

**LANGUAGE, GENDER AND POWER: THE DISCURSIVE
CONSTRUCTION OF THE KENYA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
POLITICIANS (2013 – 2017)**

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DECLARATION

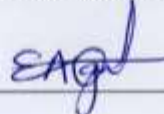
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DEDICATION

To my dear husband David, and
beloved children Carol, Allan,
Nelie, Sheila, and Patrick.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Campaigners

Members of the Kenyan electorate, both men and women, 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. It also refers to all supporters, whether male or female, of particular political candidates.

Construction

The way men and women politicians are represented in the Kenyan society. We construct meaning using representation systems, that is, concepts and signs.

Discourse

A social practice of representing the world, signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning. Discourse may be in the written, spoken or nonverbal form. Discourse is linguistically produced, linguistically distributed and linguistically consumed.

Discursive Discourses

Discourses about Kenyan politicians, which have been produced and reproduced through language. Discourses are therefore not the work of one person. They are discursively constructed.

Discursively Constructed Discourses

Discourses about Kenyan politicians, which have been worked and reworked through language, until they have acquired socially accepted meanings which identify groups of people.

Electorate

People, apart from politicians, who are above eighteen years and are therefore legible voters in Kenya. Some of them may be hired officially by politicians to campaign for politicians. Others may campaign for their preferred candidates in their local contexts, even without being hired.

Femininities

A set of characteristics and behaviours prescribed for Kenya National Assembly women politicians by the Kenyan society, which are learned through the socialization process.

Gender

The socially constructed roles, responsibilities, identities and expectations assigned to men and women politicians in Kenya, and men and women in general in Kenya, but not the state of being male or female.

Gender Identities

Kenyan politicians' concept of themselves as either male or female, and how others feel about them. It includes how the politicians themselves express or others think they should express their gender, and gender roles in for instance talking, behaviour and relating with others.

Gendered Discourse(s)

Discourse(s) about Kenyan politicians that emphasise the superiority of one gender over the other in cases where none should be expected.

Gendered Discursive Political Discourses

Discursively constructed discourses that are normally directed at Kenyan women and men politicians by other politicians and the media, with the aim of identifying

them as suitable or unsuitable for elective political posts based on their gender. The discourses originate from the wider society's gender ideologies.

Ideology

Shared meanings about Kenyan men and women politicians, and about men and women in general, in Kenya, which are in the form of ideas and beliefs, among the members of the Kenyan electorate. The beliefs and ideas are embedded in language and differentiate men and women politicians in Kenya. Ideology operates to the advantage of a particular group such as the Kenya National Assembly men politicians or Kenya National Assembly women politicians.

Language

Gendered discourse or social practice (verbal and nonverbal text and talk) by politicians, media and the electorate, about Kenya National Assembly politicians, which is determined by the Kenyan social structures. In this sense, language is part of society and not external to it; it (language) signifies, constitutes and constructs the world in meaning.

National Assembly Politicians

Men and women in Kenya, who engage in the politics of the National Assembly of Kenya as aspirants, contestants or elected or nominated members.

Masculinities

A set of characteristics and behaviours prescribed for Kenya National Assembly men politicians by the Kenyan society and which are learned through the socialization process.

Media Discourse (s)

The gendered print media opinion articles and visuals about Kenyan politicians. It also refers to political debates in the various television channels. Since these articles and visuals are about politicians, they are also called media political discourses.

Participation

The decision by a Kenyan man or a woman to vie for a Kenya National Assembly post such as Member of Parliament (MP), Governor or president.

Politicians

Kenyan men and women, who engage in politics as aspirants, contestants or elected or nominated members, at all political levels in Kenya.

Political Discourse (s)

The gendered discourse(s) of Kenyan politicians and non-politicians, directed at the Kenya National Assembly politicians, during campaigns and in everyday discourse, both in the formal and informal contexts. Political discourse includes the gendered discourses of the Kenya print media opinion makers and television media talkshows, about National Assembly Politicians.

Political Identity

Certain political opinions and attitudes that define Kenya National Assembly politicians by virtue of being members of a particular gender.

Power

The kind of interaction, in which men and women politicians of the National Assembly of Kenya, are positioned asymmetrically through discourse or ideology. This kind of power leads to relations of difference that are not imposed but are an

inevitable effect of the way specific discursive practices privilege the status and positions of some people over others. This kind of power often produces hegemonic discourses that are taken as naturalised common sens.

Representation

Depending on the context of its usage, representation may refer to the ratio of elected men to elected women in the Kenya National Assembly, or the way men and women politicians are constructed by political and media discourses.

Social Identity

A sense of who the Kenya National Assembly politicians ought to be, based on societal perspectives. A social identify is discursively constructed.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against women
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CLARION	Centre for Law and Research International
CLS	Critical Language Study
CS	Cabinet Secretary
DAW	Division on the Advancement of Women
DESA	Department of Economic and Social Affairs
DP	Deputy President
ECA	Economic Commission of Africa
FCDA	Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis
FIDA	Federation of Women Lawyers
ICPD	International Conference on Population and Development
IDEA	International Institution of Electoral Assistance and Democracy
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
KTN	Kenya Television Network
MYWO	<i>Maendeleo ya Wanawake</i> (organization for development women) Organisation

MCA	Member of the County Assembly
MCK	Media Council of Kenya
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MP	Member of Parliament
MR	Members' Resources
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NPGD	National Policy on Gender and Development
NTV	Nation Television
NWCC	National Women Coordinating Committee
PRB	Population Reference Bureau
ROK	Republic Of Kenya
SDGEA	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNECA	UN, Economic Commission for Africa
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WSSD	The World Summit for Social Development

SYMBOLS AND CODES

Transcription Symbols

-	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 or were not audible.
P1, P2, and so on	Names of places such as constituencies or counties where a politician was an aspirant.
MK, AM and so on	Initials of politicians' names that were either mentioned by others during the interview or in media texts.

Codes for the Various Sources of the Gendered Utterances

W1 (2, 3, 4 or 5) INT:	Woman politician one (2, 3, 4 or 5) in the interviews.
M1 (2, 3, 4 or 5) INT:	Man politician one (2, 3, 4, or 5) in the interviews.
W1 (2, 3, 4) STD NSP ART:	Woman politician one (2, 3, 4) whose utterance was obtained from <i>The Standard</i> newspaper.
W1(2,3,4) STAR NSP ART:	Woman politician one (2,3, 4) whose utterance was obtained from <i>The Star</i> newspaper.
MI (2, 3, 4) STD NSP ART:	Man politician one (2, 3, 4) whose utterance was obtained from <i>The Standard</i> newspaper.
W1 (2, 3, 4) NAT NSP ART:	Woman politician one (2, 3, 4) whose utterance was obtained from the <i>Daily Nation</i> newspaper.

- MI (2, 3, 4) NAT NSP ART: Man politician one (2, 3, 4) whose utterance was obtained from the *Daily Nation* newspaper.
- M1(2,3,4) STAR NSP ART: Man politician one (2,3, 4) whose utterance was obtained from *The Star* newspaper.
- STD NSP ART ART: An article that was obtained from *The Standard* newspaper.
- NAT NSP ART: An article that was obtained from the *Daily Nation* newspaper.
- STD NSP ART: An article that was obtained from *The Standard* newspaper.
- W1 (1, 2, 3 or 4) NTV VLS: Woman politician one's (1, 2, 3 or 4) utterance during Nation Television's Victoria's Lounge show.
- M1 KTN JKL: Man politician one's utterance on KTN's Jeff Koinange Live Show.
- Text 1 (2, 3, or 4) QN: Text1 (2, 3, or 4) obtained from the questionnaire.

ABSTRACT

This study undertook to critically examine, from a linguistic perspective, the gender disparities in the National Assembly of Kenya between 2013 and 2017. Through an idea of language as discourse, the study emphasizes the linguistic ideologies at play in producing and sustaining these disparities. The study uses Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in order to understand the gendered discursive realm of politics in the National Assembly. The study objectives were: to identify and describe the linguistic items and expressions used by politicians and media opinion makers to describe the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians in Kenya; to find out how the linguistic items and expressions construct the politicians; to point out the common ideologies held by the electorate about the politicians; and to establish how the use of the linguistic items and expressions affects the participation of National Assembly politicians in Kenya. The study, through a cross-sectional research design and a purposively selected sample, collected data through one-on-one unstructured interviews with ten Kenya National Assembly politicians, reviewed newspaper and television documents from four newspaper groups and four television channels, and administered semi-closed questionnaires to eighty members of the electorate. Data were recorded by the use of a digital audio-recorder, flash disc, field notes, print outs and photocopies. Data consisted of verbal (written and spoken) and nonverbal gendered discourses, and gendered beliefs. Data were analysed qualitatively, through thematic analysis and simple descriptive statistics, and presented in written descriptions and tables. The study found out that there are gendered ideologies about the Kenya National Assembly politicians among the politicians themselves, the media and the electorate, which to a large extent portray men politicians positively and to a large extent portray women politicians in undesirable ways. These gendered ideologies, to a large extent favour men contestants, and to a large extent work against prospective and first-time women contestants. The study also found out that women politicians are not passive recipients of the distorted constructions and gendered ideologies, but they contest the distortions and ideologies, and encourage each other. The study concludes that, although the gendered ideologies have been naturalized through language, they are mere gimmicks meant to keep women out of politics and maintain the status quo. The study findings not only complement other studies in Critical Discourse Analysis, but also equip relevant stake-holders with a language-based analysis of the key issues which affect progress towards balanced representation, decision making and resource allocation, thus providing a unique vantage point onto the questions of gender and development in Kenya.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

1.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a background to the study. The chapter first contextualizes the study by highlighting the role of language in gender and power relations. Secondly, the chapter presents a brief historical perspective on the international policies and commitments on gender equality, and the efforts towards equitable representation in Kenya's electoral politics. Thirdly, the chapter presents the problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions and research assumptions. Lastly, the chapter explains the significance and justification of the study, and defines the scope and limitations of the study.

1.1 Political Participation in Relation to Language, Gender and Power

The latter part of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty first century has seen a steady rise in the political participation of women globally (Inter-parliamentary Union [IPU], 2017). However, the participation and representation of women in elective politics in most countries of the world has not met the 30 percent global requirement (IPU, 2017; United Nations [UN] Women, 2017). For instance, the worldwide average of women in national parliaments only improved, from 22.6 percent to 23.3 percent between 1995 and 2016 (IPU, 2017; United Nations [UN] Women, 2017). This is despite the ongoing efforts to

improve gender equity in most countries of the world. Furthermore, the number of women declines as one goes up the party or state hierarchy (Charlton, 1984).

A number of internationally agreed norms and standards relating to women's leadership and political participation advocate for a 30 percent minimum in women representation (UN Women, 2017). For instance, in 1995, delegates to the United Nations (UN) Fourth World Conference on Women unanimously signed the Beijing Platform for Action. It was described as a new agenda for women's empowerment, and its mission statement called for the removal of all obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres of public and private life. The Platform set a 30 percent target for women in decision-making to be achieved. Similarly, the UN Economic and Social Council resolution 1990/15 calls on governments, political parties, trade unions, and professional and other representative groups to adopt a 30 percent minimum proportion of women in leadership positions, with a view to achieving balanced representation (UN Women, 2017).

The worldwide average of women representation in national parliaments does not apply uniformly in all countries. There are countries within and outside Africa that have attained and even surpassed the 30 percent global political representation requirement. For instance, Rwanda, South Africa, and Tanzania are good examples in Africa. Rwanda had 51.9 percent elected women in the lower

house in 2013 and a total of 63.8 percent when women elected through special seats were included. South Africa had a total of 50 percent women - elected, nominated and from special seats - in 2013. Tanzania had 10.5 percent women elected in 2015 and total of 36.6 percent after nominations. However, efforts to introduce a gender equitable approach in the political process in Kenya, especially in the representation to the National Assembly, have not succeeded yet. The 2013-2017 National Assembly of Kenya had 16 women out of the 290 elected members, representing 5.5 percent. With the inclusion of the nominated women and those who were elected through special seats, the percentage rose to 19 (USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013).

To address the imbalanced gender representation in the political process, the global political discourse has been dominated by calls for gender equity and fairness, especially with regard to leadership opportunities. In Kenya, such discourse began to take shape in the 1990s. This was necessitated by the dawn of multi-party democracy, which opened channels for women to voice their concerns, and the need to heed the call of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against women [CEDAW] that was adopted by the United Nations [UN] general assembly in 1979 (UN, 2000). The gender equity discourse in the political scene further intensified after the promulgation of the Kenya Constitution 2010 (RoK, 2010) (henceforth referred to as the Constitution) which advocates for the two-thirds gender rule. That is, the Constitution requires

that not more than two thirds of elective and appointive public and political posts should be held by one gender.

The gender equity discourse has attracted extensive research in the representation and participation of women in the political process. However, the analyses of the Kenyan political discourse such as Kasomo (2012), Kivoi (2014), Nasong'o (2007) and Okello (2010) have approached this subject from the prism of political science and sociology, but of course, with often salient results. However, these studies do not consider the role of language in the political underrepresentation of women, yet language is a tool that promotes, protects and legitimates power (Fairclough, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001).

Lakoff (2001) argues that the methods and theories of linguistics can add a new perspective to the question of gender and power. Linguistics can introduce a close analysis of language itself. This entails, for instance, a focus on what the specific choices of topics, words, sentences, presuppositions and other implicit devices used by politicians and the media lead people to believe. This is what Fairclough (2001), Van Dijk (2001) and Lakoff (2001), refer to as the use of language to create cohesive public meaning. Fairclough (2001) advocates for an increased focus on language, and how it constructs the social. This study sought to bridge the gap between linguistics and other disciplines that address the problem of gender inequality in electoral politics in Kenya. The current study, therefore,

introduces a linguistic dimension to the question of inequitable gender representation at the National Assembly of Kenya.

The analysis of text and talk of politicians and the media could be an invaluable source of understanding the discursive practices that underlie the electoral political process. Text and talk are the central units of analysis in discourse (Brown & Yule, 1983; Van Dijk, 2001). By studying the forms of the language, we can discover the social processes, and also the specific ideology embedded in them (Van Dijk 2003). This leads to the exploration of power relations that exist in the society or community.

Language is a key contributor to social inequalities, since it creates, sustains and passes on ideologies that can influence a people's mind. As Fairclough (2001) observes, language is both a means of control and a means of communication. Thus, political domination of one gender in electoral politics is likely to be reproduced by a people's day to day discourses, which construct a worldview that the people consider as a reality. Language could thus affect the participation of the politicians and influence the political choices of the electorate.

The cultural, social and political aspects of a community are reflected in its language (Fairclough, 2001). Being sociological aspects, gender and power must be closely tied to language. Fairclough (2001) notes that language is both a

cultural and political system into which, all past values are stored. Language is thus indispensable in understanding modern society and the relations of power. It is therefore important to increase focus on language within government and between power holders and constituents by exploring how gender issues are likely to shape and be shaped by language (Elson, 2002). 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 could influence his or her perception of self and the environment. This means that meaning is constructed by language (Fairclough, 2001).

The way in which people in a society talk about men and women shows that people possess a shared reference system about traditional roles and 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. These discourses thus represent or construct men and women in different ways.

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, placing certain tags on them such as worker, mother, businesswoman and woman politician.

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. We acquire this awareness through socialization or our experiences in society such as the things we see and hear from society around us, the books we read, people we meet, things we are told and the images we see.

This study shows how gender and power relations are mediated through the language directed towards politicians by their fellow politicians and the media, and reveals how everyday discourses construct gender and power differences, and social inequalities within the political system. Further, the study reveals how these discourses construct the politicians and subsequently produce positive and negative effects on National Assembly politicians in Kenya. Lastly, the study delves into the belief systems of the electorate about politicians and portrays the gendered political realm of the Kenyan society.

