



Media Framing of Women in Business: An Analysis of Mainstream Newspapers' Coverage in Kenya

Peter W. Njuguna¹, and Samuel A. Siringi²

Abstract

This study focused on the framing of women business leaders in mainstream newspapers in Kenya. The study was guided by three research questions: What is the frequency of coverage of issues female business leaders in Kenya have? How has mainstream media framed coverage of female business leaders in Kenya? What is the implication of this framing for sustainable development? The study adopted a descriptive research design. It targeted women business leaders who have attained that status either because their companies are listed on the Nairobi securities exchange, or because their companies compare to such companies through performance, size, capitalization, and formal structure. The theoretical foundations of the study are the agenda-setting and framing theories. Data collection was through content analysis.

Data collected was analysed and findings were presented using narrative analysis procedures. The study found there was minimal coverage of women business leaders in mainstream newspapers in Kenya. In addition, the little coverage that there was, was negative or indifferent. The study found that main frames used to cover women were patriarchal, gender-descriptive roles, feminized images, and allusion to men. It concluded that this framing has a detrimental effect on the ascension of women to positions of power in business and hinders natural economic development. The research recommended that women business leaders proactively take charge of their narrative as opposed to leaving it to the media to control as they wish. This gives them more control over the amount and tonality of coverage across mainstream media.

Key words: *Female leadership in business, Media Framing, Women business leaders, Women in Business, Women-owned businesses, Women & SME.*

1.0 Introduction

Women-owned businesses today form a major part of the global engine of business that drives growth and development. Around 37 percent of formal enterprises worldwide are owned by women. This is a market that both companies and policymakers should pay keen attention to (Antonacopoulos et al., 2013; VanderBrug, 2013). According to the International Finance Corporation (2006, p. 1),

¹ <https://orcid.org/0009-0002-6964-4907>

² <https://orcid.org/0009-0005-8780-5550>

“Women-owned businesses are making a significant contribution to the Kenyan economy. Their businesses account for about one-half (48 percent) of all micro-, small-, and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs), which contribute around 20 percent to Kenya's GDP. Of the 462,000 jobs created annually since 2000 in Kenya, 445,000 jobs have come from the informal sector, where 85 percent of women's businesses are found.” Yet, apart from a very small circle very few people know that these women-owned businesses exist.

Many of these business owners subsist in an area of low visibility, which denies them access to financing, credit, networks, and other benefits that come with being in the public eye. Visibility is central to identity construction and perceptions of legitimacy. Moreover, it determines access to resources and networks; it also influences the way these actors perceive themselves as legitimate business people and thus feel motivated and more likely to innovate and modernize their business, thus gaining access to funding (Marshall et al., 2020).

Visibility, or lack of it is closely tied to media coverage, especially in mainstream media. Visibility is gained through representation and portrayal. This article thus sets out to examine the visibility of women business leaders in the country. It is an extraction from a larger work that sets out to establish the mainstream media coverage situation for women in business in Kenya, more so, those in leadership positions, and the framing of this coverage. The study defines a Female Business Leader as a woman who owns, runs, manages, or engages in a business at the apex of seniority. In the study, this term is mainly used to refer to a female person who is the Managing Director or Chief Executive Officer of a large formal sector company or organization involved in business. A large business in this context has high publicly declared capitalization or is listed on the securities exchange. This may include banks, manufacturing industries, other financial institutions, or groupings of businesses and business lobbies.

This study is significant because it enhances critical thinking and introspection on the part of the media as to why they cover women business leaders the way they do, if at all, and whether this has an impact about that coverage, on the one hand, and on the audience and society, on the other. It seeks to find out what frames are applied in the coverage; how they shape the coverage; the subsequent portrayal; and what effect this has on national development.

The framing of a certain specific actor both excludes and/or includes some aspects of the social system they exist in. These inclusions and exclusions form part of a certain ‘*narrative*’ that portrays the world and individuals in a particular manner, justifying strategies, actions, and interventions required to achieve set goals (Stirling et al., 2007)

This means that the media today in Kenya is well placed to have an overbearing influence on the thoughts, beliefs, perceptions and conceptions of their audience and wider society by extension. The mainstream media’s coverage of the lived experiences of women business leaders is thus critical to national development hence the need to assess how it is being done.

