

LANGUAGE, IDEOLOGY AND POWER: NAÏVE FLOWER GIRLS SPRINKLING THEIR FEMININITY IN THE POLITICAL SCENE

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Abstract

Although the latter part of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century has seen a steady rise in the political participation of women globally, the participation and representation of women in elective politics has not met the 30% global requirement. This paper examines, from a linguistic perspective, why there are gender disparities in the Kenyan National Assembly. The paper is based on a qualitative study that addresses the underrepresentation of women in the National Assembly of Kenya between 2013 and 2017, during which there were 16 (5.5%) elected women out of the 290 elected members of the National Assembly. The data used in this paper was obtained through one-on-one interviews with National Assembly politicians, and reviews of newspaper and television documents. Through an idea of language as discourse, the paper emphasizes the linguistic ideologies at play in producing and sustaining these disparities. The paper draws from an appropriate set of literatures in Critical Discourse Analysis and beyond in order to understand the gendered discursive realm of politics in the National Assembly. The paper argues that the lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic use of language by politicians, and the media is discursive. This language is internalized by prospective and contesting political candidates, and shapes the ideologies that determine their success. The major finding in this paper is that there are gendered ideologies that ensue from the campaign discourses of politicians and the media that portray women in undesirable ways, for example as 'naïve flower girls,' making them appear unfit for elective political posts. This, to a large extent, discourages prospective and first-time women contestants. This paper provides a unique vantage point onto the questions of gender and development in Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Key words: Discursive discourses, gendered ideologies, inequalities, women underrepresentation

1.0 Introduction

There have been and still are efforts to improve gender equity, but women in most countries of the world, Kenya included, are still underrepresented in electoral politics. The problem of women underrepresentation in electoral politics is not unique to any one country, region or continent; it is a universal phenomenon (Schmidt, 2006). The latter part of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century has seen a steady rise in the political participation of women globally; however, the participation and representation of women in elective politics has not met the 30% global requirement. The higher one goes in either party or state hierarchy, the fewer

women there are (Charton, 1984). Politics plays a vital role in influencing the policy making process and the absence of significant numbers of women in positions of influence denies them a chance to influence decision and impact policy making. For instance, the worldwide average of women in national parliaments improved from 22.6 percent to 23.3 percent between 2015 and 2017. Various global conferences such as The World Summit for Social Development [WSSD] (WSSD, 1995, 2000), The Fourth World Conference on Women (UN Women, 1995), and the Cairo Conference on Population and Development (United Nations Population Fund, [UNFPA], 1994) have noted the low number of women in electoral politics.

The issue of gender equity received special attention in the UN Charter (Charter of the UN, 1945) and was also recognized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR] (The UN, 1948), the Millennium Development Goals [MDGs] of 2000 (UN & UN, 2004), The Kenya 2010 Constitution (Republic of Kenya [RoK], 2010) and the Sustainable Development Goals of 2015 [SDGs] (UN, 2013), which replaced the MDGs.

The current globalization has made it almost mandatory for countries subscribing to international treaties to abide by gender equity principles (Kaimenyi, Kinya & Chege 2013). Kenya has shown its commitment to gender equity by being a signatory to a number of international treaties on women empowerment such as Convention on Ending all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (UN, 1979); Africa Union's Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (African Union [AU] 2003); the Constitutive Act of the African Union (AU, 2000); the 1994 Dakar Platform for Action (Hall, 1995) and the African Plan of Action to Accelerate the Implementation of the Dakar, and Beijing Platforms for Action for the Advancement of Women (UN, Economic Commission for Africa [ECA], 1999). Despite these international and constitutional commitments on women empowerment, Kenya still lags behind in terms of women participation and representation in elective politics. Participation is used here to mean vying for an electoral political post or engaging in policy development. Representation is used here to refer to the number of women elected into the national assembly.

In Kenya, the proportion of women participating in key decision-making organs, especially in electoral politics, hardly reflects their proportion in the total population (Nzomo, 2011; USAID,

FIDA & NDI, 2013). The Kenya Population Census of 2010 reveals that women comprise 52% of the population (Population Reference Bureau [PRB], 2013). Nzomo, (2011) further notes that Kenya has performed poorly compared to the other East African countries, which have attained or even surpassed the ‘critical mass’ of 30 percent women representation in their respective parliaments. There is therefore a political underrepresentation of one gender which may be considered a violation of the legitimacy of the democratic system in Kenya, and which is likely impact negatively on policy outcomes (USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013). Okeyo (1989) argues that since women form half or more of the population, they have a potential to contribute to development. Despite the low number of women in electoral politics, women have demonstrated positive performance in public leadership and their daily lives and could do more if they attained a critical mass (Ndambuki, 2010; Nzomo, 2011).

Most of the studies (Kasomo, 2012; Otieno, 2010) that have been done in Kenya on the underrepresentation of women in electoral politics are not linguistic. A study on how language may be involved in the gender imbalance in electoral politics in Kenya may provide an explanation to this problem. This paper argues that, to understand the politics of representation and power, we must make a special reference to the discursive nature of language. Language constitutes a major dimension of power and ideological conflict. The complex intersection of language, ideology and power has been pointed out by critical discourse analysts such as Fairclough (2001), Van Dijk (2001) and Wodak, (1989). Fairclough (2001) observes, language is both a means of control and a means of communication. Thus, political domination of one gender in electoral politics may be reproduced by a people’s day to day discourses, which construct a worldview that the people consider as a reality.

All the cultural, social and political aspects of a community are reflected in its language. Being sociological aspects, power and ideology must be closely tied to language. Language is both a cultural and political system into which, all past values are stored (Fairclough, 2001). Language is thus indispensable in understanding modern society and the relations of power. Power is not so much imposed on individuals, but it is an inevitable effect of the way specific discursive discourses privilege the status and positions of some people over others. The kind of language an

individual internalizes influences his or her perception of self and the environment. This means that meaning is constructed through language.

The way in which people in a society talk about men and women shows that people possess a shared reference system about what is considered masculine or feminine. This shared knowledge is produced and sustained through language. From childhood, individuals are continuously exposed to discourses which portray the expectations people have about their future roles and preferences. Ghim-Lian (2001) and, Angela and Mean (2000) argue that in a people's day to day discourses, there is a tendency to sort people into categories by placing certain tags on them. These tags shape the people's worldview and show how language reveals, embodies and sustains attitudes to gender (Moore, 2002). Angela and Mean (2000) further note that we share an understanding about how men and women are supposed to behave and the characteristics they are meant to possess. This shared knowledge is part of our social knowledge, or the framework we use to interpret the world.

The objectives of this paper are to identify and describe the verbal and non-verbal campaign and day-to-day discourses used by politicians and the media to refer to the 2013-2017 national assembly politicians in Kenya, and to find out how these verbal and non-verbal discourses construct the 2013-2017 national assembly politicians in Kenya.

This paper reveals the way verbal (read, written and spoken) and non-verbal (visual, vocal and body language) discourses help to construct gender ideologies and hence identities and power differences in the context of electoral politics. The paper also complements other studies that shift the focus of language and gender from gender differences and similarities to the construction of femininities and masculinities by discourse(s) and discursive practices. The paper further provides a critical standpoint onto the questions of gender and development in Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa.

2.0 Literature review

The modern global conversation around women's rights and political participation has been taking place for slightly over forty years. The conversation began in 1975 with the adoption of

the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (UN, 1975) among other regional and national interventions. Despite these efforts towards attaining gender equity in most countries of the world, progress has been slow. Sub-Saharan Africa has used various interventions such as the adoption of women's advocacy groups, women's associations, the adoption of quotas and the wave of feminism to solve the problem of women underrepresentation and low participation in electoral politics. This paper does not paint a grim picture for women representation and participation. Women in various countries of the world have been elected into top political posts including that of president or prime minister. Sub-Saharan Africa, for instance, has had three women presidents: Liberia, Malawi and Central African Republic. The problem is that the women who get elected do not meet the threshold and therefore may not significantly contribute to policy.

The participation of women in elective politics in Kenya since independence (1963) to 2001 was dismal. From 2002, the number increased slightly. For instance, out of 133 women who vied for parliamentary seats in 2002, 10 won elections and 4 were nominated making 6.33 percent. In 2007 there were 21 women out of the 222 members in parliament. This was 9.4 percent representation up from 6.33 percent in September 2002. In 2008, 15 women were elected while eight were nominated. These were 23 (11 percent) women out of the total 210 members of the national assembly, an increase of 1.6 percent from 2002. Despite this rise in numbers, the numbers still fell short of the United Nations target of achieving 30 percent representations of women in electoral politics by 2005 (Kamau 2010; Muga 2007).

The 2013-2017 National Assembly of Kenya, on which the current study is based, had a total of 349 members consisting of 281 (81%) men and 68 (19%) women. However, 47 women came in as women representatives. These are special seats created in each county to boost the number of women in the national assembly. Sixteen (5.5%) women were elected out of the 290 constituency members of the national assembly, while another 5 were nominated out of the 12 seats set aside for nomination. The 65 member senate had 18 (27%) women, all of whom were nominated. No woman was elected as senator. Sixteen women senators were nominated out of the 16 seats set aside for women, and two women were nominated to represent the youth and persons with disabilities. County assemblies had a total of 2,130 members. There were 1,368 (66%) men

against 762 (34%) women. Only 82 (5%) of these women were elected out of the total 1,450 that were elected in the county assemblies. The rest (680) were nominated (Kaimenyi, Kinya & Chege 2013). From the statistics, it is evident that majority of the women holding political positions in the 2013-2017 parliament were not elected but had come in through special seats or nomination. Despite the nominations, the numbers were still below the threshold.

To boost the number of women in political participation, Kenya adopted the affirmative action which provides for 30% representation of women in political and public sector appointments. Affirmative action refers to a deliberate step to reform or eliminate existing discrimination based on, for instance, gender, race, colour, origin, creed and geographical location. Affirmative action uses a set of public policies and initiatives (WiLDAT, 2010). To effect the affirmative action, Kenya introduced gender quotas as part of a wider global move towards speeding up the processes of women's political empowerment. The central argument behind the promotion of women's participation through quotas is that stronger political participation leads to better representation and accountability and gradually, transformation and deepening of democratic politics (UNIFEM, 2008). Another major step taken by the government was the formulation of the gender policy in Kenya (The National Policy on Gender and Development) from 2008 to 2012 which is in charge of advancing the status of women (Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services, 2007). However, despite these progresses, the participation and representation of women in elective politics in Kenya is still low (Kamau, 2010; Muga, 2007).

Ndeda (2008) argues that gender gaps exist in access to and control of resources, economic opportunities, power, education and political voice, legislation and health provision. Girls and women bear the largest and most direct costs of these inequalities. However, the costs cut across society, ultimately harming everyone. For these reasons, gender equity is a core development issue which is captured as number five out of the seventeen global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Part of the first target of the gender equity goal is to provide women and girls with equal access to political and economic decision-making processes. World Bank (2001), further notes that promoting gender equity is an important part of a development strategy that seeks to enable all people, women and men alike, escape poverty and improve their standard of living.

Various researchers and political analysts such as Neuman, (1998), Wanjohi, (2003), Clinton-Rodham, (2003), Thomas and Wilcox, (2005) and Maathai, (2006) have noted that women leaders add new dimensions to political leadership. These researchers and analysts further observe that if more women enter into political leadership, they would help tackle the issue of perpetual poverty as it mostly affects women. When women get into leadership, they help in building nations and balancing up the processes of decision making (Epstein, Niemi, & Powell, 2005). Neuman (1998), who writes about women legislators in the United States, notes that women prioritise decisions concerning women's economic empowerment, gender violence, rights, dignity, health, democracy, education and peace. The national assembly of Kenya, being the highest organ charged with legislation and decision making, would thus promote national development if women had an equitable representation. Hence, the under-representation of the country's women in terms of political decision making could be a loss for the society at large.