The study adopts the theoretical frameworks of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) by Fairclough (2001) and Van Dijk (2001) in data analysis and interpretation. Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) models are the two main leads in critical research. CDA focuses on the way social and political

domination are reproduced by discourse. This study answers the question: does language play a role in the political choices that both the electorate and the politicians make during elective politics in Kenya?

1.2 International Policies and Commitments on Gender Equality

Gender equality is a fundamental human right. Yet, despite progress, women around the world do not fully experience equal rights and their potential in political decision making and action (Kariuki, 2015; UN Women, 2017). Gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but is essential to achieve peaceful societies, with full human potential and sustainable development. Furthermore, it has been shown that empowering women leads to increased productivity and economic growth (USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013; UN Women, 2017).

As a response to the need for gender equality, a series of international instruments and resolutions call upon Member States to mainstream a gender equality perspective into their legislation and policies, and to adopt special measures to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women (UN Women, 2015). Subsequently, various regions and nations, Kenya included, have adopted, and are signatories to these international policies and commitments.

The commitment to gender equality can be traced to the 1948 United Nations Charter, and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights [UDHR] which affirms that there are basic inalienable rights and fundamental freedoms that apply to every human being and are not pegged on gender. Since then, Member States, in which Kenya is one, have consistently renewed and reaffirmed their commitments to gender equality and the empowerment of women in international agreements (DAW, DESA, ECA & IPU, 2005; The UN, 1948).

The UN's commitment can be seen in the subsequent developments such as the 1975 Mexico City 1st Women's Conference, the 1979 adoption of CEDAW, the 1980 Copenhagen 2nd Women's Conference, the 1985 Nairobi 3rd Women's Conference and the 1995 Beijing 4th Women's Conference which adopted instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women [CEDAW], Vienna Declaration on Human Rights, The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies, Beijing Platform of Action, the outcome of the International Conference on Population and Development [ICPD], Palermo Protocol on Trafficking in Humans, and Millennium Declaration and Millennium Development Goals [MDGs] and Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs] (DAW, DESA, ECA & IPU, 2005; UN, 2016; UN, 2015; UN, 2007; UN, 2000).

The SDGs replaced the MDGs in 2015 at an international meeting involving 193 countries, Kenya included. The SDGs are a set of seventeen goals to be achieved

by the year 2030. The fifth goal advocates for gender equality. Under this goal, it is noted that girls and women have lagged behind in every way and the SDGs aim to end the discrimination against women and girls everywhere (UN, 2015).

At the institutional level, the UN has put in place an elaborate institutional mechanism to support the advancement of women and gender equality. In 1946, the United Nations created the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW) to champion women's empowerment and gender equality in order to ensure that women, being half of the world's population enjoy equal rights as well as living in dignity as equal citizens everywhere. In 1974, the United Nations, through the DAW, declared an International Year of Women, which was globally celebrated by women. The Year ended with the World Conference on Women that was held in Mexico City, in 1975 (DAW, DESA, ECA & IPU, 2005).

UN Resolution 1325 (2000) is another notable step that politically legitimises women's role in peace, security in conflict and post conflict management. Resolution 1325 has become a powerful tool which has been adopted by the African Union. Similarly, the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development recognizes that gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls would make a significant contribution to progress across all the Sustainable Development Goals (DAW, DESA, ECA & IPU, 2005; UN, 2018).

The UN General Assembly, in 2003, adopted resolution 58/142 on women and political participation which urged Governments, the UN system, NGOs and other actors to develop a comprehensive set of policies and programmes to increase women's participation in politics, decision-making, conflict resolution and peace processes. The UN September 2005 World Summit also reaffirmed commitment to the equal participation of women and men in decision-making (DAW, DESA, ECA & IPU, 2005; UN, 2018).

In 2016, at its sixtieth session, the UN Commission on the Status of Women focused on the links between the empowerment of women and sustainable development. It stressed the urgency of systematic mainstreaming of gender perspectives into the implementation of the entire 2030 Agenda, of all Sustainable Development Goals and targets and in respect of all government policies and programmes at all levels (DAW, DESA, ECA & IPU, 2005; UN, 2018).

In Africa, the AU's commitment to gender equality is rooted in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. This commitment is reinforced by the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA) and the Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development adopted by the Heads of State and Governments in 2006, among others. In many respects, the AU's approach to the advancement of women's rights and gender equality has

been informed by UN frameworks and specific needs of the African Continent, in particular (DAW, DESA, ECA & IPU, 2005; UN, 2018).

The Africa Agenda 2063 is another vision for Africa, as well as action, which covers a period of fifty years from 2013 to 2063 with periodic implementation reviews and action plans. It aims to deliver on Africa's goal for sustainable development among other things. Its aspiration two, among other things, advocates for an end to gender oppression while aspiration three, among other things, calls for gender equality (Africa Union Commission, 2015).

Various African countries have further reiterated their commitment to the global and African agenda on gender equality. For instance, Kenya, in its social pillar of the Vision 2030, stresses gender equality, among other things. Vision 2030 aims to mainstream gender equality in all aspects of society. It takes cognizance of the fact that, among others, women are under-represented in social and political leadership (Kenya Ministry of Planning and National Development & Kenya National Economic and Social Council, 2007). Below, the study gives a specific focus on some of the international policies on gender equality in relation to politics.

1.2.1 Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR], 1948

The Universal Declaration for Human Rights recognizes that, to achieve justice and peace in the world and create a foundation for freedom, there must be inherent dignity and equal, and inalienable rights of all humans. It reaffirms that freedom, peace and justice are humanity's greatest aspirations. The said rights should be protected fully by the rule of law. It further provides for equity before the law, where all are entitled to non-discrimination on any grounds thus, recognizing the value of affording all people with equal opportunities by fair means (The UN, 1948).

The declaration hence requires, without distinction of any kind, all persons, male and female, should enjoy all rights and freedoms it has set forth such as political, social and economic rights (The UN, 1948). This has been recognized in the Constitution of Kenya 2010 that asserts that all persons are equal before the law and are not to be discriminated on any grounds (RoK, 2010). The declaration is advantageous that its principles and values are universally accepted hence inspiring nations, including Kenya to pursue them. This goes a long way to promote equal dignity to all persons, both men and women (The UN, 1948).

1.2.2 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women [CEDAW], 1979

CEDAW, in its Article 7, calls upon States parties to take all appropriate measures towards eliminating discrimination against women in the public and

political life of the country. In 1997, CEDAW adopted a general recommendation regarding the participation of women in political and public life. It emphasized that States parties should ensure that their constitutions and legislation complied with the principles of the Convention and that they were under obligation to take all necessary measures, including temporary special measures, to achieve the equal representation of women in political and public life (DAW, DESA, ECA, & IPU, 2005; UN, 2018; UN, 2000).

In its preamble, the convention indicates that discrimination is a violation of the principle of equality of rights and human dignity and an obstacle to the participation of women on equal terms with men in political, economic, social and cultural life in their countries, hence hampers growth and prosperity of the society and family (DAW, DESA, ECA, & IPU, 2005; UN, 2018; UN, 2000).

1.2.3 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995

The agenda of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which was adopted in the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China (1995), is to empower women. It advocates for women's full and equal share in economic, social, cultural and political decision-making. The Declaration affirms that equality is a matter of human rights, a condition for social justice, development and peace. Governments, the international community and civil society, including non-governmental organizations and the private sector, are

therefore called upon to take strategic action (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995).

Regarding politics, the Beijing Platform for Action reaffirms that women's persistent exclusion from formal politics, in particular, raises a number of specific questions regarding the achievement of effective democratic transformations, in practice. The absence of women undermines the concept of democracy, which, by its nature, assumes that the right to vote and to be elected should be equally applied to all citizens, both women and men. In addition, democratic institutions, including parliament, should strive to achieve gender equality in terms of representation, or in terms of policy, agenda setting and accountability. The Beijing Platform for Action emphasises women political participation and representation, and political leadership and accountability (UN Women, 1995).

1.3 Efforts towards Equitable Representation in Elective Politics in Kenya

The presence and political participation of Kenyan women in leadership and governance has a long history spanning the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras. Traditional African societies, which were largely patriarchal, maintained a culture of men dominance and women subordination. Women were perceived as suitable for domestic chores and marriage, while men were viewed as belonging to the public domain. Although debatable, this promoted gender inequalities in the division of labour (Centre for Law and Research International

[CLARION], 2004). Kenyan women, like women in other parts of Africa, also performed the roles of wife, mother, child-bearer, caretaker and food provider (Karani, 1987).

Despite the traditional roles of women, there were notable women who penetrated the patriarchal structures of culture and tradition, and rose to become formidable leaders. One such woman is Wangu wa Makeri (1901-1909) who was the first woman chief and is said to have brought development and peace in her community. History also notes many unsung heroines including those who participated in the *mau mau* rebellion during Kenya's liberation struggle of the 1940s and 1950s. These women demonstrate that women can do and make a significant difference even in environments other than the home (Pala, 2017).

Since Kenya attained independence in 1963, women have been seeking to effectively participate alongside men, in governance and decision-making in all aspects of public life. But in the first four decades of postcolonial rule, progress towards women's access to formal political leadership positions has been slow (Nzomo, 2014).

However, due to the rapid changes occasioned by economic, social and political dynamics, many women have found themselves in the labour market and professional fields previously deemed as male domains. Here, women have

variously experienced prejudice and discrimination. These experiences have triggered women to think critically and question the bias in the policies and practices that are used to subjugate them. Lakoff (2003, 2005) for instance argues that the entry of women into academia, arts and politics, has changed the political discourse, which formerly was a male domain. The presence of women has triggered novel, and in some cases strange reorganizations of discourse possibilities.

Women in these new roles are perceived by some traditional members of the institutions as a threat, hence conventional language practices of the institutions are channeled into new forms, or new functions in order to dispel the threat. This explains the power struggle between the proponents on the status quo and the advocates of the new, which is signaled by unmarkedness of male-only language forms in the institutional discourse. Female moves toward full participation are thus viewed as incompetent, inappropriate and unintelligent and therefore subject to ridicule, punishment or inattention (Lakoff, 2003, 2005).

With this realization, different approaches and campaigns have been initiated by the government, non-governmental organizations and women groups to negotiate for gender equality. There are also some notable women who have contributed immensely to the current gender equality debate in Kenya. These include the late Professor Wangari Maathai, Charity Ngilu, Phoebe Asiyo and Martha Karua

(Adawo, *et al.* 2011). These women have added to the struggle for affirmative action in Kenya. Wangari Maathai was an environmental and political activist who worked to promote women's rights. In 1996, Charity Ngilu moved a motion in parliament for the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action, but it did not succeed. Similarly, in 1997 Phoebe Asiyo tabled the first affirmative action bill in parliament which also failed.

Although their efforts did not succeed, the two women opened the floor for other women legislators to push for an increase in the number of women in parliament. In 2007, Martha Karua, the Minister for Justice and Constitutional Affairs, tabled the Constitutional Amendment Bill 2007, aimed at creating fifty automatic seats for women in the tenth parliament (2008-2013). However, once again, parliament did not adopt the Bill. But outside parliament, Martha received support from women in civil society, former members of parliament (MPs), women bodies such as *Maendeleo ya Wanawake* (organization for the development women) Organisation [MYWO] and the National Women Coordinating Committee [NWCC], educationists and media specialists (Adawo, *et al.* 2011).

Feminist discourses have also focused on how gender ideologies have shaped women's identities worldview, and how these constructions have remapped the meanings of masculinity and femininity. The discourses have also examined how issues of gender have helped shape women's experiences and struggles. The

discourses aim at highlighting how men and women have both shaped and have been shaped by gendered beliefs, practices and institutions (Adawo, *et al.* 2011; Liddington, 2001).

Various scholars have further contributed to the gender equality campaign. There are studies from various social sciences which focus on how society assigns social meanings to the sexes. The studies posit that women's lives have been shaped and affected by gender prescriptions. Similarly, men's cultural ideals and practices of masculinity have been created, often in opposition to those of women. Men and women therefore seem to have gender histories that should be analysed side by side (Cook & Wallacott, 1993; Liddington, 2001).

The struggle for affirmative action finally succeeded when the Kenyan government took legislative measures aimed at creating gender equity in elective politics. The Kenya constitution, 2010 (RoK, 2010) provides a legal framework for gender equality and women's empowerment. The constitution provides that there should be no more than two-thirds of members of one gender in elective and appointive bodies. However, parliament has not yet devised a mechanism for the full implementation of the two-thirds gender rule in parliamentary representation.

This historical background to underrepresentation of women in electoral politics, and the consequent interventions to increase their numbers, places the current

study in the context of the gender equity debate. The background demonstrates that the problem of underrepresentation of women in electoral politics in Kenya is an ongoing debate. The background also tries to create an understanding of the relationship between the discursive history of the political discourses and the current power relations in Kenya's electoral politics. Finally, the background demonstrates the need for an alternative perspective in the analysis of power relations among the men and women politicians. In view of this, the researcher sought to analyse the power relations in the electoral politics of the Kenya National Assembly from a linguistic perspective.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

The number of women in the National Assembly of Kenya is below the 30 percent global requirement and the 33 percent Constitution of Kenya, 2010 requirement. Literature shows a general consensus that women are likely to have a significant impact on legislative outcomes if they form a considerable minority. It has also been agreed by various scholars and actors that sustainable development cannot be realised without empowering women. Therefore, the low number of women in the National Assembly of Kenya is not only a constitutional problem but also a loss to the Kenyan society at large. Since language promotes, protects and legitimates power, linguistics adds a new dimension to the question of gender and power.

Language is a highly constructive mediator and is therefore both a medium of communication and a means of social and political control. The construction of social identities such as gender is an act of power. Identities are the basis for social differences and inequalities. Language aids in sustaining a gendered social order in various contexts. This is because specific discursive practices privilege the status and positions of some people over others. Therefore, the power of language to rank people according to status and position leads to power differences, and hence social inequalities. Gender and political power are thus exercised and sustained through language. Hence, gender and politics cannot be separated from language, as language plays a pivotal role in the discursive construction of gendered political identities, also called femininities and masculinities, which in turn shape a people's worldview.

A study of the gendered discourses used by politicians, and the day to day politically oriented discourses of the media, and the electorates' ideologies was necessary in order to shed light on the role of language in the political representation in the 2013-2017 National Assembly of Kenya. The study closely looked at the political discourses that were directed to particular politicians or groups of politicians, and revealed how language influenced the mind of the National Assembly politicians in terms of participation in elective politics, and the mind of the electorate in terms of the political choices they made during voting.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The study was guided by the following objectives:

1. To identify and describe the gendered linguistic items and expressions in the campaign speeches of politicians, and print media news and opinion articles that were used to describe the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians in Kenya.
2. To find out how the linguistic items and expressions in the campaign speeches of politicians, and print media news and opinion articles constructed the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians in Kenya.
3. To point out the common ideologies held by the electorate about men and women in Kenya.
4. To establish how the gendered linguistic items and expressions used by politicians and the print media news and opinion articles to refer to the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians affected their participation in elective politics in Kenya.

1.6 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the gendered linguistic items and expressions used by politicians and the print media news and opinion articles to describe the 2013-2017 national assembly politicians in Kenya?

2. In which way do the gendered linguistic items and expressions used by politicians and the print media news and opinion articles construct the 2013-2017 national assembly politicians in Kenya?
3. What are the common ideologies held by the electorate concerning men and women in Kenya?
4. What is the effect of the gendered linguistic items and expressions used by politicians and the print media news and opinion articles to refer to the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians on the participation of National Assembly politicians in Kenya's elective politics?

