. Most significantly, though, is the fact that gender distinctions are a basic element in the creation of the social order. The distinctions have been stratified, with men at higher ranks. It therefore follows that men have a stake in justifying and maintaining the status quo. Challenges to a social order do not typically come from those who benefit from its arrangements. Hence the widespread acceptance of the manner in which advertisements are created. As defined by Mary Douglas (1988), "A ... social order generates its patterns

¹⁰ Epstein, C.F. (1988). *Deceptive Distinctions: sex, gender and the social order*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

of values, commits the hearts of its members and creates a myopia which certainly seems to be acceptable."

Whether consciously or not, from the moment gender distinctions were made, the social order generated a system of thought that legitimized gender inequality. Societies make men and women unequal or different by giving them different education and work. When they do the same work, we say they do it differently; when they accomplish the same goals, we say they have not. It is important to put the missing women back into the analyses of social life. Kenneth Burke (1935)¹¹ surmises it best when he says "*a way of seeing is also a way of not seeing – a focus upon object A involves a neglect of object B.*"

When we consider the stereotypes prevalent in popular culture—'just like a woman', 'he's not a real man', it is noticeable that these have permeated into contemporary advertisements.¹² These stereotypes allude to intellectual abilities, emotions and personality traits identified as 'feminine' or 'masculine'. Sociology generally follows the path set out by Marx and Durkheim, emphasizing that social

¹¹ Burke, K. (1935). *Permanence and Change*. New York: New Republic Inc.

¹² See Chapter 4 on analysis of advertisements.

factors¹³ determine how people think and behave. Nevertheless, there is still disagreement over whether external social factors shape behaviour or if there exists an inner core of personality that is resistant to change. Personality traits are believed to co-exist with intellectual traits which cluster in particular ways for men and women. *The Psychology of Sex Differences* (1974)¹⁴ records the results of a longitudinal study in which similarities in boys and girls (275 children over a 10 year period) were measured. The findings did not find a relationship between sex hormones and sex stereotypical behaviour. It was also revealed that similarities in little boys and girls outweighed their differences. Most people fall in the middle range, sharing both 'male' and 'female' traits.

2.2 The subjugation of women

It is significant that from decades ago to the present day society, women have been treated oppressively, whether by design or by circumstance. In the creation story in Genesis, the first book in the Bible, Adam was the *de facto* head of the couple – it is he that was given authority over the garden and its inhabitants. The 1950s kept

¹³ These include class, education and religion.

¹⁴ Eleanor E. Maccoby and Jacklin, C.N. *The Psychology of Sex Differences*, 1974. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

women down by making them 'unreal' in the sense of putting them on a pedestal and all but adoring them, treating them like porcelain dolls. This reduced women by making them playthings, objects to be loved and cherished – the man's private prize. The 1960s seemed intent on turning women into a commodity; the new fashions packaged them as playthings in skimpy clothes and exaggerated make-up. New (derogatory) terminology emerged to describe them, such as chicks or dolly birds (Neustatter, 1989)¹⁵. The terms have carried on today with women being variously described as 'Barbies', 'babes' or 'squeeze'.

The subjugation of women continues today as it did in the 18th Century. Majority of women do not escape from the traditional feminine world. Neither from society nor from their husbands do women get the assistance and support they would need to concretely become the equals of men. Only those of a political leaning or those that take militant action in unions – those who have confidence in their future – can give ethical meaning to thankless daily labour (de Beauvoir, 1947)¹⁶. Many will not come to renounce the advantages of masculine support. Spurious

¹⁵ Neustatter, A. (1989). *Hyenas in Petticoats: a look at twenty years of feminism*. London: Harvey Books Limited.

¹⁶ de Beauvoir, S. (1949) (1988 trans). *The second sex*. London: Pan Books. Translated by Parshley, H.M. (*Le deuxieme sex*).

equality emerged with the 'hippy' woman who dressed like her man, and travelled all across the country with him, embracing the 'free love' and weed smoking lifestyle. However, in the communes, there was a clear-cut distinction — it was she that bore the bulk of domestic chores and child-rearing responsibilities. It is these tasks that gave her her *raison d'être*. The New York Radical Feminists aptly captured the irony of womanhood by stating that "*women are the only oppressed people whose biological, emotional and social life is totally bound to that of the oppressor*".

A woman content to get along on her wages was in the past regarded as some sort of pariah, ill-lodged and ill-dressed, denied all forms of amusement and even love. Sadly enough, vestiges of this attitude persist in contemporary society. And as not every woman can live the life of a man, she has to please men if she is to succeed in her life as a woman. She therefore accepts assistance, and this is what her employer (often male) cynically counts on in giving her starvation wages. This assistance might allow her to improve her situation and achieve real independence, but in other cases, she will give up her work and become a kept woman. When she retains both, each source of income serves as an escape from the other, for she is really in double servitude — to job and to protector. Complete independence, in this case, is a pipe-dream.

Women have only gained what men are willing to grant. The reason for this is because they lack concrete means for organizing themselves into a stand-alone unit. They have no past, no history or religion of their own but must live with males, attached through residence, housework, economic condition and social standing. The division of the sexes is a biological fact. For women to refuse to be party to the deal would be for them to renounce all the advantages conferred upon them by their alliance with the superior caste. Man-the-sovereign provides woman-the-liege with material protection. According to Montaigne¹⁷, "*women are not in the wrong when they decline to accept the rules laid down for them, since the men make these rules without consulting them*". Equalitarian segregation – equal but separate – will always lead to its extreme discrimination. Despite contemporary research conclusions to the contrary, the idea is still prevalent that woman was created naturally submissive because she was not spontaneously created. Rather, she came from the flank of the first male, to rescue him from loneliness. She was his complement in the order of the inessential (Gen. 2: 23)¹⁸. According to the

¹⁷ Michel de Montaigne was one of the most influential writers of the French Renaissance, renowned for popularizing the essay as a literary genre.

¹⁸ See The Story of Creation, Genesis Chapter 2. It is interesting to note that even in the Bible, as far back as the beginning of time, the subjugation of woman is clearly displayed. The recording of the creation story reduces woman to ONE verse.

creation story, Eve was created from Adam's rib to ease his loneliness. However, the story goes on to describe her succumbing to temptation and inciting Adam into eating the fruit of the forbidden tree of knowledge of good and evil. As a result, the two were banished from Eden, and they and their descendants were forced to live lives of hardship. Eve – the woman – has always been blamed for this failing.

However, a growing number (albeit a minority still) of women are privileged to find in their professions a means of economic and social autonomy. The woman economically emancipated from man is nevertheless not in an equal position morally, socially and psychologically. The independent woman must reconcile her professional achievements with her role as wife and mother; a traditional wife, she does not want her man to feel deprived of advantages he may have had if he had married a 'true' woman, and thus she ends up torn and divided. Simone de Beauvoir suggests a likely reason for this position in saying "*representation of the world, like the world itself, is the work of men; they describe it from their own point of view, which they confuse with the absolute truth.*" As such, the woman in her double role, is pulled apart by the 'absolute truth' offered to her by her male partner.

For centuries, the only women to be affirmed in their femininity through their careers have been actresses, dancers and singers. They have maintained a concrete

independence in society, and still occupy a privileged position. The free woman is just being born, and it is this woman who must capitalise upon her achievements to transform the longstanding perceptions that contribute to the subjugation of women. Advertising is a powerful tool that can be effectively used to persuade society to create a change in attitudes towards women.

2.3 Sexism

Sexism can be defined as the inability or refusal to recognize the rights, needs, dignity, or value of people of one sex or gender. More widely, it refers to the devaluation of various traits of character or intelligence as 'typical' of one or other gender.

The Consciousness Scale for Sexism developed by Butler-Paisley (1974) revealed five levels of sexism in visual advertising as follows:

- 1 *Put her down.* This is also referred to as the dumb blonde syndrome, where women are depicted as not having any level of intellectual prowess. They are reduced to the level of sex object or whimpering victim, with no control whatsoever over what happens to them.
- 2 *Keep her in her place.* At this level, traditional strengths and capacities are brought to the fore while negatively portraying women who attempt to stray from the fold and venture into 'manly' professions and roles. She is to be

- confined to the maternal and housekeeping role, as assigned to her by society.
- 3 *Give her two places.* While a woman may be termed 'progressive', having academic and/or professional credentials, she is first of all a wife, mother or home-maker, and that role is expected to take precedence over any progressive attempts. This can also be termed equalitarian segregation, as earlier described under 2.2.
 - 4 *Acknowledge that she is fully equal.* This is rare. It is different from level 3 in that it does not remind us that 'womanly' roles are non-negotiable. At this stage, a woman has the opportunity to seek her role in society and work at her full potential.
 - 5 *Non-stereotypic.* At this highest level, individuals are not judged by sex but by capability. Sometimes women will be superior, in some respects they may not. They are judged on the same basis as men are.

When it comes to women, the advertising on HIV prevention and control could very well be termed as 'unpowering'¹⁹, rather than 'empowering'. However, certain advertisements have made the effort to show that the HIV problem is not an exclusively male affair (see 4.2).

¹⁹ Removing power from the female.

Mbugua, J. *et al* (2001)²⁰ assert that obstacles to women's empowerment are the social attitudes based on tradition and attitude (Level 2 on Sexism Scale), lack of economic power (Level 2), women's attitudes towards fellow women, and lack of confidence in self. These obstacles suggest that not only should male attitudes be changed, but women also have a role to play when it comes to self-assertion and identity formation.

If culture is central to communication, then to effectively communicate one must get over culture's resistance to change. When culture encounters a social movement, it manages it by either resistance or by images. Advertising comes into the picture in the latter instance, portraying the mythical more than the mathematical (real numbers). I concur with Lazier-Smith (1989)²¹, who states "... *our culture, beliefs, attitudes and opinions on women are lagging behind the reality about women. The advertisements reflect that lag.*" The remedy for this is to ask those involved in the making of advertisements, the sponsors of the advertisement, and

²⁰ Mbugua, J., Mubuu, K., Karuru, N., Owiti, O. (eds.) (2001). *Gender-based violence. Gender dimensions of politics, law, and violence in Kenya: women and law in East Africa.*

²¹ Lazier-Smith, L. (1989). 'A new "genderation" of images of women', in P.J. Creedon (ed.), *Women in mass communication: challenging gender values.* California: Sage Publications Inc (pp. 247-260).

more specifically, advertising and marketing managers, to move from Level 1 on the sexism scale to Level 4 and 5.

2.4 Persuasion

Burgoon and Bettinghaus (1980)²² have identified two persuasive techniques:

- a) *Foot in the door*: this results in compliance without pressure. It entails the advertiser worming his way into the consumer's heart by initially making small demands, such as responding to questions to evaluate the product. In this aspect, advertising for condoms has not had much success. One promotional campaign for the Trust condom offered prizes such as holidays, household items and electronic goods for buying the product. The advertisement was however only broadcast on radio, but it was a good and highly effective incentive in improving sales. Bem's (1970) theory of self-perception²³ can explain the audience's response to the foot-in-the-door technique. Kelley's (1973) attribution theory²⁴ also supports this.

²² Burgoon, M and Bettinghaus, E.P. (1980). 'Persuasive message strategies' in M.E. Rollof and G.R. Miller, *Persuasion: new directions in theory and research*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Inc (pp. 141-169).

²³ The self-perception theory is an account of attitude change developed by psychologist Daryl Bem. It asserts that we only have knowledge of our own behaviour and we therefore develop our attitudes by observing our own behaviour, and concluding what attitudes must have caused them.

²⁴ According to this theory, consumer assumptions about a product or situation are derived from the consumer's experience, personality, or attitudes. A product endorsement by a celebrity who is admired will be attributed to the celebrity's honest assessment of the product.

b) *Door-in-the-face*: this is referred to as a reciprocal concessions procedure. It begins with a forceful persuasive message, advocating something that is sure to be rejected. This is then followed by a more moderate one. It works on the principle of whittling away resistance. The technique implies that the receiver should make concessions to the advertiser on a one-for-one basis. The 'ZI' advertisements fall in this category. The average audience will initially reject the concept, then just before the advertisement ends, the voice-over and on-screen text brings the message home about what is acceptable behaviour. The final 'ZI', an unequivocal no, wins over the consumer. Detailed information on these advertisements is to be found in Chapter 4.

Distraction in an advertisement is also a method of persuasion. It interferes with the cognitive response of counter-marketing, thus lowering the target's resistance. Examples of such distractions could be flashing lights, multi-message competition and the inclusion of irrelevant tasks. Messages with distractions that sidetrack the receiver from a concurrent message often have unintended salutary effects, due to the memorability created (see 4.9, Trust Celebs' advertisements). Distractions may be concurrent with the message to elicit increased persuasion.

2.4.1 Opinion leaders

Opinion leaders play a major role here. Opinions are viewed as verbal 'answers', that an individual gives in response to stimulus situations in which some general 'question' is raised. The two-step flow model, as defined by Katz and

Lazarsfeld (1955)²⁵, considers human agency as the key factor in influencing decisions. Those who emerge as leaders are those in touch with a crucial part of their environment. They decide, they give orders, they bargain with the end result of something happening. They are referred to as men and women of character, who influence our social reality. The credibility of an advertisement seems to be related to the reputation of the magazine/media in which it appears. The more credible the communicator, the higher the chance of opinion change. Pertinent in credibility are the communicator's expertise and trustworthiness, hence the convincing ability of opinion leaders.

Social reality is based on people's definitions of it. Drawing from the works of Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955), who studied how people were influenced to vote, we can deduce that people are influenced by other people, to a greater degree than the influence of the mass media. These influential people serve as opinion leaders. However, we must bear in mind that in the Katz and Lazarsfeld case, the opinion leaders were in turn influenced by the mass media no matter what their socio-

²⁵ Katz, E. and Lazarsfeld, P.F. (1955). *Personal influence: the part played by people in the flow of mass communications*. New York: The Free Press.

economic level or occupational group. Hence the idea of the two-step flow of communication.

Source > Message > Mass Media > Opinion Leaders > General Public

Figure 2.1: Representation of the two-step model

In a nutshell, this means that ideas flow **from** radio, print and television **to** opinion leaders and **from them** to less active sections of the population. The link between the media and opinion leaders cannot, therefore, be gainsaid. In the two-step flow of communication, mass media information is channelled to the 'masses' through opinion leadership. The people with the most access to media are often those that have a more literate understanding of media content. They, in turn, explain and diffuse the content to others. The opinion leader is an individual who is an active media user and who interprets the meaning of media messages or content for lower-end media users. Typically the opinion leader is held in high esteem by those that accept his/her opinions.

Key in explaining this phenomenon is the sociometric connection. This basically means that mutual attractions for each other as personalities exist. Groups tend to have certain functions or values that one might gain from by being part of. These

can be broken down into the instrumental function, the social reality and the interaction function. The instrumental function offers benefits of conformity. Under these circumstances, individuals conform to the group, thus gaining acceptance and friendship in return. An individual's opinions will be substantially affected by the opinions of others whose company he keeps or aspires to keep.

Social reality depends on the group to which one belongs – reality is not an absolute but varies from group to group. An opinion or attitude which is not reinforced by others of the same opinion will generally become unstable. Interaction creates a convergence of attitudes and opinions, resulting in value homophily. Robert K. Merton defined 'value homiphily' as the tendency of like-minded people to seek each other out. The attraction is based on shared values. Why do interdependent individuals demand conformity of each other? It is because they do not like a member to 'see' things differently. Another reason is that they like to preserve their identity. And finally, groups have goals and these cannot be achieved without consensus.

The group can act as a medium of change but can also be the target of change. Kurt Lewin (1952) coined the term 'gatekeeper' which is closely related to 'opinion leader', to refer to those individuals that link interpersonal relations with the

'outside', the mass media. Gatekeepers control a strategic portion of a channel so as to have control and power of decision over what flows through that channel. Mass media research should recognise that respondents must be studied within the context of the group(s) to which they belong if one hopes to get some level of accuracy in readings. How does the individual determine who is influential in his life? The relevant dimensions, according to Katz, are three-fold.

The *life cycle*, which means the stage of life in which the opinion leader is at; *social and economic status*, which is generally horizontal in quotidian influence, but could also be vertical; and *gregariousness* which refers to the extent of contact with other people. Findings reveal that as status level of gregariousness increases, so does the proportion of opinion leaders. Women who are opinion leaders in public affairs have three major characteristics. They have a high level of education, they have social reinforcement, and they have leisure available to them for extra-household activities.

Experts on various topics are generally held in high regard, and women who are opinion leaders are generally experts. What does it mean to be an expert? Expertness in any subject boils down to a multiplication of the number of aspects we are prepared to discover and the habit of discounting our expectations. We do

not see what our eyes are not accustomed to take into account. Sometimes we are impressed by those facts which fit our philosophy. Hence the power of experts over us; they convince us to accept their viewpoint as our world view, and we adapt to their philosophies.