This paper approaches the problem of women underrepresentation and participation in electoral politics from a linguistic perspective. The paper conceptualizes language from the point of view of Fairclough's (2001) Critical Language Study (CLS) which conceptualizes language as discourse. That is, language as a form of social practice determined by social structures. In this sense, language is part of society and not external to it; language constitutes society and society constitutes language. Fairclough (2001), Pennycook (2001), Paltridge (2000), Gee (1996) and Kress (1985) draw on Foucault (1982) in defining a discourse as 'a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning' (1982-64). They therefore argue that discourse(s) make the world meaningful. In this sense, discourse is a system of meaning within the culture. Similarly, this paper sees discourse as a meaning making system in society. Fairclough (2001), Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996) and Fowler (1991) view discourse as a major instrument of power and control.

Fairclough (2001) and Van Dijk (2001) include both verbal (read, spoken and written) and non-verbal (visuals, vocals and body language) language in their conceptualization of discourse. Fairclough (2001) notes that even when texts are essentially verbal (spoken texts), talk is interwoven with gesture, facial expression, movement and posture to such an extent that it cannot

be properly understood without reference to these 'extras'. Collectively, Fairclough (2001) calls them visuals. He says that they are accompaniments to talk which help determine its meaning.

Ideology has been defined variously by different scholars and there is no single or unified agreement as to what ideology is. This paper conceptualizes ideology from the point of view of Neo-Marxists such as Althusser (1971) and Gramsci (1971), and other non-Marxist approaches which include Kress (1991), Fowler (1991), Herbamas (1998), Fairclough, (2001) Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003), Locke (2004) and Johnstone (2008), who view ideology as something that is hegemonic or naturally consented. The prevailing ideology is created and reinforced by societal institutions through language. As the discourse permeates institutions, it comes to pass for common knowledge, legitimate, fact, or common sense.

There is a very close connection between language, ideology and power. The practice of power in society today is achieved through ideology, and to be specific, through the ideological workings of language. Ideology is related to discourse in the sense that it comes to us through, or is reinforced by the language we use in our everyday lives. Ideologies are therefore part and parcel of the language that people use (Fairclough, 2001). Power is thus both displayed and achieved through language. Language enforces social control, influences feelings, shapes thought, and institutionalises discrimination (Kress, 1991). Ideologies are closely associated to power because the nature of ideological assumptions that support particular practices, and so the nature of those practices themselves, depends on the power relations which underpin the practices. Language therefore is not a neutral medium for communicating information, but a domain in which people's knowledge of the social world is shaped. Social practices are discursively shaped and enacted and they lead to subsequent discursive effects such as the domination of some people by others (Fairclough, 2001). This seeks to analyse this relationship between language, ideology and power in Kenya's elective politics.

This paper falls within a level of linguistics called discourse analysis. The paper particularly narrows down to an area in discourse analysis that focuses on gender and language. Gender is a system of meaning, a way of construing notions of male and female, and language is the primary means through which we maintain meanings, and construct new ones (Eckert & McConnell-

Ginet, 2003). Everyday conversational exchanges are crucial in constructing gender identities as well as gender ideologies and relations. Language persistently confirms, maintains and strengthens the ideologies and relations. Gender ideology is the set of beliefs that govern people's participation in the gender order, and by which they explain and justify that participation. All communication takes place against a background of shared assumptions and establishing those assumptions in conversation is key to getting one's meanings into discourse. Hall (1996) observes that most of the identities individuals have are not because of something inherent in them, but are due to how other people have recognized them. Hall (2000) adds that the construction of a social identity is an act of power. Political identities, differences and inequalities are therefore reproduced by talk and text.

Studies on media discourse by Meyers (1997), Mettge (1998) and Asabea, Diabah & hMensa, (2011), show that the media perpetuates the culture of male dominance in politics and passes on stereotypes and myths about women which ridicule or trivialize their needs and concerns. This type of discourse gives a picture of women only in powerless situations. This has been accepted as their normal position and therefore goes on unchallenged. Women political leaders are seen as 'trespassing' on the traditionally 'masculine' world of politics. These studies reveal the power of discourse in facilitating and maintaining discrimination against 'members' of 'groups'. Language defines and maintains status, and serves to enlarge authority. These researchers further argue that language provides names for categories, and so helps to set their boundaries and relationships; and discourse allows these names to be spoken and written frequently so contributing to the apparent reality and currency of the categories.

A study done in Makueni District, Kenya, on how political leaders, women and other leaders construct women's needs and interests reveals that, women, politicians and other community leaders in Kenya construct women's agency within deficit discourses. This reflects and reproduces the exclusion of women in the political process because it is hard for women to believe that they have a contribution to make when they are interpreted by these deficit discourses. The study concludes that although women are constructed as non-agentive, women act as agentive subjects (Ndambuki, 2010). A study on the discourses used to refer to men and women politicians in Kenya therefore becomes pertinent.

3.0 Theory and method

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is an amalgamation of various views which postulate that social reality is constructed in and through discourse, and that language is a form of social practice and a means of control and communication. Such views include Foucault, (1971, 1977), Chilton & Schaffner (1997), Fairclough & Wodak (1997) Van Dijk, (1997, 2001), Fairclough, (2001) and Wodak (2001) among others. CDA focuses on the way social and political domination are reproduced by discourse. The main argument of CDA according to Habermas, (1977), Fairclough, (2001), Van Dijk, (2001) and Locke (2004) is that discourse is coloured by and is productive of ideology. Locke (2004) argues that CDA sees a prevailing social order and social process as constituted and sustained by the recurrence of particular constructions of, or versions of reality often referred to as discourses. These recurrent versions of reality or discourses form ideologies. In CDA therefore, it is very rare for a text to be the work of any one person. CDA therefore fits well in this study as seeks to reveal the relation between discourse and power.

CDA is critical in the sense that "it aims to show non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power, domination and ideology" (Fairclough, 2001: 229). Habermas (1977), Meyer (2001) and Wodak (2001) argue that CDA aims to investigate critically, social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted and legitimised by language use. CDA, in this paper, aims to investigate critically power relations in elective politics and consequently gender inequality in elective politics.

Fairclough (2001) develops a three dimensional framework for studying discourse: analysis of spoken or written language texts, analysis of discourse practice (processes of text production and distribution and consumption), and analysis of discursive events as instances of socio-cultural practice. For example a spoken text like "iron lady" is analysed by focusing on how power relations are enacted by it and the broad, societal currents that affect it. Fairclough (2001) thus distinguishes three dimensions or stages of analysis. The first stage is description, and it is concerned with identifying the formal properties of a text. The second stage is interpretation and it deals with the relationship between the text and interaction. The last stage is explanation, that

is, the relationship between interaction and social context. This paper describes, interprets and explains the verbal and non-verbal discourses.

Van Dijk (2001) includes a cognitive component in the theory of ideology, what he calls ‘the shared mental representations of language users as members of groups, organisations or cultures’ (2001: 5). Van Dijk (2001, 1998) represents social cognition in three ways. The first is through the knowledge shared by all competent members of a society. Culturally shared knowledge is presupposed in public discourse and is seen as a common ground. The second way is through attitudes which are the opinions people share in their day to day discourses. The last and most important concept is ideology. According to Van Dijk, ideologies are the basic principles that organize the attitudes shared by the members of a group. These ideologies are used by the dominant groups so as to reproduce and legitimize their domination over others. Van Dijk (2001) postulates that discourse analysis is essentially ideology analysis.

Van Dijk (2001) also observes that a detailed CDA should have a strong linguistic basis. He says that ‘linguistic’ should be understood in a broad structural-functional sense. In other words, CDA is both a specific form and practice of discourse analysis. CDA should therefore look at the structures and functions of discourse at the phonological and graphological levels, and the lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels. Speakers and actors may variously manipulate these linguistic structures for ideological expression and persuasion, and hence management of meaning.

The paper adopts a cross-sectional research design whereby data is collected from more than one case at a single point in time (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2000; de Vaus, 2001). Kumar (2011) says that a cross-sectional research design is the most appropriate for obtaining self-reported opinions, attitudes, beliefs and values. Cross-sectional designs identify groups for study purposely in order to accommodate all the groups required in a study. This is appropriate for this study because it uses purposive sampling in order to adequately cater for subjects required in the study.

The study used qualitative procedures (Bhattacharjee, 2012) of sampling, data collection and analysis. This paper employs qualitative strategies of data collection: interview and documentation. Qualitative procedures adopt an interpretive approach to data (Creswell, 2003).

Qualitative procedures also aid in gaining insights concerning attitudes, beliefs, motivations and behaviours of individuals to explore a social or human problem. Qualitative procedures also rely on non-numeric data (de Vaus 2001, Bhattacharjee, 2012). We did sampling, data collection and data analysis in ways that were resonant with the required standards for validity, reliability and objectivity of findings (Daly, McDonald & Willis, 1992; Denzin, Lincoln & Hewitt, 2006)

The study focused on gendered political discourses on the national assembly politicians in Kenya and this meant that the parties involved the political process in Kenya, that is, the politicians themselves and the media, constituted the target population in this study. Lakoff (2005) argues that media has a wide audience and have a more pervasive influence on the electorate's belief system. Data was collected from five men and five women serving members of the national assembly, talk shows from four television stations, and news reports and opinions from four newspaper groups. These respondents constituted the accessible population of this study. Mugenda (2008) defines accessible population as 'that part of the target population which the researcher can practically reach' (p. 182).

The area of the study was Nairobi County. Nairobi County was purposively selected for the study because it is the political centre of Kenya, hence would ease accessibility to national assembly politicians who are part of the respondents in this study. Nairobi County is also a cosmopolitan city with people from different backgrounds, gender, age and education. This group contains all the characteristics that were required for the electorate. Lastly, Nairobi County houses the media houses that were sampled for the study. Nairobi County therefore was suitable as all the accessible population could be accessed there.

The study adopted a purposive sampling design as various factors were to be considered in sampling the politicians, news reports and opinion articles. The sample size comprised of discourses that were collected from five female and five male members of the national assembly who were separately interviewed in sessions that lasted between 1 hour and 1 hour and 15 minutes. According to Robson & Foster (1989) a group of eight to ten is big enough to give varied responses in an interview. The sample size also consisted of discourses from television talk shows, newspaper reports and opinions spoken or written between 2013 and 2017. The study chose the period between 2013 and 2017 because the debates on political gender representation

started after the Kenya Constitution (2010) (Republic of Kenya, 2010) and intensified after the general elections of 2013. Linguistic studies do not require large samples as small samples are able to provide data that is representative of the wider reality (Cheshire, 1982; Mesthrie, Swann, Deumart, & Leap, 2000; Trudgill, 1974). In fact, the use of large samples in linguistic studies is likely to bring about redundancy and data handling problems.

The study adopted the principle of triangulation (Gillham, 2000) whereby two instruments were used to collect data: document reviews and one-on-one non-structured interviews. Document reviews are useful in eliminating researcher's effect (de Vaus 2001; Fraenkel & Wallen, 2000) while non-structured interviews (Kombo & Tromp, 2006) are useful in studying sensitive topics such as politics. Data from the interviews was transcribed and translated, where necessary, the and combined it with data from the transcripts. The study data constituted verbal and non-verbal discourses in the form of words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs that were used by politicians and the media to describe or refer to the national assembly politicians during campaigns and every day discourses. The discourses were classified and coded according to source and speaker and then categorised into those that referred to the women politicians and those that referred to the men politicians. Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) approaches to CDA were used to describe, interpret and explain the data.