1.7 Research Assumptions

The study was pegged on the following assumptions:

1. There were gendered verbal (written and spoken) and non-verbal linguistic items and expressions that were used by politicians and the print media articles to describe the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians in Kenya.
2. The verbal and non-verbal linguistic items and expressions used by politicians and the print media news and opinion articles positively or negatively constructed the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians in Kenya.
3. There were various gendered ideologies held by the electorate about men and women in Kenya between 2013 and 2017.

4. The gendered verbal and non-verbal linguistic items and expressions used by politicians and print media news and opinion articles, positively or negatively affected the participation of the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians in Kenya's elective politics.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The findings from this study complement other studies in linguistics by advancing knowledge especially in Critical Discourse Analysis. The findings contribute to existing knowledge on how language as a form of social practice creates ideologies, which in turn lead to the creation of social identities. The choices people make about which political candidate to elect and the decision to vie for a political post by the politician is be influenced by the use of language. The findings thus show how language creates political identities and hence social inequalities in elective politics.

This study also contributes to linguistic methodology by expounding knowledge in qualitative research and the use of multiple methods of data collection. Kasper and Dahl (1991) argue that it is important to employ the principle of triangulation in collecting data and also ensure that the methods used address the questions under study. The current study uses interview, document analysis and questionnaire. The findings are thus based on data from a diversified political

context, and hence provide a reliable and valid linguistic perspective to explain social inequalities in the political context.

The findings further demonstrate the many subtle ways in which language, gender and politics are connected. This connectedness is important to the stakeholders who are charged with accelerating national efforts to achieve gender equity. These stakeholders include Parliament (The National Assembly and Senate), the office of the Attorney General, National Gender and Equality Commission, Kenya Women Parliamentarians Association, Education Centre for Women and Democracy, The Collaborative Centre for Gender and Development, Kenya Women's Political Caucus and other women's movements, and Civil Society Organisations, among others (USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013). The findings provide the stakeholders with a language-based analysis of the key issues which affect progress towards balanced political representation. This information is useful in complementing other efforts towards gender equity from other scholars and other sectors in Kenya, thus demonstrates Kenya's commitment to constitutional, regional and international requirements on gender equity.

Lastly, the findings from this study are useful to sensitization programmes and awareness creation campaigners, as they can help people make informed choices. Gender awareness raising is implemented within policies, programmes or projects and can be part of an internal awareness-raising agenda in an organisation or

institution. It can also be part of planned external activities directed to the general public or a targeted group. Sensitisation and awareness creation may in the long run translate into representativeness in decision-making and balanced resource allocation and hence national development.

1.9 Scope and Delimitations of the Study

A study on language, gender and power may cover broad contexts in terms of scope, however; the current study was confined to the gendered political context in Kenya's elective politics. The study focused on the way language may affect the participation of the politicians in elective politics in Kenya. Other variables, which may have a similar effect were not factored into this study. Being a linguistic study, the main focus was on the linguistic variables such as linguistic items and expressions. The linguistic variables were analysed with the ideological construct that affects the politicians in Kenya.

The area of study was Nairobi County and Kenyatta University library. Nairobi County was suitable for the study because the study had a political dimension, and Nairobi is the political and capital city of Kenya. Nairobi County also shared similar characteristics with other more rural places in Kenya, since in the 2013 elections, not even a single woman was elected to the National Assembly from its seventeen constituencies. Further, Nairobi County was suitable for the study since it was convenient for the researcher financially, in terms of familiarity and

proximity. Lastly, most of the respondents of the study could easily be accessed in Nairobi County. Kenyatta University was similarly convenient for the researcher in terms of familiarity and access.

The study focused on the 2013 to 2017 political era. Other political eras were not considered in this study. The study chose the 2013 to 2017 parliamentary term because the debates on political gender representation, particularly, intensified during this period. This period hosted the first parliament after the Kenya Constitution of 2010, which had advocated for the two-thirds gender rule for all political and appointive posts. Lastly, the 2013 to 2017 period was convenient because it made the sampling of respondents (particularly, the politicians and the media documents) manageable.

The study focused on the National Assembly politicians because the national assembly is the highest organ charged with legislation and decision making in Kenya. The study also included other political seats that are pertinent to decision making in Kenya such as President and Governor. Other political seats such as Member of the County Assembly (MCA) and Senator were not included in this study.

The study was only interested in the gendered speeches of politicians that targeted their opponents during campaigns and the gendered print media news and opinion

articles that described particular politicians. Other speeches of politicians outside gender and politics were not considered. Similarly, print media news and opinion articles outside gender and politics did not form part of this study. The study also focused on the ideologies of the electorate about men and women politicians, and about men and women in general, in Kenya. Other ideologies outside this context were not factored into this study. The study solicited for the electorate's beliefs about men and women in Kenya because it was such beliefs that were imported to other contexts such as politics.

The study was a Critical Discourse Analysis of the political discourses of politicians, the print media news and opinion articles, and electorate's beliefs in relation to language and gender. The study data was limited to the gendered campaign speeches of politicians and print media news and opinion discourses that were used to describe National Assembly politicians between 2013 and 2017 in Kenya. Data that was not gendered was not factored into the study.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

The study collected the beliefs of the electorate about men and women in Nairobi County instead of a more rural area of Kenya where cultural beliefs are deemed to abound. However, it is important to note that, in the 2013-2017 general elections, save for the county Woman Representative position (Woman Rep) which is contested by only women, there was not even a single woman elected into the

national assembly in all the seventeen constituencies of Nairobi County (USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013). Nairobi County appeared to suffer similar setbacks as the rural counties in terms of women representation and was therefore suitable as it could give more representative beliefs, since it has people from diverse backgrounds. Furthermore, since the study engaged three instruments (one-on-one unstructured interviews, document reviews and semi-closed questionnaires) in data in collection, data from the other two instruments could provide supplementary data that could back the beliefs of the electorate.

Some challenges were also encountered during the data collection stage of the present study. The data collection was done during the campaign period in the run-up to the August 2017 Kenya general elections. Some politicians were a bit suspicious, and yet others asked for financial support for use during their campaigns. Some politicians also postponed meetings without notice, which made the study more expensive and long.

Lastly, the administration of the questionnaires was involving and so ended up taking more time than it was initially allocated. Regardless of this, the researcher reminded the respondents twice through a research assistant, which resulted in over ninety percent of the respondents returning the questionnaires.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviews available theoretical and empirical literature on language, gender, power and ideology and how women have participated in electoral politics since independence. The section also discusses the theoretical framework adopted by the study. This chapter first presents the literature review and then discusses the theoretical framework.

Literature review is divided into a number of sections. The review begins with an overview of women participation in Kenya's politics, and the need for equitable representation. This is followed by a section on language as discourse, which also defines political and media discourses. The next section discusses the relationship between language, power and ideology. Then, the linguistic approach adopted in the analysis of the political and media discourses is presented. Further, there is a section on gendered discursive discourses, and after this, there is a review of non-linguistic studies on women participation in politics, and linguistic studies on the social construction of gender in Kenya and outside Kenya. Lastly, the review includes the theoretical framework adopted by the study.

2.1 Women Participation

Women comprise fifty percent or more of the world's population but they continue to be underrepresented as leaders, and as elected officials in most countries of the world (Kariuki, 2015). This is despite the extensive measures and interventions that continue to be put in place in order to close the gap. The problem of underrepresentation of women in electoral politics is not unique to any one country, region or continent; it is a universal phenomenon (Schmidt, 2003). The worldwide percentage of women in single or lower houses of national parliament rose from 13.3 percent to 23.4 percent between 2000 and 2017. Between 2017 and 2018, the percentage of women in both houses of parliament rose from 23.3 to 23.4 percent (Inter-parliamentary Union, [IPU] 2018).

The latter part of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century has seen a slow but steady rise in the political participation of women in Africa. Furthermore, women remain a large minority in National Parliaments even in those countries with the highest percentage of women representation like Rwanda. Rwanda is the leading in the world with 63.8 percent representation in the lower house (World Bank, 2018).

The increasing divergent levels of political participation and representation both across, and within countries have increased interest and resulting research on women's underrepresentation at all levels of government and decision making.

Hence, the issues concerning women have taken on new dimensions and received varied treatment by global agencies such as the UN and its specialized agencies. For instance, the low number of women in electoral politics and other key sectors of the economy has been noted in global conferences such as The World Summit for Social Development [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).

The issue of gender equity further 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), and the Millennium Development Goals [MDGs] of 2000 (UN & UN, 2004). Constitutions of various countries such as the Rwanda Constitution, 2003 (Rwanda, 2015), the Kenya Constitution, 2010 (Republic of Kenya [RoK], 2010) also have various clauses on gender equity. The Sustainable Development Goals of 2015 [SDGs] (UN, 2013), which replaced the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) also identify gender equity as a core development factor.

Extensive scholarly work also supports the equal access of men and women to power, decision making and leadership, at all levels, as a necessary precondition of democracy. Literature supports that underrepresentation of women in key decision-making areas, especially those pertaining to the legislature, leadership

and policy making, prevents women from achieving significant impact on many national and individual outcomes (Ng'ang'a, 2006; 2014; Kariuki, 2010; Ndambuki, 2010; Nzomo, 2014).

Kenya has shown its commitment to gender equity by being a signatory to a number of international treaties on women empowerment such as Africa Union's Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (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 (United Nations, Economic Commission for Africa [UNECA], 1999). Despite these international and constitutional commitments on women empowerment, Kenya lags behind in terms of women participation and representation in elective politics. Although the words participation and representation have been conceptualized in various ways, participation is used in this study to mean the choice to vie for an electoral political post, while representation refers to the number of women who get elected by the electorate into political posts.

To boost the number of women in political participation, Kenya adopted the affirmative action which provides for 33 percent representation of women in political and public sector appointments. The affirmative action was translated

into policy by the Kenyan parliament in year 2010 (RoK, 2010). 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 (WiLDAF, 2010). Affirmative action uses a set of public policies and initiatives. 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). However, parliament which is charged with coming up with a mechanism to operationalise the policy has not done so. Another major step taken by the government was the formulation of the gender policy in Kenya (The National Policy on Gender and Development [NPGD]) from 2008 to 2012, which is in charge of advancing the status of women (Ministry of Gender, Sports, Culture and Social Services, Nov, 2007).

Despite these progresses, the participation and representation of women in elective politics in Kenya is still low (Kamau, 2010; Muga, 2007). Kariuki, (2010) argues that the various measures undertaken to achieve gender equity in Kenya, including legislation, have failed because they do not take into account the societal norms and customs that influence gender relations and power dynamics.

The visibility and participation of women in social and political affairs could be influenced by this absence of power balance in electoral politics. This affects women's access to and control over resources and ability to realize their fundamental human rights (Kariuki, 2010).

The proportion of women participating in key decision-making organs in Kenya, especially in electoral politics, hardly reflects their proportion in the total population (Kariuki 2010; Ng'ang'a, 2006; United States Agency for International development [USAID], Federation of Women Lawyers [FIDA] & National Democratic Institute [NDI] 2013). The Kenya Population Census of 2009 reveals that women comprise 52 percent of the population (Population Reference Bureau [PRB], 2013). 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 (Ndambuki 2010; Kariuki 2010; USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013). Hence, it is necessary to do a linguistic analysis of the Kenyan political scene, so as to identify the problems that hinder women's active participation in elective politics in Kenya.

The participation of women in elective politics in Kenya since independence (1963) to 2001 has been dismal. From 2002, the number increased slightly. For instance, out of 133 women who vied for parliamentary seats in 2002, 4 were nominated and 10 won elections. 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. Despite the rise in numbers, it still fell short of the United Nations target of achieving 30 percent representations of women in electoral politics by 2005 (FIDA, USAID & NDI, 2013). A detailed record of the figures and percentages of men and women participation and representation in politics in Kenya since independence to 2013 is given in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1: Membership of the Kenya National Assembly by Year of Election and Gender from 1963 to 2013

Year of Election	Number of Candidates				Elected Members				Nominated members				
	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	M	%	F	%	
1963	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1969	602	99.34	4	0.66	154	99.35	1	0.65	11	91.67	1	8.33	
1974	728	98.51	11	1.49	152	97.44	4	2.56	10	83.33	2	16.67	
1979	734	98.66	10	1.34	155	96.88	5	3.13	11	91.67	1	8.33	
1983	720	99.04	7	0.96	157	98.74	2	1.36	9	81.82	2	18.18	
1988	784	99.24	6	0.76	186	98.94	2	1.06	11	100.00	0	0.00	
1992	698	97.49	18	2.51	182	96.81	6	3.19	11	91.67	1	8.33	
1997	833	94.66	47	5.34	206	98.10	4	1.90	8	66.67	4	33.33	
2002	991	88.16	133	11.83	201	95.26	10	4.74	6	60.00	4	40.00	
2007	2278	89.44	269	10.56	195	92.86	15	7.14	8	57.14	6	42.86	
2013	1969	82.01	432	17.99	274	81.31	63	18.69	7	58.33	5	41.67	
Total	10337		848		1862		112		92		26		

Source: IEBC: 4th March 2013 General Election Data Report

The 2013-2017 parliament was different from the previous parliaments because it was based on the new Constitution of Kenya (Kenya Constitution, 2010) (RoK, 2010). In article 91(1), of the constitution, Kenya has a devolved system of government which consists of the national and county governments. The national government is made up of the executive, national assembly and the senate while the county government is made up of the county executive and the county assembly (Republic of Kenya [RoK], 2010).

The National Assembly of Kenya had a total of 349 members consisting of 281 (81 percent) men and 68 (19 percent) women during 2013-2017 parliament. However, 47 women came in as Woman Representatives. These are special seats created in each county to boost the number of women in the national assembly. Sixteen (5.5 percent) 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 (USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013). The 65 member senate had 18 (27 percent) 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 percent) men against 762 (34 percent) women. Only 82 (5 percent) of these women were elected out of the total 1,450 that were elected in the county assemblies. The rest 680 were nominated (FIDA, USAID & NDI, 2013).

From the statistics above, it is evident that majority of the women that held political positions in the 2013-2017 parliament were not elected but had come in through special seats or nomination. Furthermore, despite the nominations, the 2013-2017 parliament still lacked a significant number of women who might cause positive change in public policy and influence the allocation of resources in a gender equitable manner (Ndambuki, 2010). The current study adopted a language based analysis that would reveal why many women do not vie for elective political posts and why many of those who vie are not elected. The study focused on the national assembly politicians in Kenya. The senate and county assemblies were not part of this study. The national assembly of Kenya is the highest organ charged with legislation and decision making, and therefore, the most suitable for this study.

Based on the statistics discussed above, FIDA, USAID & NDI (2013), Kariuki (2010) and Ndeda (2008) argue that there are limited decision making roles given to women in Kenya and Africa as a whole. They emphasise the need to support women's more active participation in political leadership. It is therefore necessary to analyse whether the language used by the politicians and the media to refer to the national assembly politicians affects the participation and representation of women and men in elective politics Kenya. It is also necessary to establish the kind of ideologies the electorate holds about the national assembly politicians.

2.2 The Need for Equitable Representation

Through conventions, such as the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and national interventions in various countries, as already noted in the preceding section, many positive changes have taken place in national legislations in many countries leading to increased participation of women in politics and decision making organs. There are countries that have attained and even surpassed the critical mass of 30 percent, while others are still below this global requirement. For instance, in Africa, Burundi, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda, have achieved and even surpassed the critical 30 percent representation of women in political decision making organs such as political parties, parliamentary committees and local decision making forums. However, in other parts of Africa, and indeed Kenya, the critical mass has not been attained. Kenya ranks last in the East African region (USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013).

The Critical Mass Theory in gender and politics, and collective political action is defined as the critical number of personnel needed to affect policy and make a change, not as the token, but as an influential body. This number has been placed at 30 percent, before women are able to make a substantial difference in politics. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 (RoK, 2010) puts the critical mass at 33 percent.

Women are not likely to have a major impact on legislative outcomes until they grow from a few token individuals into a considerable minority of all legislators.