This group must therefore effectively be used in advertising, especially for the older generation, as they (opinion leaders) have a higher likelihood of being credible. Just as popular musicians are used to speak to the younger generation, so can experts be used to convey the same message to the older generation. Morality, good form and good taste standardise and then emphasize underlying prejudices. As we adjust ourselves to our code, we adjust the facts that we see to that code. To behave as the code dictates is to serve whatever purpose the code pursues – the rules apply where they apply.

As the texts used in the study were mostly written years ago, attempts have been made to give new interpretations to old material, and to combine new understanding with the old.

CHAPTER THREE

2. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

2.1. Introduction

The study consists of an in-depth analysis of advertisements broadcast on radio and television channels specifically on the issues of HIV/AIDS control and prevention. The research uses an interpretive approach, which is based on the belief that people may not always have explicit knowledge in the marketplace. It is also the idea that multiple interpretations of images, messages or symbols are possible. The research is based on the cultural theory, which assumes that individuals make meaning. They individuals' past experiences and they social and cultural contexts like social positions, experiences, will not be part of the experience of the culture, especially assumes that everyone shares the same meaning systems and symbols has the same world view.

Using the approach of interpretive research, the study will focus on how the culture has been in the past, who engaged. They – how do the advertisements or media will be design that they target? The research questions will be able to many activities, as – the true meaning of a person's behavior that they are doing

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

This study consists of an in-depth analysis of advertisements broadcast on local television channels, specifically on the issues of HIV/AIDS control and awareness. The research takes an interpretive approach, which is based on the belief that people may or may not experience social reality in the same way. It is accepted that multiple interpretations of human experience or realities, are possible. This research is based on the actional theory which assumes that individuals create meanings. They (individuals) have intentions and they make real choices. Covering laws and positivist approaches will not be part of the hypothesis as the positivist approach assumes that everyone shares the same meaning system and therefore has the same world view.

Taking the approach of interpretive research, the study will focus on what the actions mean to the people who engage them – what do the advertisements in question tell the groups that they target? The survey questions will therefore be mostly subjective, and the true meaning of a person's answer may vary according

to the context or the respondent's situation. Interpretive social science sees the unique features of specific contexts and meaning as essential for understanding social meaning. Whereas positivism believes in absolutes, interpretive social science believes in relativism. No universal rules or principles can be established; individuals have unique and idiosyncratic perceptions of the world.

3.1.1 Survey questions

Interview questions tested recall, where respondents' answers revealed whether they remembered anything about the advertisement. Recognition was also a feature, where respondents were shown the advertisement to see if they had watched it before.

Semantic differentials, in which lists of opposite qualities are given to elicit opinions, was another method used. Along with this, projective questions were asked, in which the respondent was asked what sort of people he/she thought used the product.

3.1.1.1 The questionnaires

The questionnaires were mainly self-administered, as most in the pre-survey period, most respondents indicated that they were more likely to give honest answers under conditions of wholesome anonymity, in the sense that the researcher was not present with them at the time of responding. The questions

were straightforward, and were easily understood by the target populations, therefore additional help from the interviewer was not required. Some of the questionnaires were mailed to respondents, with a relatively high level of return (70%).

3.1.2 ABC

The ABC²⁶ approach can play an important role of reducing the prevalence of HIV in a generalised epidemic. The emphasis on individual elements, however, must vary according to the target population. The ABC criteria of AIDS control was considered, findings revealed that the 'C' factor had most prevalence in the advertisements. This study reflects this finding with relatively more information on the televised advertising on condoms. There were a few advertisements on the 'B' factor and it was only from February 2007 that a campaign focusing on abstinence was launched. Abstinence is the most effective means of protection against pregnancy, HIV infection and other sexually-transmitted infections (STIs). It is often associated with the youth,²⁷ but it can be an option for both youth and adults. The method offers a number of advantages because it requires no supplies

²⁶ A – abstinence; B – be faithful; C – use a condom.

²⁷ Cf. PSI campaign on delayed sexual debut.

or clinic visits. However, it does require strong social support from community members and the development of specific skills, including a high degree of motivation, self-control, and communication. It is for this reason that various faith-based groups have set up clubs for the youth dubbed 'True Love Waits'²⁸ in which the members make a commitment to refrain from sexual intimacy until marriage. The term abstinence can also refer to those who have been sexually active at one time but have now decided to abstain. This is referred to as 'secondary abstinence' or 'secondary virginity.'

3.2 Study Period

For an 18-month period, from September 2005 to April 2007, relevant advertisements were gathered and rated for message content, effectiveness and memorability as concerns the target groups. Three distinct targets were identified as follows: a) age group 10 to 15 years; b) age group 16 to 24 years; and c) age group 25 to 45 years. There was an overlap in the latter two age groups, where

²⁸ Popularly known as TLW, it is an international Christian group promoting sexual abstinence outside of marriage for teenagers and college students. The movement promotes 'sexual purity', which they define as abstaining from intercourse before marriage, abstaining from sexual thoughts, touching, pornography and actions leading to sexual arousal.

some advertisements were specifically aimed at the 18–35 market, and another where the target was 15–25 years of age.

Interviews were carried out with marketing managers of the various brands, as well with the various target groups. Initial reactions to the selected advertisements were gathered in an attempt to find out if any form of behavioural change was inspired as a result of viewing the advertisements.

In the final analysis, the study hopes to determine whether television advertising on HIV control is sexist or not, and how effective it is. It will also gauge whether perceptions of women have changed since the 18th Century and the woman's suffrage movement in America.²⁹ Despite gaining the right to vote, their participation in the workplace and in public life remained limited with prevailing notions confining women to the home.

²⁹ The term women's suffrage refers to the economic and political reform movement aimed at promoting and securing suffrage — the right to vote — to women. The movement's modern origins are sometimes traced to the United States in the 1820s, but lie in France in the 18th century.

3.3 Selection of subjects and data collection

The subjects for the study were initially selected using a cross-sectional³⁰ survey, with male and female respondents, ranging from ages 10 to 45 years. A random sample³¹ was then done with a control sample – a known value analysed along with the test samples to evaluate accuracy – from the rural area. These were then further whittled down to those that regularly watched television, and more specifically, the advertisements on HIV and AIDS control.

3.3.1 The survey

Descriptive surveys focus on precise measurement of one or more dependent variables in a defined population or sample of the same. This requires proper conceptualization of the phenomenon. In describing attitudes, for example, shall the analyst describe that (attitude) towards the programming or that towards the advertising? Should she describe attitudes towards sponsorship or economics? A descriptive survey thus appears deceptively simple while various underlying aspects must be taken into account. In Durkheim's definition, "*the sociologist must*

³⁰ A cross-sectional survey is the study of groups of individuals differing on the basis of specified criteria (for example, age) at the same point in time.

³¹ A random sample is a group of people used in a research testing situation where every person in the area under study has an equal chance of being included in the sample.

take as the object of his research groups of facts, clearly circumscribed, capable of ready definition, with definite limits and adhere strictly to them", for example, in assessing how many chairs there are in one's living room, one must first define 'chair'. There would also be a problem in defining the nature of the population. As the population was largely heterogeneous, was the researcher to limit herself to those exposed **only** to television? What about those whose attitudes have been influenced by other sources such as literature, billboards and expert opinion? A scientific investigation can only succeed if it deals with comparable facts. Utmost care was therefore required to correctly categorise, combine and distinguish. Findings of a descriptive survey are a guide to theorising in explanatory surveys.³²

The survey targeted a minimum sample of 200 respondents, equally distributed across males and females. The respondents were from various educational institutions, and also from middle-class residential areas. These youth were approached in places of leisure where they were among their peers, and more willing to respond to questions of a personal nature, away from the scrutiny of parents and guardians.

³² Explanatory surveys follow the model of a laboratory experiment, but are situated in a natural setting.

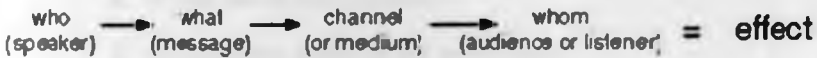
Beginning at a randomly selected starting point, and following the Right Hand Rule, the nearest group of youth was chosen. Due to the reducing effect of the number of interviews required by gender, after the first few interviews, the sampling procedure changed to be more responsive to the quota requirements.

Youth (aged 18–45) were interviewed at pubs in residential areas, clubs, youth hostels and shopping malls. This was done between April 2005 to April 2006. Standards were adhered to by closely following the rules laid down for selection of respondents. The survey omitted those that were not exposed to television.

The questionnaires measured behaviour, vulnerability to HIV/AIDS infection or transmission, perceptions in terms of opportunity, ability and motivation, media habits, and exposure to other HIV information campaigns. The responses were graded on a three-point scale ranging from 'agree', 'uncertain' to 'disagree'. These were then graded according to a responsibility index. A sample of the questionnaire is available in Appendix A1.

3.4 Analysis of data

The study largely consisted of a content analysis, which, as defined by Earl Babbie (2001)³³, is “the study of recorded human communications”. The core questions in a content analysis are “who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effect” (Harold Lasswell, 1948).



This is a basic tenet of communication. Communication content refers to the ‘what’ in Lasswell’s phrase. The same process has also been described by Ole Holsti (1969) as “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages.” The content analysis in this case mainly does three things:

- Makes inferences about the antecedents of a communication, i.e. the situation that led to the formulation of the advertisement
- Describes and makes inferences about characteristics of a communication, i.e. how is the advertisement structured

³³ Babbie, E. (2001). *The Practice of Social Research* (9th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

- Makes inferences about the effects of a communication, what can be deduced from the results of the advertisement.

The questions that are addressed in this analysis are as follows:

1. Which data are analysed
2. How are they defined
3. What is the context relative to the analysis
4. What are the boundaries
5. What is the target of the inferences.

3.5 Treatment of data

Communication content – earlier referred to as the ‘what’ in a message – is the meaning garnered from symbols that make up the exchange of ideas. A content analysis is geared towards quantitatively classifying elements in a given body of content. While applying to social science generalizations, determination of the effect of communications and to the sentence structure and rules of language, a content analysis must be objective, systematic and quantitative. Objectivity ensures that the analyses secure the same results with different analysts. It allows for the content analysis to be limited to the manifest content. In being systematic, all relevant content must be analysed, thus aiding in the elimination of bias. It also suggests that the data collected must be relevant to a scientific problem or

hypothesis. Quantification refers to the extent to which the analytic category appears. These are either numerical, in terms of percentages, or quantitative words such as 'more', 'always', and 'increases'.

A content analysis is therefore *"a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication"* (Berelson, 1966). Content analysis assumes that the study of the manifest content is meaningful. In other words, the meanings ascribed by the analysts correspond to that of the communicator and audience. There must be a common universe of discourse. Allowance should however be made for latent content, where two different people will infer different things from one situation. Finally, content analysis assumes that quantitative descriptions are meaningful.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. CONTENT ANALYSIS

An earlier mentioned, a content analysis is a systematic analysis of the content within the structure of a communication. In this case, an advertisement, to determine the objective of awareness of the communication. This chapter will analyze the various advertisements that were used in the study. These will be described in detail, their effects on the target group, their and objectives stated.

4.1. Pre-Tester Comments¹⁴

The advertisement depicts a young woman in a supermarket, purchasing a pack of Pringles crisps. As she approaches the cashier, a young man in the next aisle cannot keep his wandering eyes off her. They exchange a glance, and in that moment, the feelings that run through the man's mind are shown. No words are spoken in the advertisement, with only background music acting as a backdrop to the changing images on the screen.

¹⁴ Pre-Tester Comments are provided by the pre-tester conducted by the Pre-Test Group, Ipsos. Ipsos, the organization conducted with Ipsos Research and other have the subject related background.

CHAPTER FOUR

4 CONTENT ANALYSIS

As earlier indicated, a content analysis is a systematic analysis of the content rather than the structure of a communication, in this case, an advertisement, to determine the objective or meaning of the communication. This chapter will analyse the various advertisements that were used in the study. These will be described in detail, their effect on the target group given and inferences drawn.

4.1 Preventor Condoms³⁴

The advertisement depicts a young woman in a supermarket, purchasing a pack of *Preventor* condoms. As she approaches the cashier, a young man in the next aisle cannot keep his admiring eyes off her. They exchange a glance, and in that moment, the thoughts that run through the man's mind are shown. No words are spoken in the advertisement, with only background music acting as a backdrop to the changing images on the screen.

³⁴ Preventor Condoms are distributed by Megascope Limited, for the Belgium Group, Remed-Phrama. The condoms are scented with fruity flavours and often have the rubber ribbed, twisted or dotted.



Figure 4.1: Various samples of Preventor condoms

This advertisement is targeted to the 25 to 45 years age group, and all indications are that it specifically aims at a more up-market population. Its price is also slightly higher than the ones popularly advertised in the print media.³⁵ The advertisement was generally aired in breaks between the 9pm news, aiming at young upward-mobile professionals (yuppies), who subscribe to the 'feel-good philosophy' and to a hedonistic lifestyle. There is also a higher probability that this group would be

³⁵ Preventor condoms cost about nine times more than Trust condoms.

watching television at this time, so as not to miss the English language evening news.

The advertisement focuses on pleasure and luxury, as indicated by the background music—*It Hurts So Good* by Millie Jackson³⁶, to tie in with the theme of appealing to a more mature age set. The couple is depicted eating strawberries, which is symbolic. A double meaning is inferred in the sense that strawberries are luxury foods, generally only accessible to the end of the market with a higher purchasing power. Simultaneously, this is an indication that the condoms are both scented and flavoured.

This advertisement was cleverly crafted, and resulted in an appeal to the target audience. It sends across the HIV-control message using the pleasure principle that the target group relates to with ease. This is the only advertisement so far produced that depicts a woman openly showing that she is in charge of her sexual life, by actually purchasing condoms. The advertisement was therefore rated

³⁶ This song was released in 1973. Long before contemporary rap albums carried parental-advisory warnings, Millie Jackson's highly charged, sexually explicit soul records bore the admonishment "For Mature Audiences Only." Her long tales of heartache and betrayal, usually delivered in rather frank language, gave Jackson a cult following for her originality, but also made her records all but unplayable on the radio.

highest in the study. Despite using the central protagonist as an aesthetic prop, the message here is that the woman has a level of control over her sexual life and the choice of partner is entirely up to her.

The advertisement is all visual and appeals to one's intellect to comprehend what is going on as, apart from the lyrics in the background music, no verbal exchange is involved. This also suggests that the target group is expected to have a superior level of sophistication. It is a highly effective advertisement in the sense that it succeeds in sending out a positive message to its primary audience – women, and a secondary effect on the male audience who are introduced to the idea that women, despite their fairer/weaker sex status, are not necessarily without a level of power or control over their bodies. The advertisement is likely to result in behaviour change among the middle- to higher-class females and their male counterparts.

Upon questioning, respondents indicated high levels of recall, which also suggested that the advertisement had made a deep impression upon the viewers. For the most part, the female population (ages 25 - 45) recorded a higher sense of confidence in their association with men as a direct result of watching the advertisement. It gave them a sense of reassurance that taking charge of their

sexual life to the point of purchasing **male** condoms was an admirable trait rather than unconventional or some form of idiosyncrasy. The advertisement is a direct appeal to the pleasure principle.

The pleasure principle is a term commonly used in psychoanalysis, to refer to the tendency or drive to achieve pleasure and avoid pain, and becomes the chief motivating factor guiding one's behaviour. It demands that an instinctive need – usually sexual or aggressive³⁷ – be gratified, regardless of social or practical consequences. Sigmund Freud (1923) believed that the id³⁸ is totally dominated by the pleasure principle, but admitted that with the development of the ego, individuals become aware of the demands of social reality and thus learn to regulate their quest for pleasure.

The *Preventor* Condoms advertisement is a step, as advocated in this study, towards changing societal attitudes and reversing the portrayal of women as mere

³⁷ Cf Lipmann (1932), on using sexual passion and fighting in advertisements.

³⁸ The id refers to the division of one's mind that is completely unconscious and serves as the source of instinctual impulses and demands for immediate satisfaction of primitive needs. The ego, on the other hand, refers to the conscious mind that most immediately controls thought and behaviour. Freud, S. (1923). *The Ego and the id*. New York, W.W. Norton & Company.

chattels or aesthetic objects. With the correct audience, this advertisement is likely to be highly effective in the HIV/AIDS control message.

4.2 The tea-picker

In this advertisement, a female tea-picker narrates her story, indicating that before her marriage, she led a promiscuous lifestyle, and may not always have practised safe sex. She takes the decision to visit a VCT³⁹ clinic, and asks her husband to accompany her. The results show that she is infected with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), whereas her husband is not. The advertisement ends with her declaring that her husband loves her, not because she is HIV+, but because she did not hide her status from him. The ending scene is of the couple going home together, disappearing into the twilight.

³⁹ Voluntary Counselling and Treatment.



Figure 4.2: Image from a clip of the tea-picker advertisement.