-	Indicates self cut-off by a speaker followed by repair
...	Three dots showing words or phrase omitted because they were not relevant in the study
P1(P2, P3 etc)	Names of the place where a politician was an aspirant
MK, CK etc	Initials of politicians' names that were either mentioned or written in the interview or media texts respectively

Codes for the various sources the discourses

WP 1 (2, 3, 4 or 5) INT:	Woman politician one (2, 3, 4 or 5) in the interviews
MP 1 (2, 3, 4 or 5) INT:	Man politician one (2, 3, 4, or 5) in the interviews
WP 1 (2, 3, 4) STD NSP:	Woman politician one (2, 3, ...) whose utterance was obtained from The Standard newspaper

MP I (2, 3, ...) STD NSP: Man politician one (2, 3, ...) whose utterance was obtained from The Standard newspaper

WP 1 (2, 3, ...) NAT NSP: Woman politician one (2, 3, ...) whose utterance was obtained from the Daily Nation newspaper

MP I (2, 3, 4) NAT NSP: Man politician one (2, 3, ...) whose utterance was obtained from the Daily Nation newspaper

STD NSP ART: A written article that was obtained from The Standard newspaper

NAT NSP ART: A written article that was obtained from the Daily Nation newspaper

ST NSP ART: A written article that was obtained from The Star newspaper

WP 1 (1, 2, 3, ...) NTV VLS: Woman politician one's (2, 3, ...) utterance on Nation Television's Victoria's Lounge show

MP 1(2, 3, ...) KTN JKL: Man politician one's (2, 3, ...) utterance on KTN's Jeff Koinange Live Show

4.0 Discussion

The data that is discussed here was obtained from one-on-one unstructured interviews with politicians and document reviews. The documents that were reviewed were the newspaper and television media. The newspaper articles and television talk show reviews yielded verbal and non-verbal data. Verbal communication is here defined as the exchange of messages or information through spoken or written words and non-verbal communication as the process of sending or receiving wordless (visual) cues. The verbal data from newspapers comprised of written articles by opinion makers and newspaper interviews with politicians. The non-verbal data from newspapers was in the form of editorial cartoons. The verbal data from the television interviews comprised of politicians' own spoken accounts or what they had heard being spoken about them or other politicians. Non-verbal data consisted of accounts of unspoken acts they had witnessed or encountered.

The interviews with politicians also yielded verbal and non verbal data. The interviewees reported their own accounts and what they had heard (verbal), and the unspoken cues that they had observed (non-verbal) during campaigns and their day to day lives. It is important to note that the discourses that were collected from the unstructured interviews with politicians included

discourses from the campaigners and supporters of political candidates. This is because the politicians who were interviewed cited what they had observed or heard from their political opponents, their own campaigners and supporters, and from the campaigners and supporters of their political opponents. This study uses the term ‘campaigners’ to refer to people, who are hired to move from place to place with or without a public address system in order to popularise a particular political candidate and depopularise political opponents. The study also uses the term ‘supporters’ to refer to members of the electorate who openly show support for a particular candidate within their local context or within their reach. Since both campaigners and supporters participate in making popular the political candidates they support, this study uses both terms interchangeably.

The verbal data therefore comprised of spoken and written texts while non-verbal data comprised of wordless or visual cues. Below is a summary of the verbal and non-verbal data that were obtained from the unstructured interviews, and document reviews:

4.1. Verbal data

Verbal data was collected from the following sources given in Table 1.4

Table 1.4: The Sources of verbal data

Verbal discourses /data		
Category	Source	Producers/Citers/writers
Spoken	Unstructured interviews	Politicians
	Newspaper interviews	Politicians
	Television talk shows/interviews	Politicians
Written	Newspaper articles	Opinion makers/reporters

Table 1.4 shows that the politicians who were interviewed and those who participated in newspaper and television interviews either, themselves, produced the gendered discourses or cited the gendered discourses they had heard. Below, we present the non-verbal data that was used in this study.

4.2 Non-verbal data

Discourses that were obtained from unstructured interviews, newspaper interviews, newspaper articles and television talk show interviews that gave accounts of instances where communication by means other than spoken or written words was used were classified as non-verbal data. These data were referred to as non-verbal discourses. These data was obtained from the sources indicated in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Sources of Non-verbal data

Non verbal discourses/ data	
Source	Citer/writer
Newspaper visuals	Opinion makers
Newspaper interviews	Politicians
Television interviews/talk shows	Politicians
Unstructured interviews	Politicians

Table 2.4 shows that all the non-verbal discourses were cited by politicians or written by opinion makers. In the next section, we provide a description of the types of lexical items and expressions that characterized the verbal texts and the features of non-verbal language that were inherent in the non-verbal discourses.

4.3 Verbal and non-verbal discourses: a typology

This section outlines the linguistic features of the verbal discourses at the lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels. The section also presents the features of non-verbal discourses that were identified. Tables 3.4 and 4.4 summarise the information.

Table 3.4: Linguistic typology of the verbal texts

Level of analysis	Linguistic features
Lexical level	Nouns, verbs, adjectives, nicknames, titles
Syntactic level	Idiomatic expressions, interrogatives
Semantic level	Local coherence, semantic rhetoric (metaphors, similes, oxymorons), topicalisation, reference
Pragmatic level	Insults, advice and plain assertions, commands

Table 4.4: Examples of non-verbal gendered discourses

Non-verbal language feature	Examples
Physical touch and social space	Inappropriate touches on women politicians
Paralanguage	Heckling
Body movements	Women performing dances in political rallies organized by men politicians
Facial expressions and gestures	Sex oriented gesticulations and facial expressions
Editorial cartoons	Cartoons that masculinise and sexualize women politicians

The following sections and sub-sections interpret and explain the verbal and non-verbal discourses identified in the preceding section. The subsection begins with the linguistic features of the verbal discourses starting with the lexical level then the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels. Later, the section discusses the features of the non-verbal discourses.

4.4 Lexicalisation

Lexicalisation is the careful choice of words in order to express certain meanings. Van Dijk, (2006) says that lexicalisation is a major and well-known domain of ideological expression and persuasion. The discourses that were analysed revealed that politicians, campaigners and the media utilised carefully chosen words to persuade and push their gender ideologies among the electorate. Lexicalization paints the in-group members positively while portraying the outgroup

members negatively. We find the general pattern of ideological control of discourse, that is, a positive self-presentation of the in-group and a negative other representation on the out-group. The discourses made use of lexical items such as nouns and adjectives, verbs and nicknames, to underlie the belief system of the speakers on the man and woman politician.

4.1.1 Nouns and adjectives

Nouns and adjectives such as ‘boss’, ‘bossy’, ‘naïve’, ‘opinionated’, ‘*wazimu*’ (mad), ‘*wanyonge na dhaifu*’ (weak and fragile), ‘*wenye nguvu*’ (the strong) were used by politicians and campaigners. When women in leadership positions are assertive and decisive, they are looked at as “bossy” while men in similar positions are seen as “boss”. ‘Boss’ (*mkubwa*) constructs men politicians as a people with authority while “bossy”, is a derogatory term which constructs women politicians as people who like giving instructions even where none are needed. A woman politician who was interviewed adds that this is because people judge women using standards which are not used on men. For instance, women are not expected to be at certain places, they should be a certain way and they should have certain values. She further explains that this has its origin in the patriarchal society that we live in that considers the leadership qualities of assertiveness and decisiveness as masculine while being demure and passive are considered feminine. It is therefore very easy to bring down a woman politician.

Similarly ‘opinionated’ suggests the non-norm trait for a woman. The word is used negatively and it is meant to be an insult. The question is: is a woman politician supposed to be anti-opinionated? The woman politician in question is here constructed as extraordinary. However, some of the politicians who were interviewed felt that most women politicians are naïve while others felt that many women politicians understood their roles and had performed well. Naivety is not considered a leadership quality. However, there appears to be a political dilemma for the women politicians since both those considered opinionated and those considered naïve are constructed negatively during political campaigns.

The noun phrase “*wanamke wazimu*” (mad woman) was used to refer to a woman politician who was vying for a presidential position in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. The use of the word “*wazimu*” / “mad” in this context showed that the woman politician was doing something

extraordinary or contrary to the norm. On the other hand, the adjectives “*wanyonge*” (fragile) and “*dhaifu*” (weak) construct women politicians as physically unsuitable to engage in politics. However, there seems to be no proof for a one to one relationship between physical strength and political leadership. There are many women politicians in Kenya who have excelled in their political careers and have set good performance records.

Text 1.4 W1 NTV VLS

When women have leadership skills or leadership characteristics or assertiveness and decisiveness they are looked at as ‘**bossy**’. When men have similar qualities, they are the ‘**boss**’, so it is respected. ...This is because we live in a patriarchal society and we have been conditioned to believe that women should be demure and probably seen and not heard to a certain extent. And actually to be honest, you find a lot of female leaders are single as a result. This is what we need to counter, that we are going to lose on a serious pool of leadership because we’ve decided that women should be a certain way, not to be seen at certain places, should have certain values, whereas men are not judged on the same basis. I think this is where propaganda comes in. It is very easy to bring a woman down. (NTV, Victoria’s Lounge November 10th 2016).

Text 2.4 W1 INT

When we are on a campaign trail consisting of both men and women politicians, you will hear the people call the men politicians “*mkubwa*” (boss) as they greet them but they may not apply the same standards for the women politicians.

Text 3.4 W1 NTV VLS

I think we are very lucky to have the so called, sort of communicative infrastructure which is social media, where we can speak to our government and we can, you know, put them to task. And I came to social media– I am **opinionated**, but I also wonder, what is the opposite is of - . People say you are opinionated and you wonder, what? People who are anti-opinionated? It is looked at as negative; you know, **you are opinionated!** It is supposed to be an insult. I wouldn’t wish it on my worst enemy not to have an opinion. But when a man is opinionated, he is respected. We need to normalize female leadership. It is one of the barriers, that is cognitive ____ people can’t get round it, and the mainstream media has a huge role to play in normalizing female leadership. We’ve had mentality as a bias, that we do as we see others do. The media can socially engineer society and the electorate to buy into women leadership by normalizing it so that women

are on these panels, you know, political discourse (NTV, Victoria's Lounge show, November 10 2016).

Text 4.4 M2 INT

Most women politicians are **naïve** and they don't articulate their issues in a manner that resonates well with their constituents (M2INT).

Text 5.4 W4INT

During the political campaigns, the men politicians and other supporters of the male presidential aspirant could tell the electorate "*achana na yule mwanamke wazimu*" or "leave that mad woman alone". There was no man politician referred to as "*yule mwanamme wazimu*" (that mad man). Remember CN also tried and failed.

Text 6.4 W5INT

Siasa ni chafu na iko na vurugu mingi. Ahiitaji watu wanyonge na dhaifu. Inahitaji watu walio na nguvu (Politics is dirty and violent. It does not need people who are physically fragile and weak. It requires strong people).