There is a consensus that if the numbers of women increase, they would be able to work more effectively together to promote women-friendly policy change. With numbers, women are also likely to influence their male colleagues to accept and approve legislation that could promote women's concerns (Childs, & Krook, 2008; Krauth, 2011).

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 (UN, 2015).

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. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR] (The UN, 1948) also points out that everyone has a right to take part in the government of his or her country, directly or through freely chosen representation.

There is also a general agreement that sustainable development in Africa cannot be realized without empowering women (Ng'ang'a, 2006). The Brundtland Commission (Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development [RWCED], 1987) defines sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. However, it is important to note that the phrase and idea sustainable development is used widely and has many different meanings and provokes many different senses.

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 can 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. Literature further supports the view that when women get into leadership, they could 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. Gender equity could therefore strengthen the country's ability to grow, to reduce poverty, and to

govern effectively. Hence, the under-representation of the country's women in terms of political decision making could be a loss for the society at large.

2.3 Language as Discourse

The term language has been used in a number of different senses by various scholars. This study conceptualizes language from the point of view of Fairclough (2001). Fairclough (2001) advocates for an approach he calls 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), Foucault (1982) Grimshaw, (1981) and Hodge and Kress (1988) observe that language as a social practice is also viewed as a social process which includes social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretation. Thus, analysing language as an independent system would be contrary to the above definition of language. The discursive discourses which constitute language in this study are seen as a form of social practice. These discourses are socially constructed, socially disseminated and socially maintained.

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' (p. 64). They therefore argue that discourse(s) makes the world meaningful. In this sense, discourse is a system of meaning within the society. Similarly, this study sees discourse as a meaning making system in society, and specifically, the Kenyan society. The discourses that this study seeks to identify will be treated as societal meanings.

The concept of society is a complex one. Many scholars have given varying definitions of the concept. For instance, McIver (1931) defines society in a structural sense as “a web of social relationships” (p. 6) which may be of several types. On the other hand, Giddings (1899) as recorded by Northcott (1918) gives a functional definition of society as the union itself, the organization, the sum of formal relations in which associating individuals are bound together. This study, from both a structural and functional perspective, defines society as a large social group sharing the same geographical or social territory with considerable interaction among them.

Fairclough (2001), Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996) and Fowler (1991) view discourse as a major instrument of power and control in society. Fairclough (2001) and the other critical linguists seek to reveal this relation between discourse and power through an approach they call Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

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 such as head-nodding, head-shaking and shrugging one's shoulders, which help determine its meaning. Forms of non-verbal communication may signal interpersonal and social relations, and therefore ideological meanings. Nonverbal language is therefore capable of influencing the context models of the communicative context. Verbal discourse is used in this study to refer to use of spoken or written words, phrases sentences or passages in a social context.

Nonverbal communication or body and visual language, can be described as silent messages or wordless messages. Nonverbal language covers actions involving posture, facial expressions, the distance between communicators, arm movements, hand movements, placement of the legs and feet, handshakes, and other related behaviours (Brinke., MacDonald., Porter & O'Connor, 2012; Burgoon, 1994; Guimarães, 2013; Hall, 1976; Puccinelli, Motyka, & Grewal, 2010). The literature furnishes support for the usefulness of nonverbal communication as a device for conveying meaning, thoughts, attitudes, and perceptions. For instance, the ability

to discern and determine what a person is saying nonverbally can be as important as the dialogue that transpires (Anderson, 2001; Gupta, 2013).

Nonverbal communication plays an immense role in the process of exchanging information. Mehrabian (1972) argues that more than 50 percent of information is sent via our nonverbal behaviour, and not as it might be expected, words and phrases. Ekman and Friesen (1975) state that nonverbal clues grasp the attention of the audience and make greater impression on them. Therefore, body and visual languages are very important elements of public performances that can positively or negatively contribute to the image of every politician.

Those indexical features which express, sometimes unconsciously, our hidden beliefs and feelings such as emotive and emphatic movements, which both accompany and are independent of speech, and expressed as grimaces, shrugs, hand gesticulation and gestures, can be analysed for meaning in discourse. Both the verbal and nonverbal action of the participants are constitutive elements of the context of situation. For a full description of a linguistic event, it is essential therefore to establish and define both the linguistic systems in operation and their linguistic expression in nonverbal behaviour. Nonverbal gestures and postures are seen as symbols which function within a complex relationship between verbal and nonverbal behaviour (Peterson & Leonhardt, 2015).

In many ways, nonverbal language constitutes a sufficient substitute to verbal language. Nonverbal language also has a property, a renewing effect and a creative force that words, on their own, may not have. While not disputing that verbal language is the stronger code (Fairclough, 2001), nonverbal communication is usually employed even in contexts where speech or verbal communication may not occur (Key, 1977). Communicative nonverbal behaviour could therefore be considered by definition to be linguistic behaviour. Bolinger (1975) argues that if language is an activity, we cannot limit it to verbal speech activity alone, because human actions cannot be easily compartmentalised. We are normally informed by our eyes and ears. Thus, audible and visible gestures have much in common. In this study, both the verbal and the nonverbal language that were used in the political and media discourses were treated as language. Below, the study defines political and media discourses.

2.3.1 Political Discourse

Political discourse is one of the key areas of inquiry in CDA. Fairclough (1989; 1992) and Wodak (1989) define political discourse as the discourse of politicians. According to Chilton and Schaffner (1997), there are two issues in political discourse. The first is the relativity of discourse as 'political'. Chilton and Schaffer (1997) provide a solution by explaining that the term 'political' emanates from linguistic or other actions, which involve power or its inverse called resistance. The second issue that Chilton and Schaffner (1997) identify with

political discourse is the multiplicity of functions of speech acts that discourse performs. The strategic functions link political situations and processes to discourse types, and levels of discourse organization.

Reisigl (2008), on the other hand, provides a broad conceptualization to guard against a simplistic notion that the political is everything that politicians do as they pursue their profession. He argues that such a conception of the political implies that political rhetoric is only produced by politicians. This view rules out the fact that political matters constitute the life of everyone. Furthermore, non-politicians also produce political rhetoric in private contexts.

Wilson (2004) also acknowledges the ambiguity surrounding the phrase political discourse. To overcome the ambiguity, he delimits the concern of political discourse to formal and informal political contexts and actors. However, the delimitation does not end the problems. As a result, it is important to state one's political goals when targeting political discourse for analysis. This allows for more descriptive perspectives where the main goal is to consider political language as discourse first and then as politics. Wilson (2001) emphasizes the articulation of information on policies and actions for the public good. The same is echoed by Orwell (1995).

Van der Valk's (2003) study on parliamentary debates argues that political discourse represents social action and should be analysed as a form social action. Political discourse in this case functions as an instrument of power, control and exclusion. Political discourse is also an instrument for achieving equality and democracy. Van der Valk's (2003) view was useful in understanding the 'Us' versus 'Them' discourse in the way politicians talk about other politicians during campaigns. In this study, political discourse was used to refer to the discourses of politicians and non-politicians, directed at other politicians, during campaigns and in everyday discourse, both in the formal and informal contexts. Political discourse was also conceptualized as the discourses of the print media opinion makers about political figures. It was important to interrogate both the form and function of the discourses.

In talking about political discourse and media discourse, one cannot ignore the concept of power and ideology. Power is seen as one of the concepts that organises many relationships in society. According to Wodak (2001), power entails relations of difference, and specially the effects of the differences in social structures. The inseparable relation between language and social issues makes language to enter into a complex relationship with social power. Language indexes, expresses, contests and challenges power. In a study that was done in Kenya, King'ei (2001) argues that language is often used with the aim of shaping, directing, controlling and manipulating the audience in politically desired ways.

In this study, power is used in Van Dijk's (1997) sense to refer to mental power exercised through text, talk and the non-verbal in subtle ways. This kind of power often produces hegemonic discourses taken as naturalized common sense. The exercise of power basically involves focusing on the kinds of interaction in which participants are positioned asymmetrically, through discourse, in terms of who controls the production of discourse and who consumes the discourse. This is the case of many kinds of talk including courtroom discourse (Dlamini, 2009; Kiguru; 2014), which illustrate that courtroom defendants may not speak unless they are spoken to, and when they must speak. What they say must also conform to the dominant party's definition of an acceptable contribution.

Similarly, in classroom discourse (Kitetu, 1988), and in the political speeches of politicians and community leaders, with members of rural women's groups (Ndambuki, 2010), power is enacted the same way. The same case could be argued for the political speeches of politicians and non-politicians, and the media directed towards other politicians. This is because it is politicians and other non-politicians, and the media opinion makers who normally have the power to raise issues during political campaigns or political matters respectively, and not the listeners or readers (Haugerud, 1995).

The ability to hold the crowd is a major determining factor in the success of a political speech. Wundsam (2016) notes that political speech is a device to carry

power. He says that figurative speech, notably metaphors, stylistic features are important means of peppering rhetoric. Such stylistic features, in political discourse, always work to emphasise what is considered thematically important at a particular moment in time, as well as point out areas of controversy. Reisigl (2008) says that a political rhetoric refers to a practical science and art of the use and effects of linguistic (including non-verbal) and other semiotic means of persuasion relating to political matters, typical of the effective or efficient speaking and writing by professional politicians. Having looked at political discourse, it also important to highlight what was considered as media discourse in this study.

2.3.2 Media Discourse

Media discourse refers to interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer (O'keeffe, 2008). The broadcast platforms could be visual, audio or audio visual. Media discourse is used in this study to refer to print media opinion articles and visuals about politicians that fall within the precincts of language and gender. The opinion makers could be the self-professed experts or pundits (Fairclough, 2003) in political issues or media personnel. Since these articles and visuals are about politicians, they are also seen as political discourses.

The function of the media to shape agenda in society has generated interest in many spheres of study, especially CDA. In modern democracies, the media serves a vital function as a public forum (Gurevitch & Blumler 1990). Since discourse plays a vital role in constituting people's realities, the implications for the power and influence of media discourse are clear.

Every instance of language is a reflection of the prevailing discursive and ideological systems in the society where it is used. The media discourse could be said to be a social construction of reality. Fowler (1991) explains that language in the media may not be facts about the world, but, in a very general sense, ideas, beliefs, values and ideology. Butegwa (1995) and Ogusanya (2006) posit that the mass media has great influence in formulation of public opinion. They further add that the capacity to create, spread and perpetuate stereotypes as well as to alter them is undeniable.

Newspaper editors use different linguistic devices to project their viewpoints and to suit the ideological expectations of their audience. Ideology in this context will be defined as a set of ideas or beliefs, which are held to be acceptable by the creators of media text. These ideologies are based on a set of beliefs and attitudes to groups in society. Such ideologies can be projected in the media through news, advertisement, editorials and features. For instance, some writings are regarded as expressing gender imbalance since they tend to portray the female gender in the

negative light. Power relations in politics could therefore be shaped by newspapers through the news writer and the editorial board. The news writer expresses these relations through their choice of linguistic resources. One major linguistic strategy expressed through newspaper is the use of persuasion, which is often used in the construction of headlines and the subsequent content.

Previous studies have shown that there is a positive link between exposure to media and citizens' electoral participation and choice (Isaksson, Kotsadam & Nerman, 2014; Keunzi & Lambright, 2011; Mbeke, 2010; Tian, 2011). The media are therefore able to create public perception on certain issues by giving them more attention (Philo & Happer, 2013).

2.4 The Relationship between Language, Power and Ideology

Ideology has been defined variously by different scholars and there is no single or unified agreement as to what ideology is. Classical Marxist scholars view ideology as a system of ideas and practices that disguise or distort the social, economic and political relation between dominant and dominated classes. This study conceptualizes ideology from the point of view of Neo-Marxists such as Althusser (1971) and Gramsci (1971), and other non-Marxist or critical linguists' approaches which include Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (2003), Fairclough, (2001), Fowler, (1991), Herbamas (1998), Hodge & Kress (1993), Kress (1990), Locke (2004) and Johnstone (2008), who view ideology as something that is naturally

consented. The means by which ideologies are able to maintain society's power relationships through consent, is called naturalization (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003), legitimation (Thompson, 1990), habitus (Bourdieu, 1991; 2001) or hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). This prevailing ideology is created and reinforced by societal institutions through language. As the discourse permeates institutions, it comes to pass for common knowledge, fact, or common sense. The gendered discursive discourses were treated as ideologies that have been naturally consented.

Althusser (1971) argues that power is repressive. He uses the concept of Ideological State Apparatus (ISAs) to refer to institutions like the family, the school, the church and the media. He stresses the relative autonomy of ideology from the economic base and the significant role played by ideologies in reproducing or changing economic or political relations. According to him ideology works through putting individuals into subject positions through interpellation. Ideology interpellates individuals as subjects in a way that is so persuasive that it forms part of our reality and this appears to us 'as true' or 'obvious'.

Barthes (1986) sees ideology as myth, since ideology like myth, means beliefs and representations that sustain and legitimate current power relations. According to Barthes (1986) a dominant power legitimates itself by promoting beliefs and

values favourable to it. This is done through naturalizing and universalizing such beliefs so as to render them inevitable. Barthes presents myth as a socially constructed reality that is passed as 'natural.' Critical linguists such as Hodge and Kress (1993) look at ideology as 'discursive' implying that through language we are able to construct ideology (or are constructed) in our everyday interaction. Their concern is to show how various aspects of grammar (syntax semantics) are connected to power and domination.

There is thus a close connection between language, power and ideology. 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 is a tool to promote, protect and legitimate power. Language enforces social control, influences feelings, shapes thought, and institutionalises discrimination (Kress, 1990). 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). The current study looked at the relationship between language power and ideology in Kenya's elective politics. Such a relationship may show whether language shapes the minds of the voters and politicians and subsequently influences their choice of political candidate and participation in elective politics respectively. The complex workings of power and ideology in discourse help in sustaining a hierarchically gendered social order in the political realm.

Van Dijk (1998; 2001) formulates a multidisciplinary approach to ideology. He defines it in terms of cognition, society and discourse. That is, ideologies are a system of ideas and belong to the system of thought and belief or cognition. They are social in that they are associated with collectivities and they are expressed or reproduced by means of discourse. Van Dijk's (1998; 2001) definition was useful in this study which recognizes that ideologies, which are stored in people's minds, are acquired from society via discourse, and are reproduced through discourse.

Van Dijk (2006) says that ideologies are expressed in various structures of text and talk. Ideologies are typically expressed and reproduced in discourse and communication. But they are also implicated in nonverbal semiotic messages,

such as pictures, photographs and movies. Therefore, although discourse plays a prominent role as the preferential site for the explicit, verbal formulation and the persuasive communication of ideological propositions, ideologies are also ‘enacted’ in other forms of action and interaction and their reproduction is often embedded in organizational and institutional contexts. Fairclough (2001) says that CDA includes ‘visual language’, body language and so on. This version of CDA is based upon a view of semiosis as an irreducible part of material processes. Semiosis includes all forms of meaning making such as visual images, body language as well as language. This study adopts a critical look at both the verbal – written and spoken – discourses, and the nonverbal – visuals and body language – discourses.

Fowler (1991) examined the role of linguistic structure in the construction of ideology, with the presumption that language is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator. He observed that “anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position” (pp. 10). Given the theory of ideology, it is important to attend primarily to those properties of discourse that express or signal opinions, perspectives, position, interests or other properties of groups. The structures of ideologies also suggest that such representations are often articulated along an ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ dimension, in which speakers of one group generally tend to present themselves or their own group in positive terms and other groups in negative terms.

Thus, any property of discourse that expresses, establishes, confirms or emphasizes a self-interested group opinion, perspective or position, especially a broader socio-political context of social struggle, is a candidate for special attention in such an ideological analysis. Such social structures usually have the legitimating dominance of justifying concrete actions of power abuse by those assumed to hold power (Van Dijk, 2003).