While there has been extensive research conducted into the representation of women in leadership in the political space and their portrayal from a gender lens in general in Kenya, little has been done to establish how women leaders in business are covered and why. The approach of this study will then be to establish how female business leaders in Kenya are covered and how their coverage is framed. Are they adequately, fairly, and accurately portrayed? What has been the impact of this portrayal on their standing in contemporary society and business and what impact has this had?

1.1 Problem Statement

In a break with tradition and with the patriarchal African society, the field of business economy and finance in Kenya is increasingly seeing more and more women rise to executive positions, taking up the roles of Cabinet Secretaries, Chief Executive Officers (CEOs), Managing Directors and Board Members in various companies. Despite this, today women appear in headlines more often if they are involved in politics, entertainment, crime, or fashion (Omari, 2008).

Their growth and development are NOT proportionately represented in the media and not even the consistency of their growth has been able to sway coverage and portrayal in favour of women in the business workplace. Simply put, in the field of business and entrepreneurship, despite significant developments, the media has continued to view and portray business and the economy as the preserve of men. Why is it that when the coverage of women does occur, it will also be accompanied by a label; often seen as suitable or fitting to justify a successful woman in business as an exception rather than the norm?

Gysae, Le Roux & Van der Merwe in Cai, (2023) aptly describe this two-sided aspect of women's representation in the media whereby they only show some aspects of women but fail to show the other side of the coin. This perspective highlights the fact that the problem is not just a question of the quantity of coverage, but even more importantly, one of quality, tonality, perspective, depiction, description, and framing.

The amount and tone of coverage have a direct impact on the future perception of business ownership, leadership, and business for women. In fact, in Kenya, as in much of the rest of the world, business activity is closely correlated with views of capability and opportunity, implying that women are more inclined to try business if they believe they may succeed and receive support (Antonacopoulos et al., 2013).

1.2 Research Questions

The article thus sets out to answer three main questions:

- a) What is the frequency of coverage of issues related to female business leaders in Kenya?
- b) How has mainstream media framed coverage of female business leaders in Kenya?
- c) What is the implication of this framing for sustainable development for the business ecosystem?

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The study seeks to find answers to these questions to enable content producers, editors, writers, and other intermediates of news to ask themselves these critical questions about the quality, quantity and thrust of media coverage of female business leaders in Kenya.

Here then is the question of “*Who makes the news?*” (Who is covered?). This question is often asked in the search for equality and parity in the news and is often visible in the pursuit of feminism and the answer lies in “*Who makes it into the news and how?*” In answering these questions, the content producers themselves are motivated to assess the various metrics that are utilized to select the subjects that they cover in their stories and introspect on their processes, their results, and their outcomes. The very act of counting, measuring and tallying these ‘*indicators*’ raises people's awareness of the prevailing gender representation situation, the tone, and the perspective and, therefore, has an impact on their actions, output, and content. It forces them to consider fresh approaches to producing original content that pushes boundaries and establishes new benchmarks through innovation, diversity, ambition, creativity, and variety. These new standards of work in media will enable stakeholders to achieve new levels of parity and gender diversity not only in Kenya but also, by example, across the region, in Africa and across the globe.

1.4 Justification of the Study

In the past, while there was research on how women are covered in various aspects such as politics, sports, and general news in Africa and more so in Kenya, there was, however, very little research into the coverage of women in business and the economy in the country and how they are portrayed.

According to The GMMP (2015), the world's largest study of Gender in News Media noted that globally, women hold approximately 40% of all paid employment, yet only about 20% of all news about the formal sector workforce is related to them. The report contends that clearly worldwide, there is a ‘*jaded or oppressive*’ gender lens that is used in deciding who to cover, highlight, profile, depict or interview. According to the report, in Africa, the situation is worse. In

Kenya, the situation is just as bad as nearly anywhere else in Africa, with statistics showing that media coverage is not only male-centred but also skewed towards a particular kind of dominant and overbearing masculinity in selecting subjects for all other types of views in media, from 'expert' opinion to 'ordinary' person testimonies. Men are present in everything, from 'Manels' (interview panels full of men and no women), to witnesses and 'Vox pops' while women are largely absent or persistently ignored.