The media also describes successful women politicians by the use of adjectives. The media texts evoke the idea of sexual objectification of women politicians and the association of some successful women politicians with masculinity. Salter (2000) notes that when women hold power, their treatment is curious, often including a peculiar attention to sexuality or lack of it, their private lives and their external appearance. The adjective "seductive" (Text 7.4) has sexual connotations. The women politicians (Text 7.4) are constructed as rebellious, but MK is also masculinised. In Text 8.4 she is referred to as a 'man'. CN is portrayed as tough and feminine but she is also sexualised. Locke (2004) observes that it is very rare for a text to be the work of one person. A text is produced through the day to day discourses in society. Therefore, the text points to the societal expectation of women politicians. They have to be either masculine or sexually appealing. The creation of such standards for women may prevent some women from participating in politics. The media also portrays women politicians as lacking in seriousness through their physical outlook, especially their length of dress and make up, and the type of taglines they use (Text 8.4). The Text uses heightened descriptions that not only objectify and

sexualize the women aspirants but also demean and insult the women aspirants. The sexualisation of women politicians is demotivating (Text 8.4), especially for young women aspirants.

The media further describes another woman politician using the adjectives “brilliant”, “beautiful”, “stylish”, “articulate”, “unassuming”, and “classy” (Text 10.4). She is further described as a “sharp dresser” and as having a “dimpled smile”. The lexical items ‘brilliant’, ‘articulate’ and ‘unassuming’ are some of the pertinent qualities in good leadership for both men and women leaders. These qualities therefore portray the woman politician as a good leader. However, the author goes ahead to sexualize the woman politician by using the lexical items ‘beautiful’ and the expression ‘dimpled smile’. The title of the article points out that the good leadership qualities above are for men while the qualities that touch on the woman’s sexuality are the ones that belong to women. When a woman politician has good leadership qualities, she is equated to a man. The author constructs a woman politician who is physically a woman but politically a man. For a woman to succeed in politics, as already discussed in the section immediately before this section, she has to possess masculine traits or typical feminine qualities (seductive and coy), or yet again balance both qualities as illustrated by Text 7.4 and 10.4.

Text 7.4 STD NSP ART

What Flower Girls in Kenyan Politics can Learn from MK, CN

These two iron ladies have a **rebellious** streak - a very important quality for an ambitious politician.’

For instance, who among our ever-nominated flower girls can walk out on a sitting president, like MK Did on *Mzee* DM?

When was the last time you heard MK play the ‘woman card’? You can only catch her dead, for instance, saying sissy stuff like, ‘*Sisi kama wamama*’ (us women).

Her dress code is severe and, unless she is adorned in the green apparel of her flower party, she is always in red or black - tough and serious colours.

CN, on the other hand, is not only politically **coy**, but also **seductive**.’ (*The Standard* August 8th 2016).

Text 8.4 W1 STAR NSP

... I woke up on Monday to my picture on the front page of one of the weeklies and the **word beside my picture read ‘sex’. I am the latest in the list of women whose sexuality has been attacked.** At this point, the author of the story celebrates. He has managed to please his masters whose key objective is to embarrass the female legislator and to portray women as not designed for leadership.

When folks go fishing for intimate details and preposterous lies just to discredit the female legislators, then I am afraid our country is heading the wrong direction. If you are against having women in powerful positions there are better ways to this than using the media to attack and portray women as immoral.

Women are demotivated from running for office because of threats, questions on their marital status and sexuality. These attacks do not help young girls who would one day want to be the Martha Karuas or Wangari Maathais of this world. You kill the dreams of your own daughters by the cowardly acts (*The Star May. 22, 2015*).

Text 9.4 NAT NSP

City Woman Rep Aspirants Need More than Figure

It is sad that they have packaged themselves as delicate models on the catwalk

Bae wa Naii (babe or lover from Nairobi). *Manzi wa Naii* (girlfriend of or beautiful lady of Nairobi). *Msupa na works* (beautiful lady and works). As if our politics was not pathetic enough, Nairobi is now witnessing a new crop of Woman Representative aspirants who think that the race for that seat is a beauty contest.

With taglines like *Bae wa Naii* and *Msupa na Works*, it is very clear that these politicians do not take themselves seriously. From the way they look and feel, it would seem that the current crop of Nairobi Woman Rep aspirants **are not only looking for your votes, but also for husbands.**

With their goldilocks weaves, fake nails, heavily made-up faces, crimson red lipstick, vertiginous high heels and full length photos that show us all their curves and bulges, what we have are not politicians but socialites contesting in a ‘city bum’ beauty pageant. The only difference between the curvaceous, Dubai-visiting socialites and the woman Rep aspirants is that the politicians can afford billboards to showcase what they have to offer.

This is why nobody in this country will ever take the woman representatives or even the office of the Woman Rep seriously. If your selling point is beauty and youth (*Bae* is a corruption

of the word ‘babe’), how do you expect we, the electorate to respect you, **let alone consider your ideas? If you are peddling your beauty and asking us to judge you on the basis of your skin tone, make up and sheath dresses that outline your body, how do you expect us to entrust you with the weighty issues affecting the city?** If you are more interested in showing us your curves on your social media pages and on billboards than your ideas, how on earth do you expect a typical Kenyan not to think of you in a way that is not sexual? What are you trying to arouse here exactly?

You would think that with all their university degrees that maybe, just maybe, something would have stuck after years of law school, but I am massively disappointed that when it comes to Nairobi Woman Rep, the use of brains has been replaced with beauty and legs. Why aren’t male MP or MCA aspirants not selling themselves as ‘chali wa Naii’ or ‘Mjamaa na works’? Could it be that these Woman Representative aspirants think that the only thing they have to offer to Nairobians is beauty and curves and not ideas that will change our stinking city?

This is possibly why female politicians have lost the respect of Kenyans. They have packaged themselves as delicate models on the catwalks and Kenyans no longer view them through the prism of change agents or leaders. To the average Kenyan, the only female politician worth the leadership title is MK, who has on many occasions been referred to as a **man** only because she comes across as a **strong, no nonsense politician**, not a pretty girl with red lipstick and a tight skirt.

You cannot expect Kenyans to respect you if you package yourself as *supuu*. That is all they will see in you; your beauty –real or imagined. Not even your male colleagues in parliament will accord you the respect you deserve as a leader because you come across as **a flower girl with a blonde-dyed weave and fake eyelashes.**

Such misguided thinking is to blame for the regrettable behavior we have seen from some Woman Reps who have earned the dubious reputation for filming erotica while occupying high leadership offices. I mean, when a woman markets herself as *Manzi wa Naii*, do you expect male leaders to look at her and think business?

There is obviously nothing wrong with female politicians wearing makeup or looking good. I am all for the lethal combination that is beauty and brains. But when it comes to packaging yourself as a female politician, **please think beyond the legs and hips.** Make an effort to come across as a serious woman and respected politician who is not afraid to tackle serious issues of public interest. British Prime Minister Theresa May has the **nicest pair of legs** around but she also has a **fierce leadership spirit.**

Be a woman of substance, be issue-based. Excite your electorate not with your curves, but with your ideas on how you will transform their city. Kenya has enough **socialites** to last us a lifetime. Keep the tight skirts and sheath dresses in your wardrobe for dates with campaign sponsors. Cover up, ladies and please respect that Woman Representative office? *Sawa Bae?* Thanks, Msupa. Have a blessed Easter, *Manzi wa Naii*. (Saturday Nation, April 15, 2017).

Text 10.4 STD NSP ART

Amina Mohammed: Acting like a Lady but Thinking Like a Man

Brilliant, beautiful, stylish, articulate and yet unassuming, she breathes remarkable freshness and class into the boring business of Government. A sharp dresser, often with a scarf loosely tied around her neck and dimpled smile, she brought to the Cabinet the rare combination of beauty and brains (*The Standard*, Aug 8th 2016).

Women politicians responded variously as to whether women politicians should rescind their femininity or soft power (for instance, lessen make up, avoid dress suits and bright colours) in order to win an electoral post. One woman politician gave an incident where the electorate promised to vote a certain woman politician on the pretext that she was as beautiful as they had seen her on television. The women politicians argued that in some political contexts, women needed to rescind their femininity while in other contexts they needed to manipulate their femininity to win an election.

Text 11.4 W2 NTV VLS

During campaigns, you can't afford to be soft when your opponent is the type of man who can slap a woman and doesn't respect women. You can't afford to be nice, soft and smiling (NTV, Victoria's Lounge November 10th 2016)

Text 12.4 W1 NTV VLS

We have not seen her. If she is as beautiful as she looks, then we will vote for her (NTV, Victoria's Lounge November 10th 2016).

When women politicians win top electoral political positions, such as presidency and party leadership, certain verbs are used by the media to describe what their victory portends or how the news of their victory is received. The media uses the verbs such as “crash” and “burn” which

show that the men politicians' political career has been 'destroyed' by the women politicians and it is the women politicians who have been "left standing". While Text 13.4 emphasizes that women leaders should not be defined by their gender, the text uses words that appear to indirectly incite the men politicians to defend their political role. The women politicians are constructed as the non-norm such that when more women get into top political seats, it is seen as a threat to the men politicians' political career. Although Text 13.4 applauds the notable progress that women are making in politics, the article ends up portraying the women politicians in the article, against the backdrop of the ideological thinking in Kenya. The text is based on the Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump campaigns in 2016. Although the text does not talk about the women politicians in Kenya, it presents a foreign political scenario from a Kenyan perspective. The verb 'shocked' (Text 14.4) shows how the public (according to the media) reacts when a woman wins party leadership. The word 'shocked' implies that the public did not expect a woman to win. Her victory is viewed as extraordinary, a non-norm, strange and unnatural.

Text 13.4 STD NSP ART

Women leaders taking over superpowers

It now seems likely that by the middle of January 2017, three of the world's six largest economic powers will be led by women...An entire generation of British male politicians has watched their reputations **crash** and **burn** since June 23 referendum, and the women were the ones left standing ... In multiple case, female leaders – such as Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto or Britain's Thatcher – have become iconic figures. Women leaders should not be, and are not, defined solely by gender - and it is never the most interesting thing about them... (*The Standard* July 20th 2016).

Text 14.4 STD NSP ART

Women Leaders in Race to Claim Stake in Nyanza Politics

P13 woman Rep GW, for instance, **shocked** many when she beat men to be elected the county's Orange Democratic Movement chairperson.' ... At the same time, Kisumu Deputy Governor RO has been out to prove women are not timid and fearful by declaring 'total war' against her boss... in next year's elections (*The Standard*, Friday September 2nd 2016).

4.1.2. Nicknames

Nicknames define or control how people see a person. The nicknames may either be empowering or disempowering. The respondents identified the nicknames ‘*Sonko*’ (very rich), ‘*Otada*’ (tough man), ‘*Mama Nai*’ (mother of Nairobi) or ‘*Mama yao*’ (their mother), ‘*Baba yao*’ (their father) and ‘*Baba*’ (father). All these nicknames constructed the men and women politicians that they named positively. According to the interviewees, nicknames in politics do not obviously mean that the referents possess the qualities suggested by the names. The nicknames are a political gimmick that gives a political advantage to the referents. However, other nicknames, for instance, the Luo word “*otada*” (tough man) serve to promote the gender ideology. Luo is one of the indigenous tribes in Kenya. The adjective constructs politics as masculine, and rules out women politicians, who are considered weak as already seen in Text 6.4. The adjective may also rule out other men politicians who may not be considered tough.

Text 19.4 M5 INT

In politics, a nickname does not necessarily mean one has such qualities. The nick name is used to give one political mileage or to politically “finish”, you know, another political opponent regardless of whether one possesses such a quality or not.