Everyday conversational exchanges are crucial in constructing gender identities as well as gender ideologies and relations. Gender ideology is the set of beliefs that govern people's participation in the gender order, and by which people explain and justify that participation (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003). Gender ideology can lead to power asymmetry. The current study hypothesized the presence of gendered ideologies produced, perpetuated, consumed and maintained by the use of language about the politicians in the Kenyan society. The study aimed at critically analysing the discourses so as to unearth the underlying power relations.

2.5 Analysis of Political and Media Discourses

A linguistic analysis of political discourse can be most successful when it relates the details of linguistic behaviour to political behaviour. Fairclough (2001), Lakoff (2003) and Van Dijk (2006) contend that any analysis of political discourse should have a strong linguistic basis. Van Dijk (2006) says that this can be done from two perspectives: we can start from the linguistic micro-level and ask which strategic

functions specific structures (such as visuals, word choice, or a specific syntactic structure) serve to fulfill. Alternatively, we can start from the macro-level, that is, the communicative situation and the function of a text and ask which linguistic structures have been chosen to fulfill this function. Language use, discourse, verbal and nonverbal interaction, and communication belong to the micro-level of the social order. Power, dominance, and inequality between social groups are typically terms that belong to a macro-level of analysis. Therefore, we cannot separate stylistics from the analysis of political discourse.

Stylistics and CDA have a considerable overlap and it is not always easy to separate the two approaches. Yunhua (2011), for instance, integrates stylistics and CDA into critical stylistics and notes that stylistics has developed into an interdisciplinary and this approach could be applied to the analysis of political texts. CDA studies written, spoken and nonverbal discourses, to investigate the way that ideologies or discourses are circulated and reworked in a range of cultural texts, and both seek to call attention to linguistic strategies whereby texts locate listeners, readers and viewers within these discourses (Van Dijk, 2006). Van Dijk (2006) further notes that a range of properties of texts therefore, are regarded as potentially ideological. These include features of vocabulary and metaphors, grammar, presuppositions and implicature, politeness conventions, speech exchange systems, generic structures and style. This study identified and described the verbal properties of political and media discourses with the aid of Van Dijk's (2006)

levels of analysis below, and other linguistic strategies that have been employed by other scholars in the area of language and gender.

2.5.1 Analysis of the Verbal Properties of the Political and Media Discourses

Analysis of any discourse, according to CDA, entails a critical look into the structures and strategies of discourse employed. To analyse the verbal discourses of politicians and the media, the study adopted Van Dijk's (2006) levels of analysis, and other linguistic strategies of discourse analysis. Van Dijk's (2006) levels analysis are discussed in the following subsections.

2.5.1.1 Surface Structures of Discourse

Van Dijk (2006) says that surface structures of discourse are the variable forms of expression at the phonological and graphical realization of underlying syntactic, semantic, pragmatic or other abstract discourse structures. With a few exceptions, surface structures of text and talk do not have explicit meanings of their own. They are only the conventional manifestations of underlying meanings. Yet, such surface structures may express and convey special operations or strategies. For instance, special use of stress or volume or large printed type may strategically be used to emphasise or attract attention to specific meanings, as is the case when shouting at people or in screaming newspaper headlines. The current study only analysed the level of intonation. The other features, though relevant in the analysis of ideology, did not occur in the data that was collected. Special intonational

contours may help express irony or lack of politeness, or other semantic or interactional meanings and functions. They may conventionally signal specific social relations, and they hence also lead to ideologically based inequality.

2.5.1.2 Lexicon

Van Dijk (2006) posits that lexicon entails the choice of words based on discourse genre or personal context. Lexicalization is a major and well known domain of ideological expression and persuasion. To refer to the same persons, groups, social relation or social issues, language users generally have a choice of several words depending on discourse genre, personal context (mood, opinion, perspective) social context (formality, familiarity group membership, dominance relation) and sociocultural context (language variants sociolect, norms and values).

Political ideologies are variously expressed in polarized lexicalization of political actors (Edelman, 1985; Wodak and Menz, 1990). Choice of words and use of slogans emphasize the positive implications of group opinions and values and the negative ones of those of others. Lexicalization therefore paints the in-group members positively while portraying the out-group members negatively. We find the general pattern of ideological control of discourse, that is a positive self-presentation of the in-group (Us) and a negative other representation on the out-group (Them).

The current study analysed words based on the political context within which they were uttered. The study, in terms of genre fell within political discourse. However, we did not analyse discourse genre as it was not relevant in the study.

2.5.1.3 Local Semantics

What has been shown for lexicalization is more generally true for the management of meaning (Van Dijk, 2006). Van Dijk, (2006) further notes that local coherence depends on models, that is, on ideologically controlled representations of the situation. Biased reasons and causes that define relations in the model, may therefore, appear in partisan local semantics. More generally, we find that in principle all information that is detrimental to the in group will tend to remain implicit and vice versa (our negative points and their positive points will remain implicit). This level was applied in the analysis of the discourses to find out whether they were biased.

2.5.1.4 Global Semantics

Topics or semantic macro propositions of discourse subjectively define the information in a discourse that speakers find the most relevant or important. (Van Dijk, 2006). This means that topicalisation may also be subject to ideological management. In group speakers may be expected to detopicalise information that is inconsistent with their interests or positive self-image and conversely they will topicalise information that emphasizes negative out group properties. Undesirable

interpretations (models) of social and political events will generally not be topicalised in group discourse. Topicalisation was useful in the analysis of the headlines of the print media discourses.

2.5.1.5 Rhetoric

Specific ‘rhetorical’ structures of discourse, such as surface structure repetition or semantic ‘figures’ such as metaphors may be a function of ideological control when information that is unfavorable to us is made less prominent whereas negative information about them is emphasized (Van Dijk, 2006). Many of the figures of speech have this specific effect as their main function. The political and media discourses were analysed for rhetoric and underlying meaning.

2.5.1.6 Pragmatics

According to the theory of ideological discourse production, the social control of speech acts should operate through context models that represent the communicative situation and its participants, goals and other relevant appropriateness condition (Van Dijk, 2006). For instance, if speakers share sexist or racist attitudes and ideologies their utterances will feature propositions that imply the inferiority of women or minorities as speech or participants.

Such negative evaluations and generally relations of inequality between speech participants also control speech act production. Commands and threats for

instance presuppose relations of dominance and power and may be issued to women or minority participants only because of group membership. Similar remarks hold for other interactional strategies such as those of politeness, self-representation, and impression management and so on.

Obviously, ideologically based inferiorisation of others may lead to inferiorisation of speech partners in such a way that normal rules of respect and politeness are not respected (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Lack of respect, rudeness and other forms of impoliteness are routine forms of everyday verbal discrimination (Essed, 1991). Again the same is true for the ways many men treat women in conversation (Kramarae, 1981; Kuhn, 1992; Tromel-plotz, 1984). It was important to find out whether there was usage of commands and threats, or lack of respect in the gendered lexical items and expressions that were collected by the study.

2.5.2 Other Linguistic Strategies of Discourse

The study employed other linguistic strategies that have been used by other scholars to analyse the beliefs of the electorate. These linguistic strategies were included negation, semantic derogation, argumentations and double speak. Through these linguistic strategies, the electorate's beliefs became naturalized and thus passed for ideologies. Each of these linguistic strategies are discussed below.

2.5.2.1 Semantic Derogation

Semantic derogation entails the use of words and phrases that are demeaning and that make a certain person or group of people to be viewed negatively. This is usually achieved through the use of demeaning metaphors and other figures of speech (Danforth & Kim, 2008). The current study analysed the figurative language in some of the electorate's beliefs as semantic derogation.

2.5.2.2 Argumentation Strategies

Argumentation entails an iterative process emerging from exchanges among agents to persuade each other and bring about a change in intentions (Kraus *et al.* 1993). It is both a semiotic and epistemic process that can lead to reflection and knowledge restructuring (Andriessen *et al.*, 2003). In this study, argumentation strategies were used to mean the strategies used in language to justify and legitimize the negative attributions assigned to women and to justify and legitimise the positive attributions assigned to men.

The study investigated by means of what arguments and argumentation schemes the electorate tried to justify and legitimize their claims. This strategy is strongly connected with manipulation, persuasion and discursive legitimation of discrimination.

2.5.2.3 Negation Strategies

Negation in this study is used to refer to the denial of the opposite proposition of the negation. In order to understand a negated proposition we must be able to conceptualise the positive proposition that is being denied (Nahajec, 2009). Negation is used to present as not possessing or lacking certain important aspects which are possessed by another group. The current study analysed the ideological nature of the negation strategies that were inherent in the electorate's beliefs.

2.5.2.4 Obligation Strategies

Obligation is one of the grammatical aspects of modality that expresses necessity of something to the recipient. Within critical discourse analysis, modality is understood as encompassing much more than simply the occurrence of overt modal auxiliaries. Rather, modality concerns the writer's (or speaker's) attitude toward and/or confidence in the proposition being presented. In Halliday's system, modality is primarily located in the interpersonal component of the grammar, and choices in this component are independent of grammatical choices in other components, for example, choices of transitivity in the ideational component (Halliday, 1985).

Obligation is usually signaled by, not limited to, the use of modal auxiliaries such as "should", "must" and "have to". The verbs that signal obligation communicate the necessity of the subject of the sentence. The words that convey obligation

implore the recipient or target of the message to obey. In this study, obligation was not necessarily communicated by the modal auxiliaries but by other words that express a similar sense such as “suited for”, “supposed to”, and “responsible for” that were part of the beliefs of the electorate. The study analysed how such words became ideological when they associated certain individuals with certain roles based on the individuals’ gender.

2.5.2.5 Double Speak

Double speak is a strategy that employs the use of implicature. Implicature is a pragmatic element in the process of communication, which bridges the gap between what is literally said and what is intentionally meant. Implicature, however, employs the whole situation and it uses all the circumstances surrounding the utterance in order to really conceive the intended meaning of the producer of that utterance (Grice, 1981). Implicature may be used in political and everyday discourses to state two propositions each of which is believed to be true. Orwell, (2013) refers to this concept as double speak. The continuous shaping of the consciousness through double speak makes people unwilling to think too deeply on the subject matter. Doublespeak is therefore is one of the strategies used for ideological management.

2.5.3 Analysis of the Nonverbal Properties of Discourse

The non-verbal gendered discourses of the politicians and the print media were also ideologically driven. The study identified and described non-verbal properties of the political and print media discourses with the aid of Burgoon's (1994), Guimarães' (2013) and Hall's (1976) conceptualizations of the non-verbal. Burgoon (1994) and (Guimarães, 2013) identify the following non-verbal properties.

2.5.3.1 Kinesics or Body Movements

Burgoon (1994) and (Hall, 1976) include in this category, all types of body movements including facial expressions and eye contact. Deliberate movements and signals are an important way to communicate meaning without words. Eye contact can also be used to intimidate others. We have social norms about how much eye contact we make with people, and those norms vary depending on the setting and the person. For instance staring at another person in some contexts could communicate intimidation, while in other contexts it could communicate flirtation. The study looked at types of body movements that were ideologically driven.

2.5.3.2 Vocalics or Paralanguage

Burgoon (1994) and (Hall, 1976) define paralinguistics as the vocal communication that is separate from actual language. The two scholars include

volume rate, pitch and timbre in their definition. Therefore tone of voice, loudness and pitch are important paralinguistic features. The study analysed gendered paralinguistic features of the nonverbal discourses of the politicians and the print media for ideology. For instance heckling a person is a face threatening act that may show disapproval.

2.5.3.3 Personal Appearance

Burgoon (1994) and (Hall, 1976) contend that personal appearance, as in, the choice of color, clothing, hairstyles, and other factors affecting appearance are also considered a means of nonverbal communication. Appearance can alter physiological reactions, judgments, and interpretations. People make judgments about someone based on his or her appearance. The current study analysed the nonverbal texts of the politicians and the print media for underlying gendered biases based on appearance.

2.5.3.4 Proxemics or Personal Space

Burgoon (1994) notes that people often refer to their need for "personal space," which is also an important type of nonverbal communication. Burgoon (1994) and (Hall, 1976) say that amount of distance we need and the amount of space we perceive as belonging to us is influenced by a number of factors including social norms, cultural expectations, situational factors, personality characteristics, and

level of familiarity. The study analysed those situations where personal space was violated for gendered ideological reasons.

2.5.3.5 Haptics or Touch

Burgoon (1994) and (Hall, 1976) say that types of touch communicate particular meanings. For instance a weak handshake, a timid tap on the shoulder, a warm bear hug, a reassuring slap on the back, a patronizing pat on the head, or a controlling grip on the arm will communicate specific information. In her book *Interpersonal Communication: Everyday Encounters*, the author (Wood, 2007) writes that touch is also often used as a way to communicate both status and power. Researchers have found that high-status individuals tend to invade other people's personal space with greater frequency and intensity than lower-status individuals. Sex differences also play a role in how people utilize touch to communicate meaning. Women tend to use touch to convey care, concern, and nurturance. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to use touch to assert power or control over others. The study analysed cases where inappropriate touches were made on the opposite sex for ideological reasons.

2.5.3.6 Images

Guimaraes (2013) argues that images such as comic strips, photographs and editorial cartoons are so powerful that they can convey themes and images from past to present memories. Santos (2007) argues that editorial cartoons are a discursive genre for they are illustrations aimed to satirise through caricatures, current events. Through the interaction between verbal language and nonverbal, words and images invade the mass media, such as newspapers, magazines and television, and provoke ideas and emotions in individuals and society (Barthes, 1977).

2.6 Gender and Gendered Discursive Discourses

Davies (2003) defines gender as the society's expectations about how men and women should think, act and relate as girls and boys, and women and men. Davies (2003) further observes that gender is usually contrasted with sex which is biological. Sex includes the genetic makeup, hormones, and body parts, especially the sex and reproductive organs. This definition can be summarised by the words of the philosopher Beauvoir (1997) who argues that one is not born a woman but one becomes a woman. This view proposes that gender should be used to refer to the social constructions of masculinities and femininities, not the state of being male or female in its entirety. This study defines gender as the socially constructed roles, responsibilities and expectations assigned to men and women.

Gender is therefore 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). 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. Society being a social and cultural phenomenon exists and is reproduced by the help of symbolic communications (Lotman, 1994). This means that, social groups are constituted within discursive practices.

Hall (1997) 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. Gender is one of the factors that can construct identities. This study defines gender identity as the individual's identification with a particular category and how being a member of that category might express certain attitudes and values associated with that gender (Bhuiyan, 2007; Norton & Toohey, 2004). Gendered political identities are therefore specific political opinions directed towards groups based on their gender. Identities are the basis for social differences and inequalities.

Political identities, differences and inequalities are therefore reproduced by talk and text. This study posits that there are some words, phrases and sentences that

politicians and the media commonly use in order to communicate certain meanings regarding the men and women politicians. It is through these linguistic devices that gendered discourses regarding elective politics may be evoked in people's minds.

Biologically, women and men are different. However, people interpret and elaborate their biological differences in terms of certain expectations about their appropriate behaviours and activities. People also draw on these biological differences to define their rights, resources and power. Although these differences vary considerably among societies, there are some striking similarities. For example, nearly all societies give the primary responsibility for the care of infants and young children to women and girls. On the other hand, society assigns men the role of military service and defence (World Bank, 2001). This can be interpreted as biological determinism.

This social construction of gender has led to a type of gender division of labour which refers to the socially determined ideas and practices which define what roles and activities are deemed appropriate for women and men (Reeves & Baden, 2000). Women tend to dominate in unpaid domestic work and subsistence food production while men dominate in waged employment and cash crop production (Taylor, 1999). Women therefore tend to be confined to jobs with low status while men are associated with high status jobs. Anand (1992) argues that the

invisibility of women could be a result of a gendered division of labour, which glorifies women's role as homemakers and child-bearers, while simultaneously devaluing their productive labour. It is on these grounds that the current study sought to explore gendered political and media discourses, and electorate's beliefs, and further determine how the discourses could construct and affect the politicians.