This advertisement targets HIV discordant couples, produced in 2006 as part of PSI/Kenya's campaign of extended VCT promotion to rural Kenya. Source: <http://www.psi.org>

This advertisement is targeted at young couples, aged 30 to 45. It is aired in Kiswahili, probably directed to the lower-income bracket of the working classes as indicated by the rural setting and the relatively humble portrayal of the couple in question. The advertisement suggests that women can be as promiscuous as men are generally assumed to be, and can also be forthright enough to disclose a salacious past. Additionally, they are active contributors to household earnings.

The woman is portrayed as being courageous and able to convince her husband to accept her as she is and to join her in the counselling that is required. By showing a tea-picker, it indicates that the woman has an income. In making her the subject of the advertisement, the message is that women can play a responsible role in a couple's sexual health. It is she who takes the step of going to get tested and counselled, and her husband is depicted as being supportive and loving.

The tea-picker would appeal to women especially those from rural settings. The problem, however, is that the advertisement was barely accessible to the target group. Furthermore, among the urban women who viewed it, the advertisement did not strike a chord; it was considered as being far removed from their reality and as directed to 'others' realistic. It was therefore not to be considered with a high level of seriousness. As a result, behaviour change may not occur, although the various messages might be considered interesting and raise issues for further discussion. Respondents (urban) were not able to easily remember the advert, and in the rural areas, a few young men were aware of but it did not appear to have made any impression on them. The female respondents (ages 30–45) took a very intellectual approach towards the advertisement, and were of the notion that it was not geared towards them specifically.

Although this advertisement, like the one before it, depicts women in a constructive manner, it has certain limitations in that it remains ambiguous about what is entailed in counselling and how the couple is advised to live in their discordant⁴⁰ state. If the target group is the rural woman, it defeats its purpose as it

⁴⁰ The term 'sero-discordant' is used to describe a couple which one partner is HIV positive and the other is HIV negative.

is not likely to reach her. Nevertheless, the advertisement should be given credit for showing the woman as the protagonist, and in being sensitive in its attempts to avoid stereotyping.⁴¹ It is not effective in delivering the HIV/AIDS control message as the main target group is largely unreached.

4.3 Nina fanya nini sasa⁴²

The title of this advert is the heartfelt cry of a young woman after a night out in a club, where she had too much alcohol to drink, and ended up spending the night with a man she had just met. The advertisement shows her conscience jerking her back into reality. This is adeptly done by the use of a mirror-image, and it is this image that gives the narrative. The girl regrets her actions in view of the fact that she is familiar with the issue of AIDS and is aware of its consequences. Her cousin had recently succumbed to the disease, and she should know better than be so blatantly careless about her sex life. The narrative is all in Kiswahili, clearly depicting a visibly upset and embarrassed young woman. The advertisement ends with her gathering up her clothes and personal effects, and stealthily slinking out

⁴¹ A male version of the same exists, but is not included as this is more suited to purposes of this study.

⁴² Kiswahili for 'What in goodness name am I doing!'

of the house. The man in question remains peacefully asleep, totally unaware of the mental flagellation that has just occurred.

The advertisement targets the 25 to 35 years age-group, employed and in possession of a discretionary income. This income is spent on entertainment, generally at clubs or bars, where they enjoy music and alcohol, two leisure activities that generally go in tandem. The advertisement indicates that in the light of day, one is often confronted with regrettable actions of a previous night's carousing, which may unintentionally have fatal effects.

The advertisement is a wake-up call to young adults to be constantly cautious and alert to the dangers of getting carried away in the name of having a good time. It is based on a fear appeal⁴³ that is effective with the target group as they have the capacity to comprehend the gravity of potential repercussions from one night of imprudent revelry. A fear appeal is effective because it modifies the recipients' perceived susceptibility and severity of the threat in question.

⁴³ An appeal to fear is a logical fallacy in which one attempts to create support for one's idea by increasing fear and prejudice, often towards a competitor. Fear is an effective attitude-changer, however, the level of persuasion does not increase in proportion to the amount of fear used. Note, however, that if messages are too aggressive or fearful, they would be rejected by the subject.

This advert is a classic example of a portrayal of women suffering from the 'dumb blonde'⁴⁴ syndrome. The woman in question is depicted as irresponsible and having no control over her actions, whereas the man lies blissfully unbothered by his part in the drama. In this advertisement, the woman, despite being the main protagonist is objectified and reduced to the level of an immature child. The HIV control message comes across clearly mainly as a result of the fear factor that it elicits. Despite the chauvinistic nature of the advertisement, it is effective in the fact that it would elicit behaviour change. The advertisement appears to have made a solid impression on respondents as they were all able to remember details of the advertisement, and found it immediately recognisable.

4.4 Mark and Judy—'ZI'⁴⁵

In this advertisement, Mark and Judy are in a church, exchanging marriage vows. Mark promises to live a promiscuous life as is expected of him, while Judy promises to accept all manner of vile behaviour from him, as long as she can have the pleasure of being recognised as his wife. This is done under the approving eyes

⁴⁴ Cf Butler-Paisley Scale of Consciousness, level 1. See chapter 2.

⁴⁵ This is the *Sheng* equivalent of the colloquial 'no way!'

of priest, family and friends. The advertisement ends with the catchphrase '*Ni ajabu zile tabia tunavyochukua kama kawaida... Zi, tusikubali tabia zinaoweza kueneza Ukimwi*'⁴⁶

The target group is the 25 to 35 years age range, specifically those in heterosexual relationships, and those planning to marry. This advert makes a mockery of the acceptable modes of behaviour in contemporary Kenyan society. It stereotypes dominant male roles, versus the submissive and all-adoring female. The advertisement intends to display how easily society falls into behaviour that they would avoid at all costs if only they took the time to examine themselves objectively.

⁴⁶ Translated from Kiswahili as 'It is shocking the kind of behaviour that we take as mundane and acceptable... No way! Do not let yourself be lured into habits that would cause you to contract AIDS'.



Figure 4.3: This poster is from the 'Mark and Judy advertisement

The viewer of the advertisement immediately recognizes oneself in this sham wedding and is forced to reconsider his/her actions *vis-à-vis* quotidian contemporary behaviour. Its overall effect is a caution to young people to weigh both the potential effect of their actions and the wisdom in accepting contemporary views that might cost them their lives. This advertisement is a good portrayal of

the 'keep her in her place' and 'put her down' theory as alluded to in the Butler-Paisley Consciousness Scale for Sexism.⁴⁷

The possible problem with this advertisement is that in the hands of the wrong target group, the message may short-circuit the recipient's capacity to be objective and critically analytical. The message may be taken literally, and might be understood as urging viewers to follow the advice that is dispensed. The irony may be lost on less intellectual viewers. Nevertheless, the advertisement must be judged as a highly effective one in terms of recall and recognition as the respondents were all able to remember it in detail. In terms of behaviour change, a majority (66%) of the respondents asserted that they were inspired by the advert to be more introspective in terms of decision-making when it came to their choice of sexual partner.

4.5 The graduate

A spin-off from the Mark and Judy advertisement, this advert shows a girl making a speech at her graduation. She thanks her teachers and parents for having provided her with a good education, and expresses to her colleagues the

⁴⁷ Level 1 and 2 of the Butler-Paisley Scale.

importance of 'allowing' men to take charge of their lives, to abuse and to insult them, as they start their new phase of life away from the confines of a learning institution. She receives a standing ovation at the end of this 'inspiring' speech. It appears that despite all the education she has received, she is to be the man's private prize; his possession to use (and abuse) as he sees fit.⁴⁸

This advert is specifically directed towards young women of 18 to 25 years of age. Its intention is also, as in the Mark and Judy advertisement, to ridicule societal norms that would lead young women to accept self-effacing extreme situations and lead them to adapt docile behaviour, considering this as socially acceptable conduct. Traditional Kenyan society dictates that men be the head the family, in charge of their spouses and family. This stereotyped version of the male is exploited by men to justify their power over the fair sex and reinforces the belief that women are to be lorded over by their male partners.

Ultimately, as this advertisement directly involves females, it is intended that they will use it to make informed decisions about what they should expect from the 'outside' world, and have the presence of mind to object to the kind of falsehoods

⁴⁸ cf. section 2.2. , The subjugation of women.

perpetuated as norms by men and reinforced by traditional societies, permitting males to have their way. Once again, the fairer sex is depicted as being subject to the whims of the male gender. She is ironically displayed as being foolish even as she makes her graduation speech, where, it would be assumed that she displays her intelligence in having come this far. Just like the previous advertisement, this is also intended for a mature audience as those with lesser intellectual capacity (or those outside the target) will not appreciate the intention of the advert. The advertisement scored high in recall and recognition, although respondents indicated that they preferred the Mark and Judy advert to this one. This advertisement came off as being too stiff, superficial and unnatural, therefore not many of the respondents identified with it.

4.6 Nime Chill⁴⁹ / I'm too young



Figure 4.4: This poster is from a PSI/Kenya campaign encouraging youth to abstain from sex

The *Nime Chill* campaign was launched by Population Studies International (PSI), a non-governmental organisation (NGO) involved in family planning, with funding from USAID in September 2004. The project lasted a year, ending in September 2005. Various versions of the '*nime chill*' adverts have been produced. These were aired from around 5pm to 6pm, when school going-children (ages 10–14 years)

⁴⁹ In contemporary language of the youth, this means 'I'm not having sex'. The mixed codes used—Kiswahili and English—are also deliberate. This is the manner in which the urban youth generally communicate and as such, they can identify with the language used.

were likely to be at home from school, and watching television. These adverts featured during the commercial breaks of popular adolescent programming such as *H2O* and *The Beat*. The brand is a cartoon logo with the fingers of a hand making a 'V' or peace sign. Teens aged 14-16 were used as role models. The tag line here is '*nime chill*'. However, in an evaluation of the campaign, PSI found no evidence that *Nime chill* had a direct effect on young people remaining abstinent, but nevertheless concluded that the campaign merited continuation, in the hope that "*early persuasion efforts will have an impact on subsequent behaviour.*"⁵⁰

In the '*I'm too young*' brand of adverts, the youth emphasise that they will not yield to pressure to have pre-marital sex as they are focusing on their studies. Despite the heckling from the group that is already sexually active, the protagonist stays firm, with the tag line '*I'm too young to have sex*'. This genre of adverts was targeted at primary school children, and aimed at giving a positive message. They widely used a persuasion strategy to show peers that they can avoid sex, and it's a 'cool' thing to do. The second group focuses on a wider group, aged 10 to 25 years. Peer pressure is extremely powerful in this age-set, which is why positive messaging is used here as an effective means of persuasion.

⁵⁰ PSI report, quoted in <http://www.afrol.com>, 15 September 2007.



Figure 4.5: This poster shows the President's commitment to fighting AIDS. Media personalities and politicians have been used to promote abstinence, and even President Mwai Kibaki has been photographed giving the two-fingered 'V' salute. Source: PSI-Kenya.

Positive messaging refers to the process of sending out communication that would inspire the receiver to act in an ethically upright manner. This set of advertisements are ingeniously crafted such that they have a broad-based appeal – to parents, who want their offspring to focus more on education rather than on a social life; and to students who can identify with the protagonists. Respondents rated the advert highly and could easily remember the diverse details in the various types of advertisement. The depiction of the females gives an image of young women who are well-focused in their ideals and are clear about what they want out of life. In this case, the females' aim is to complete their education before

they move on to other aspects of their life. This relates to level four on the Butler-Paisley scale, where the female is accepted as being equal to the male, and can partake of the same opportunities, and think in the same manner as the male protagonists in similar adverts.

Children can be strongly influenced by television adverts, and the influence is reinforced or strongly affected by the presenter of the message. Hence the use of school-going children in these adverts has had a strong influence on their peers as they can identify with the actors. The strategy used creates opportunities to promote the positive deviants as role models, which is effective in behaviour change. The message in this advert reinforces the 'A' part of the A-B-C message—abstain from sexual behaviour, even when 'everyone else is doing it'. In terms of message transfer to the target group, these adverts were highly effective and popular.

In certain schools, it was established that the pupils had been receiving sex education since the age of 10 and was therefore now "*common to everyone and not embarrassing.*" However, an overload of sex education could have mixed results. According to a respondent, "*it makes us want to know what it [sex] is, we want to experience it.*" This added a bizarre twist to the findings which further revealed that

the 25 - 45 year old age group did not like these adverts and considered them as encouraging the children to consider sex at a very early age.

4.7 A real lady/man waits



Figure 4.6: PSI's delayed debut campaign encourages youth to abstain from or postpone sexual activity

Within the course of the study, a comment made by young people was that engaging in sexual activities at an early age was due to the fact that sex was seen as a transition from childhood to adulthood. It is such attitudes that led to the launch of the PSI delayed début campaign, where young people are encouraged to not to hurry into this form of 'adulthood'. The campaign aims to encourage them to delay initial sexual activity until they were more mature and better informed about sexual issues, not merely experimenting.

In the various adverts of this group, we see a student (male or female) being urged on by peers to engage in sexual activity so as to conform with the rest of the group.⁵¹ The key element shown is peer pressure, with the protagonist being encouraged to get involved with older men on the promise of money, meals and rides in flashy cars. She, however, stands firm and shrugs off her peers, with the final word, "*a real lady waits.*" These adverts were allocated the 5 pm time slot, to fall into breaks between the popular youth television programmes.

⁵¹ Group dynamics implies that individual behaviour may differ depending on individuals' current or prospective connections to a sociological group. Urges to belong or to identify may result in distinctly different attitudes (recognized or unrecognized), and the influence of a group may influence or overwhelm individual character. The group dynamics may also include changes in behaviour of a person when he is represented before a group.

Also focusing on abstinence, these advertisements are geared towards a slightly older age group from the previous one, targeting the 15–21 age group, *viz.*, high school to college-age students. Whereas in the previous set of adverts, the focus is on 'being too young' to engage in sexual activity, these particular adverts focus on respect for oneself. They indicate that a woman who respects oneself will not be influenced by gifts or offers of a good time to 'sell' her body. A 'real' lady waits for marriage before engaging in sexual activity. The adverts are well structured with a direct message and no distraction in them. Upon interview, the target group indicated that they found the adverts appealing as they had a direct message that they could clearly understand. Most respondents, particularly the female ones, revealed that they were inspired towards behaviour change as the adverts did not denigrate the female protagonists, but rather displayed a young woman determined to stick to her principles, despite conditions that urged them to behave differently. It was interesting to note that none of the respondents identified with the 'other' girls (the supporting actors) who egged on the protagonist to let down her moral guard and exchange sexual favours for material pleasures.

One pertinent finding from this study relating to abstinence came from a respondent aged 16; although the message was clear, "*...young people enjoy sex - they enjoy it more than anything - and being told to abstain only reduces the number of*

times we have sex". This shows an accord with the PSI finding that there is no direct evidence of the effectiveness of advertising causing young people to practice abstinence. Nevertheless, there was an indication that they attempted to be more careful in maintaining monogamous relationships.

4.8 Chukua Control⁵² / Kunyua zaidi, teleza zaidi⁵³

These advertisements show young people at a night club or bar, dancing and consuming copious amounts of alcohol. After such revelry, they either get into fights⁵⁴ or, in the case of the female actors, begin to act in a sexually provocative manner⁵⁵ with an equally drunk male. As the scene ends, the woman is seen leaving with the stranger, on the assumption that the couple will end the rest of their evening together in bed.

This set of adverts was geared towards advising individuals, specifically young adults, to take charge of their lives. They are aimed at the 21-35 age group,

⁵² This is the Sheng version of 'take charge of your life'.

⁵³ The more you drink (alcohol), the worse the likelihood of slipping up badly, and falling into reprehensible behaviour.

⁵⁴ This is a direct use of violence in an advertisement, used to attract and hold the viewers attention.

⁵⁵ Use of sexual aggression.

presumably those that have a disposable income, and can spend their own money engaging in riotous sprees. In the Kenyan context, this often means frequenting night clubs and bars, with the uniting factor being the amount of alcohol one can consume. The adverts are intended to serve as a warning against excessive alcohol consumption that would lead into carnal temptations (see 4.3 above). The catchphrase at the end of the advertisement is '*kunyua zaidi, teleza zaidi*', reinforcing the dual message that excessive consumption of alcohol can have serious consequences and lead to irresponsible behaviour.

The response by the target group to these adverts was on the whole a vindication of the fear appeal theory. It was revealed that the prospect of being at the mercy of another person and having no defences against any untoward advances was enough to make a majority of the female respondents, particularly those from the upper middle classes, to drastically consider a change in their social behaviour. One such respondent declared that the adverts "*saved my life*", stressing that her previous carefree attitude while under the influence of alcohol was put in check by watching this mirror image of herself. Once again, the female in the advertisements is depicted in a prejudicial and derogatory manner, assuming that she lacks the capacity to make rational judgment when bombarded with social

pressure. The advertisements were a success in as far as getting the message on HIV control across to the desired target group.

4.9 *Trust* condoms testimonials



Figure 4.7: The *Trust* condom packaging and sample

The *Trust* condom advertisements formed a large part of the sample under study as they were the most televised. These adverts used local musicians, referred to as celebrities (celebs), who made their testimonial in form of song. This was intended to capture the attention of the target group, by using familiar faces and recognizable tunes.