4.1.3 Titles

The titles that are used for men and women in similar positions of leadership are sometimes different. The men politicians are associated with respectable titles which are likely to boost their social and political standing while the women politicians are associated with titles, which in the context of male competitors, may reduce their social standing and foreground their femininity. The titles ‘*Mheshimiwa*’ (Boss/Honourable), ‘*Madam /Mama*’ (Mother) and ‘*Ms/Mrs*’ were identified. “*Mheshimiwa*” (honourable) constructs the men politician as respectable. The title is neutral, so it does not appeal to the gender of the man politician. However, the titles “*madam*” and “*mama*” (mother) are not neutral as they appeal to the gender of the woman politician. Although “*madam*” is a respectable title for women in other contexts in Kenya, it may not command the level of respect carried by “*mheshimiwa*” (honourable) especially in the political context. The masculine equivalent of “*madam*” especially in Kenyan schools is “*sir*”. The title “*sir*” is not used in the political context. “*Mama*” (mother) is also a respectable title for women

in Kenya in certain contexts but in the political context, it more of constructs a woman as a mother than a leader. Its Kiswahili masculine equivalent “*baba*” (father) is not normally used in the same political contexts where “*mama*” is used. Apart from “*baba*” (father) being used as a nickname for two men politicians in Kenya who are usually referred to as “*baba*”(father) and “*baba yao*” (their father) as discussed above, one will not find any other man politician being called “*baba*” (father).

The title ‘Miss/Mrs.’ was used by the media (Text 20.4) to refer to woman presidential candidate in the 2013 race. Elsewhere, (Text 7.4) she is portrayed as a successful politician worth emulating by other women politicians. However, when she contests for presidency, the tone changes. These titles ‘Miss/Mrs.’ are gender insensitive in the modern linguistic context and have been replaced with the more gender neutral title ‘Ms’. The titles foreground the issue of marital status, which appears to be of concern when it comes to women leadership in Kenya as has already been discussed above. The text appears to persuade the reader that a woman, whose marital status is unclear, is unsuitable for presidency. The author constructs the political career of the woman politician as pegged on her marital status.

Text 20.4 STD NSP ART

Is Kenya Ready for a Female President?

... So **Miss/Mrs.** Presidential Aspirant do not be fooled by those people surrounding you championing your cause.’...You and I can place wagers on the fact that a majority of the people in your campaign team won’t vote for you and I am certain I will win. As your politicians say, with those few remarks I would like to end my tirade by stating categorically that Kenya is not ready for a Woman president. (*The Standard*, 30th Aug 2016).

Lexicalisation demeans women politicians and constructs them as unsuitable to hold electoral political posts. Lakoff (2005) cites lexical differences in the way people talk about men with power versus women with power. He says that we use different words to describe similar or identical behaviour by men and women. According to Lakoff (2005), such words presuppose inappropriateness in attitude. The conscious or unconscious use of these lexical items is a persuasive manipulation of the mental models of the political context. The use of different words to describe similar behaviour creates a difference between the men and women politicians, and

thus accords power to the men politicians. According to CDA (Fairclough 2001), power is about relations of differences in social structures. Van Dijk, (2001) adds that is meant to lead to the formation of the preferred model which may in turn be generalized to more generalized knowledge, attitudes or ideologies.

4.5 Syntax

Campaign and media discourses are also laden with ideologically motivated constructions. Most of these are in the form of idiomatic expressions and interrogative sentences.

4.5.1 Interrogative sentences

Questioning, according to Van Dijk, (2006) is used as a form of ideological management. Women politicians are frequently asked questions relating to their personal lives that have little or nothing to do with their political lives. The questions are usually on their marital status, where they are married or where they were born, and their duties as wives, mothers and care givers.

Text 21.4 W1 INT, W2INT, W3INT, W4 INT, and W5INT,

Are you married?

Text 22.4 WP1, WP2

Where are you married?

Text 23.4 W1 INT, W4 INT, W3 INT

Who will take care of your husband?

Text 24.4 W2 INT

With whom have you left your husband?

Text 25.4 WP1, WP2

Where were you born?

Text 26.4 W3 INT, W5 INT

Do you have children?

Text 27.4 W1 INT, W4 INT, W5 INT

How are you raising your children?

The questions on the marital status of women politicians raise contradictions. While in one context a woman political aspirant should be married, in another context, it is suggested that

politics is for single women and divorcees. The producers of this discourse seem to play with the issue of marital status to their political advantage.

Text 28.4 W3INT

When people know that a woman politician is single, they will ask her whether she is married. And if she is married, they will tell her that she is contaminating herself because politics is for the divorcees and single women.

The questions on where women politicians were born or where they are married construct them as outsiders. The utterance below (Text 29.4) is directed to a woman politician by a man politician. The man politician portrays himself as the insider and portrays the woman politician as outsider. She has no right to vie in her birth place because she lost that right when she got married. The man politician uses the in-group - out-group paradigm to gain political mileage over the woman politician. He would like the electorate to believe that the woman political aspirant will be more committed to developing the region where she is married at the expense of the region where she was born. The utterance is also used to discourage the woman politician from vying for the gubernatorial position in the county where she was born and therefore reduce the competition for the man politician. The utterance underlies the gender ideology. Ideologies are assumed to control, through the minds of members, the social production of a group (Van Dijk, 2006). Fairclough (2000) observes that discourses are to a large extent ideological. The utterances people make reflect the belief system in their society.

Text 29.4 M2 NAT NSP

She is married to an outsider. If you elect her she will divert our resources to go and develop her home region in P5. She lost her birthright as a daughter of P4 County because of that marriage (Daily Nation, Wednesday, February 1, 2017).

Text 30.4 W1 NAT NSP

Women have a problem contesting where they are married because some clans only want their native sons to vie and not women married there (Daily Nation, Tuesday 28th February, 2017).

The other questions (Text 23.4, Text 24.4, Text 26.4 & Text 27.4) above confirm that the traditional gender ideologies are still at work in the Kenyan society. Most societies assign the

role of family and child rearing to women (World Bank, 2001). On the other hand, society assigns men the role of military service and defence. These traditional gender roles are manipulated to bar women aspirants from vying for political seats and also convince the electorate not to vote for the women politicians.

The print media also uses interrogatives for ideological management. For instance, Text 31.4 asks a number of questions based on a reaction to a woman politician's response during a television interview. The woman politician had participated in the 2013 presidential race and lost. When the television media journalist asked her whether Kenya was ready for a female president, she responded thus: "Media houses are psyching Kenyans to reject a female president by dwelling on whether Kenya is ready for a female president. Text 31.4 is therefore a response to the woman politician's answer.

Text 31.4 STD NSP ART

Is Kenya Ready for a Female President?

The other day MK was asked in a televised interview if Kenya is ready for a female president. She chose to launch an attack at media houses for asking that question instead of answering it. "Media houses are psyching Kenyans to reject a female president by dwelling on whether Kenya is ready for a female president" she claimed, **but is Kenya really ready for a female president?**

Kenya is made up of a widely patriarchal society that has been run by men since time immemorial. You may argue that there were women leaders like Wangu wa Makeri or Mekatilili Wa Menza but these were isolated cases. Naturally people feel threatened by women in power. **You expected me to say men feel threatened by women in power?** No, even women feel threatened by fellow women in power.

No Kenyan man would ever willingly agree to be under a woman. Look around, **how many female governors do you see? How many female senators? And the countable female MPs?** No normal Kenyan man would also allow his wife to rise far above him, that is, even if he allows her to rise above him. Look at the women who ever truly wielded power in this country, **was there a man in their lives? Do you expect the same men to vote a woman to be the most powerful 'man' in the country?**

Women, like fire, are known to be good servants but bad leaders. I know this is stereotypical thinking but just look at our female leaders, ask a friend who has a female boss the

hell they go through.’ Look at Wangu Wa Makeri and the stunts she used to pull like having a man act as her chair during communal meetings.

Like I said, women like fire, are known to be good servants but bad leaders. Truth be told, Kenyans are not ready to have a woman to lead them. Those women empowerment groups may run around empowering women and girls to the disadvantage of boys and men, have a woman representative post created and push to have a two thirds gender rule but having the status quo of the society change is going to take nothing than a miracle.

Just look at the same male dominated parliament that proposed the two thirds gender rule sabotage it. On the day the bill was supposed to be passed the members simply did not turn up leaving female legislators screaming their heads off on TV.’

So Miss/Mrs. Presidential Aspirant do not be fooled by those people surrounding you championing your cause...You and I can place wagers on the fact that a majority of the people in your campaign team won’t vote for you and I am certain I will win. As your politicians say, with those few remarks I would like to end my tirade by stating categorically that Kenya is not ready for a Woman president (*The Standard*, 30th Aug 2016).

The text uses questioning to persuasively defend the status quo and uphold the traditional gender ideologies that portray women as unsuitable for political leadership. The question ‘...but is Kenya really ready for a female president?’ persuasively used re-states the subject. The question ‘you expected me to say men feel threatened by women in power?’ implies that the author, although he feels that men feel threatened by women in power, does not want this view to come out clearly. The idea he puts across is that Kenya is not ready for a female president because people feel threatened by women in power. The use of the word “people” in the preceding statement is unclear. The question, in the context of the preceding sentence, allows for the interpretation of “people” as women. However, the use of the premodifier “even” in the following sentence suggests that it is both men and women who are threatened by women in power. The questions ‘how many female governors do you see?’, ‘how many female senators?’ and ‘and the countable female MPs?’ portray the reality of elective politics in Kenya, after the 2013 general elections. There was no woman elected senator or governor. However, 63 (19%) out of the total 337 MPS were elected to the position of MP. The author uses this outcome of the 2013 general elections to inform the reader that Kenya is not ready for a female president.

The questions ‘...was there a man in their lives?’, ‘do you expect the same men to vote a woman to be the most powerful ‘man’ in the country?’ draw the attention of the reader to the women who have held very powerful positions in Kenya and asks whether they had men in their lives. Later in the text, the author addresses the woman politician with the titles ‘Miss/Mrs’, implying that it is not clear whether she is married or not. The questions and the titles bring the issue of marital status which has already been discussed above. It is not clear whether Kenya is not ready for a female president whose marital status is not clear or Kenya is not ready for female president in general. The meaning of the two sentences is rather contradictory.

The author suggests that the women who have truly wielded power had no men in their lives. Immediately after question seven, the author poses the last question: “do you expect the same men to vote a woman to be the most powerful ‘man’ in the country?” This question comes immediately after another question to state that men cannot vote a woman whose marital status is questionable into the most powerful position in the country. The author fails to account for women who have held powerful political positions in Kenya such as cabinet minister (currently called cabinet secretary). The questions reinforce the patriarchal ideology that the women politicians are unsuitable for presidency. Van Dijk (2006) says that discourses similarly function to persuasively help construct new and confirm already existing ideologies. These questions confirm that women cannot be leaders because no woman was elected governor or senator in the 2013 general election. At the same time, there are very few elected women MPs. These questions construct the woman politician as incapable of political leadership.

The author of the article actually confirms the view of MK that the media asked the question in order to psychologically or emotionally intimidate the public to continue believing that Kenya is not ready for a woman president. The writers of media articles are part of society, and therefore share and propagate in the societal ideologies. The text further rubberstamps the ideology that it is only married women or women who can demonstrate a relationship with men are acceptable in political positions (African Woman and Child Feature, Service 2013). The article neither explains why women are bad leaders nor gives the relationship between single women and bad leadership.