Modern society still appears to uphold the way girls and boys were portrayed in the traditional society. Learning about the sex differences starts early in life and serves as a basis for beliefs about the social roles that are 'natural' to men and women. Campell (2010) notes that by the time children start school, they already have a deeply imbued sense of what it means to be a male and a female in society. However, this gendered portrayal of the sexes is not only found in childhood. Language reinforces the gender roles and preferences throughout people's lives.

The study conceptualizes gender roles as the way people act, what they do and say, to express being a girl or a boy, a woman or a man. Language persistently confirms, maintains and strengthens gender. Language therefore participates in gender practice through everyday social interactions (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003). The linguistic items and expressions that that could be used in stereotyping and constructing the politicians were treated as gendered discourses in this study. Language and culture could therefore be said to be an influence on the way the

people's minds work and hence how the people perceive and understand the 'real world'.

In an article in the Standard Newspaper (May 4th 2004), the author cites Kipling's (1923) famous quote that 'Words are, of course, the most powerful drugs used by mankind'. The article reports a lady passenger who had refused to continue being ferried in a vehicle displaying slogans which demeaned women and depicted them as objects of ridicule. Some of the slogans or graffiti in the '*matatu*' included the following:

- i. Women are like *matatus*, you miss one, and you get the next.
- ii. A woman is like a maize cob for everyone with teeth to eat.
- iii. A beautiful woman is mathematical. She is a division of family and friends, a subtraction of money and wealth, a multiplication of problems and addition of enemies.

Although the article was referring to women in general and not women politicians in particular, it is common knowledge that it is the discourses in everyday life that are imported into other contexts such as media and politics.

Lakoff (2003) says that public women are more subject to erosion of the wall between their public and private personae, than are men with anything unconventional about their private lives leading to judgments of their

performance. A woman who seeks or holds high office is called ambitious, intended to disqualify her from the position. However, a male politician who appears to have insufficient ambition is dismissed as lacking 'fire in the belly'. Lakoff (2003) gives an example from the American political discourse where Hillary Clinton, was referred to as 'this Hillary' by the Senate Majority Leader, who was called Trent Lott, after Clinton's election to the Senate. Trent said 'when this Hillary gets to the Senate if she ever does - may be lightning will strike and she won't - she will be one of 100, and we won't let her forget it'. Lakoff (2003) notes that the emotional deictic, 'this', signifies emotional connection with the subject via contempt. The first name reference shows unilateral intimacy, such as is permitted traditionally from men to women, but not vice-versa. Lakoff (2003) interprets the utterance as a reminder that, in Trent Lott's Senate, the traditional gender ideology was still in effect. Similar discourses are used in the Kenyan context to refer to prominent women politicians.

The construction of women across the media tends to highlight on beauty, sexuality and emotion to the near-exclusion of values (Lakoff, 2003; Meyers, 1997). Meyers (1997) notes that the news coverage of women perpetuates stereotypes and myths about women, while ridiculing or trivializing their needs and concerns. When compared with the portrayal of women, the portrayal of men in the media seems to be more positive. Representations of men across all media tend to focus on strength, power, sexual attractiveness, physique and

independence. Male characters are often represented as isolated and not needing to rely on others. Women are presented as being part of a context, such as family, friends, colleagues, and working or thinking as part of a team. In drama, they tend to take the role of helper or object, passive rather than active. Section 236 of the Beijing Platform for Action also notes that there is continued projection of negative and degrading images of women in media communication, electronic, print, visual and audio (UN Women, 1995).

Exposure to political information covered in the media plays a critical role. The slogans, which exploit the semantic figures of rhetoric such as metaphors and similes, construct women as possessing negative qualities. They are antisocial, irresponsible, quarrelsome, lacking in rationality, and are always focused on materialistic pursuits. This confirms Shakespeare's (1603; 2007) saying: "Frailty, thy name, is woman" in his play *Hamlet*. Various ideologies therefore emerge on the expected qualities of women such as passivity, subservience or inferiority, compliance and obedience (Richmond, 1992). This study confirms that the Kenyan electorate harbours certain ideologies which they have acquired from society, through language, and which play a role in their political decision making in terms of the gender of the candidate to vote for.

Gender is closely related to stereotype, since it contributes to the creation of the stereotype. Stereotypes are socially constructed mental pigeon-holes into which

events and individuals can be sorted, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible (Ghim-Lian, 2001). Peterson and Runyan (1993) contend that "... the social construction of gender is actually a system of power that not only divides men and women as masculine and feminine, but typically also places men and masculinity above women and femininity, and operates to value more highly those institutions and practices that are male dominated and /or representative of masculine traits and styles" (p. 30). Pilcher and Whelehan (2004) contend that "masculinity does not exist as the property, character, trait or aspect of individuals, but should be understood as an ideology about men, what men should be like, and this is developed by men and women in order to make sense of their lives" (pp. 84).

Richmond (1992) says that because men have had power and have dominated social institutions for so long, masculine traits and occupations have been more valued and masculinity has become a collection of traits that lead to success. If men are socialized to be masculine, they will have traits such as independence, aggressiveness and competitiveness that make them successful, and keep males in positions of power. If women are socialized to be feminine or passive and dependent, it will be difficult for them to change institutions and the value structure. However, scholars, like Njoya's (2008) flawed masculinity; opine that social construction of masculinity has harmed men.

Stereotyping reduces, essentialises, naturalises and fixes differences and facilitates the binding or bounding together of all of 'Us' who are 'normal' into one imagined community and it sends into symbolic exile all of 'Them' (Hall 1997:258). The emphasis on otherness is to ensure that the image of others diminishes while that of theirs increases. This is clearly an enactment of power to show superiority over others. Power is clearly a key consideration here. Stereotypes tend to be directed at subordinate groups, such as ethnic minorities and women, and they (stereotypes) play an important part in hegemonic struggle. Hegemony involves control by consent, rather than by force. The representational practice of stereotyping plays a central role in hegemony, by endlessly reiterating what amounts to caricatures of subordinate groups. Stereotypes are therefore reproduced.

The current study sought to find out both the political and media discourses directed at men and women politicians, and analyse the bearing of these discourses on power relations in electoral politics in Kenya. This would help reveal whether the underrepresentation of women in elective politics could be attributed to the ideological nature of discourse.

2.7 Brief Background to Language and Gender Studies

The current study, which focused on the discursive construction of the national assembly politicians in Kenya, falls within a level of linguistic study called

discourse analysis. The study sought to analyse discourses in the sociolinguistic field of language and gender. The area of language and gender has been studied extensively in various societies and settings since the 1970s. The studies focus on how society assigns social meanings to the different biological characteristics of males and females. Lakoff (1973; 1975) argues that women, when compared with men, have a deficit way of speaking that reflects and produces women's subordinate position in society. Other studies in this area observe that the unequal power relations between men and women are responsible for the gender differences in language use (Fishman, 1983; Thorne, Kramarae & Henley, 1983; Thorne & Henley, 1975; West & Zimmerman, 1983; Zimmerman & West, 1975). Further, other studies (Coates, 1986; Tannen, 1990) show that girls and boys live in different subcultures and therefore learn to use language differently as they grow up because they interact in single-sex peer groups.

This study is specifically related to studies from the mid-1990s which focus on the way written, spoken and visual discourses help to construct gender identities in various contexts. These studies 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 (Fairclough, 2001). Femininities and masculinities refer to the set of characteristics and behaviours prescribed for men and women in Kenya by the Kenyan society and learned through the socialization process. The constructivist (also known as

constructionist) approach to meaning in language recognizes the public social character of language. The approach acknowledges that neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language. Things do not mean. We construct meaning using representation systems, that is, concepts and signs. We must not confuse the material world, where things and people exist, and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate (Hall, 1997). Lakoff (2003) argues that the social constructionist approach is the most current approach to language and gender.

Studies from the mid-1990s, such as Kira and Bucholtz, (1995), Kitetu, (1998), Victoria, Bing and Freed (1996), Sally and Meinhof, (1997) and Yieke (2002) focus on how language helps to construct gender identities in contexts such as the classroom, work place, courts, religion, proverbs and idiomatic expressions. However, the studies do not focus on gender and power relations in the political process. Studies that focus on how language constructs gender identities in the political scene in Kenya are scarce. For instance, Ndambuki (2010) studied how politicians, community leaders and other women constructed the interests and needs of rural women in Kenya. She did not focus on the language directed towards men and women politicians, and how it constructs the politicians in Kenya, and this is the gap the current study addressed.

2.8 Non-linguistic Studies on Women Participation in Politics

Various non-linguistic studies reveal some of the common reasons that explain what hinders women from vying for, and being elected to the Kenya's national assembly. These include low esteem of women vis-à-vis men, constraints faced by women in balancing both family and work, financial constraints, media coverage that is biased to men than women, male dominance in political party structures and certain cultural aspects that portray women as not possessing strong leadership qualities (Kasomo, 2012; Kivoi, 2014; Okello, 2010). These factors imply certain underlying social ideologies that shape a people's world view of a woman and a man. These reasons tend to point to a social construction of the politician through the use of language in every day discourses in the society.

A study by Ahl (2004) on how women entrepreneurs are represented in management texts, found out that emphasis was continually placed on how unusual these women entrepreneurs were and an alternative feminine model of the entrepreneur was created which left the masculine standard intact. Through these discourses, women are constructed as the non-norm, the secondary and the other but never as the standard entrepreneur. The man was constructed as the manager or leader. Although the context of focus of this study was different from the one of the current study, the findings reveal that women and men are constructed differently. The findings also contribute to the understanding of the constructivist nature of language.

The Women's Media Centre (WMC) conducted a study that found that any kind of comment about a female political candidate's appearance – whether that comment was positive, negative or a neutral observation - actually made survey participants (likely voters) react negatively towards candidates. The study had voters read the media coverage where female political candidate's appearance was discussed in various ways. What they found was that afterward, these participants felt those female political candidates were less confident and less qualified and less likeable. The significance of the findings were summed up in a press release from WMC that in close political races, sexist coverage on top of the attacks that every candidate faces can make the difference between winning and losing (Malone, 2013). These findings are relevant as they could help shed light on the Kenyan electorate.

Kamau (2010) explored the experiences of women politicians in the period between 2002 and 2007. The study found out that women develop their vision of leadership from the experiences they go through as young girls growing up in a society with major gender inequalities. She identifies the challenges faced by women politicians and those aspiring for office. These relate to family issues, resources political parties, gender-based violence during elections, general insecurity, and lack of positive media coverage. The media creates a situation where voters do not get to know what women have achieved. The findings also indicate that the societal understandings of able and effective political leaders are

gendered and skewed against women. Although this is not a linguistic study it is good starting point into a further inquiry of the underlying meanings of the challenges that women politicians face.

Lastly, other studies (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007; Arvate, Firpo & Pierri, 2014; Bauer, 2016; 2017) show that gender stereotypes affect voter perceptions of political aspirants. For instance, Bauer's (2016; 2017) study on gender stereotypes and women political candidates, shows that support can be reduced if voters see campaign messages in speeches, advertisements, websites or news reports that describe the woman candidate in stereotypical ways. Kasomo, (2012), Oduol (2011) and Otieno, (2012) concur that gender factors could be responsible for the shying away of women from participating in electoral politics in Kenya.

2.9 Linguistic Studies on the Social Construction of Gender in Kenyan

Contexts

Kitetu (1998) examined the Kenyan physics classroom discourse practices, using CDA, and found out that the language that was used in teaching and learning of sciences was implicated in constructing boys and girls differently. Basing on the tone and voice of the teachers' language, she noted that girls and boys were positioned differently. The teachers adopted a harsh tone while talking to boys while they used a polite tone to address the girls. Although the school endorsed corporal punishment, the girls were treated specially. She found out that in the physics laboratory, girls never handled the laboratory equipment. Similarly, in the

computer room the boys touched the keyboard and the mouse but the girls watched and wrote notes. She concluded that these gendered and discursively enacted practices made the girls less aggressive in their educational endeavours. Although the girls were treated properly, they were not in charge and were not aroused to work harder.

Yieke (2002) did a study on discourse practices at the work places to find out the power relations and ideologies at play. She used CDA as the theoretical framework and tool of interpretation. She found out that the power relations of the men and women in the boardrooms were not only gendered but also ideologically driven. The male and female styles of speaking were different. She concluded that these differences served as the forces behind the marginalisation and subordination of women. In another study on the portrayal of women in school textbooks and children's fiction, Yieke (2001) observes that women are portrayed in certain stereotypical ways such as homemakers and mothers. The women are portrayed as only capable of certain chores like washing dishes, caring for children and housekeeping. She also notes that female children are confined to functions such as helping their mothers in the kitchen and playing with dolls. She concludes that exposure to such literatures serves to restrict the choices for girls especially in the public domain.

Aberi, (2009), Choti, (1998), Okindo (1995) and Otiso (2016) with the aid of CDA, examined the gender construction in Ekegusii. Aberi (2009) focused on the constructivist nature of *Ekegusii* linguistic images on girl education. He identified the linguistic images from the *Ekegusii* sexist proverbs, derogatory terms, naming system, sexualized verbs, biased parental attitude, wife beating, bride price property ownership, symbolic cultural norms and semantic derogation. He argues that the linguistic images construct majority of the Gusii girls' self-image, way of thinking and attitude toward education. For instance, linguistic images such as the use of the derogatory terms *riraya* (prostitute) and *ritinge* (concubine) are used to refer to women and there are no equivalent terms for men in similar contexts. Aberi (2009) concludes that such words have negative semantic implications on the on the girl child that can affect her education. Choti's (1998) and Otiso's (2016) studies, although conducted in different contexts, agree with Aberi's (2009) study that language constructs and keeps gender views and roles.

Nkinyangi (1994) and Obura (1991) evaluated the portrayal of girls and women in Kenyan primary school tests. Obura (1991) observes that girls and women are underrepresented and stereotyped as subordinate to men. They are also portrayed as domestic workers whereas men eke out a living in towns. Nkinyangi (1994) finds out that women are stereotyped as domestic workers while men own property and work away from home. Boys are shown as more inventive while girls remain supportive to their mothers within the homestead. The researchers

show that language has been used to advance subordinate positions for women as reflected in the textbooks found in schools. The current study benefited from these studies by showing how gendered political discourses advanced subordinate positions for women politicians.

2.10 Studies on the Social Construction of Gender through Political and Media Discourses

Studies on media discourse such as Anderson, Diabah & hMensa, (2011), Magalhaes, (2005) and Mettge (1998) 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. Mettge (1998) studied the linguistic portrayal of women in selected British newspapers. She found out that the type of discourse used in the newspapers gave a picture of women only in powerless situations. This is further 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.

Mettge (1998) further argues 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. This study reveals the negative portrayal of women by

the media through negative stereotypical images. The study agrees with the current study at the level of analysis, but the content of analysis differs. The current study analyses opinion maker articles and news reports in the newspapers while Mettge (1998) analyses newspaper headlines. Further, Mettge's study was done in a context different from that of the current study. Mettge's study provides important insights about the discursive and ideological nature of discourse which are the focus of the current study.

Magalhaes (2005) studied advertising using CDA in Brazil to uncover gender identities. She found that traditional identities coexist with new representations of women and men. She also discovered that Brazillian media are sexist in the way they represent men and women. Through devices such as cohesion, intertextuality, vocabulary and semiotic aspects such as photos, the adverts construct the feminine as dependent on the men, even in the case of professional women. Women are for example constructed as frail and needing expert help to conduct their personal lives. The feminine is represented as a commodified body that can perform as an engine and which can be desired the same way one can desire a car.