In a sample of 50 respondents, male and female, aged between 15 to 25 years, the advertisements were tested for recall⁵⁶, appeal⁵⁷ and relevance.⁵⁸ The findings revealed that the most recalled aspects of the advertisement were the slogan (*Je, una yako?*)⁵⁹, and the personality in the advert. The appealing factors of the advert were the slogan, the personalities used and the fact that they were open about the use of condoms. This latter result was seen in those aged between 20–25 years of age. It was discovered that the various distractions in the advertisement (music, background design, colour mix) served to help in the recall of the specific advert. The general conclusion from those sampled was that one should always have a condom close at hand. Those in the 15–19 year old age group gave ‘mirrored’ messages, thus fully agreeing with the advert – “If [Celeb name] has one, why not me?”⁶⁰ Each of the advertisements has a sentence at the end, *Maisha iko sawa na*

⁵⁶ How easily it could be remembered either unaided or prompted by showing part of the advertisement.

⁵⁷ How well-liked the advertisement was.

⁵⁸ Did it mean anything to the viewer.

⁵⁹ Do you have your own (condom)?

⁶⁰ The full slogan is “ — — — *ana yake. Je, una yako?*”

Trust.⁶¹ This phrase has a double entendre, in the sense that when people trust each other, they can have a good life together. It also suggests that using *Trust*, the condom, makes a relationship turn out well.

4.9.1 Prezzo⁶²

Prezzo is a musician/rapper, known for his ostentatious 'Mr President' bling⁶³ lifestyle. In this advert, he is seen in a limousine, on his way to a function. He sings about his ostentatious lifestyle and that because he cares about his image, he also has *Trust* in his wallet. Prezzo appeals mainly to females of the 15-19 age group. However, the findings revealed that half of this group found the advertisement overdone, with excessive opulence. It seemed to give the message that one must be affluent and subscribe to a materialistic and lavish lifestyle in order to use the condom. Nevertheless, the other half of the group appreciated the



⁶¹ Life is fantastic with *Trust*.

⁶² Short for President. This particular *celeb*, real name Jackson Ngechu Makini, leads a very flashy lifestyle, more so than any other local and seems to model his image on American MCs (rappers).

⁶³ The youth use this word to indicate bright, flashy and sparkly jewellery.

advertisement for being 'true' to the actor, as he is associated with a flamboyant lifestyle, wealth and well-produced, extravagant music videos.

The upper end of the sample, on the other hand, found that the advertisement was effective because this group (ages 20–25) was more focused on listening to the lyrics sang by the artiste. The lyrics were found to transmit a positive message in that Prezzo focuses on one particular female, seen meeting him at the entrance to the venue of their meeting. It suggests using a condom with one partner. On the other hand, the advert objectifies women as in this scenario, it appears that the young woman who is seen receiving Prezzo is the envy of all the others who can only look on in admiration and envy.

4.9.2 Kleptomaniax

The Kleptomaniax are a trio comprising Collo, Nyashinki and Roba. In this advert, the setting is that of a dressing room, with the young men probably preparing



for a performance. The lyrics in the advert are sung in a tune that is familiar as their signature, and thus easily recognisable. However, this advert was structured in such a manner that it appeared disorganised. The actors did not seem to really believe in the message they were passing on, and just seemed to be singing (rapping) a lack-lustre song. The advertisement appealed to the 15–19 age group,

while those in their twenties did not find it appealing at all. They considered it hollow and lacking in substance. The group that found the advertisement appealing enjoyed it because it reminded them of the songs sung by the three-some and because they liked the group as a whole. Therefore, despite the negative elements of the advert, the target audience was more receptive to the condom message and identified easily with advert. There was very little recall on the advertisement, although its recognition value was very high.

4.9.3 Nameless⁶⁴

In this advertisement, the scene is of Nameless getting ready to go out on the town. As he raps/sings, he speaks about how he enjoys his life, and that he never leaves home without his *Trust* condoms. The greatest advantage of using Nameless is that his appeal cuts across the board, both with males and females. Due to his perceived maturity⁶⁵, he appeals to ages 16–45. Upon interviewing, however, the respondents' results were in



⁶⁴ Real name David Mathonge

contradiction to Nameless' popularity as a musician. The sample found that his advertisement rang hollow and the target group would have preferred something more animated and engaging, similar to his style and personality. It was also pointed out that in the advertisement, he suggests that whenever he goes out, he is likely to meet a girl with whom he will have sex. This suggestion of promiscuity was not approved of by the target group.

Nevertheless, his wide-spectrum appeal resulted in the *sine qua non* being remembered—always use a condom. This advertisement subtly hints at the availability of women to popular personalities; Nameless suggests that he is well-protected no matter how many women he has sexual contact with. Even without the direct role or depiction of a woman in the advert, it manages to re-emphasise the idea of women as conquests, cheapening their value and likening them to easily available commodities. A classic example of the level 1 (put her down) in the Butler-Paisley Scale.

4.9.4 Deux Vultures

This duo comprises Nasty Thomas and Colonel Moustapha, whose real names are Thomas Konzagga and Daudi Mustapha, respectively. Their appeal ranges in the 20–25 age group. In this advertisement, they are depicted as getting ready to go out to meet their fans at a performance. They sing some lines using a tune from one

of their most popular songs, *Kinyaunyau*. However, their advertisement did not appeal to any of the target group as it was easily forgettable, and no message came through from the advertisement. There was excessive distraction⁶⁶ in the advertisement that rendered it ineffective. The song *Kinyaunyau* is in itself a direct attack on women, describing them as greedy and opportunistic individuals who would not hesitate to demand and abuse privileges bestowed on them. The advert therefore, despite using different lyrics from the original song, is a harsh reminder of the low esteem in which the male (actors) regard their female counterparts. This advert is sexist and highly ineffective as the viewer does not get any clear message from it.

4.9.5 Raha Condoms

'*Raha*' is the Kiswahili word for fun. The advertisements for this condom were only run in the print media, but it is included here for comparison purposes. However, the marketing manager admitted that an audio-visual broadcast would have been done if funds were available at the time. *Raha* condoms are retailed at Ksh 40 for a pack of three. The condom targets the 25 to 45 age group, the same

⁶⁶ This involved use of flashing lights, bright colours and a crowded setting, thus submerging the main message.

demographic and income bracket as in the *Preventor* Condom (see 4.1). It focuses on pleasure, as the tagline affirms, 'studded for xxxtra pleasure', and has been described by an enthusiastic user as "not just a condom, but an experience." Marie Stopes International markets and distributes this condom through brochures, posters and conveniently located dispensers to advertise. According to the marketing manger, the sales have been very good, as judged by the demand from their points-of-sale. The findings also revealed that the condom dispensers placed in the restrooms of various city clubs do very well in the male restrooms, which have to be refilled every two days, whereas in the female restrooms, the movement rate is as low as one pack per week.

Borrowing a leaf from the *Preventor* advertisement, attempts should be made to ensure that women become more pro-active in the purchase of condoms. The marketers of the *Raha* condom could also consider using female actors in their advertising and selling strategies. It is assumed here that those that purchase the condoms actually use them, therefore if sales are good, that would indicate that the message of condom use for safe sex has been well internalised.

4.10 Final remarks

Young people interviewed stressed the irony of using celebs for the testimonials. Principles of advertising state that where endorsements (of products) are made, these should be genuine and reflect personal experience. Most of these celebs are often seen, particularly in clubs, behaving in a manner discordant to the message that they preach.

Advertising is geared to be a mirror for society. However, one cannot realistically expect to mirror everyone, all the time. The originators of the HIV/AIDS control advertisements recognise this fact, and hence the constant switch in their advertising campaigns. From the *Trust* campaigns, focus changed to the '*Chukua control*' campaign, and then on to the '*Nime Chill*' campaigns, followed by '*A real lady/man waits*', and finally, *Fungua roho yako – ongea*.⁶⁷

This provides indisputable proof that advertising is client-driven, and the audience is merely a secondary player. The originators of the adverts are at the mercy of political machinations, for example, in the advertisements from the Population Studies International (PSI), their focus/themes were dictated by the prevailing

⁶⁷ Loosely translated as 'speak openly to each other'.

social policy of the US government, who funded most of these projects. When the social policy focused on the 'C' in the A-B-C of HIV control, numerous adverts promoting condom use prevailed. When the political strategy changed to emphasise family values and fidelity, the focus of advertisement shifted to 'B', be faithful to one partner, as seen in the VCT adverts. As strategy changed again during an electoral campaign, the political pundits chose to focus on 'A', abstinence. There was then an influx of the '*Nime chill*' and '*A real lady waits*' advertisements. It is noteworthy that the adverts of different focus did not air concurrently.

Findings of the study revealed that schoolchildren in boarding schools barely had access to television during the school term, similar to those in day schools. Television was mostly viewed during the weekends or school holidays, but the viewing proved to be highly selective. They either had no time, opportunity or inclination to spend extensive amounts of time indoors on the precious little leisure time available to them. As such, it was an older age group that had access to and were influenced by the advertisements. Markedly, despite not being the intended age group, they were nevertheless affected in that the adverts created an awareness of the gradual lowering age of sexual experience début. This led to an increased consciousness and appreciation of the changing societal behaviour

among the youth. An alarming trend of cross-generation sex was revealed, which could form the basis of a further study.

From the cases given in this chapter, it is clear that in the *Preventor* ad (4.1), *Nina fanya nini sasa* (4.3), *Mark and Judy* (4.4), *A real lady waits* (4.7), *Chukua control* (4.8), and in a few of the *Trust* testimonials, the HIV control message is transmitted strongly enough to result in behaviour change. The advertising that is seen to have an impact are those that have a high level of recall, where the interviewees remembered details about the advertisement, even when they had only watched it once or twice. However, it should be noted that there is no hard and fast rule by which to measure behaviour change. This can only be determined by respondents' answers, which may sometimes be skewed to reflect whatever image they wish to portray.

In conclusion, this study found that for the most part, the advertisements are chauvinistic, advertising is sexist and the perception of the female as a mere chattel has barely changed. They (women) are used as props, for their aesthetic value or in some cases, simply displayed in an unflattering manner that falls short of being downright offensive.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. ADVERTISING ON TELEVISION

5.1 Advertisements

An advertisement, as an audiovisual product is used as a marketing tool, in the category of products referred to as 'experience goods'.⁶⁸ Television viewership in Kenya is estimated at 3.3 million⁶⁹, which in a developing country is a considerably high number. This number may rise during certain 'peak' periods such as international sporting events, not only those in which Kenya is participating, but also others such as the English/European Football Cups, golf tournaments and Formula 1 (F1) racing. Advertisers therefore capitalise on such peak periods to reach wider audiences. However, the advertising spots often are charged at premium rates during these periods. Advertising messages should be presented with courtesy and good taste, avoiding disturbing or annoying material. Where

⁶⁸ Experience goods refer to those products that have to be 'consumed' in order for the consumer to pass an assessment on it. However, the product still lives on, even after the audience have consumed (viewed) it.

⁶⁹ The population of Kenya is estimated at 33 million (2007 figures).

endorsements (testimonials) are used, they should be genuine and reflect personal experience.

Advertising, at its best, may move goods, but in so doing, it creates spurious needs, and in the opinion of Professor J.K. Galbraith (1958)⁷⁰, the money spent on it could be better utilised by allocating it to social and ecological needs in the society. However, in the case of HIV/AIDS control, advertising has proven to be of the greater good, because as the advertisements become 'braver' and more boldly outspoken in their approach towards addressing the issue, more young people have been convinced of the benefits of condom use, which ultimately, has contributed to better health and personal responsibility. Advertising uses various appeals: a) negative appeals, which focus on poor quality of life or physical deficiencies; b) testimonials; c) scientific; d) romance despite work, where positive effects are achieved despite the effort expended. Most respondents in this study were attracted to testimonials. Slogans were considered popular for recall and association. However, some subjects who did not associate the slogan with the product still rated them highly.

⁷⁰ J.K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society*, 1958. Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd.

The table below indicates the proportion of time given to information and entertainment. By a process of deduction, we shall assume that the remainder of the time is dedicated to advertisements, which in this instance, will be referred to as infotainment. Note, however, that the infotainment figures refer to all advertisements in general and are not exclusive to the advertisements in this study.

Table 5.1: Percentage allocation of time on television

	% total time given to information	% total time given to entertainment	% total time given to infotainment *
Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC)	37.2	49.3	13.5
Nation Television (NTV)	25.6	71.9	2.5
KTN (Kenya Television Network)	45.8	49.4	4.8
Metro Television	10.8	76.1	13.1
Stellavision (STV)	76.1	23.9	47.8

Source: DTM (2003), *Reshaping Television Broadcasting in East Africa*

* Researcher's estimates

5.1.1 Globalisation

The past five years have seen a massive exit of international companies from Kenya, predominantly to South Africa and to Egypt. This means that advertising decisions are no longer made locally. While this trend has not yet affected local advertisements on HIV control, it is likely that there will be a move towards global international advertising campaigns. This means that the same 'spot' or advertising clip is seen throughout the world, without being localised. A voice-

over is used in cases of language differences. While this could probably sound the death knell for local production houses, we might finally see a move towards advertising specifically geared towards women, showing women in non-contemporary roles; and being in charge of their sexual health, for example, clear advertisements on the use of female condoms.

MacBride (1980)⁷¹ asserts that "*a nation whose mass media are under foreign domination cannot claim to be a nation*". This issue has nevertheless been put to rest by the fact that editorial control has to a large part been left in the hands of the media and governments of the Third World. Advertising must not go beyond the boundaries of good sense and good manners. One must be careful in the globalisation of advertisements so as not to offend, irritate or intrude – without the extreme where the authorities are compelled to pass laws against them. Nevertheless, the consumer is king; he is the final judge of the effectiveness of the advertisement.

An example of a highly effective globalised advertisement is seen in a recently aired CocaCola advertisement. Despite having been written/produced in the United Kingdom, the advert has an international appeal. In the advert, a teenage

⁷¹ MacBride, S. (1980). *Many Voices, One World*. Paris: Unesco.

boy (White) and girl (Black) are depicted seated at a bus shelter. The boy begins to imitate the ringing of a mobile phone, as he rummages around in his knapsack, to the bemusement of the girl. He pulls out a bottle of CocaCola, unscrews the top, holds the bottle to his ear, and says "Hello?" He then hands it to the girl, saying, "it's for you." The advertisement ends with her laughing and accepting the drink. There is barely any dialogue in this advert, yet it is a clearly unforgettable advert that cuts across cultures.

As recently as 1993, in the United States of America, the so-called haven of free speech and freedom of expression, advertising for condoms was frowned upon, and most television stations would not run such advertisements at prime-time. It was only possible between 11pm to 6am. The paradox with Kenya—a developing country with less freedom than the US—is that there has been no such ban on advertising of condoms. The irony is that all manner of sexual encounters were at that time aired on (American) television, without any red flags being raised, but condom advertising was considered an open invitation to sexual promiscuity. The AIDS epidemic put a stop to this myopic view. Joycelyn Elders⁷², the Surgeon-

⁷² The 15th Surgeon General of the United States, Joycelyn Elders was in office from September 1993 – December 1994. She was asked to resign due to her controversial views and outspokenness on sex education.

General in the US government of President Bill Clinton (1993 - 2001), urged the three major television networks—CBS, NBC and ABC—to accept condom advertising, saying *“I find it strange that we can advertise beer to the young, but then get nervous when there is talk of something that can save lives.”* However, it took about a year after this statement was made for the networks to agree to advertise condoms on prime time television.

In the mass media, television is the most powerful medium, which is why the audiovisual adverts have done so much better than their print or radio counterparts. Research indicates that women are more tolerant of condom advertising than men are, because they (women) have more at stake. Prevention of unwanted pregnancies was identified as key among these reasons. In the final analysis, condoms protect women, but most men do not wear them, and hence would prefer not to hear (or see advertisements) about them. However, attitudes are gradually changing. Society has come of age; it is therefore time for more aggressive advertising.

The advertising world has long been painted as “*false in tone, tense in pace, vacant and self-hating, overheated and over sexed*” (Fox, 1985)⁷³. In relation to the advertisements under consideration, these very same qualities have effectively worked on various audiences to achieve the desired effect. We are moving away from shooting the messenger to hating the crime. The advertisement – the porter of the message – is no longer vilified. Rather, it is the message that it delivers which is under attack. Various reasons can be postulated for this. Either the effect of the message on the audience might be one of guilt, or inversely, the message itself could be perceived as offensive. This study seeks to propagate the view that advertising can provide a message that is acceptable to both male and female genders, without victimising any group. However, as results will show, this is proving to be a major challenge. Reasons for this are beyond the scope of this study, but relate to audience studies for structural and relational reasons.⁷⁴

⁷³ Fox, S. (1985). *The Mirror Makers*. New York: Vintage Books.

⁷⁴ *Structural* refers to those activities that form part of an individual's ‘normal’ behaviour. *Relational* refers to how the individual interacts with others and the influences that the audiovisuals has on the viewer.