4.5.2 Idiomatic expressions

The media further uses idioms that evoke the gendered image of women politicians as the non-norm. For instance, Text 31.4 applauds the remarkable efforts made by women to vie for electoral seats in one of the Counties in Kenya. However, the idioms “sending shivers down the spines of their male counterparts” and their “male counterparts going to the drawing board” introduce the male-female dichotomy. The two idioms portray a state of panic on the side of the man politician and reveal that a rise in number in women political aspirants is not the norm. These idioms therefore construct the men politicians as the norm. One woman politician observed that when women were nominated to meet the two-thirds gender majority threshold, after the 2013 general election, some men parliamentarians felt that the women were too many yet the women only constituted 19% of parliament.

Text 31.4 also uses the idiom ‘men are the wind beneath your wings’ to emphasize that a woman politician cannot succeed in politics without the backing of a man or men politicians. This is also suggested in text 30.4. Text 31.4 further suggests that the role of a woman politician is to control the male energy. The idiomatic expression constructs the woman politician as dependent or lacking in independence and contradicts with Text 7.4 advocates for women politicians not to depend on their male counterparts for success. Text 33.4 also uses the idiom “screaming their heads off” to refer to women parliamentarians. The author argues that there was no way the men parliamentarians who are the majority in parliament could accept to vote for the two thirds majority bill. So, on the day the bill was to be passed the men politicians did not turn up. They left the women parliamentarians discuss the bill by themselves. The idiom portrays the women politicians as helpless noisemakers.

Text 31.4 STD NSP ART

Women Leaders in Race to Claim Stake in Nyanza Politics

Women politicians are **sending shivers down the spines** of their male counterparts as they seek elective posts next year. Since the days of Grace Onyango, who was the first woman elected MP in Kenya, former assistant Minister Grace Ogot and former Karachuonyo MP Phoebe Asiyo, the region has been largely dominated by men.

But things are bound to change if the aggression with which women are campaigning ahead of the 2017 General Election is anything to go by. For decades, women have been pushed

to the periphery mainly due to lack of resources and sometimes because of culture. However, most of the women eyeing seats in the next elections are bold, have money and are popular on the ground, which has their male counterparts **going back to the drawing board** (The Standard, September 2nd 2016).

Text 32.4 STD NSP ART

AM's mistake was failing to manage the men in her life

The most important thing for any woman running for a political office is to manage the men in her life. No matter how much we try to run away from that fact, if a woman politician wants to succeed in politics, she must find a way of having a political male sponsor, male advisor or male accessory. The woman politician should ensure that this male energy becomes the wind beneath her wings instead of being the wave that crashes her political career.

CS AM was fortunate enough to have not one but several of Kenya's top men backing her. In both word and deed, they let it be known that they wanted her to win and get top slot but they also became her greatest Achilles heel by hogging her limelight.

Naïve flower girl

May be I do not know all the nuances of diplomacy but on most occasions (brought to us by publicity photos), she appeared like a **naïve flower girl** or **debutante brought in to sprinkle some femininity into the scene**.

Women who want to play and succeed in the boy's league have to become ballsy and manage the men in their world so that they do not crush their dreams – especially the men who claim to support them.

Look at Hillary Clinton, her success in the second presidential round was mainly because she told good-old lecherous Bill to take a back seat for a change – and this helped her campaign. She also learnt when to bring in the right kind of male energy when she turned to her former adversary Barack Obama to help her win – as we know even that was not enough.

One of the greatest failings of AM's campaign was the constant need to preen and update the whole world of every single campaign step and misstep. We were constantly updated on every capital that AM and her entourage had visited and on who was the latest addition to the AM chorus. Last time I checked, knew or heard – **diplomacy is like sex – best when it happens in darkness, between two people and in silence** (though some will differ with this view). And just like sex, the minute you defy these rules and play to the gallery, someone is likely to get hurt or injured....

Female candidates in this season must avoid the temptation of sharing with the whole world every single element of your campaign. Only share what will help you win, the rest keep to yourself (The Standard, February 12th 2017).

Text 33.4 STD NSP ART

...Just look at the same male dominated parliament that proposed the two thirds gender rule sabotage it. On the day the bill was supposed to be passed the members simply did not turn up leaving female legislators **screaming their heads off** on TV'... (*The Standard*, 30th Aug 2016).

4.6 Semantics

This sub-section is concerned with how ideologies are assumed to control the construction of meaning in discourse and not in semantics as the conceptual meaning of words, phrases and sentences. Among the levels of discourse at which ideologies may be seen to manifest themselves, the level of meaning and reference plays a central role (Hodge & Kress, 1993). What has been seen for lexicalization and syntax is more generally for the management of meaning. Under semantics, we discuss the use of local coherence (local semantics) semantic rhetoric, global coherence and reference. Local coherence depends on models or the ideologically controlled representations of the situation (also called context models). Local coherence entails the use of biased reasons and causes that make facts implicit while the non facts are made explicit. The biased reasons and causes therefore define the relations in the model. On the other hand, semantic rhetoric refers to the use of discourse structures such as repetition, metaphors and similes for ideological management. Van Dijk (2006) says that information that is unfavourable to 'us' is made less prominent, while negative information about 'them' is emphasized

4.6.1 Local coherence

Local coherence entails the use of reasons and causes that are prejudiced in particular contexts to cover facts and foreground non facts, for ideological management. For instance, women are encouraged to vie for the Woman Rep position but not Member of Parliament (MP), because this is seen as a preserve of the male politicians. Biased reasons, such as women cannot lead people to war and that there is a political seat that is a preserve for women, are used. The suggestion that

women political aspirants should vie for the Woman Rep position only, constructs women politicians as inferior and therefore unsuitable for positions of higher social standing.

Text 34.4 NAT NSP

“...seeking an elective post is not easy, especially in a constituency where women have traditionally not asked for votes”. ...W4 NAT NSP listed among the challenges the fact that she is the first woman to go for the parliamentary seat in her community. Some people, she said, told her to go for the seat exclusively reserved for women that is the P6 Woman Rep position. She added that “when you seek a political seat in the conflict-prone area like P6 or P7, being a leader is also taken quite literally, and some people tell you that women don’t lead people to war” (Daily Nation Wednesday, March 8, 2017).

Text 35.4 NAT NSP

...A woman politician is warned not to contest positions that are men’s and she would be better off contesting the women’s representative position which is reserved for women... (Daily Nation, Wednesday, February 1, 2017).

Text 36.4 STD NSP

...While talking at a meeting held at P8, ... W2 STD NSP said it was sad to note that there were misconceptions in the society that women should not vie for positions other than that of the Woman Rep that has been touted has ‘given to women’. “There is no elective seat that is restricted from vying for even that of president...I am telling you ...to vie for all the other posts...”(Saturday, November 19th 2016).

One man politician noted that the belief that it is political leaders, who lead people to war, was true in traditional African society and is still true since military invasions and other types of combat still need men. However, being a man may not necessary guarantee certain political positions in the present political context. Men or women may occupy various political seats. For instance, the Cabinet Secretary (CS) for defence in Kenya in the 2013-2017 government was a woman. She was appointed into the position alongside other CSs in 2013 when the 2013-2017

government came to power. Fairlough (2001) and other proponents of CDA observe that ideologies are produced, sustained, spread and naturalized through discourse.

The Woman Representative (Woman Rep) post was an outcome of the affirmative action in Kenya which culminated in the two-thirds gender law, whose aim was to increase the representation of women in parliament. Article 97, Section (1) (b) of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) created the position of Women Reps (Republic of Kenya, 2010). The creation of the Woman Rep position did not annul the participation of women in other political positions. Women Reps according to the constitution are members of the National Assembly and they participate in all the roles of the National Assembly as stipulated by article 95, section (1) of the Kenya (2010) constitution. The Woman Rep position is therefore charged with similar responsibilities as those of MP. One woman politician observed that the Woman Rep position is not regarded with prestige as the other political positions such as President, Member of Parliament (MP), senator, governor and Member of County Assembly (MCA). She cites its recent creation and existing beliefs as some of the reasons why it is prejudiced.

4.6.2 Semantic rhetoric

Semantic rhetoric entails the use of rhetorical structures of discourse, such as figures of speech, for ideological control. Examples of semantic rhetoric include repetition, metaphors and similes, and oxymorons. Van Dijk (2006). Semantic rhetoric is used to emphasize a topic so as to make information that is negative about the other or them, more prominent, while positive information about the other is de-emphasized. The prominence of the information leads to hegemony or naturalization of the information. Specific “rhetorical” structures of discourse may therefore be a function of ideological control. Below we discuss metaphors and similes and oxymorons as the rhetoric figures that were inherent in the verbal discourses.

a. Similes and Metaphors

A simile compares one thing or quality to another while a metaphor refers to language that directly compares or equates seemingly unrelated subjects. Both of them are used in order to achieve a particular meaning. The verbal discourses were coloured with ideologically motivated metaphors meant to demean, belittle, marginalise or dehumanize (Van Dijk 2006) the referents. This paper identified the metaphors ‘flower girls’, ‘*rinda*’ (woman’s dress), ‘*kilemba*’ (head

scarf), ‘thief’ and ‘*mafisi*’ (big hyenas). Apart from the metaphor ‘flower girls’, the other metaphors were used in the form of nicknames, but in this sense putting the referent in a class of other similar people assumed to possess similar characteristics. The names therefore, did not name a specific person but a class of people.

Some interviewees noted that the nominated women politicians are openly discriminated by being referred to as “**flower girls**”. After the 2013 general elections several women were nominated into parliament in order to meet the two thirds gender majority requirement as stipulated by the Kenyan constitution (2010). An instance was cited when a male member of parliament out rightly referred to all nominated women parliamentarians as flower girls. However, a case was also cited when one elected woman politician called a nominated woman politician a flower girl.

The media also uses similes and metaphors to demean and downplay the political roles of women politicians. One prominent woman politician in Kenya is described thus ‘... she appeared like a **naïve flower girl** or **debutante brought in to sprinkle some femininity into the scene**’ (Text 32.4). The combination of naïve, flower girl and debutante constructs the woman politician as inexperienced and lacking in agenda. Text 37.4 also uses the metaphor of “flower girls”. The text describes women politicians as “flower girls who just can’t stop clutching on their male party leaders’ coat for political survival or election”. The metaphor contrasts these women politicians with two other women politicians that are equated to iron ladies. ‘Iron ladies’ is another metaphor that equates the two women politicians to iron. The metaphor ‘iron lady’ is used in the text to refer to two women politicians in Kenya who were elsewhere described as rebellious and tough. The two women have set good political records. They are contrasted with those that the same article refers as flower girls. The main argument in the text is to inform women that in order to succeed, they have to be iron ladies and not flower girls. However, the author notes that there are also men politicians who are not independent when he writes ‘unlike some male politicians, MK and CN are not your average ‘yes-pushovers’ or ‘sissy followers’. These two iron ladies ‘have a rebellious streak - a very important quality for an ambitious politician’. In other words, the two ladies are not sycophants and they do not use their being women to survive politically. The author of Text 37.4 agrees that there are also men politicians

who can be compared to the women politicians who he calls flower girls. However, he does not provide a metaphor to describe such men politicians.

Text 37.4 STD NSP ART

What Flower Girls in Kenyan Politics can Learn from MK, CN

Closer home, it's unfortunate **we have nothing but flower girls, who just can't stop clutching on their male party leaders' coat tails for political survival or election**, even for the smallest post like Member of County Assembly.

First off, unlike some male politicians, MK and CN are not your average 'yes-pushovers' or 'sissy followers'.

Iron ladies

These two **iron ladies** have a **rebellious** streak - a very important quality for an ambitious politician.'

For instance, who among our ever-nominated flower girls can walk out on a sitting president, like MK Did on *Mzee DM*?

When was the last time you heard MK play the 'woman card'? You can only catch her dead, for instance, saying sissy stuff like, '*Sisi kama wamama*' (us women).