Anderson, Diabah & hMensa, (2011) did a study in Liberia to examine the media representation of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, the first female president in Africa vis-a vis her male rival George Opong Weah. The researchers wrote two similar speeches and gave one to a lady to read and the other to a man. The researchers

recorded the two similar speeches one by a lady who was imitating Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, and another by a man who was imitating George Opong Weah. They then played the recorded speeches to a sample of respondents from among the electorate.

The study found out that the male politician was believed to be more knowledgeable, trustworthy and convincing than the female politician even though they presented the same speech verbatim. The study also revealed that stereotyping influences candidate evaluation with regard to competence. This study shows that the electorate evaluates political candidates in regard to gender. This aspect is relevant to the current study which sought to reveal whether the electorate had certain beliefs that that could influence their choice of the gender of the political candidate to vote. However, the current study differs from this study in terms of methodology and context and respondents.

Williams (2007) analyzed how the competing discourse of traditional femininity and empowered femininity are encoded in women's fitness magazines. She used CDA as the tool of theory and tool of analysis. She shows the way naming of women's body parts and use of beauty adjectives objectifies women. On the other hand, she observes that empowered femininity is brought in the magazines through references to strength, discipline and action.

A study on political discourse by Ndambuki (2010) in Makueni District, Kenya, reveals that, women, politicians and other community leaders' speeches construct women's agency within deficit discourses. Ndambuki (2010) uses CDA as one of her theoretical frameworks. According to Ndambuki, 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. Ndambuki concludes that although women are constructed as non-agentive, women act as agentive subjects. Ndambuki's study is an eye opener to this study since it looks at how political leaders, women and other leaders construct rural women's needs and interests in Makueni District of Kenya. The current study builds on Ndambuki's (2010) study by focusing on the way politicians, the electorate and the media construct men and women politicians in Kenya. The current study also focuses on why many women do not vie for elective political posts, and why many of the women who vie for elective posts lose.

These views can be summed by Cameron's (1998) study, on how language represents women, which concludes that language is sexist. Sexist language is language that favours one sex and treats the other sex in a discriminatory manner.

2.11 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study was 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, (1998; 2001), Fairclough, (2001) and Wodak (2001) among others. 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.

Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach to doing Discourse Analysis that emphasizes the study of language and discourse in social institutions. It draws on poststructuralist discourse theory and critical linguistics to focus on how social relations, identity, knowledge and power are constructed. It is the belief of scholars in CDA that every instance of language use is produced from an ideological perspective. According to Taiwo (2007), in most interactions, users

bring with them different dispositions towards language, which are closely related to their social dispositions. Kress (1990) also stresses that the defined and delimited set of statements that constitute a discourse are themselves expressive of and organized by a specific ideology.

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 study aims to investigate critically gender and power relations in elective politics and consequently social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted and legitimized by everyday language use.

Both Fairclough (2001) and Van Dijk (2001) note that CDA, as a theory and method, includes visual and body language that suggest ways of analysing language or semiosis within broader analyses of the social process. Van Dijk (2001) 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, strategies and functions of discourse. Fairclough (1995) concurs that ideology is located in both structures and events.

The structures are the specific linguistic or other, that participants make, while events are the particular actions in the socio-cultural context, such as politics, that necessitate the linguistic choices. Fairclough (1995) adds that in common sense, ideologies become naturalized or automatised. Gramsci (1971) uses the term “hegemonic” in the place of “naturalized” or “automated”. Gramsci (1971) further argues that ideology is tied to action and ideologies are judged in terms of their social effects rather than by their truth values. The ideologies that motivated politicians to produce the speeches, and the ideologies that were held by the electorate were treated as hegemonic. The following sections give brief accounts of Fairclough’s (2001) and Van Dijk’s (2001) approaches to CDA.

The relatively, recent Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis [FCDA] (Lazer, 2005), which is adopted by feminists, also aims to advances a rich and nuanced understanding of the complex workings of power and ideology in discourse in suataining hierarchichally gendered social arrangements.

2.11.1 Fairclough’s Approach to CDA

The study used Fairclough’s (2001) sociocultural approach to CDA. Fairclough (2001) points out that language is a social practice and is therefore a part of society, and it is determined by social structures. Language is also seen as a social process in the sense that discourse is the whole process of social interaction which involves the process of production and the process of interpretation. The process

of interpretation is cognitive. That is, it draws upon internalized meanings or ideologies, which Fairclough (2001) calls “Members’ Resources” [MR] for interpretation. People acquire their internalized MR through social interaction and use these internalized MR to engage in their social practice including discourse. Lastly, language as a social practice involves social conditions of production and social conditions of interpretation. These include the social situation or immediate environment, the social institution and the society in which the discourse occurs. These bring the idea of context which shapes the MR which people engage in the production and interpretation, and which in turn determine the way in which texts are produced and interpreted.

Fairclough (2001) develops a three dimensional framework for studying discourse. The aim of the three dimensional approach is to map three separate forms of analysis into one another: 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” (first level) would be analysed by focusing on how power relations are enacted by it (second level). In the third level, the analysis would be concerned with trying to understand the broad, societal currents that are affecting the text being studied.

Fairclough (2001) further 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. Figure 2.1 below summarises Fairclough's (2001) approach to CDA.

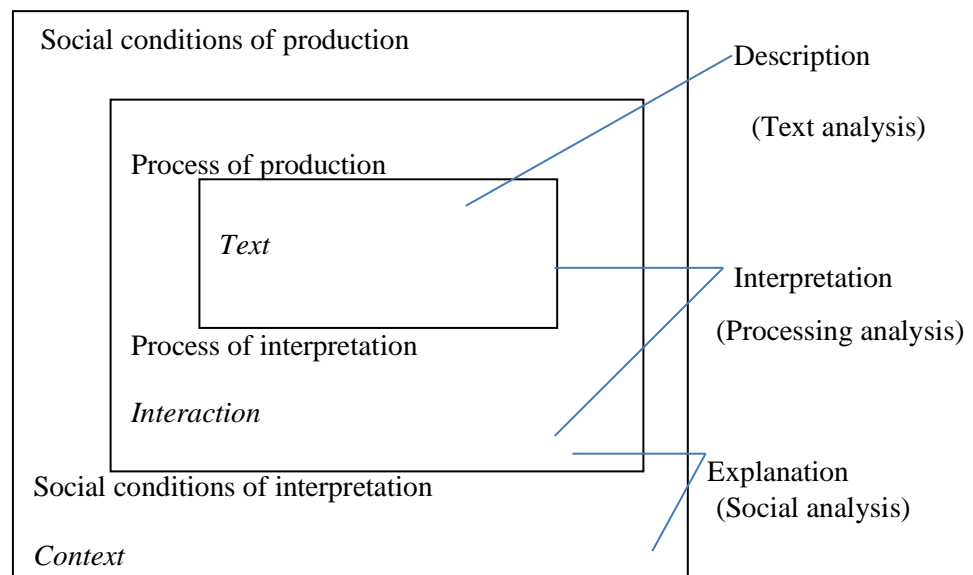


Figure 2.1: Fairclough's (2001) Three Dimensional Model of CDA

Based on table 2.1 above, the current study first did a description of the gendered discursive discourses. The discourses were then interpreted and explained.

2.11.2 Van Dijk's Approach to CDA

This study also used Van Dijk's (2001) socio-cognitive approach to CDA. 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 knowledge from a cultural perspective, that is, 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 (2001), 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. This concept of ideology shall be combined with Fairclough’s (2001) last stage of analysis, which is explanation. The discourses were treated as ideologies.

Van Dijk (2001) further says that ideologies are mental representations that function on the basis of social cognition. They monitor the structure of knowledge and its acquisition. The social-cognitive component bridges the gap between the macro notions of power and domination, and the micro level of discourse practices at which the actual study takes place. Van Dijk (2003) thus postulates that discourse analysis is essentially ideology analysis. This dimension informed the focus on both those ideologies that motivated the production of the political discourses and the ideologies that were produced by the political discourses.

The data that were collected in this study were assumed to be cultural knowledge, acquired from society through language and stored in the respondents' cognitive faculties. These data were analysed in terms of whether they implied power relations. The power to control discourse is seen as the power to sustain particular discursive practices with particular ideological investments in dominance over other alternatives including oppositional practices (Fairclough, 1995).

2.12 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has argued that the number of women holding electoral political posts in Kenya is still low as per the global and Kenya Constitution requirement. This study sought to address this problem from the prism of linguistics. This chapter has also shown that language is not a neutral medium of communicating information, but it is both a means of control and communication. There is a therefore a close connection between language, gender and power. Linguistics can therefore bring to the discussion the close and detailed analysis of language itself as language contributes to the problem by using certain linguistic items and expressions that could be prejudiced and disempowering.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a description of the research design, research variables, location and study population. The chapter further details the techniques of sampling and size of the sample, and the instruments of research. Lastly, it discusses the process of data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

A research design is a plan that guides the investigator in the process of collecting, analyzing and interpreting observations (Bhattacharjee, 2012). In view of this, the current study adopted a type of descriptive design called cross-sectional research design. A descriptive design “offers a detailed picture or account of some social phenomenon, setting, experience, group etc” (Yuane, 2005:12). Consequently, this study employed a description of the gendered political realm in Kenya. A cross-sectional design employs a cross-sectional approach, whereby data are collected from more than one case or group at a single point in time (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2000; De Vaus, 2001). This design gathered information from a cross-section of the population; hence the findings can be generalized (Owens, 2002).

The design was appropriate since the population of the current study constituted of a cross-section of all the relevant actors in the political process in Kenya. These are the politicians themselves, the media, and the electorate. Data were collected from different population groups, which were, the National Assembly politicians, television talk-shows involving politicians, the electorate, the print media news articles on politics, and print media opinion maker articles, in the single period of 2013 to 2017. This period was chosen because it constituted the first parliamentary term or era, after the promulgation of the Kenya 2010 Constitution. The Kenya 2010 Constitution advocates for the two-thirds gender rule, already discussed in the literature.

Cross-sectional designs identify groups for study purposively, 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 (Wanjohi, 2014). The current study adopts a purposive sampling design, to sample various characteristics of the target population for representativeness. The design also allows use of various methods of data collection such as questionnaires, unstructured interviews and document analysis (Wanjohi, 2014), all of which were used in this study.

Cross-sectional research design was also employed in order to enable the researcher to adequately get information from a sample in order to develop a

grounded theory or explanations of the population under study (Kumar, 2011). Grounded theory attempts to inductively derive a general theory grounded in the views of the participants in a study. Cross-sectional research design is the most appropriate for obtaining self-reported opinions, attitudes, beliefs and values (Kumar, 2011). This study sought beliefs of the electorate, and the opinions of the politicians and the print media about the National Assembly politicians in Kenya.

Cross-sectional design is descriptive in the sense that it involves assessing the study phenomena without the ability to control or manipulate variables as was in the case of the current study. The researcher collected the data and determined relationships without inferring causality (Swanson & Holton, 2005).

The study adopted the qualitative procedures of sampling, data collection and analysis (interpretation and explanation). Qualitative procedures are appropriate for uncovering hidden reasons behind interrelated social processes (Bhattacharjee, 2012). This is appropriate in this study since it seeks to find out whether political reality is shaped by societal beliefs. Bhattacharjee (2012) further gives the strategies that are used to collect data in qualitative studies. This study adopted two of his strategies: interview and documentation.

Creswell (2003) says that qualitative procedures adopt an interpretive approach to data. Qualitative procedures also (De Vaus, 2001) seek to develop concepts which

are important in understanding social phenomena in natural as opposed to experimental settings. It puts more consideration on the experiences and views of all participants. Qualitative procedures further aid in gaining insights concerning attitudes, beliefs, motivations and behaviours of individuals to explore a social or human problem. This study relied on the experiences of politicians, print media opinions, and views, beliefs and attitudes of the electorate towards the National Assembly politicians. Qualitative procedures also rely on non-numeric data such as interviews and questionnaires (De Vaus 2001; Bhattacharjee, 2012) all of which were used in this study.

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).

3.2 Research Variables

The study used two variables. These were the independent variable and dependent variable. The independent variable of the study was the discourses or linguistic items and expressions, which were used in the campaign speeches of politicians, and the print media opinion articles, to refer to or describe the Kenya National Assembly politicians. These were spoken and written words, phrases and sentences, and nonverbal cues. They constituted a people's worldviews about the gender of who could enter into elective politics and who could not.

The dependent variable was the participation of the politicians in elective politics and being voted into the National Assembly of Kenya by the electorate. There were also intervening variables such as party politics and ethnicity, which could affect the election of the politicians apart from the discursively constructed discourses. However, they were not included in this study, though they could have an effect on the dependent variables.

3.3 Population and Area of Study

The study focused on gendered political discourses about the National Assembly politicians in Kenya, and this meant that all the parties involved in the political process in Kenya, who are the politicians themselves, the electorate and the media, constituted the target population in this study. This population consisted of all elected National Assembly politicians, the political aspirants who vied for National Assembly seats in the 2013-2017 parliamentary term and lost, the electorate, television talk shows and newspaper articles and news items, which addressed the subject of gender or women and politics. This population was suitable because it cut across all social groups and social agents that take part in elective politics in Kenya.

Apart from the politicians who got directly involved in politics as vote seekers and the electorate who participated in voting their preferred political candidate, the media is also an important political agent. The Media Council of Kenya

[MCK] has as its guidelines the commitment to empower the electorate so as to make informed choices and to cover the candidates impartially. The MCK code of conduct and practice also provides for equal treatment of women and men as news subjects and news sources (MCK, 2007).

The accessible population of the study was:

1. Five men and five women politicians who included serving members of the 2013-2017 National Assembly, and those members who lost the National Assembly seat in the 2013-2017 period.
2. Talk shows from four television channels, and opinion articles and news reports from four newspaper groups.
3. Eighty members of the electorate from selected constituencies of Nairobi County, between April and July 2017.

These respondents constituted the accessible population of this study. Mugenda and Mugenda (2008) define accessible population as ‘that part of the target population which the researcher can practically reach’ (p. 182).

The areas of the study were Nairobi County and Kenyatta University library, both of which are in Kenya. A map of Nairobi County is provided in Appendix 12. Nairobi County hosts Nairobi city, which is both the capital (Institute of Economic Affairs, [IEA], 2011) and political city of Kenya. Nairobi County was therefore appropriate because it is cosmopolitan than the rest of the counties, with people from different backgrounds, gender, age and education. This group

contained all the characteristics that were required in order to get a representative sample of the respondents. To get a representative sample of the electorate, the researcher considered all the characteristics of the individuals that participate in voting, which are age, gender and education. These factors only helped to get a cross-section of the voter population. All the men members of parliament were also drawn from Nairobi County, but the women were drawn from Nairobi County and outside the County. Lastly, the media houses that were sampled for the study are also located in Nairobi County. Nairobi County was therefore suitable as the accessible population could be found there.

Kenyatta University was chosen as an area of study for print media document reviews. It was suitable because it was convenient for the researcher in terms of accessibility and familiarity. For television and newspaper documents, the area of study was Kenya. The documents covered respondents from all parts of the country. This wide coverage provided a backup to the respondents from Nairobi County and gave the study a national face.

3.4 Sampling Design

The study adopted a purposive sampling design. Purposive sampling is one of the non-probability sampling methods. The study specifically used a type of purposive sampling called maximum variation sampling (Palys, 2008) which

involves searching for cases or individuals who cover the range of positions and perspectives in relation to the phenomenon one is studying.

The members of the National Assembly were purposively sampled based on their gender and the length of time they had served so that we could have a blend of men and women who were serving for the first term and those who had served for more than two terms as National Assembly politicians in Kenya. This sample was meant to capture representative experiences. Similarly, the members of the electorate were to be sampled according to gender, age and education in order to get representative views.