This study sought to verify if this is really the case. The findings will be useful in enabling media practitioners to gauge whether they are covering business women, especially those in leadership positions fairly, exhaustively, and sustainably and empowering women business leaders to agitate better for more and better coverage.

1.5 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study was limited in scope to assessing mainstream print media coverage of female business leaders. The study was limited to the female business leaders highlighted, covered, or portrayed in the selected media in their own individual and collective narratives.

The study was limited to print media, with a focus on two mainstream newspapers as the main purveyors of in-depth business news. Under the law in Kenya, mainstream newspapers are defined as newspapers with a nationwide reach and published seven days a week. Using this definition, the study narrowed down to the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*, with a focus on the Monday to Friday editions. Weekend editions generally do not carry traditional business news as formal business platforms such as the stock market are closed. Weekends are also not formal business days. This definition also ruled out the *Business Daily* as it is published just five days a week and targets a more business-specific audience and would thus produce skewed data.

Due to the large amount of data available to assess, and the restrictions of time and resources, this study is limited to examining six months of editions of both these newspapers, that is 180 copies of each, (360 newspaper editions in total) and conduct an in-depth content analysis to gauge the quantity and quality of coverage of female business leaders vis a vis total business coverage overall. The study will also assess the tone of coverage and how the coverage has been framed.

2.0 Theoretical Framework

Two theories were critical in guiding this research: the Agenda Setting Theory as adduced by McCombs & Shaw (1972) and the Media Framing Theory as initially developed as Frame Analysis by Goffman, (1974). The two theories are related to the extent that the Framing theory is sometimes regarded as a subset of the Agenda Setting Theory or a second level of the Agenda Setting Theory.

2.1 Agenda Setting Theory

The Agenda Setting Theory is primarily based on two main assumptions, with the first being that the media selects, filters and shapes whatever the audience is seeing rather than just directly transmitting stories to the audience in their primary form. The filters and shapes may take many different forms, with some being as simple as the placement and prominence of stories.

One fitting example of this is the media deciding to give prominence to a sensational story rather than effectively highlighting more important but not as sensational news items or stories. An illustration of this is when sensational or controversial news appears at the top of a broadcast rather than one that occurred more recently or has a larger audience, such as an impending storm or parliamentary tax reform.

The second assumption dwells on the fact that if the media gives more prominence or attention to an issue consistently highlights it or keeps coming back to it or repeats it often, the public will encounter it more often, making it more top of the mind and start to consider the issue as being more important (B. Scheufele, 2006). This, however, does not mean that the media organizations are telling their audiences how to think or feel about a story or issue. Rather, by giving prominence

to some stories while denying that prominence to others, they influence us on what to think about or make it top of our mind.

2.2 Framing Theory

The second theory that this article is built upon is the Framing Theory. The Framing Theory considers the way news media covers events and issues, and how individuals in the audience make sense of these events and issues, drawing partially on media representations and their own circumstances. According to D. A. Scheufele (1999), the Framing Theory holds that how issues or events are offered to the audience, which is referred to as a frame, impacts how people decide to interpret the information they encounter or get. He further defines it as a procedure, in which aspects of reality that are selected are given greater importance or emphasis at the expense of others.

M. McCombs, (2005) argues that framing is a conceptual extension of agenda setting, while Matthew C Nisbet & Mooney, (2007) define frames as principles of interpretation that allow people to “*locate, identify, perceive, and events, label*” issues, and topics. They are abstractions that help organize or structure message meaning; frames will be present in the sender of the message, the message and in the audience due to a range of factors.

Thus, frames have an impact on how individuals interpret and give meaning to a certain topic or issue. In this context, a frame refers to the way media as gatekeepers organize and display the ideas, events, and issues they cover. Framing may be both a deliberate and unconscious decision made by journalists. Framing, according to (Ryan, 2013), is the act of deciding what details to include and leave out while communicating about a subject, person, or event. In this way then Frames and framing have a key role to play in the way issues are covered and in how audiences perceive and make sense of them.