5.2 Social responsibility

Social responsibility is evident with the portrayal of local personalities in the music scene, celebrities⁷⁵ in their own right, as role models. They transmit a vital message to the target age group—*I enjoy the good life because I have a responsible sex life*. However, a major failing in these *celeb* advertisements is that it is not clear that they advocate for the 'B' factor, in keeping to one partner, or if they are more geared towards the 'C' factor as a sign of responsible/safe sex. Some of the lyrics used in the (Trust) adverts suggest that having multiple partners is acceptable as long as one uses a condom. However, the Prezzo advertisement (cf. 4.3) is outstanding in that it is the only one that clearly portrays the celebrity with a single woman, and treating her in a respectful manner.

Most males interviewed were willing to experiment on the basis of the advertisements. These latter offered guidance from among several alternatives, and ultimately, convinced the consumer that in order to live well, to be admired and to be popular, he must use the endorsed condom. Females are enticed to

⁷⁵ Henceforth referred to as '*celebs*'. There is current great debate within the entertainment industry as to what makes a *celeb*, but those that have been used in the advertisements were chosen for their high profile (visibility and recognition) and popularity.

associate with those males that have the attributes of the celebrities. It has been found that girls of 15–24 years of age are more affected by HIV than their male counterparts. For this reason, communication on HIV/AIDS should be geared towards them, in a manner that is palatable to them. As pointed out by Peter Piot⁷⁶, *“Today, the face of AIDS is increasingly young and female... We will not be able to stop this epidemic unless we put women at the heart of the response to AIDS.”*

⁷⁶ Head of UNAIDS, speaking at World AIDS Day, 2004.

Table 5.2: Use of condom with any partner for sexually active males aged 15–24 years

Indicators	Total N=505	Rural N=231	Urban N=274
Behaviour			
ever used a condom with any partner	59.0	25.1	62.8
Opportunity			
social norms (condom use/ risk discussions)	3.2	3.2	3.2
Ability			
self-efficacy (condom use skills)	3.6	3.4	3.8
(condom negotiation skills)	3.4	3.2	3.6
Motivation			
Attitudes	3.2	3.1	3.2
Subjective norms	3.1	3.0	3.1
Exposure			
Seen Trust celebrity advert in the past six months	84.0	72.3	93.8

Note: These tables were generated along the model used by PSI in their abstinence campaigns

Table 5.3: Condom use at last sex with casual partner in the past 12 months (males aged 15–35 years)

Indicators	Total N=203	Rural N=81	Urban N=123
Behaviour			
used a condom with casual partner	65.2	56.3	71.3
Opportunity			
brand appeal	3.6	3.4	3.7
product attributes	3.6	3.5	3.7
Ability			
self-efficacy (condom use skills)	3.7	3.5	3.8
(condom negotiation skills)	3.4	3.3	3.5
trust and caution	2.1	2.1	2.1
Motivation			
subjective norms	3.2	3.1	3.3
external control factors	2.8	2.8	2.8
internal control factors	3.5	3.9	3.6
Exposure			
seen Trust celebrity advert in the past six months	85.8	72.8	94.3

Table 5.4: Condom use at last sex with regular non-co-habiting partner over past 12 months (males aged 15–24 years)

Indicators	Total N=202	Rural N=77	Urban N=123
Behaviour			
used condom with regular non-cohabiting partner	48.5	33.8	57.6
Opportunity			
product attributes	3.6	3.6	3.6
Ability			
knowledge of HIV/AIDS	8.6	8.3	8.7
self-efficacy (condom use skills)	3.7	3.7	3.8
Motivation			
attitudes	3.3	3.4	3.2
subjective norms	3.2	3.3	3.1
Exposure			
seen Trust celebrity advert in the past six months	90.1	79.2	96.8

Table 5.5: Self-efficacy log frame for urban males aged 15–24 years, who had sex in a 6-month period

Indicators	January 2006 N=349	August 2006 N=188
Behaviour		
% who agree or strongly agree with the statement "I could only convince a new partner or a casual partner to use a condom with me"	72.6	67.0
% who agree or strongly agree with the statement "my partner would suspect me of cheating or being a loose person if I wanted to use a condom"	61.6	46.2
% that agree or strongly agree with statement "it is difficult to always have a condom when one needs it"	40.0	17.8

Table 5.6: Exposure to Trust celebrity campaign and use of condom with any partner (males 15-24 years)

Indicators	February 2006 *Levels of exposure		
	No exposure N=78	Some exposure N=206	High exposure N=238
Behaviour			
ever used condom with any partner	44.2	58.7	63.7
Opportunity			
social norms (condom/risk discussions)	2.7	3.0	3.2
Ability			
self-efficacy (condom use skills)	3.2	3.3	3.5
(condom negotiation)	3.0	3.1	3.3
Motivation			
beliefs about condoms	3.0	2.9	3.0
subjective norms	2.9	3.1	2.9

* Levels of exposure computed for an urban sample only.

No exposure = not seen/heard *Trust* celebrity advertising campaign

Some exposure = reported seeing the advertisement in 1-3 different television channels

High exposure = reported seeing the advertisement in 4+ television channels

Since advertising has an explicitly persuasive agenda, along with its implicit one of connecting acquisition of products and services to the good life, it will inevitably be accused of unethical practice by those that disagree with the message. We must manage our advertising such that they become truly utilitarian in our capitalist economy, which proposes the greatest good for the greater number. Population scientists affirm that there are approximately 101.4 males for every 100 females globally. 106.4 males are born for every female. However, although there are more

males than females in every five year age bracket, this changes at the 40–45 years mark. Every age group from 45–50 and older has more females than males.⁷⁷ In Kenya, the figures are close to those given globally, with the July 2009 estimates showing a total population of 39,002,772. Estimates for this country explicitly take into account the effects of excess mortality due to AIDS. This can result in lower life expectancy, higher infant mortality, higher death rates, lower population growth rates, and changes in the distribution of population by age and sex than would otherwise be expected.⁷⁸

Table 5.7: Age structure in Kenya*

Age range	Percentage population	Male/female ratio
0-14 years	42.3%	8,300,393 / 8,181,898
15-64 years	55.1%	10,784,119 / 10,702,999
65 years and over	2.6%	470,218 / 563,145

* These figures are estimates for 2009.

Source: 2009 CIA World Factbook

It has been found that in present-day society, it is generally the female who has the burden of acting as caregiver in homes afflicted by AIDS. It would therefore be useful for advertising to be more geared towards protecting women from

⁷⁷ <http://hubpages.com/hub/What-is-the-male-to-female-population-ratio>

⁷⁸ http://www.theodora.com/wfbcurrent/kenya/kenya_people.html

HIV/AIDS, as apart from being the greater demographic in the later years, they are also the most affected by the scourge. Often children are left in the care of grandparents when their parents suffer from HIV-related ailments. The hypothesis here, therefore, is to use more women in this specific advertising. This will give women something to identify with, and place them (women) in a position of power and control.

Advertising targets the sentiments of hunger, lust and fear. The advertising on HIV/AIDS targets the latter two: *Preventor* condoms adverts focus on lust, while the '*Chukua control*' adverts target fear and self-loathing. Jean Kilbourne, quoted in the *Media Awareness Network*,⁷⁹ indicates that advertisements sell much more than products—they sell values, images, concepts of success and worth, love and sexuality, popularity and normalcy. They tell us who we are and who we should be.

5.3 Female condoms (FC)

The female condom is one that is geared specifically towards women, and should ideally be popularly used as a means for the women to take control of their own

⁷⁹ <http://www.medialit.org/reading-room/article40.html> 'Beauty... and the beast of advertising'

sexuality. It is a polyurethane sheath or pouch about 17 cm (6.5 inches) in length, worn by a woman during sex. It entirely lines the vagina and it helps to prevent pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) including HIV.



Figure 5.1: A female condom

The female condom has been available in Europe since 1992 and it was approved in 1993 by the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA). In Kenya, these have been available since around 1994, at least in limited quantities, although currently, it is more widely available. The female condom carries various brand names in different countries including, FC Female Condom, Reality, Femidom and Care.

A limitation has been seen in advertising, reasons for which are not clear. Very few print adverts are in existence, and none at all on television. The benefits of the FC are mainly in that it provides an opportunity for women to share the responsibility for the use of condoms with their partners. A major advantage is that a woman can use the female condom if her partner refuses to use the male condom. The female

condom will protect against most STDs and pregnancy if used correctly. However, major limitations of the FC are that some women find it difficult to insert and to remove. It has been observed that it has a higher failure rate in preventing pregnancy than other non-barrier methods, due to incorrect usage. Additionally, it is relatively expensive and limited in its availability.

Thus far in the Kenyan market, the female condom has not been popularized, and even among those that are aware of it, it is rarely used as most people are not sure how to use it. What the current advertising lacks is an announcement that clearly explains how to use the FC, and offer testimonials from female *celebs*. Female *celebs* could also be used to endorse the male condom, but this is an avenue that so far remains unexplored.

5.4. Contemporary situation

The history of AIDS advertising in Kenya was largely based on a fear appeal, with images of an emaciated skeletal person, with features of the Grim Reaper⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ A figure commonly used to represent death, the Grim Reaper is a skeleton or solemn-looking man carrying a scythe, who cuts off people's lives as though he were harvesting grain.



Figure 5.2: A Western depiction of Death as a skeleton carrying a scythe.
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grim_Reaper

This may have been an effective way to bring about change in people's behaviour, but it also brought about stigmatisation of those infected by the virus, making them appear as if they were at fault. The fear appeal was also used to highlight the dangers to specific groups, making the target audience afraid of HIV-positive people, seeing them as a danger.

Many will be served if condom adverts lead to 'safer sex' and while doing so, reduce the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) and result in fewer unwanted pregnancies. In the beginning, many people were embarrassed by condom advertising, but as the reality of AIDS hit home, the value of the 'C' in the A-B-C model is gaining currency. Should condom advertising be regulated? Do ethical conflicts exist? These questions can only be answered by a body of the interested parties, under the wider issue of advertising, not simply restricted to

condoms. Various churches have also expressed displeasure on the ethics of promoting activities of which the church disapproves.

5.4.1 Changing attitudes

The most recent advertisements display a shift in attitude. They show parents thinking of how best to approach their children on sexual issues, and vice versa. The adverts also depict friends/peers wondering how to dissuade their friends from promiscuity and unsafe sexual practices. Recent studies have found that early sexual activity is a direct result of lack of sex education and information. This in turn contributes to the spread of HIV and AIDS. By the age of 16, more than 50% of girls in Kenya have lost their virginity. A study carried out by the African Population & Health Research Center (APHRC)/Guttmacher Institute⁸¹ reveals that early initiation in girls is often (60%) a result of a desire to experiment. Close to 20% were forced or somehow coaxed into the act by their partner, while the rest did it in anticipation of gifts. It was noted that girls from poorer households initiated sex earlier than their counterparts from wealthier households. A worrying trend revealed in the study was that over 70% young women and more than 40%

⁸¹ 'Protecting the Next Generation'. Presented at APHRC Open Seminar at the African Union, 2004.

young men did not use a condom in their last sexual act. Condom use is strongly linked to access and relevant knowledge.

The media as a whole gather the audience that advertisers hope to capture. Advertisements have a high appeal because they attract the eye without engaging the mind. Despite being considered as concise, capitalist communications (Lazier-Smith, 1989), advertisements make up the most consistent body of material in the mass media. Advertising manipulates, exploits and controls, with both cognitive and affective results. Cognitive refers to appeals to the rational mind and the intellect, while affective refers to emotional appeals. Advertising is its own force; an institution that turned into an entity. We – as contemporary society – may scoff at adverts, but the reality is that we place advertising on a pedestal, we invite it into our homes and place it on an invisible podium from which we learn and by which we are influenced. As advertising seeks to immediately make contact with the consumer, establishing shared experiences or identification, it veers towards stereotyping. A case of this is given in the 'ZI' ads (see 4.4).

Advertising is said not only to inform the consumer, but also to motivate him by transforming his attitude. The CIP (consumer information processing) model gives a depiction of this process, and entails various stages. In this model, the first stage

is *preconscious encoding*, during which the consumer (viewer) is exposed to information. This entails watching the advertisement. A vague picture is created on the mind, after which *trace activation* occurs. This involves attending to the message received, by thinking, even fleetingly, about the advertisement. This begins the response process which follows on to *conscious encoding*. At this stage, the advertisement is actively remembered and understood. The viewer/consumer experiences the advert and registers certain facts about it.

After this comes the *spectator behaviour* stage. Here, the viewer then places the advertisement in memory, but basically does nothing about it. He appears to be passive about the message transmitted. Often, especially with those that form part of the target group, this stage will logically lead on to *participant behaviour*. At this point, the message is personalised, and the viewer 'sees' himself as directly having a stake in the advertisement. After the message is personalised, it can then be placed in memory—referred to as the *operational memory*—and retrieved when need arises. As the individual exercises thought on the situation/circumstances, the advert becomes an integral part of one's thought processes. This leads to the final stage in the model, the *long-term storage*. At this point, the knowledge that one has from watching the advertisement will affect behaviour.

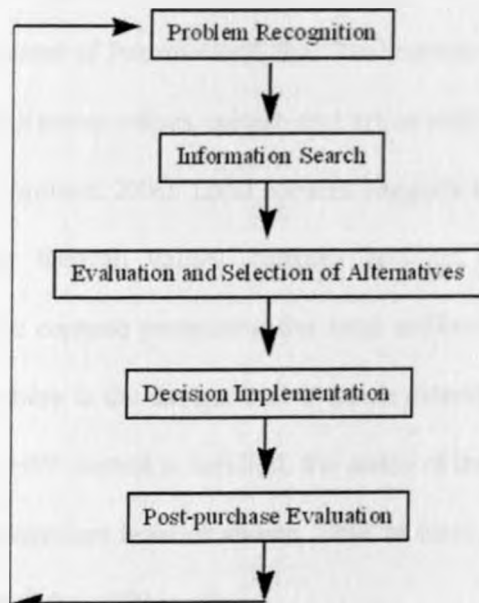


Figure 5.3: A simplified version of the consumer information processing model.
Source: Adapted from Schiffman, L.G. and L.L. Kanuk (1997) and Solomon, M.R. (1996)

The model can thus be used to effectively generate advertisements geared towards long-term behavioural change. McLuhan (1951)⁸², states that *“Effective advertising gains its ends partly by distracting the attention of the reader (read viewer) from presuppositions and by its quiet fusion with other levels of experience.”* Experience is

⁸² McLuhan, M. (1951) *The mechanical bride: folklore of industrial man*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

often linked to the extent to which the advertisement can be identified with. This leads to the issue of using 'local' faces in advertising. It has been suggested by a previous Kenyan Minister of Information⁸³ that local content be extended to infer content that promotes Kenyan values, culture and art, as well as a local perspective on specific content (Maubert, 2006). Local content suggests content that is locally produced, promoting Kenyan values, cultures and art, as well as a local perspective on specific content; promoting the local audiovisual industry. While the idea is laudable, there is the danger that if this is extended to the manner in which advertising on HIV control is handled, the status of the female gender may be reduced to the subservient level of sexism. This, in turn, might interfere with efforts to fight or control the AIDS scourge.

Conversely, Prof. J.K. Galbraith⁸⁴ insists that the public does not need to be prodded into an artificial demand for products they do not need, and which they might be better off without. He holds the view that the advertising industry causes false and unnecessary public needs in an unrealistic value system that synthesizes

⁸³ Honorable Raphael Tuju, 2005.

⁸⁴ Quoted in Stanley and Steinberg, 1976. *The Media Environment: mass communication in American society*.

wants through manipulation and socially harmful methods of persuasive communication. People do not need what they purport to. However, in the context of advertising on HIV control, this view must be rejected out of hand.

Advertising is the medium which stimulates fabricated needs of the production-consumption syndrome that constantly sells goods to keep the economy on the move. It is so deeply entrenched in the economy that it can only change for the better. With the rise of consumer organisations and regulatory codes, standards are bound to improve, with falsehoods and deceptions being weeded out. A more literate and sophisticated audience responds to well-planned advertising campaigns. In wrapping up this section, the recommendation is that the advertising industry must continue to develop high standards of social responsibility and ethics. Media must only accept advertising that meets its high standards of excellence and honesty. The consumer must be alert to false claims and demand that advertising contribute to intelligent choice and informed public opinion.

5.5 The role of television

Television in the Third World does not enjoy great prestige when it comes to research on a global scale, owing to the myriad of crises that the Third World

encounters.⁸⁵ Such crises include population growth, the debt crisis, desertification and disease, which the developed countries feel they are obliged to manage before they move on to such 'frivolous' matters. However, in the Third World itself, television is taken extremely seriously and has been used as a medium to inform, educate and entertain on a large scale.