Her dress code is severe and, unless she is adorned in the green apparel of her flower party, she is always in red or black - tough and serious colours.

CN, on the other hand, is not only politically **coy**, but also **seductive**.' (*The Standard* August 8th 2016).

Apart from flower girls, women aspirants are variously referred to as '*rinda*' (woman's dress) '*kilemba*' (headscarf) and '*soda Ndogo*' (small Soda). Sometimes chant are forms that incorporate the metaphors as in the example below. The metaphors '*rinda*' (woman's dress) and '*kilemba*' (headscarf) create mental images of a woman and rekindle the image of gender among the electorate. The metaphors evoke the images of femininity as opposed to masculinity. The metaphor '*soda ndogo*' (small soda) on the other hand constructs women politicians as poor or lacking in terms of campaign money. These metaphors are disempowering.

On the other hand, metaphors such as 'thief' and '*mafisi*' (big hyenas) are used to refer to men politicians. The metaphor 'thief' constructs men politicians as people who misappropriate public resources and therefore portray the women politicians as honest caretakers of public funds. The

metaphor '*mafisi*' (big hyenas) further constructs men politicians as people who both misappropriate public funds and prey on women. Their negative destructive nature is not in their physical size but in the negative effects of their behavior in society. The interviewees noted that these metaphors may not significantly damage the political image of the men politicians.

In Text 31.4 the author uses the simile, '**women like fire, are good servants but bad leaders**'. He conceptualizes women as fire which he argues is supposed to be controlled during cooking. Otherwise, if it is left uncontrolled, it will spoil the food. Women are therefore supposed to serve and be led or controlled just like fire. The simile belittles and marginalizes women vis-à-vis men. The simile echoes what a woman politician said in Text 1.4 that women are expected to be seen but not to be heard.

Text 32.4 also uses the simile '**...– diplomacy is like sex – best when it happens in darkness, between two people and in silence (though some will differ with this view)**'. The author further adds '**and just like sex**, the minute you defy these rules and play to the gallery, someone is likely to get hurt or injured...' The text compares the relationship a woman politician is supposed to maintain with a man or men politicians. The relationship should be like that of illicit 'sex' which should not be made public. The text implies that the woman politician did not play her diplomatic cards well or she made the man or men in her life public and therefore failed to control them. From the author's argument, the woman politician failed to manage the men in her life. The author insists that a woman cannot succeed in politics if she is not supported by one or more men politicians. However, she should manage or control them if she has to succeed. It is important to note that the woman politician who is the subject of this text has held high positions such as ambassador and permanent representative for the Kenya diplomatic mission, secretary of the Ministry of Justice and the UN, and the cabinet secretary for foreign affairs and has a good performance record.

b. Oxymorons

An oxymoron is a deviant collocation of terms which ordinarily cannot be used together. For instance in Text 31.4, the author says that men cannot "**vote a woman to be the most powerful 'man' in the country**". The woman is referred to as 'man'. The author implies that voting a

woman as president is elevating her to the level of a man and men cannot assent to it. This oxymoron ideologically emphasises that it is a men, and not a women, who can be the most powerful people in the country. This oxymoron constructs the man politician as the natural occupant of the most powerful position, and the woman politician as suited for the less powerful positions.

4.6.3 Topicalisation

Topics of discourse define subjectively the information in discourse that speakers or writers find most relevant or important (Van Dijk, 2006). Hence, topicalisation may be subject to ideological management. For instance, the media in Text 31.4 formulates the topic in the form of a question that propagates the ideology that Kenya is not ready for a woman president. The media only purports to generate a debate that may address the issue of women presidency in Kenya but starts it with an ideologically driven question. The media, therefore, not only appears to share in the belief that Kenya is not ready for a woman president but also reaffirms the ideology and helps to propagate it.

Van Dijk (2006) notes that initial summaries such as headlines in the news have the crucial function of expressing the topic highest in the microstructure hierarchy and therefore the (subjectivity) most important information of a news report. For instance, the following topics appear in the headlines of some of the texts discussed in this paper.

1. Women leaders taking over superpowers. (Text 13.4)
2. Homa Bay Woman Rep shocks many... (Text 14.4)
3. What flower girls in Kenyan politics can learn from... (Text 7.4)
4. Is Kenya ready for a female president? (Text 31.4)
5. AM (initials) acting like a lady, but thinking like a man. (Text 10.4)

All the headlines above present a summary or give the most important information in the texts from which they were part. The headlines are either summaries of texts (except text 31.4) that appear concerned with the plight of women in political leadership and would like to look for solutions or the texts are lauding successful women politicians. The texts However, the texts end

up, either consciously or unconsciously, propagating gendered ideologies on the man and woman politician. Identifying reversals between what a text does and what it purports to do is at the heart of CDA (Bucholz, 2003). In essence the texts are affirming and reworking the ideologies or discourses of gender.

For instance, the headline for Text 10.4 summarises the woman politician in question as being a lady in “acting” but in leadership she is like a man. The author would have phrased the heading differently to capture her good leadership. However, the author chooses to define her or compare her leadership skills to those of men leaders. The question is: are the leadership skills of men the yardstick for measuring good leadership? Are all men naturally good leaders? Are there leadership skills for women and others for men? This text is related to Text 7.4 which associates successful women politicians with masculinity.

4.6.4 Reference

Reference is used to point out the specific person or object that a person is talking about. The text below uses the ‘that- reference’ to refer to a woman politician (MK) who had vied for the presidential post in Kenya in the 2013 general elections. Text 38.4 refers to the same woman described by Texts 7.4 and 31.4. The use of ‘that’ singles her out contemptuously. The author of the text argues that MK has performed well as a political leader over the years. However, the electorate does not use these achievements to rate her during voting. They rate her as being ‘that’ woman. MK, therefore, did not win because she was ‘that’ woman. The author wonders whether the issue of ‘that’ man would arise.

Text 38.4 STD NSP ART

Just what was our General Election all about?

Strictly, isn’t Ms MK mother courage? So why is she not president-elect? I have had occasion to argue that I would not vote for her, not because she is a woman, but she is **that woman**. But would the issue of that man arise? It has not because we have different standards for women, some of them based on some anachronistic cultural practices enforced by men.

Ms PT’s quest for leadership was dismissed by men who, holding themselves forth as custodians of culture, said her action would visit a curse on the Maasai.

MK demonstrated her courage in taking on president DN over human rights issues, campaigned for gender equality, was vocal in anti-corruption campaigns, also is remembered for her scorching of the executive, asking ministers to take political responsibility for the rot in their dockets. She quit her plum cabinet post because the executive was interfering in her docket (Sunday Nation, March 10, 2013 pp18).

4.7 Pragmatics

Pragmatics is a level of linguistic study concerned with meaning of speech acts in context. The speech acts that the study collected implied the inferiority of the referents. These include **insults**, **advice** and **plain assertions**, and **commands**.

4.7.1 Insults

Insults are speech acts whose intent is to demean or annoy. Van Dijk (2006) says that insults presuppose superiority on the part of the person who produces the insult while inferiorating the person who is insulted. For instance, Text 39.4 below consists of a series of insults spoken by a man politician and directed towards a woman politician in television debate before the 2013 general elections. The man politician moves away from discussing the issues of the day whose title was “The Nairobi Gubernatorial Debate” to attack the personality and sexuality of the woman politician. Insults fall under pragmatics as they presuppose relations of dominance and power (Van Dijk, 1995). Insults are a form of ideologically based inferioration of others which lead to inferioration of speech partners in such a way that normal rules of respect and politeness are not respected (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Essed (1991), notes that lack of respect and rudeness and other forms of verbal impoliteness are routine forms of everyday verbal discrimination

Text 39.4 M1 NTV JKL

You are so beautiful, everybody wants to rape you.

You are chasing men all over. EP nobody wants you. Who wants you? EP nobody wants you.

You think you are beautiful; you are not. You are nothing; you are absolutely zero, you are zero.

You are zero. You are not beautiful; you have nothing. The cartels who think you are beautiful, have they sent you here? (KTN, JKL 16th November, 2016).

The portrayal of the woman politician by the man politician agrees with the view that women who enter into politics are of loose morals and that women lack independence and are easily manipulated as already discussed elsewhere. The man politician sexualizes the woman politician by centering on how beautiful or not she is, and focusing on her sexual morality.

4.7.2 Advice and plain assertions

Prejudice about the inferiority of others may occasion speech acts such as **giving advice** or even **plain assertions** in situations, where none is asked or otherwise appropriate, since both presuppose inferiority of the recipient. Advising is a speech act that is used by someone or a group that feels superior over another (Van Dijk 2006). The use of the modal verbs for instance “should” as in the example below give the notion of obligation. The assertion clearly defines the obligations of the groups involved. What the man politician implies here, as already noted elsewhere, is that high status jobs are for men while low status jobs are for women. This claim confirms the observations of World Bank (2001) and Taylor (1999). Taylor, (1999) notes that in most societies, women tend to be confined to jobs with low status while men are associated with high status jobs. This claim also explains why women who vie for electoral positions that have deputies, are told to be the deputies or running mates of their male competitors (Text 41.4). If not, they should settle for the Woman Rep position. The political parties therefore, also serve to produce, maintain and propagate, through the use of language, the belief that certain political positions are for men alone.

Text 40.4 M2 STD NSP

“... the race should be left for men to battle out; women should try their luck in the Woman’s Rep seat” (The Standard Saturday, March 18th 2017)

Text 41.4 W3 NAT NSP

“We are also concerned that despite political parties nurturing the few women interested in political seats, some of those interested in gubernatorial seats are being asked to be their male opponents’ running mates”(Daily Nation, Tuesday 28th February, 2017)

Text 31.4 makes several assertions, which imply finality, in the form of negative and positive statements.

1. No Kenyan man would ever willingly agree to be under a woman.
2. No normal Kenyan man would also allow his wife to rise far above him that is if he ever allows her to rise above him.
3. Truth be told, Kenyans are not ready to have a woman to lead them
4. Those women empowerment groups may run around empowering women and girls to the disadvantage of boys and men, have a woman representative post created and push to have a two thirds gender rule but having the status quo of the society change is going to take nothing than a miracle.
5. You and I can place wagers on the fact that a majority of the people in your campaign team won't vote for you and I am certain I win.

Text 31.4 seems to be advising the woman politician through the use of assertions, that women are wasting their time championing for their rights because it will not change anything. Text 32.4 also makes use of various assertions to support the claim that a woman will only succeed in politics if she is backed by one or more men politicians and to a manageable degree.

Some of the assertions from text are:

1. The most important thing for any woman running for a political office is to manage the men in her life.
2. No matter how much we try to run away from that fact, if a woman politician wants to succeed in politics, she must find a way of having a political male sponsor, male advisor or male accessory.
3. The woman politician should ensure that this male energy becomes the wind beneath her wings instead of being the wave that crashes her political career.
4. Women who want to play and succeed in the boy's league have to become ballsy and manage the men in their world so that they do not crush their dreams – especially the men who claim to support them.
5. One of the greatest failings of AM's campaign was the constant need to preen and update the whole world of every single campaign step and misstep.

6. Female candidates in this season must avoid the temptation of sharing with the whole world every single element of your campaign. Only share what will help you win, the rest keep to yourself.

The pieces of advice and assertions above imply ideologically driven relations of power and dominance. Women are advised to settle for certain political positions which are regarded as inferior or less powerful. At the same time, the assertions state with finality that the position of president is for men and it will take nothing but a miracle to change that. This opinion seems to have been consented. No wonder the woman aspirant for the presidential seat in the run up to the 2013 general elections was referred to as “*that woman*” (Text 38.4) by both the male and female supporters of the men presidential aspirants. She appeared to do something contrary to the expectations or shared beliefs of most of the people in the Kenyan society.