Closer home, (Okere & Sam-Okere, 2013) define media framing, saying it may be used to refer to the act of selecting and presenting the perceived reality by the media which informs the way the audience regards and interprets the said reality. He uses this approach to analyse the coverage and portrayal of women entrepreneurs in Nigeria. This study takes a similar approach. It is descriptive in nature and is intended to characterize the distribution of one or more variables without considering any causal or other hypotheses (Aggarwal & Ranganathan, 2019).

3.0 Research Methods

The study approached the task at hand from a mixed methods perspective, applying both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The mixed methods research approach traces its origins to cultural anthropologists and fieldwork sociologists working early in the twentieth century (Creswell, 1999)

Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, and Turner, (2007) define the mixed methods approach as a process of bringing together elements of both the quantitative and qualitative research methods combining the use of enumeration, collection of viewpoints, collection of the data itself, its analysis and the techniques used for inference to lend depth and breadth to the exercise.

The study employs Content Analysis, as the primary data collection method, with the data being analysed and presented in both quantitative and descriptive formats to garner the mixed methods approach in an attempt to investigate the elements and tone of coverage that it seeks to investigate.

Using this, the study investigated the selected newsprint material covering a selected period of six months from 1st January 2020 to June 30th, 2020, to provide data to enable the inference of quantity and quality of coverage of women business leaders in Kenya as a percentage of all the total coverage. It also examined the tone of coverage as well as the use of certain stereotypical gendered references that may point to the utilization of a gendered media frame in coverage.

4.0 Presentation and Discussion of Findings

The study identified, enumerated, and analysed articles on women in leadership positions in the world of business in Kenya under several broad themes, starting with the presence or absence of coverage, before delving into how the construction of the identity of the woman business leader has been achieved. This was achieved by assessing several things, including the imagery used in reportage terms of pictures and their focus and physical framing, gender labelling, descriptive terminology, and comparison to men. These themes were found to broadly represent many of the issues that were emergent in the analysis.

4.1 Thematic Clustering of Content Analysis Data

A theme may be described simply as an element, a property, a descriptor, or a notion. It is generally an implicit aspect that groups several ideas that are repeated and help researchers respond to the research question (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen & Snelgrove, 2016). It includes codes with a shared frame of reference and a high level of generality that harmonizes concepts pertaining to the research topic. It is regarded as a thread of underlying significance implicitly uncovered at the interpretative level and components of participant subjectivity.

According to Vaismoraldi, “*Theme*” is the main product of data analysis that yields practical results in the field of study. In this study, the themes that were found to best define the attributes being codified in the data are outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Table outlining coded themes

Tone of coverage	Stereotypical Descriptive Terminology	Images used	Allusion to Men
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These themes were further explored by further breaking them down into categories. A category entails the descriptive level of text in the content being analysed and is an explicit manifestation of the data encountered in the research. Categories are descriptors of themes (Draucker et al., 2007). In this case, a category is the main product of analytical procedure and possesses a descriptive identity and may be utilized at the commencement of the development of themes as part of the process to classify the findings that have been arrived at (Gale et al., 2013).

Researchers develop categories at the beginning of the data analysis process to simplify the process by which they arrive at the abstract level of the analysis. Along the lines of analytical theme development, the study utilized a process outlined by Constat (1992) for categorization that has its basis in 3 main components: origination, verification, and nomination.