According to Steadman Research⁸⁶, there are 3.3 million viewers of television in Kenya. The extent and speed at which this sector is developing warrants more than passing attention, hence the focus on televised advertising. It captures a variety of audiences and literary limitations are catered for by the audiovisual aspect. While scientists and others, especially in developed countries may regard television viewing as a casual part-time, in Kenya, television has proven to be a powerful medium of education and information. The past decades have seen major improvements in the way television has been used, and also in its scope. It has

⁸⁵ Consider Maslow's Pyramid, which states that an individual's basic needs must first be met and satisfied before one can think about leisure and entertainment, which fall under self-actualisation. Nevertheless, as long as man continues to develop, the stages in the pyramid hold true and there will always be room for creativity, which falls under self-actualisation.

⁸⁶ The Steadman Group, a leading market research and media monitoring company, was founded in 1983. Steadman is well known for opinion polling, market research, media monitoring in Kenya and six other African countries.

also been observed that the Kenyan society appears to place great trust in the media and accepts its views as gospel truth.

A pattern seems to be emerging in which social change resulting from television viewing is evident in Third World countries. While radio remains a lot more popular due its affordability, portability and accessibility, one cannot deny the growing dominant power of television in our daily lives. Low purchasing power, however, has not impeded the spread of television ownership. A new television culture is starting to take shape in many parts of the Third World, with the interesting development that it is more committed to the local culture in content and style.

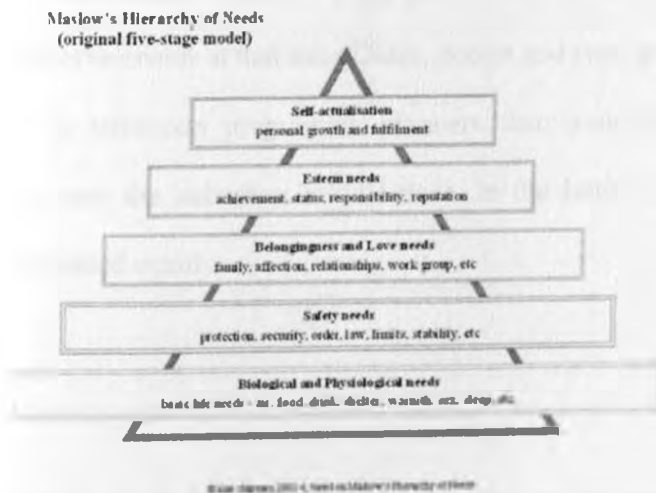


Figure 5.4: Abraham Maslow's Pyramid.

This puts to rest the question of a 'cultural invasion' (Berwanger, 1987)⁸⁷ as the advertisements in this study have displayed. The trend to use 'real' people stems from the fact that viewers are more receptive to advertisements that they can identify with. Local people are used in this new technology to transmit a local message. The advertisements often tell us what we already know – they simply say it better.

An advertiser generally seeks programmes which appeal to the most economically active viewers, using the slots before, between and after the television show to promote his products. The economically active are people with money, people with changeable buying habits, and people who need the product. Therefore, prime time viewing is aimed at the 18–49 age group, hence the choice of airing the AIDS control advertisements at that time. Older, poorer and rural people are much less important to television programme planners than young-to-middle-aged urban dwellers, and the suburban middle-class. In the land of television, all viewers are not created equal.

⁸⁷ Berwanger, D. (1987). *Television in the Third World: new technology and social change*. Bonn: Freidrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

As television audiences are pluralistic in nature, controls are therefore needed. Additionally, advertisers recognise that for certain audiences to be reached, more money might have to be spent, for example, buying slots during prime-time. The *'I'm too young'* and *'A real lady waits'* adverts, for instance, are shown before 7 p.m. They are aimed at the target of 10-19 years age-group, who are peers of the actors in the adverts. These adverts are aired mainly around popular music shows such as *H₂O* and *The Beat*, watched by adolescents and teenagers. Advertisement messages are expected to be presented in an honest, responsible and tasteful manner (The TV Code, USA). Furthermore, it is recommended that advertising messages be presented with courtesy and good taste.⁸⁸ Therefore, even where a message is intended to be hard-hitting, certain boundaries should be adhered to especially considering the generally conservative nature of older Kenyan viewers. Nevertheless, parents must not abdicate their role in monitoring what their offspring are exposed to on television.

Television was introduced in Kenya in 1963 by a consortium of British, Canadian and US interests. The 'shopping centre' syndrome in rural areas has taken on a new dynamic, where people meet to watch television (especially the local news),

⁸⁸ TV Code, Section X, Article 1.

rather than gather to share local gossip. Advertising experts, along with politicians and commercial public analysts are the only ones who can claim to be certain that television aimed at specific target groups for specific purposes is effective (Berwanger, 1987). The net effect of advertising on behaviour change cannot be readily measured, although hypotheses can be drawn. Interviews with marketing managers revealed that their only yardstick for measuring the effectiveness of their advertisement campaigns is through the volume of sales of condoms. This did not seem an adequate answer to this researcher, but it nevertheless is the gauge of measurement that has been taken up and used in their reports. Further research by the originators of the advert would be required, but it all boils down to a question of finance. It is still unclear what the demographics are, what proportions of the sexes are purchasers, and if the condoms are actually used. Allusions are made from the reports of stock movement, and it is assumed that those people that buy the condoms intend to actually use them.

5.5.1 The masses

The mass is represented by people who participate in mass behaviour. Its membership may come from all social strata and it comprises anonymous individuals with little interaction or exchange between them. The mass is loosely organised and lacks the concerted action or unity of the crowd. As such, television

viewers qualify as a mass audience, rather than a crowd. Their object of interest can therefore not be effectively communicated among themselves. The members act separately as individuals and hence the varied responses to the advertisements in question.

The viewers can therefore be qualified as having no social organisation, no body of custom or tradition, no established set of rules, no organised group of sentiments, no status roles and no established leadership. As a mass, their behaviour is homogenous. In contrast to one in a crowd, the member of a mass is capable of acting in response to the object of his attention and on the basis of impulses aroused by it. He responds to his own needs. When mass behaviour becomes organised, it ceases to be mass behaviour. Advertising targets an anonymous individual—directly from the advertisement to the prospective purchaser/respondent.

5.5.2 Public relations

A public is a natural spontaneous grouping with no traditions or culture dictating its actions and only comes into existence due to an issue. It is marked by the fact of disagreement and hence discussion on action that it should take. Conflict relations exist as opposed to a crowd that acts unanimously. For any meaningful discussion to occur, there must be a universe of discourse—a common

language or understanding of fundamental terms. Public opinion varies from the highly emotional and prejudiced, to the highly intelligent and thoughtful. It is not necessarily the opinion of the majority. Public opinion nevertheless moves towards a decision, and is therefore rational but need not be intelligent.

The advertising on AIDS control involves, to a large measure, elements of public relations. This implies that persuasive communication on behaviour change is sent out for the express purpose of influencing public opinion and galvanizing the target group into action. Man the communicator is also man the persuader. From as far back as the Roman Empire (*Acta Diurna*)⁸⁹ to the church in the Middle Ages, and further still to the 19th century missionaries, public relations was designed to create a consensus of thought and action. Correctly handled, publicity and propaganda can be transformed into a form of public relations that develops a healthy respect for public opinion. Media and competition is used for public affirmation.

⁸⁹ This is Latin for 'daily acts', which were daily official notices from the Roman Empire. They were carved on stone or metal, and presented in message boards in public places.

5.5.3 Leadership

Leaders are often engaged in consolidating their position as all leaders hate to resign. Every leader is to some extent a propagandist, as he has control over the information diffused to the rank and file. He is the holder of public opinion as it is believed that he has access to better sources of information. Lipmann (1932) suggests that we should create our own social reality. He describes this phenomenon as the "*pictures in our heads*". Modern society has been said to be intrinsically insecure because it is based on the notion that all men will do the same thing for different reasons. To expect that all men will for all time go on thinking different things and yet do different things is a doubtful speculation. Each man will perceive his own reality.

Propaganda is the effort to alter the picture to which men respond; it substitutes one social effort for another. The pictures inside the heads of individuals, the picture of themselves, and of others, of their needs, purposes and relationships are their public opinions. Human nature tends to pick out what his culture has defined for him and tends to perceive what he has picked out in the form stereotyped for him by his culture. Stereotyped shapes come from our moral codes and our social philosophies and political agitations. In untrained observation, we pick out recognisable signs from the environment. The signs stand for ideas and these are

filled with our store of images. This goes back to the notion of man creating his own social reality. Our preconceptions govern the whole process of perception.

5.5.4 Social order

It is difficult for members of any social order to question it, and not regard it as necessary for the continued functioning of social life. Social structures also make some kinds of thinking and knowing easier than others (Epstein, 1988). Most significantly, though, is the fact that gender distinctions are a basic element in the creation of the social order. These distinctions have been stratified, with men at higher ranks—men therefore have a stake in justifying and continuing the status quo. Challenges to a social order do not typically come from those who benefit from its arrangements. Mary Douglas (1988) puts it well in her declaration that *“a social order generates its patterns of values, commits the hearts of its members and creates a myopia which certainly seems to be inevitable.”* Whether consciously or not, from the moment gender distinctions were made, the social order generated a system of thought that legitimised gender inequality. Societies make men and women unequal or different by giving them different education and work. When they do the same work, we say they do it differently; when they accomplish the same goals, we say they have not. It is important to put the missing women back into the analyses of social life.

The parallel here with the advertisements that have been covered in this study is unambiguous. Epstein's work (1988) distinctly applies to the Kenyan situation in which the women are absent in taking the lead in HIV control; the advertisements do not have testimonials from the women, rather, the women are objectified as being subject to the man who is in control, the man who carries the condom. It is from such instances that stereotypes are formed. The damsel in distress or the dumb blonde syndrome has remained a popular, albeit stereotyped mode of displaying male superiority over the female and on social issues.

However, social movements can be a vehicle through which social change can be used effectively to mobilize women in particular, to engage in activities geared towards change of attitude and thus create behaviour change. Behavioural studies⁹⁰ have consistently found that knowledge about the consequences, causes and methods of prevention of HIV infection is necessary but insufficient to stimulate behaviour change. This is where social movements can step in to advance their cause. Being a loosely organised body, social movements have more latitude in result-oriented change and have ingeniously used their informality to

⁹⁰ Fishbein and Guinan, 1996; Kirby, 1985.

establish a new order of life. A present-day example would be the 'True Love Waits'⁹¹ and 'What Would Jesus Do - WWJD' campaigns.⁹²

5.5.5 Stereotyping

Stereotypes act like codes that give audiences a quick, common understanding of a person or group of people—usually relating to their class, ethnicity or race, gender, sexual orientation, social role or occupation. Stereotypes may be so consistently and authoritatively transmitted in each generation from parent to child that it almost seems like a biological fact. Our opinions cover more than we can directly observe therefore they must be pieced together from what others have repeated and what we can imagine. Even eyewitness accounts are often transfigured by the selective reproduction of events. As quoted by Lipmann (1976), "*the facts we see depend on where we are placed, and on the habits of our eyes.*" For the most part, we define before we see, which means that we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and tend to perceive what we pick out in the form

⁹¹ See Chapter Three, section 3.1.2.

⁹² *What Would Jesus Do* became a personal motto popularised in the 1990s in the United States. It was used by Christians as a reminder of their belief that Jesus is the example to follow in daily life and to act in a manner in which Jesus would approve.

stereotyped for us by our culture.⁹³ In untrained observation, we pick out recognizable signs from the environment. These signs stand for ideas, which we then fill out with our stock of images. There is economy and convenience in stereotypes—to see all things freshly and in detail is time-consuming and exhausting.

Photos have an authority over imagination in that they come to us directly and are effortless food for the mind. More so, with the televised image, observing, describing, reporting and then imagining is accomplished for the viewer and his picture of the event/situation is almost permanently linked to the screened image. *“Until we are able to discount the difference in nurture, we must withhold judgement about differences of nature”* (Lipmann, 1976).

It is important to recognise the character of the stereotypes and the gullibility with which we employ them. Photographs and audiovisuals have the kind of authority over imagination which the printed and spoken word and in earlier

⁹³ Compare the incident staged at the Congress of Psychology in Göttingen, Germany. In this case, the reports given by trained observers (40), resulted in 10 false, 24 half-legendary, 6 approximating the exact evidence. Only one report had less than 20% mistakes. The majority therefore saw an event that had not occurred, due to the stereotype in their mind of such a brawl.

times exerted. The former provide effortless food for the mind. Stereotypes may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture of a possible world to which we are adapted. Our stereotyped world is not necessarily the world we would like it to be—it is simply the kind of world we would expect it to be. The current version of a situation or principle is distributed among men and affects their behaviour. In all stereotypes there is a point at which effort ceases and things happen of their own accord. This principle can effectively be endorsed to cultivate a certain reality in viewers of advertisements such that certain images are instinctively associated with certain things. Advertising should generate positive images in their stereotypes. The advantage of a stereotype is that it not only saves time in a busy life, but tends to preserve us from the bewildering effect of trying to see a whole world. According to Kenneth Burke (1935), *"a way of seeing is also a way of not seeing—a focus upon object A involves a neglect of object B."*

However, stereotypes can be problematic. They can:

- reduce a wide range of differences in people to simplistic categorizations
- transform assumptions about particular groups of people into 'realities'
- be used to justify the position of those in power
- perpetuate social prejudice and inequality

More often than not, the groups being stereotyped have little to say about how they are represented. Role theory can help explain how 'female' and 'male' roles create not only behaviour but 'personality'. The theory considers most of daily so-called 'normal' activity to be living up to the roles or expectations of others. It suggests that people spend much of their lives in groups, and within these groups, people often take distinct positions. It is these positions that are described as roles, and have functions moulded by the expectations of others. Using this information, we can deduce that there need not be any reason for the great male-female divide; the stereotypes are merely creations of our own imagination and socialisation.

5.6 Televised advertising

What role, therefore, does advertising play? Advertising can attempt to shift the balance by showing male and female as equals in the responsibility factor when it comes to HIV control. The '*Nina Fanya Nini Sasa*' advertisements have attempted to do this, as have the more recent '*Fungua Roho Wako – Ongea*', which not only show mother and daughter, but also two female friends. However, as earlier pointed out, these advertisements stop short of openly speaking to each other. The individuals display the fears that people have about talking about the HIV control message. It is unclear what reasons exist for this reticence. Perhaps AIDS is still anathema among adults; adolescents may be doing a better job with peer education than the

older generation. If this is true, policy makers should consider further education and advertising aimed at the younger generation, in order to have the message rooted in them early, and thus be more effective in the long run. This does not in any way suggest a fatalistic attitude towards adults. Those in the latter group would need a different approach in educating them on the HIV control message. This research found that the televised advertising was unappealing to adults that were married or in long-term relationships.

The popularity and widespread appeal of television in Kenya seems to justify the assumption that its potential for social change deserves more than passing attention. However, technological modernity is no guarantee of success—and television adverts may not in the end be an adequate tool for behaviour change. Nevertheless, consumerism is definitely improved by television advertising.

The demand for information is great in the Third World, the supply too limited. Radio has not sufficiently filled the gap as would have been expected, perhaps due to being too abstract and not 'visual' enough for an audience with little formal education. Television has given broadcasting a second chance. Dissenayake (1985) summed up the importance of TV saying "*television is increasingly coming to*

dominate the lives of people of the Third World ... we would be astounded by its impact on the thought, imagination and lifestyles of the people."

Advertising is an expensive business. If a life-saving message is to be sent out in our advertising on HIV control measures, and at such great expense, the least one could do is to ensure that stereotypes are not perpetuated and that women, as a 'minority' group, are empowered. Advertising must not go beyond the boundaries of good sense and good manners. One must be careful in the globalisation of adverts so as not to offend, irritate or intrude—without the extreme where the authorities are compelled to pass laws against them. The consumer is the final judge of the effect the advertisement has on him; good or bad, moral or immoral. He is not defenceless in the face of persuasion, nor is he subjected to brute force.

CHAPTER SIX

VI. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

VI.1. Summary

The following part of the thesis summarizes the findings of the study. It discusses the main results of the research, the conclusions drawn from the data, and the implications of the findings. The study has shown that there is a significant relationship between the variables investigated. The results suggest that the independent variable has a positive effect on the dependent variable. This finding is consistent with previous research in the field. The study also identified some limitations and areas for future research. It is recommended that further studies be conducted to explore the underlying mechanisms of the observed relationships. The findings of this study have important implications for practice and theory. They provide valuable insights into the complex phenomenon being studied. The results can be used to inform decision-making and to develop more effective interventions. Overall, the study has contributed to the understanding of the topic and has provided a solid foundation for further research.

CHAPTER SIX

6. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Major findings

"There is nothing good or bad, but thinking makes it so"

- Hamlet -

Education is an important component in preventing the spread of HIV. It should be an on-going process as in each successive generation, a new generation of people become adult and require education on how to protect themselves from infection. The older generations, who hopefully have been already educated, may need to have the message reinforced, and should be kept informed so that they can protect themselves and in turn, inform the younger. An advertisement in more recent times depicts a father and his son, where the father wonders how to speak to his son about (safe) sex, while on the other hand, the son is shown wondering how he would tell his father that he uses a condom each time he has sex, but he doesn't know how to get the words out. This emphasizes the importance of sexual education, the role of parents and the vital necessity of being open with each other.