4.7.3 Commands

Commands, like insults, presuppose relations of dominance and power (Van Dijk, 2006). Women are sometimes commanded out of political meetings by their opponents. Some commands may come in the form of chants as in the chant below that was used to evict a woman politician out of a political meeting at night by a group of campaigners. The command was made in the form of a repetitive chant. Repetition is also an aspect of rhetoric that is used for emphasis. Repetition, in this incident, emphasizes that the command should be obeyed. The speech act constructs the woman politician as a wife and not a politician. At the same time, the speech act belittles, depopularises, harasses and humiliates the woman aspirant.

Text 42.4 W3 INT

Enda kwa mzee wako, enda kwa mzee wako...(Go to your husband, go to your husband)

This sub-section has looked at how politicians and the media construct national assembly politicians through verbal language. The findings in the preceding section indicate that the campaign discourses are discursive, gendered and constructivist. Below, we analyse the non-verbal discourses of politicians and the print media.

4.8 Analysis of the Non-verbal Discourses

Politicians, campaigners and newspaper opinion makers also use non-verbal discourses in their campaigns or day to day discourses. Non-verbal communication goes beyond just kinesics (body movements, facial expressions and eye contact) to include images (Guimarães' (2013)) vocalics or paralanguage, personal appearance, the physical and psychological environment, proxemics or personal space, haptics or touch and chronemics or time (Burgoon's 1994 & Hall, 1976). This section discusses five forms of non-verbal language through which ideology is enacted, sustained and transmitted. The forms of non-verbal language that will be discussed here are:

1. Physical touch and social space
2. Paralanguage.
3. Body movements
4. Facial expressions
5. Gestures
6. Images

4.8.1 Physical Touch and Social Space

The women politicians observed that some of their male campaigners take advantage of the context to touch them inappropriately. Touch is closely related to social space. Hall (1976) describes space as the distance from other people that one needs to maintain in order to feel comfortable. This space is determined by the situation and the people with whom one interacts (for instance, closer friends are allowed closer than strangers) and this distance or space varies by culture. Inappropriate touches which contravene personal space therefore lower the dignity of women politicians, sexualize them and construct them as cheap. This is disempowering.

Text 43.4 W5INT

As a woman politician, you face challenges that a man politician may not encounter. For instance, there is a time when a man who was among my supporters touched my hair and told me that it was very smart. You know, us women don't like anyone touching our head- you see what I mean. These same people are the ones who will go out there and say that you are immoral.

4.8.2 Paralanguage

Paralanguage is used here to refer to non-verbal cues of the voice such as heckling. Heckling is a form of paralanguage that creates helplessness. Heckling therefore constructs the woman politician as helpless. The text below notes that men politicians use gender as a campaign tool to demean women aspirants and get them out of politics. Heckling becomes gendered when it is specifically used to disparage women aspirants in order to push them out of politics.

Text 44.4 NAT NSP

Women have continued to be attacked by the supporters of the men opponents and the men organize youths to heckle them in rallies. Gender has been turned into a campaign tool by men who disparage women in a bid to force them out of the race. Many women have raised concerns of harassment (The Daily Nation, Tuesday 28, February 2017 pg 19-20)

4.8.3 Body movements

Body movement as a form of non-verbal language may also be used to create gender differences in politics. A man politician who was interviewed cited the dances that are usually performed to politicians during campaigns as capable of creating gendered images of the politician. Although the dances include singing, this section focuses on the dances alone. One may not immediately see any power implications in the dances. However, these dances may create mental images in the minds of the electorate that the politicians are supposed to be men. The electorate constantly sees women dancing to welcome the men politicians and come to associate political leadership with men politicians. The vigorous welcoming dances and ululations are therefore a form of non-verbal language that constructs men politicians as the leaders and the women as the welcomers.

4.8.4 Facial Expressions and Gestures

Facial expressions and gestures are used as a form of non-verbal insults and threats against women politicians. The women who were interviewed observed that it is the male supporters of male aspirants who used facial expressions and gestures. These facial expressions and gestures are in many cases sex oriented. The use of such expressions and sexualizes women politicians may scare and discourage the young women politicians.

Text 45.4 W1INT

Some of the supporters of my male opponent made faces at me and used gestures that were sex oriented. But I'm used to this mischief. However, they may scare new women aspirants.

Text 46.4 W4 NAT NSP

"Women face both verbal and non-verbal threats and insults from male opponents and their supporters and are always being linked to immorality. This has discouraged many from vying, especially the young ones" (Daily Nation, Tuesday 28th February, 2017).

4.8.5 Images

The non-verbal language of the print media came in the form of images. An image refers to a visual symbol whether drawn or painted, or whether engraved or carved (Joly, 1996). Guimarães (2013) gives comic books, editorial cartoons and photographs as examples of images. This paper discusses two editorial cartoons that were used in the print media. The cartoons were strategically located on the editorial page of the newspapers. Editorial cartoons (Brait, 1996; Santos 2007) are believed to capture the most critical political and social issues of the moment

The first editorial cartoon represents a woman politician who was nominated to vie for MP from her constituency on The National Alliance (TNA) ticket in the 2013 general elections. It is important to note that the current president of Kenya was also running on a TNA ticket. Therefore, she won nomination from one of the competitive parties during that time. As she was preparing to campaign against the candidate who had been nominated by the opposition party, Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), the elders asked her to step down because they could not support a woman candidate. All the other five men candidates who had lost to her also supported the elders in this bid to have her step down. When she did not step down, the elders went ahead and performed a curse on her. The media presented this story both in the newspapers and television. The television version of the same story showed angry elders in a meeting performing the curses. The elders argued that it was taboo for a woman to stand for a parliamentary election. The Daily Nation gave a written version of the same story.

The Lady who Could not be Stopped by Curses

She is a survivor of cultural fire. PPT would have been married off before sitting her Standard Seven examinations.

Her teacher had convinced her father, *Mzee* TP of Mashuru village, Kajiado East that serving him as wife was a better deal than sitting her examinations.

She stayed put. In Form Three, *Mzee* TP, fearing he would succumb to an illness, still wanted her married. She refused to budge and stayed on at Moi Isinya Girls in Kajiado.

When she was in Form Five, the teacher, whose first wife was barren, gave up but only after being given PPP's step sister as a replacement.

...When she finished her A-levels, another old man came calling, this time, more than thirty years older than her.

She rebuffed the attempts - and with support of her brother KT, now Director of Public Prosecutions, *mzee* yielded to pressure to allow her to proceed to university in 1988.

Fast forward - 2013. PPT is vying as an MP for newly created Kajiado East Constituency. She beats five men to clinch the coveted TNA ticket.

Just as she is preparing to roll out a campaign against ODM's KM, clan elders drop the bombshell - they can never support a woman for a political seat.

The elders, backed by all the five TNA losers, gang up and hold a cursing ceremony at Sultan Hamud. They warn her of dire consequences for rejecting their request to step down.

The matter is made worse by the fact that she is married in Narok... (DailyNation1stMarch2014)

The written version of the story was backed by the editorial cartoon below.



Figure 1.4: Cartoon of the woman who could not be stopped by curses... (DailyNation1stMarch2014)

The presentation of the story in the form of words and images confirms Barthes' (1977) argument that when a story is presented in both word and image, the eyes move from image to words and vice-versa. This strategy is intended to persuade the reader to believe in the truthfulness of the image. Guimarães (2013) notes that editorial cartoons, apart from presenting irony, also add a singular element to the comic created by the disfigurement of images: criticism, which aims to lead readers to solidify their positions concerning a certain aspect of reality, whose main focus is political facts. By nature, editorial cartoons go beyond the symbolic universe and reach an instance of social and cultural representation set in the political discourse

The cartoon in Figure 1.4 gives the woman politician male attributes, presented in form of a cartoon that is seen flexing muscles. What the cartoon communicates is that, to win a political seat, a woman politician must possess those qualities that are deemed masculine. The cartoon is a suitable back up of the written text as it makes this point concrete through visualizing the muscles and the clenched fist of the woman politician. The woman politician who is adorned in official traditional attire ironically rebels against the culture which does not support women politicians. The media by publishing the cartoon thus buys into the idea of the glorification of masculinity. This implies that when a woman succeeds in politics, she is viewed as possessing traits which society considers masculine such as being tough, strong and a fighter as the cartoon

seems to suggest. Other successful women politicians in Kenya such have been described similarly by the media and even called iron ladies as already seen in the preceding section.

Earlier on, both the print media and the audio-visual media had presented stories suggesting that for the woman politician to win, she had to be the former prime minister's running mate (Nation 9th October 2012). The media thus echoes the gendered campaign speeches discussed above that portray the women politician as best suited for subordinate or inferior positions.

As already discussed in the previous sections, women politicians are usually sexually objectified using spoken and written language. The second cartoon below, which was in the also appears to objectify the role of women politicians in politics.

Text 49.4 NAT NSP



Figure 2.4: The WR Massage Cartoon (Daily Nation, Wednesday 22nd May 2013)

The cartoon shows Deputy President (DP) WR getting a massage from four women MPs, who had accompanied him on a four-nation Africa tour. The DP had hired a private jet, which was later dubbed "Hustler's Jet" for his tour of four African nations. Later, the trip turned controversial as various questions were raised especially on the cost of hiring the luxury jet, and the mission of the trip. The words in the balloon sarcastically suggest that the trip achieved its objective. However the cartoon seems to send the message that DP hired the luxury jet to go out and have a good time. After the cartoon appeared in the newspapers, one of the women

politicians, who had not accompanied the vice-president, reacted to the cartoon during a parliament session.

Text 50.4 CAP NWS

Uproar in Kenya Parliament over WR Massage Cartoon

I want to demand an apology to the entire lady Members of Parliament because we are here in our own right. We did not come here to massage anybody... we are here as Members of Parliament; and we want gender sensitive media, not people who look at us from the waist down and not the waist up (*Capital News*, May 22, 2013).

The message portrayed in the cartoon objectifies and sexualises the role of the man politician and the women who accompanied him. The cartoon seems to communicate that the role of the women MPs in the business negotiations with the countries that were involved, was to massage the DP, while the DP's role was to have a good time. However, even though the cartoon trivialises both the role of the DP and the women on the trip, it is the role of the women politicians as portrayed by the cartoon that received public criticism. There were no complaints about the man being massaged. The image of four women massaging one man during an important business trip trivializes the political agenda of the women politicians.

5.0 Conclusion

This paper has discussed the constructivist nature of verbal and non verbal discourses used by politicians, campaigners and the media to refer to the national assembly politicians in Kenya. The discussions have revealed that the discourses are laden with linguistic and non verbal features that are ideologically motivated. The texts are coloured by sexist gendered attitudes and ideologies that to a large extent construct women politicians negatively. Women politicians are constructed as sexual objects, outsiders, flower girls, dependent, lacking in agenda, weak, inferior and subordinate among others. Successful women politicians are either fully masculinised or constructed as striking some balance between masculinity and femininity. The men politicians are not to a large extent subjected to discursive constructions. The discursive construction of women politicians is demotivating, discouraging and disempowering, especially, to the young women aspirants. The discourses create structures that prevent women from accessing political power. This paper supports CDA's claim that unequal power relations are

realized through the dominant discursive discourses in society. The paper further provides a critical standpoint onto the questions of gender and development in Kenya and Sub-Saharan Africa.

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