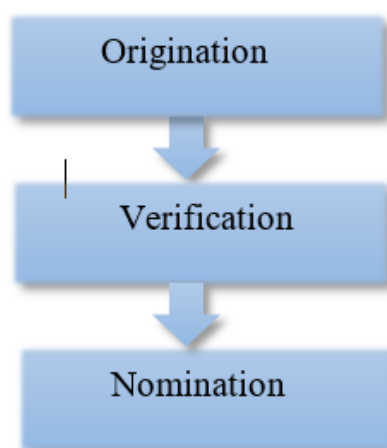


Figure 1: Outline of the categorization process
 Source: Constat, 1992

Data for this study was collected by analysing 364 editions of the Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers over 6 months between January 2020 to June 2020. Out of this, analysis was conducted to identify and eliminate those of the editions not conforming to the definition of newsprint that would contain target stories. This elimination exercise comprised removing from the sample those newspapers that ran on weekends and national and religious holidays, thus eliminating a total of 106 newspapers from both brands over the period as the study was focussed on examining all the issues of the two dailies running on weekdays: Monday to Friday and carrying business news pages over the 6-month sample period. The analysis thus purposively excluded public holidays and weekends to yield consistent data leaving me with a total of 258 newspapers that were eligible for further examination.

4.2 Absence/Presence of Coverage

In total, the 258 copies of both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* examined for this study yielded a total of 2021 (two thousand and twenty-one) individual articles or stories in the business pages that were enumerated and analysed to assess if they touched on women business leaders. Of the 2021 individual business stories analysed, just twenty-three stories or a paltry 1.13 percent were found to be focussing on issues of women business leaders as shown in Figure 2.

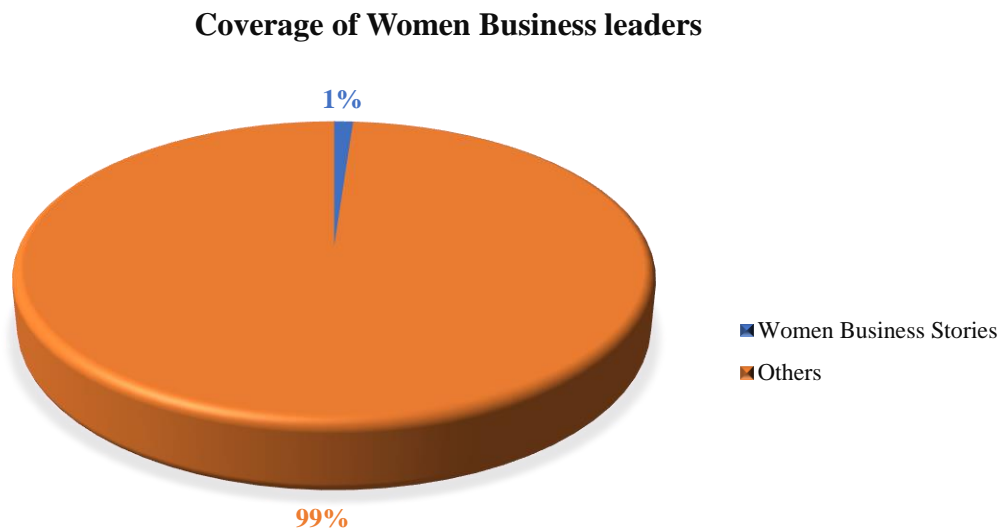


Figure 2: Coverage of women business leaders

On the other hand, Table 2 outlines the distribution of stories that highlight women business leaders in business pages over the months that the data was analysed. Note that in May 2020, both the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* did not publish a single story on women in positions of leadership in business on their business pages.

Table 2: Distribution of stories

Month/Year	Daily Nation	The Standard
January 2020	7	1
February 2020	-	1
March 2020	2	-
April 2020	3	3
May 2020	-	-
June 2020	5	1
Total	17	6

While establishing that the amount of coverage is drastically small, especially as a fraction of the total business coverage, this study did not dwell on why this is the case. The study, however, notes that the presence of even this small number of stories indicates that there is indeed a measure of effort to find stories that will highlight women business leaders editors and reporters. What is alarming, however, is how low the frequency of application of this effort is. The scarce nature of stories focussing on women business leaders throughout the research period would lead one to conclude that there has been negligible effort at increasing or growing the number of stories over the period covered by the study. There is a clear lack of a discernible pattern in the growth of coverage over six months covered by the study. The random nature of the occurrence may indicate that there is no appreciation of a possible problem and hence no effort to tackle it as such.