The study revealed that what is missing in the advertising is a portrayal of HIV+ people, enabling and empowering them to improve their quality of life. The VCT advertisements have taken a step in this direction, but they stop at the testimonial of living a happy life as a couple. This can be pushed further by using real life testimonies in real situations, showing what quality of life can be achieved. My findings revealed that advertising cannot cause behaviour change, although it can promote consumerism.

6.2 Female roles

Television adverts tend to assign roles to women – maternal, housekeeping and aesthetic – and to be flagrantly discriminative of the female gender. A case in point is the celebrities' adverts for *Trust* condoms. No female celebrities have been used to propagate the message; no females have been seen demanding the use of condoms by their sexual partners. This clearly subscribes to the school of thought as described above – in advertising, females merely have an aesthetic prop role and are obviously discriminated against. Their needs are not paramount; rather, their value is seen through the men they associate with. This propagates the idea that women have a submissive and dependent role. They are depicted as less powerful, less authoritative and less decisive. The responses from the questionnaires testifies to this fact as they indicated a lack of bargaining power by

the women; a portrayal of them as weak, or even worse, irrelevant. This was emphasized by the dearth of them in the advertisements.

As society evolves, this stereotyping on television will be obliged to change. In contemporary Kenyan society, women are increasingly becoming the breadwinners; they head commercial enterprises, they are decision-makers and they have more all-round societal impact. This brings us to a modification of the central question in this thesis: *Does contemporary advertising accurately reflect the status of women today?*

To be a woman in today's society is to pay a price. Women generally own and manage relatively few mass media institutions and generally lack the economic resources to establish their own in significant numbers. If this were to change, the tone of programming and advertising might also change. However, in the absence of substantial cases to study, no conjecture can be made at this point. In advertising for condoms, the woman must not be depicted as a subordinate. Such a depiction suggests that her social role is to be violated and dominated and this appears to be done with her consent. Clearly, the subjugation principle persists.

Present day society is one in which inequalities are rampant and where the male person in media and entertainment still has the upper hand. The immediately

obvious solution would be to provide an "equal opportunity" future. This would entail providing more opportunities for women in the workplace, and treating them like their male counterparts. The women would be portrayed in more diverse and less sexual ways. However, Raskow (1989)⁹⁴ suggests that women should **transform** the existing situations. Changing from within a system will require change-oriented women, working together. Further, she suggests **activism** as a means of transforming communication systems. This means supporting and creating our own media to reach more women; challenging the "rights" of broadcasters/newspapers to air what they please. Feminization of the media can be given a positive connotation if one commits to collective social change. Social movements can be useful under these circumstances. Added to this, education should play a key role.

The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979) states:

Discrimination against women shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the

⁹⁴ Rakow, Lana, F. (1989). 'A bridge to the future: revisioning gender in communication', in P.J. Creedon (ed.), *Women in mass communication: challenging gender values*. California: Sage Publications Inc.

recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field.

Women: challenges to the year 2000 (1991), UN, New York.

In the light of this statement, the advertising under discussion would appear to be in contravention of the convention. As further affirmed by the UN, “*Sex stereotyping ... is among the most firmly entrenched obstacles to the elimination of discrimination and is largely responsible for the denigration of the role and potential of women in society*” (UN, 1991). Our advertising reflects this, and if this statement were to be taken seriously by advertisers, they would realise the error in their well-intentioned promoting of ‘responsible’ behaviour.

6.2.1 Subjugation or reality?

An advertisement⁹⁵, marking the turning point on advertising about condoms in Kenya gives a good example of how the youth use incidents on television to negotiate their own role within the family, and discuss issues that might otherwise be considered taboo (Hobson, 2004)⁹⁶. The target group for this *Trust* condom

⁹⁵ This advertisement was first aired about five years ago, and is here included simply for comparison purposes. It was the onset of open advocacy for the use of condoms.

⁹⁶ Hobson, D. (2004) ‘Everyday people, everyday life. British teenagers, soap operas and reality TV’, in C. von Feutzen, *Young people, soap operas and reality television*

advert is the 18-25 age range. The advertisement depicts a good-looking young man hopping off a train. He then comes to the rescue of a young woman who has just dropped and split open her water bottle. He uses a condom to seal off the broken bottle, then calmly saunters off, to the starry-eyed admiration of the girl and her friend.

This advertisement has various messages in it— young men who are ‘with it’ always have a condom; they can do ‘the right thing’ for young ladies who need rescuing. An additional message is how easy it is to wear a condom, as the young man demonstrates by putting it on the bottle. However, the question here is, ‘is the female gender not capable of quick thinking?’ The females are depicted as damsels in distress, the dumb blonde of Butler-Paisley’s (1974) sexism scale. Ironically, this advertisement was a success among the younger (male) end of the spectrum, who found the actions of the male actor appealing, while the females found him attractive. The general conclusion, therefore, was that the males all wanted to be that man, while the females wanted to be ‘rescued’ by him!

Compare this, on the other hand, with a more recent advert that shows a mother and her daughter having a conversation. This genre of advertisements is what has

been described as the '*fungua roho yako*'⁹⁷ adverts within this study. They advocate for openness between parents and their children, on matters that are not openly discussed. It is a typical family scene, where the mother and daughter prepare a meal together, while the daughter's boyfriend entertains the younger siblings outside. The significance of this advert is that it encourages mother and daughter to open up to each other and speak frankly about matters of sexuality.

However, as is often the case in contemporary Kenya, mothers and daughters are not in the habit of speaking openly to each other, especially on sexual issues. The advert goes into freeze mode, showing the mother's and daughter's separate thoughts about what they would like to share with each other. This is an excellent advertisement, as it targets two separate generations, speaking about responsible sexual behaviour. It is also realistic as it shows what present-day Kenyan society is like, with parents and their adult children not speaking frankly with each other. Viewers may be convinced by this genre of advertisements to make attempts towards being forthright with each other about their worries on matters of sexuality and HIV control measures.

⁹⁷ Open up your heart.

6.3 Young people

A study on Punjabi youth living in London (Hobson, 2004) showed that what the youth watched on television influenced their behaviour. Similar trends can be seen with the manner in which youth in Kenya identify with the advertisements that they watch on television. They 'see' themselves in the drama and identify with the characters therein. My research has indicated that young teenage girls of about 13 to 15 years of age are oriented towards celebrities and heavily influenced by their actions. This is the reasoning that provided the justification for using 'celebs' to promote *Trust* condoms.

The responses to the adverts depended on the age group interviewed. 15 to 19 year olds liked the idea of mirrored messages ("if *Nameless* uses a condom, why not me?"). The 20 to 24 year olds were attracted to the idea of openness on condom use, but the appeal was the use of condoms as prevention against STIs, HIV and pregnancy. The use of a 'celeb' was irrelevant to this group.

This genre of advertising studied could be termed 'reality' advertising, as they tell stories that one can relate to in real life. Young people watch television specifically to be entertained, and this carries on to advertising as infotainment. The more entertaining the advert, the greater the likelihood of it being remembered. Mass

media is a major part of young people's lives and its importance cannot be gainsaid. Ultimately, the audience makes its own reading of the media form.

The youth generally take advice from their peers so using this group to pass on the HIV control message would prove more effective than teacher-pupil advice. The 'Nime Chill' and 'I'm Too Young' advertisements that use adolescents as the protagonists are a case in point. The advertisements are targeted at the 10 to 15 year-old age-group, therefore it is effective to use their peers to pass on the abstinence message to them. My research further indicated that this age-group is sexually active and in fact, openly watch each other having sex. Peer pressure plays a large part in the acquired habits of these young people, therefore using a group of the same age to convey a morally positive message is a laudable idea.

6.3.1 Is television good for children?

Television may provide experiences for children that are valuable and this aspect should be preserved and extended. The effect of television on children depends on what sort of programmes they are watching, how these shows are made and the child's state of mind. As much study and research as has been put

into books should be put into the study of television if its benefits are to be fully exploited (Messenger Davies, 1989)⁹⁸.

Television is not all-powerful; its impact depends on how it is used, or not, and even, on how it is abused. TV can provide examples of life situations; it can give idea for play and satisfy some curiosity for knowledge. However, television cannot think for children, neither can it play for them. As a domestic medium viewed in the home, it has been accused of corrupting the less educated and of destroying and corrupting generations of children in an unprecedented manner. This point of view is outrageous and unduly harsh on the medium, when one considers what diverse influences children are exposed to within their communities, or from the internet. My opinion is that television has been unjustly vilified and not been given a fair chance to defend itself.

⁹⁸ Messenger Davies, M. (1989). *Television is good for your kids*. London: Hilary Shipman.
Messenger Davies, M. (1989). *Television is good for your kids*. London: Hilary Shipman.

'Cultural pessimists'⁹⁹ are convinced that television reduces standards of literacy, artistic appreciation and other expressions of cultural excellence. In their view, television is bad because it attacks the values of civilized society. The other group holds the view that 'television is bad for your health'; it makes children passive or hyperactive, violent or moronic, anti-social and overweight. The paradox is that television has been seen to do the exact opposite – open up vistas of possibilities and indicates an alternative life.

Television is unlikely to have the capacity to override the influence of family and community. Its influence—which advertisers rely on—is strongest when it is going in the direction the viewer wants it to follow. Significant is the fact that as a whole, advertisements appeal to children for their entertainment value rather than the product itself. Humour, an amusing story and clever effects are what appealed the most, therefore the advertisements that are effective in persuading children (to buy) are those that are realistic, give accurate product information and do not mislead.

⁹⁹ A cultural pessimist is one who believes that today's culture is inferior to yesterday's culture. It runs parallel to the argument that today's youth is less moral than yesterday's youth. This pessimism scorns new media and developments in art and culture.

It should be accepted that children over eight years of age are intelligent enough to recognise that advertisements are 'not true' and understand their persuasive intent. They (children) may enjoy and appreciate them, but have a degree of scepticism towards the adverts.

6.4 Communication results

The effectiveness of a communication is assumed to depend largely upon who delivers the message, which means that the communicator must be a credible source of information. A striking personality and effective speaker who holds the attention of an audience can increase the likelihood of being listened to attentively leading to high consideration of the message (new opinion). The individual tends to accept the communication from a given source depending on how well-informed and intelligent one believes the source to be. It depends on the level of expertise on the subject and trustworthiness. Key aspects here are age, leadership and similarity of social background.

Table 6.1: Effects of high and low credibility sources on evaluating effectiveness of advertisements

Advertisement	High credibility		Low credibility	
	Number	%	Number	%
Nameless	15	42.85	20	57.15
Prezzo	18	75	6	25
Kleptomaniax	17	40.47	25	59.53
Deux Vultures	25	83.3	5	16.7

Source: research findings

Opinion change generally occurred after testimonials from highly credible sources. To the extent that the recipient can dissociate source from message, the acceptance of the message will be independent of the source. The manner in which opinions are formed follows the C-E-R format as follows:

(C) *Content cues*: the viewer identifies with the advertisement, thinking "this could happen to me!"

(E) *Emotional reaction*: varied responses are seen in this instance. It is a learning process as the individual seeks to deal with the feelings aroused by the advertisement

(R) *Reassuring recommendation*: the individual is reassured that the situation can be handled / controlled

Table 6.2: Rating of selected advertisements

Advertisement	Strong appeal	Moderate appeal	Minimal appeal
*No. of respondents			
Nameless	15	12	13
Prezzo	18	10	12
Kleptomaniax	4	10	26
Deux Vultures	20	10	10

* total number of respondents = 40

6.4.1 Fear (threat) appeals

The two main factors that influence the effectiveness of threat appeals are factors that successfully arouse emotional tension (E), and factors that allow rehearsal and reinforcement of the reassuring recommendations in the message (R).

A vague unknown threat may result in more anxiety than a concrete known one. High fear appeals that are graphically descriptive do not have the desired effect on a sophisticated audience. They might find the content exaggerated to the point of being laughable. Such persons will only be convinced when the threat is impersonal and objective.

Emotional appeals generally use highly sentimentalised language to play up various threats. Motives aroused by the appeals in persuasive communication may differently affect three factors:

1. attention to verbal content of communication.
2. understanding of the message
3. acceptance of the conclusions advocated by the persuasive communication.

Increased incentive to the three aforementioned factors could account for the effectiveness of any given motivating appeal. 'Threat appeals' are those that allude to unfavourable consequences that are alleged to result from failure to adopt the communicator's conclusions. This may cause extreme apprehension and upset the receiver. "*When fear is learned as a response to a new situation, it serves as a drive to motivate trial-and-error behaviour. A reduction in the strength of the fear reinforces the learning of any new response that accompanies it.*" (Dollard and Miller, 1950)¹⁰⁰. It is however not clear what is the instigating factor in fear appeals—whether it increases incentive to try out new ideas or if it leads one to consider the implications of the message. Such an appeal may influence the way in which content is understood and interpreted. An individual's response will attempt to alleviate the unpleasant emotions evoked by the threat.

¹⁰⁰ Dollard J. and Miller, N.E. (1950). *Personality and psychotherapy*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

6.4.2 Synthesis

Advertising may therefore influence a wide range of persons whose attitudes may be changed resulting in increased revenue for the production company or in reducing overhead costs. The effect of advertising on the sale of condoms for instance, is measured by:

- Getting people to fill in coupons
- Interviewing a panel of consumers on their purchasing habits before and after watching the advert
- Observation of consumers
- Measurement of retail stock
- Analysis of suppliers' sales records

The effect on attention is measured by:

- The number of people reached by the adverts
- Remembering, recall, recognition and reproduction of adverts

However, these methods have been criticised in that they are an additional cost that might not be worth the while. The amount of effort expended might also be inversely proportional to results, which may merely confirm known truths.

Additionally, measurements of consumer reaction are universally applicable and the research may not be helpful or relevant, but rather, both harmful and wasteful.

The concept of 'selective perception' might come into play in that users of a product may notice it more than non-users. In measuring effects of advertising, speed is of essence as market factors are in a state of flux and opportunities may be

lost in research time. And finally, the cost of large-scale advertising research affects the relationship between the advertiser and the advertising agent.

6.5 Why advertise?

This study has found that advertising does not create the market—it is already in existence, waiting to be found. So why advertise at all? Advertising is done to increase and maintain sales, as well as build up a brand image for products or for the sponsor company. Advertising conveys a change in the company's image, opens up new markets and forces the company into a saturated market. Clever advertising can induce the public to try almost anything—but the product must appeal to the would-be consumer. In general, advertisers are considered the new bogeymen of our time—they coerce us, and persuade us in a subtle manner, into making purchases that we might not have considered before.

Advertising rarely works alone, it just one means of stimulating and maintaining sales. It may also complement and compete with others. There is interdependence in advertising, design, packaging, price and market research. Advertising works best for a firm sailing with the wind, but in the final analysis, the product must be worth the advertising. The first principle of wisdom in advertising is that one must recognise what it can do and what it cannot. Discriminatively used, it is a

necessary part of efficient marketing in a modern competitive economy, based on consumer choice, rapid product innovation and production in anticipation of demand.

Advertising stimulates the sales of a good product and accelerates the destruction of a bad product. To make a claim which the product does not possess merely increases the frequency with which the consumer observes its absence.

- Alfred Politz -

Does advertising seek to satisfy the seven deadly sins of lust, avarice, sloth, pride, anger, envy and gluttony? Or does it target fear? The answer to this is clear – the underlying factor in the seven deadly sins is fear (of want, of hunger, of the unknown). The *Preventor* and *Raha* advertisements, mentioned in Chapter 4, target lust; the *Trust - Nina fanya nini sasa* advertisements aim at feelings of fear and self-loathing. A moderate fear appeal is likely to be most effective as opposed to a high fear appeal, which may result in the target group being paralysed with fear and hence lead to inaction. On the contrary, a low fear appeal may be ignored.

Getting one's attention is not enough – the individual must be sufficiently induced to try the product. Findings in this study have revealed that the more of a news item an advertisement appeared to be, the more effective it tended to be. Research from various quarters (including this study) has also proved that people who

recalled adverts did not necessarily use the products advertised; those that acted on the advertisements did not necessarily remember them. Choice was therefore more closely linked to with the attitude of the consumer to the product, and further adverts were most likely to induce the consumer to the product if it displayed a characteristic of service or interest to the consumer.

6.5.1 Measuring the effects of advertising

For advertising to be considered effective, it must add more to revenue than to costs, thus resulting in enlarged profit margins. In a nutshell, it must contribute to more sales. An effective advertisement also draws the consumer's attention to the product and persuades him/her to try it. Effective selling requires a product that consumers want, matched by advertising that effectively draws their attention to it (the product). What people may remember may predispose them against a product or service as well as in favour of it.

6.5.1.1 Effect of advertising on profit

The relationship between expenditure on advertising and profits is a difficult one to measure—it is more significant when considering a single product company. Advertising for one product may also affect favourably or adversely other products of the same company. Advertising may therefore influence a wide

range of persons whose attitudes may be changed so that the company as a whole is assisted in increasing revenue or reducing cost.