4.3 Tone of Coverage

Other than the amount of coverage, an outstanding aspect of major importance in framing of stories about women business leaders is the tone of coverage (Henderson, 2021). This relates directly to the question of how the identities of women business leaders have been constructed in the publications examined and whether they are being portrayed positively or negatively.

Were the stories crafted and framed to portray the women business leaders in a positive, negative, or even neutral light?

Table 3: Tabulation of stories and tonality

Story	Newspaper	Identifier	Tone
Lobby seeks Seven-year tax holiday for 'youth firms'	Daily Nation	<u>Beneficial</u> to youth and women	Positive
Zep Re gets the Highest Credit Rating on tax exemption	Daily Nation	Company in the <u>best</u> position to pay debt	Positive
Higher Taxes choke BAT Profits	Daily Nation	<u>Decline</u> in Gross Profit	Negative
Eveready Loss Triples due to reduced sales	Daily Nation	The <u>struggling</u> firm booked a loss	Negative
Leafy suburbs or vertical gardens? Kenya's rich vacate posh environs	Daily Nation		Neutral
Trade Chamber hunts for new Chief Executive	Daily Nation		Neutral
Credit Bank Boss records statement in Fraud probe	Daily Nation	This is a <u>serious complaint</u> touching on <u>fraudulent</u> acquisition of property	Negative
Private firms get virtual AGM'S nod.	Daily Nation		Neutral
Kenyans stock up on long life milk as Virus sparks anxieties in output	Daily Nation	<u>Decline</u> in production Prices <u>unlikely</u> to rebound	Negative
Family Bank books 85% rise in profit on improved lending	Daily Nation	Increase in lending <u>positively</u> impacted bottom line	Positive
Imports from China fall as Coronavirus disrupts supplies	Daily Nation	We will work to <u>mitigate</u>	Positive
Reprieve for Keroche in war with KRA	Daily Nation	<u>Attachment</u> of Keroche's accounts and <u>forcible</u> transfer of cash	Negative
KEPSA, Private firm offer technical assistance to women enterprises	The Standard	Set to get a <u>boost</u>	Positive
Virus halts Alios acquisition deal	The Standard	Multi-million plan now in <u>Limbo</u>	Negative

Analysts push for debt refinancing	The Standard	Neutral
KAM launches plan for industry growth	The Standard	Neutral
Women up equality fight in Trade	The Standard	Neutral

Source 1: Daily Newspapers

These findings can be tabulated as follows:

Table 4: Table on the overall tone of stories

Tone	Negative	Neutral	Positive
Number	6	6	5
Percentage	35.29%	35.29%	29.41%

Examination of this data points to the fact that it seems there is no overbearing negative or positive tone of coverage. Rather it is almost an indifferent approach or lack of any affirmative action towards reporting stories to do with women business leaders in the two dailies explored. This may point to the Spartan nature of engagement that reporters have with their subjects. Combining both the negative and neutral will lead one to conclude that just 29.4% of all stories published over the research period cast women business leaders in a positive light. This means that the remaining 71% were either negative or indifferent to how this portrayal impacted the subject.

As a result of this outcome, this article will attempt to distil how leadership itself is framed as a concept and how leadership identity is constructed by the mainstream print media in Kenya. This interpretation or definition of leadership as arrived at by mainstream print media in Kenya, was used in this article to explore how the identity of women as leaders in the field of business was constructed. The outcome of this introspection presents two overarching themes; the first theme is that of leadership itself as a concept while the second points to the personality in question and how they exercise leadership. Taking this together, one can then assess how this interaction influences both the persona of the woman business leader and their concept of leadership. The outcome of this analysis reflects what the media encounters during interaction and forms the basis for what they transmit to the audience.

This interaction landscape is depicted in Table 5.

Table 5: Types of leadership and their landscape

LEADERSHIP	
Male leadership: Heroic/Strong/Authoritative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional • Conservative 	Female leadership Post Heroic/Collaborative/Consultative <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemporary • Progressive

Using this perspective, the study found that though media framing of leadership in Kenyan mainstream print media has often included both the traditional/conservative and contemporary/progressive iterations of leadership, many journalists unwittingly retain just the conservative attributes of the traditional heroic leadership in mind when constructing a leadership identity, which they then use to measure women business leaders against.