6.5.1.2 *Measuring the effect on attention*

Attention is measured simply by the number of people reached by the advertisements. The impact of the advertisement is revealed by measuring how well it is remembered, recalled, recognised and reproduced.

Viewers use television as an escape from reality (Macinado-Barges, 2004)¹⁰¹. Would this suggest that advertising is considered unreal? Is the message lost in the various distractions of the silicon form? Television helps people gain access to information that is otherwise unequally distributed. It translates unknown situations and milieux into recognisable events and places. This offers viewers a cognisable basis for understanding and living within a complex and unequal Third World reality. While poorer viewers watch advertisements in the hope of 'transferring' to themselves the desirable attributes of being interesting, intelligent and seductive, the middle class viewers principally seek pleasure, leisure, information and use these to reinforce or improve their position in society.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in von Feutzen, C. (2004).

Most (urban) young people are media-savvy, because they have grown up with television as part of the furniture in their homes. Sophisticated television watchers relate to drama that tells stories about individuals that overcome hardship. Reality programmes basically inform viewers about a variety of issues. Information is presented in an entertaining manner. Television is primarily viewed for entertainment, and not for learning. However, the latter might just be a secondary effect unless dealing with older viewers. As younger adults are still in the process of gathering information about how to conduct themselves in various social situations, cues can be picked up from television programmes that reflect their peers. This translates to advertising, in that the behaviour one picks up from the actors can then be transferred to real life situations.

Consider the Trust celebrities testimonials; these use people that are admired by the target group (15–24 years), which is then able to imitate their behaviour. In the VCT advertisements, the couples shown are 'normal' people, targeting young adults of 25 to 35 years. The focus of the advertisements is on being faithful to one's partner, and finding out one's seropositive status. These display real-life situations, and how to act in the various situations. An example of real life situations, which, however, twists the original concept of the condom idea, is seen in the advertisement for Preventor condoms, as described in Case 4.1.

6.6 Conclusions

Persuasion falls short of blatant coercion by relying on the power of verbal and non-verbal symbols. It is indirect coercion. According to Miller (1980)¹⁰², persuasion relies primarily on symbolic strategies which trigger the emotions of the target group, while conviction, on the other hand, is accomplished primarily by using strategies rooted in logical proof and which appeal to the target's reason and intellect. Conviction derives its power from people's rationality while persuasion caters to one's irrational nature.

We must, therefore, seek to create advertisements that are geared towards convincing as the message is more likely to be retained and be better understood. The principle of cognitive behaviour supports this assertion, as it suggests the ability to judge and reason effectively, with a perception of one's surroundings. An example is an advertising executive who, based on awareness and thoughts, derives the content of an advertisement or promotion for a product line.

¹⁰² Miller, G.R. (1980). 'On being persuaded: some basic distinctions', in M.E. Roloff and G.R. Miller (eds.), *Persuasion: new directions in theory and research*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications Inc (pp. 11-28).

Persuasion can be a response shaping process. This would be most effective for those with limited information or in situations where radically new stimuli have been introduced. The initial HIV 'skull-and-bones' advertisements had a positive effect on the more educated classes, as they were shocking, and introduced a previously unknown concept. This also works with conditioning a child's response. In general, the target will be persuaded to the extent that it perceives the maintenance of an important value.

Persuasion can also be a response-reinforcing process. A truth that one already acknowledges is reinforced by the message in a given advert. For example, in the *Preventor* advertisement, the target group has an affinity for information that supports their beliefs, and thus the success of the advertisement. The reinforcement function of the media, as stated by Katz and Lazarsfeld (1955) refers to information that makes a message more forcible or convincing. They found that media's principal effect was to reinforce people in their already existing attitudes, rather than produce new ones. The general finding was that individuals mostly expose themselves to the kind of material with which they agree to begin with.

The credibility of this (*Preventor*) advertisement must be high so as not to negate the persuasive function. However, it is required that the process be on-going.

Constant reminders are needed as reinforcement if a high degree of success is intended.

The response-changing function of persuasion is made use of in the 'ZI' advertisements, where the message is paradoxically charged, and used to change one's behaviour from what is considered the norm. Both self-consciousness and self-monitoring play a role in how individuals respond to advertisements. Certain persuasive processes involve minimal reflection upon oneself.

How does one create effective persuasive messages? Is it by using rational or emotional messages? Rational messages give evidence supporting their purported truth. Emotional messages point out the desirable consequences that might arise. Or, is the persuasive message created by using a well-structured appeal or an unstructured one (in terms of theme and continuity)?

One should ask the following questions:

- Are there hierarchies of acceptable patterns, such as frequency of use?
- Do different audiences react differently?
- Are there any naturally preferred patterns of organization?
- How does the nature of the situation affect the structure of the message?

In general, audiences would be more receptive to familiar structures rather than to the unknown. The power of social marketing should not be underestimated in advertising. Findings revealed that in Kenya, all condoms are referred to as 'Trust', yet 10 years ago, these were not even on the market. Brand marketing has resulted in aspiration lifestyle messages. It has normalised condom using pop stars, models, hip-hop music and catch phrases, making it an element of popular culture. Social marketing of the male condom has therefore one main aim—to reduce the incidence of HIV among the youth.

Affective message strategies are those that relate to being emotional. For instance, the fear appeal may be related to personality type and the importance of the topic, as well as to credibility. The situation under which the appeal is given is an important variable. Examples are seen in the advertisements that portray a high fear situation, a shame situation or a cognitive situation (see *Nina fanya nini sasa*).

The use of intense language is also a way in which the affective message strategy can be employed. This includes the use of assertive language, and the use of metaphors.¹⁰³ The findings from this study have revealed that low-intense

¹⁰³ This is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase that ordinarily designates one thing is used to designate another, thus making an implicit comparison.

language is more persuasive than high-intense language. People under stress are more sensitive to language changes and would reject language that is highly intense. However, highly credible sources, by virtue of their dynamic nature, can use intense language and be persuasive, especially males. This might also be a reason for the predominant use of males in advertising for HIV control. Sources that are lower in credibility, and females as well, are restricted by the norms of society and have less latitude in language use.

In the final analysis, this study resulted in being an audience-centred analysis, to investigate how multiple genders are constructed by viewers. Television viewing is a gendered activity, which means that contemporary culture has conditioned men and women in ways that result in different viewing habits. They frequently watch television at different times and often prefer different programmes. This fact is a critical part of the programming and advertising strategies of the industry. Televised shows and advertisements are carefully constructed and scheduled to appeal to the sex and age of the viewer the advertiser wishes to reach.

Audience research has indicated that women generally watch television 16% more than men (*Nielsen Television Index*, 1989). This is an important fact that policy makers should take into account when planning for HIV/AIDS prevention and

control strategies. The challenge is create advertisements that will speak directly to women and encourage them to take a more proactive role in their sexual health. This return us to the core question stipulated at the beginning of the project, *how can advertisements be managed such that the HIV prevention and control message comes through, without ignoring the key role of the fairer sex?*

So far, advertising has been seen to portray a clear gender bias and the practice of tailoring advertisements to audiences based on their sex is so widespread that it becomes obvious to viewers at a relatively early age. Nevertheless, gender economics also serve as a determining factor in the construction of gender portrayals in television. Economic independence is the most important issue for women because it is the necessary condition for their social and economic well-being.

The verdict? *"We've tried ignorance for a thousand years. It's time we tried education"*, as asserted by Dr. Joycelyn Edlers. The key message is this—society **MUST** talk about sex, with the caveat that one simply has to be careful how the message is relayed. The media today is inundated with sexual images and literature, and children are a lot more sexually aware today than they may have been in the 1960s and 1970s. Does this mean that Kenya is undergoing a form of sexual revolution? Is

there a drastic relaxation in general standards of sexual behaviour? Probably not; things are just as they have always been, except that our society has become more vocal about 'the activity that dare not speak its name'. Can the advertisements be said to be successful in promoting responsible sexual behaviour? Probably not; behaviour change is dependent on diverse variables such as cultural influence, age, social class and IQ.

The bottom line is this—unless a consumer is prepared to go out and spend money, all persuasive techniques of an advertiser—be it special giveaways or discount offers, have no force at all.

6.6.1 Suggestions for further study

Sex education is important and vital in today's society especially with the prevalence of AIDS/HIV. Further to this study, the effect of the inclusion of a comprehensive sex education curriculum in school-going children can be done and its effectiveness measured against sexual behaviour, be it responsible, delayed debut, or confined to marriage.

6.6.2 Media and girls

The advertisements shown on television indicate how girls should dress and what they should look like. However, these same adverts turn around and say "*...but respect people for what they choose to be like.*" Young girls are thus conflicted

about what they should do first. A study could be carried out to analyse what all groups of adverts depict, and their impact on adolescent girls. The information garnered could then be used to re-package existing adverts to make their message less contradictory and more positively oriented.

Has advertising been true to the Virginia Slims' slogan '*You've Come A Long Way, Baby?*'¹⁰⁴ In the Kenyan context, this has not been achieved yet. On the other hand, television programming has adjusted, especially children's television, to provide more positive role models for girls than ever before. Strong female characters are featured, interacting with their male counterparts on an equal footing. A good example is Lisa Simpson of *The Simpsons* cartoon show. In all the years it has been running, Lisa has been depicted as the undisputed brains of the family.

¹⁰⁴ Virginia Slims is a brand of cigarette manufactured by Philip Morris. The brand was introduced in 1968 and marketed to young professional women using the slogan "You've come a long way, baby." The advertisement at the time had the following text written below a photo image of woman hanging laundry outside, "*Back then, every man gave his wife at least one day a week out of the house. You've come a long way, baby. Virginia Slims - Slimmer than the fat cigarettes men smoke.*"



Lisa Marie Simpson is a fictional character in the animated television series *The Simpsons*. The series was created by Matt Groening. Lisa is an extremely intelligent 8 year old girl, one of the most intelligent characters on the show, with an I.Q. of either 156 or 159. She also plays the baritone saxophone.

Research indicates that the mixed messages in the media (television adverts, programmes and magazines) make it difficult for girls to negotiate the transition to adulthood. A study by Carol Gilligan in 1988 highlighted an unsettling trend where the confidence levels in girls dropped by about 20% from the ages of 12 to 16 years. The study showed that in boys, the confidence level remained the same across the ages, and in some cases, even rose. This, Gilligan suggests, is a result of the widening gap between girls' self-images and society's messages about what girls should be like.

Children Now, a Canadian magazine, points out that girls are surrounded by images of female beauty that are unrealistic and unattainable. And yet two out of three girls who participated in their national media survey said they "*wanted to look like a character on TV.*" One out of three said they had "*changed something about their appearance to resemble that character.*" A survey¹⁰⁵ on 400 teenagers regarding how they relate to advertising found that girls who watched TV commercials featuring

¹⁰⁵ Carried out in 2002 by researchers at Flinders University in South Australia.

underweight models lost self-confidence and became more dissatisfied with their own bodies. Girls who spent the most time and effort on their appearance suffered the greatest loss in confidence.

A cursory examination of media confirms that young girls are being bombarded with images of sexuality, often dominated by stereotypical portrayals of women and girls as powerless, passive victims. As these girls become teenagers, many choose to tune out, but others maintain a hungry appetite for these messages. As Shawn Doherty and Nadine Joseph note, those who continue to consume media images are strongly influenced *"by stereotypical images of uniformly beautiful, obsessively thin and scantily dressed objects of male desire. And studies show that girls who are frequent viewers have the most negative opinion of their gender."*

In the politics of appearance, the social function of adornment as an expression of conspicuous consumption has been viewed by feminists as a means by which women are shackled by society. According to James Laver, a fashion historian, *"man in every age has created woman in the image of own desire"*. This concept has been referred to as the seduction principle. For a long time, being packaged according to the fashionable male fantasy has been a measure of a woman's success. Women are packaged for male consumption. However, fashion should not be seen exclusively as an expression of women's subordination. Doing this would be to ignore the richness of its diverse cultural and political meanings.

6.7 The way forward

Feminism is about helping women feel strong in doing what they want—not making them feel guilty if they are non-conformist to the party line. To some extent, radical feminism is to blame for forging an association between their politics and an unappealing appearance.

Interview questions tested recall, where respondents' answers revealed whether they remembered anything about the advertisement. Recognition was also a feature, where respondents were shown the advertisement to see if they had watched it before.

In conclusion, the questions posed at the beginning of this thesis can now be answered.

Does the advertiser succeed in passing on the message that women have the power to make informed choices on matters concerning their sexuality? The answer to this is yes and no; the intended message is transmitted, but often to a group different from the targeted demographic. Mostly, it appears to be a case of preaching to the converted, where the advertisement acts as reinforcement to existing knowledge. Whether this results in behavioural change or not is a question that is yet to be answered. Behaviour change is a subjective issue that is difficult to

measure, and this could be an area for major study, which was beyond the scope of this project.

Is advertising driven by audience needs or by the originator of the advertisement? Advertising in Kenya is more driven by the client than by the audience. The client chooses what to focus on, sometimes as a result of research, but mostly as a matter of policy. For example, the client (health organisation) gets orders from its paymasters that certain issues such as abstinence, should be the focus of their campaigns. The client then goes to the advertising agency, and asks for advertisements focusing on abstinence.

Advertising has not necessarily had an impact on the HIV/AIDS control message. External factors exist that may cause the individual's behaviour to change. Generally, the portrayal of the female gender on televised advertising is backward and chauvinistic in nature. And as hypothesized at the beginning of the study, the effectiveness of the HIV/AIDS control message depends on the delivery and the intended target.

It has been found that those that are most urgently in need of HIV education are those that think they are not at risk. This would include the middle to wealthier classes. Education should also be targeted at adults across social/professional

strata. Campaigns carried out so far have had various levels of success, but the message needs to be repeated and/or reinforced until people appreciate it, and there are no longer any new cases of infection.

Important considerations for AIDS education are the age of the target group, the venue and time when the group will be most receptive, cultural issues and language use. How can the knowledge from advertising be turned into action? Biological facts are not enough. Advertisements need to have an element of *motivation*. They must show the relevance to the individual, and encourage the target group to take steps to protect themselves. *Empowerment* is another crucial element that should be seen as an attainable factor. Where condoms are shown as a means for safer sex, they should be made readily available, and accessible, irrespective of age. Medical supplies and testing facilities that the advertisements focus on should be within easy reach with details of how to get to them and other logistical information.

Finally, this research concludes that despite the chauvinistic nature of the advertisements, it was paradoxical that these appeared to be the most effective in creating behaviour change. The more chauvinistic the advert, the higher the recall and recognition. We can conclude that this is merely a confirmation of what society

really is – a misogynistic setting, perpetuated by the media and reinforced in contemporary living such that both male and female sexes are more familiar and ostensibly accepting of this environment.

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APPENDIX

A1 RESPONSIBILITY INDEX

	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree
1. I keep myself healthy (e.g. do not use drugs)			
2. I know how HIV/STI are spread and how to protect myself			
3. I would not have sex at this time in my life			
4. I would never share needles for drug use			
5. When I decide to have sex, I will use a condom			
6. When I have sex, I will only have one partner			
7. I would tell my partners if I had HIV or an STI			
8. I would not use unsterilized instruments to pierce my ears, tattoo or shave, etc.			
9. I would think hard before having a baby if I or my partner had HIV			
10. If I thought I had HIV, I would go to a health centre to ask about tests			
11. If a schoolmate or neighbour had HIV or AIDS, I would be a friend to him/her			
12. I would get help if I thought I had HIV/STI			

A2 CONDOM USE AND KNOWLEDGE

Age

Sex

Residence: Urban / Rural

Ref No.

Kindly circle the appropriate answer.

1. Have you ever used a condom	yes	no	
2. Have you ever had any discussions about using a condom or the risks of not using one?	yes	no	
3. Do you know consider yourself skilful in knowing how to use a condom?	very good	average	poor
4. How would you rate your condom negotiation skills?	very good	average	poor
5. Would you consider yourself to have a positive attitude about using condoms?	very good	average	poor
6. Would you be highly influenced by societal norms to motivate you to use a condom?	yes	no	
7. Have you seen a Trust celebrity advertisement in the past six months?	yes	no	
8. What did you think about it?			

A3 TELEVISION VIEWING

Age

Sex

Residence: Urban / Rural

Ref No.

Kindly circle/tick the appropriate answer.

1. Do you have access to television? If yes, specify where.	yes	no	
2. How often do you watch television?	daily	1-5 times a week	rarely
3. Do you watch the advertisements?	yes	no	
4. What is the general level of credibility in the advertisements?	high	moderate	low
5. Have you watched the HIV-control advertisements?	yes	no	
6. Are they of any value?	yes	no	
7. How would you rate the level of credibility in the following advertisements?			
Preventor Condoms The tea-picker Nina fanya nini sasa Mark and Judy – 'ZI' The graduate Nime Chill / I'm too young A real lady/man waits Chukua Control / Kunyua zaidi, teleza zaid Trust condoms testimonials Prezzo Kleptomaniax Nameless Deux Vultures	high	moderate	low