In this school of thought leadership is seen as strong and authoritative and almost always masculine (Meindl et al., 1985). It celebrates personal and individual approaches to success and growth. This understanding of leadership derives from a show of masculinity with the male individual dominating and taking charge in a show of power (Rippin, 2007). Here the male business leader is seen as bold, adventurous, authoritative, and thus, in charge.

By the same token, this definition of leadership often detracts from other softer attributes of power and leadership and the other ways it is exercised like collaboration, teamwork, consultation,

and empathy, especially in the Kenyan and African settings. Often these qualities are associated more with women than men (Fletcher, 2004). These qualities, and others like them, are seen as soft and feminine and often the opposite of authoritative and in control and thus, weak.

In this school of thought, where feminine qualities are viewed as weaknesses, the writers then consider removing any trace of this femininity from the woman business leader, retreating to conservative and traditional thought, and in doing this, they feel they are doing her a favour or affirmative action in getting her to look more in control and authoritative (or more like a man). Women in this position will thus be aligned with or given attributes usually used to describe authoritative men and will be stripped of most, if not all, feminine attributes and in effect will be neutered/spayed.

In the study, in many of the stories identified, the women depicted were typically asexual and completely devoid of any femininity, leading the researcher to conclude that in mainstream Kenyan print media, conservative depictions of leadership, abound with male attributes seen as the epitome of leadership.

The study found that at such times, the leader's femininity is erased by removing their persona and reverting to the official title of their office such as *'the CEO'* or *'the Managing Director'* enabling the writers to hide the women business leaders behind a veil that attributes their actions to their offices in General.

5.0 Conclusion

The study found that the mainstream media have largely failed to play their role effectively in correctly framing the coverage of women business leaders in Kenya. In addition, when it comes to determining the merits of coverage, often the media will set one bar for men and another for women, meaning that in many cases women have to work extra hard as compared to their male counterparts to merit the same levels of coverage.

The findings from this study give insight and dimensions to the conceptualization of the issue of leadership and how this is at play in the frames applied by writers either as pre-conceived notions or learned concepts. The research found that while women were able to match men and even surpass them in leadership in business, their methods or techniques were defined as softer and more discursive and thus dismissed as weak in the face of the more traditional authoritative techniques employed by men. This mode of interpretation is based on the Theory of Performativity under which behaviour that can be defined as leadership or not is driven mostly by normative cultural expectations or gendered norms. Performativity also holds that language can serve as a tool for social action and influence change (Cavanaugh, 2015).

Thus, the definition of how leadership is performed changes, depending on who is applying what technique to achieve leadership as an end or a goal. This is seen as better than ascribing straight jacket qualities and norms that are then the reference point for the concept of leadership and thus its portrayal.

6.0 Recommendations

Based on the findings outlined in the previous section, this study outlines the recommendations as follows:

First, women and women business leaders, especially those in positions of power and influence, should take charge of their narrative as opposed to leaving it open to the media to control as they wish. A proactive and carefully cultivated image, as well as a well-crafted narrative surrounding their persona and regarding their work, will go a very long way to turning the framing of their stories into a flattering and useful coverage akin to, if not better than that of their male counterparts.

Secondly, there is room for training of journalists to resist their biases to drive better coverage of women in all spheres. This may be led by organizations such as the BBC, who, through their 50/50 balanced coverage project, illustrate that they have already recognized that men get more

coverage than women in 'normal' situations. In addition, in Kenya, while the area of study of Framing is now fairly well researched, the area of leadership as a concept and social construct is still relatively new. This study found that while women are often held up to a manly or male standard of leadership for comparison, the definition of the notion of manliness as leadership or the Alpha male as the leader may be missing the mark as outlined in the leadership and framing literature encountered.

This study was not able to dwell at length on whether new and contemporary definitions of leadership that encompass more traits displayed by women leaders would garner an increased amount or more positive coverage. It would be interesting to gauge just how much this contributes to the current problem of poor and negative coverage of women business leaders.

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