The sampling of the television channels and newspaper groups was also purposive. This was because the study was interested in those media houses that held talk shows on gender and politics, or women in politics and at the same time had a nationwide viewership and readership. Muriithi and Page (2013) say that the information the electorate are exposed to in the media influence their voting decisions. Lakoff (2005) also concurs that media has a wide audience and have a more pervasive influence on the electorate's beliefs. He asks the question: In the political arena, who decides how the electorate are to perceive men and women candidates?

3.4.1 Sample Size

The sample comprised of ten National Assembly politicians from Nairobi County, and its environs, who were either serving at the time of the study or had vied in the 2013 general elections and lost, but had a good experience in Kenya's politics. Five of these were men and five others were women. This group of respondents gave the verbal and nonverbal gendered political discourses that they used or were used by other politicians to talk about men and women National Assembly politicians Kenya during the 2013-2017 terms. It was from these discourses that gendered linguistic items and expressions were identified and subsequently described. The discourses from these respondents were also used to identify and analyse the linguistic items and expressions that had positive or negative effects on the politicians.

The study sample also comprised of four television channels and four newspaper groups. The television channels were also a source of gendered political discourses, through talk shows involving politicians, on the topic of women and politics. The data from the talk shows were an important back up to the data from the ten politicians who were interviewed. The four newspaper groups were an important source of news items that had recorded politicians' discourses on gender and politics. These also provided a backup to the data that had been collected from the interviews with the ten politicians. The newspapers also brought in the perspectives of print media opinion writers on politicians through

opinion articles as a media dimension to the question of gender and politics. The sample also consisted of eighty members of the electorate from Nairobi County. These respondents highlighted their beliefs about men and women politicians in Kenya and men and women in general. This is because it is the general beliefs about men and women in the Kenyan society, which are imported to other contexts such as politics.

This sample size was deemed representative since it covered all the parameters of the study. According to Gay and Airasian, (2003), “an optimum sample is one, which fulfils the requirements of efficiency, representativeness and flexibility” (p.123). Further, it has been observed that 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, 2000; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Meshtrie, *et al.* 2000; Trudgill, 1974). In fact, the use of large samples in linguistic studies is likely to bring about redundancy and data handling problems. Figure 3.1 below presents a summary of the sample size.

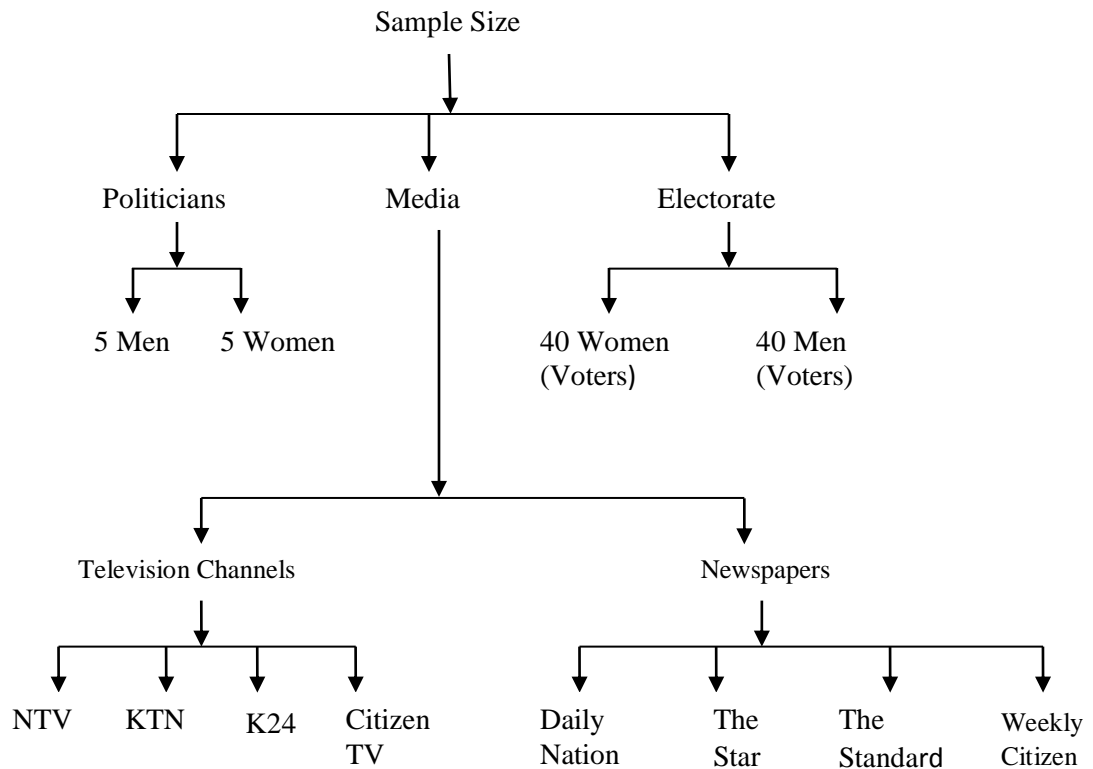


Figure 3.1: Summary of the Sample Size

3.4.2 Sampling Procedure

This section details how each group of the respondents were sampled. These were the National Assembly politicians, television channels and newspaper groups, and members of the electorate.

3.4.2.1 Sampling the National Assembly Politicians

The study purposively sampled ten National Assembly politicians for one-on one unstructured interviews. Five of these were women and five others were men. According to Robson & Foster (1989) a group of eight to ten is big enough to give

varied responses in an interview. The National Assembly politicians were purposively sampled, with the aid of a friend-of-a-friend method (Milroy & Milroy, 1985). The five men National Assembly politicians were purposively selected from five constituencies of Nairobi County to capture those who were serving for the first term or had served for one term and those who had served for two or more terms. There seemed to be new entrants and most of them were serving for the first time. However, all the women politicians were not sampled from Nairobi County. Furthermore, no woman won in the 2013-2017 election save for the Woman Rep. of Nairobi County.

A pilot study that was done in Nairobi County revealed that Nairobi County had seventeen constituencies. Out of the seventeen, eleven had both male and female candidates who had vied for the National Assembly seats. Six constituencies had only men candidates, eleven had men and women candidates. However, not a single woman was elected to the national assembly. Therefore, three women National Assembly politicians were purposively sampled from Nairobi County and two from outside Nairobi County. The women politicians included those that were elected and those who had vied but lost in the 2013 general elections.

The Researcher purposively sampled the only woman who had won (Woman Rep.) and purposively sampled two women politicians from Nairobi County who had lost in the 2013 general elections. They were both vying for the first time.

The researcher also purposively sampled two women politicians with a long experience in National Assembly politics. One had been an MP in Nairobi County before. The other was from outside Nairobi County but had vied for the position of president and lost in the 2013 general elections.

The study collected the gendered discourses from this group of respondents that were analysed for gendered linguistic items and expressions at the lexical, syntactic, pragmatic and semantic levels. The same discourses were also analysed on how they constructed the politicians and how they positively or negatively affected the politicians. Table 3.1 below gives a summary of the National Assembly politicians who were sampled.

Table 3.1: Women and Men National Assembly Politicians Sampled

Study number	Women National Assembly politicians		Men National Assembly politicians	Total
	Elected: terms served	Lost: terms served before	Elected: terms served	
1	–	None	Second	02
2	Two	–	Second	02
3	–	Over two	First	02
4	–	None	First	02
5	–	Over Two	First	02
Total	01	04	05	10

3.4.2.2 Sampling of Television Channels and Newspapers

The television channels were sampled on the basis of content, viewership, and nationwide coverage. The newspapers were also sampled on the basis of content, nationwide readership and coverage. These aspects were important in the sampling because it was not only important to sample the relevant media information, but also to ensure that the information reached a wider audience. The researcher sampled four television channels based on the Geopoll (2017) survey report as given in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2: Top Popular Television Channels in Kenya

KENYA TV AUDIENCE SHARE – Q1 2017	
STATION	SHARE
CITIZEN	33.7%
KTN	11.1%
KTN NEWS	8.8%
NTV	8.5%
SUPERSPORT	6.1%
AFRICA MAGIC	4.6%
K24	4.4%
KBC	4.2%
INOORO TV	3.5%
KISS TV	2.7%
OTHER	12.4%

Source: Geopoll (2017) surveys report - media audience measurement

The first four television channels, Citizen, KTN News, NTV, and K24, were sampled based on content. Supersport and Africa Magic were eliminated from the top because their content was not relevant to the current study. KTN was sampled and KTN News was left out since it had a higher percentage of viewership and

furthermore, the two aired news and certain programmes jointly. From the four television channels, the researcher collected data from talk shows involving politicians, on the topic of women or gender and politics between 2013 and 2017. The talk shows were relevant because it was during such shows that topical issues such as the gender and politics were normally discussed. From the talkshows, the researcher identified transcripts that contained gendered lexical, syntactic, pragmatic and semantic level linguistic items and expressions that were used to refer to men and women politicians, how the items constructed the politicians, and how the use of these items positively or negatively affected the politicians.

The sampling of newspapers was multi-stage. First, the researcher purposively sampled four newspaper groups based on readership and content between 2013 and 2017. The only rating that was available for newspaper readership was a 2015 report. The researcher used this report to sample the newspapers. According to Elliot (2015) Geopoll's media measurement service ranked the Daily Nation and The Standard as the top newspapers by audience size, beating their competitors by a large margin. By 2015, Nation had an average nationwide readership of 40 percent and The Standard 20 percent. *Taifa Leo* and People Daily had 10 percent and 8 percent respectively. Among the Weekly newspapers, Business Daily, The East, African, Star and Citizen were the leading, although their percentages were not stated. The researcher purposively sampled Daily Nation, The Standard, Star and Citizen. *Taifa Leo* and People Daily were left out to include weekly

newspapers for representativeness. Business Daily was left out because it mostly reported business, while the East African was left out because it reported for East Africa.

Secondly, the researcher adopted Lacy *et al's* (2001) method of sampling documents in a multi-year study. They suggest that the researcher should randomly select a certain number of issues from each day of the week, regardless of the months, for the period one is studying. For instance, they suggest that one can select nine issues from a Monday, nine from a Tuesday and so on. However, since this study involved four newspaper groups, the researcher adopted the sampling criterion but reduced the number of newspapers per day that were sampled. Table 3.3 below, summarises this information.

Table 3.3: Sampling of Newspapers from the Four Newspaper Groups

Year and Numbers Selected	Daily Nation	Standard	Citizen	Star	Total
2013 (2 issues, Mon.-Sun.)	14	14	14	14	56
2014 (2 issues, Mon.-Sun.)	14	14	14	14	56
2015(2 issues, Mon.-Sun.)	14	14	14	14	56
2016 (2 issues, Mon.-Sun.)	14	14	14	14	56
2017(2 issues, Mon.-Sun.)	14	14	14	14	56
Total	70	70	70	70	280

Table 3.3 shows how the newspapers that were used in the study were sampled. From every Monday of each year, the researcher conveniently sampled two newspapers for each of the four newspaper groups. That is, the researcher selected

the first two that she came across from the library section where they are kept with the aid of a library assistant. The same was repeated for each day.

From the newspapers, the researcher collected news reports on women and politics and opinion maker articles on men and women National Assembly politicians that were inclined to the topic of gender and politics between 2013 and 2017. Lakoff (2003) notes that the print media is an equally important channel, through which opinions and reports on topical issues such as women, gender and politics are written.

3.4.2.3 Sampling of the Members of the Electorate

For administration of questionnaires, the researcher purposively sampled eighty members of the electorate from Nairobi County. The researcher first purposively sampled five out of the seventeen constituencies of Nairobi County based on distribution to avoid a case where all the respondents were from one region of the County. Through prior knowledge during piloting, and with assistance of a research assistant, the researcher conveniently chose a location within each of the constituencies where the sampling was to be done. The researcher solicited and was granted the permission and assistance of the area sub chiefs to sample and administer questionnaires. Each of the sub chiefs also gave the researcher an aide who understood the area well to assist the researcher and research assistant.

For representativeness, the researcher purposively sampled 16 respondents, based on gender, age and education, from each of the five constituencies. Of the sixteen, eight were male and eight female. Four out of these eight were between eighteen and forty five years and four others were forty six years and above. Out of each four, two had secondary education and below, and two others had college education and above. The sampling was meant to ensure that the selected group contained elements which were representative of the characteristics of the electorate, and so would yield varied and representative views, hence, externally valid data (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). The variables age, gender and age were therefore used for representativeness of the sample and not as analytical categories. The study recommends that another study could be done that adopts the variables as analytical categories so as to relate the gendered political discourses to the variables. Table 3.4 below gives a summary of this information.

Table 3.4: Members of the Electorate Who Were Sampled for the Study

Electorate		Const. 1		Const. 2		Const. 3		Const. 4		Const. 5		Total
Gen.	Age	SB	CA	SB	CA	SB	CA	SB	CA	SB	CA	
M	18-45	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	20
	46 AB	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	20
F	18-45	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	20
	46 AB	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	20
Total		8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	80

Key-**Gen.**: Gender, **M**: Male, **F**: Female, **Const.**: Constituency, **AB**: And above, **SB**: Secondary and below, **CA**: College and above

3.5 Data Collection Methods and Research Instruments

The study used various methods to collect data. These were audio-recording, photocopying, scanning, printing, downloading, and paper-and-pen questionnaires. The interviews with members of the National Assembly were audio-recorded using a digital audio-recorder. The newspaper articles that were collected manually were photocopied while those that were collected electronically were downloaded and printed. Articles that contained visuals such as cartoons were scanned in order to retain the colour for clarity. The television audio-visual clips were downloaded onto a laptop, while those that were obtained from the media stations were downloaded into a flash disk. Lastly, the study used paper-and-pen questionnaires to collect data from the electorate.

The study adopted the principle of triangulation, which involved approaching the same question through the use of more than one approach in data collection. According to Bryman (2008), Denzin (2012), Esterby-Smith *et al* (2002), Gillham (2000) and Honorene (2017), there are different types of triangulation. These include data, method, investigator and theory triangulation. The current study adopted method and data triangulation. Data triangulation entails the use of different sources of information at the levels of time, space and person (Honorene, 2017). This study used person triangulation which entailed the collection of data from more than one level of person (Honorene, 2017). The study collected data from politicians, print media opinion makers and members of the electorate.

Method triangulation has different interpretations. This study adopted the interpretation relating to the use of more than one method of data collection within the qualitative framework (Bryman, 2001). The current study used three instruments to collect data. These were document reviews, non-structured interviews and semi-closed questionnaires. Triangulation increases the validity and reliability of a study as weaknesses of one method can be offset by the strengths of another, and also also reduces the biases of a single study (Bryman, 2001; Eisner, 1991; Denzin, 2012; Esterby-Smith *et al*, 2002; Gillham, 2000; Honorene, 2017). The next subsection discusses each of the instruments.

3.5.1 One-on-one Non-Structured Interviews

One-on-one unstructured interviews ask questions that are not determined in advance, but rather, they are spontaneous, to one person at a time (Berg, 2001). However, the interviewer usually has certain topics in mind, which he or she wishes to cover during the interview (Berg, 2001). This study translated the topics in mind into an interview guide (Appendix 1) to guard against forgetfulness. With the aid of the interview guide, the researcher conducted one-on-one non-structured interviews with the ten members of the National Assembly in Nairobi County. Five of these were women and the others five were men. The interviews were either conducted in their offices or at a suitable place of their convenience.

The non-structured interview method of data collection is important because it is flexible as questions can be adopted and changed depending on the respondents' answers. The researcher also probes with further questions and/or explores inconsistencies to gather more in-depth information on the topic (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). Kombo and Tromp (2006) further say that it is useful in studying sensitive topics such as politics and useful in getting stories behind respondents' experiences. The non-structured interview method was therefore suitable as the study centered on politicians and their experiences in the gendered political realm.

3.5.2 Document Review

Document analysis is a way of collecting data by reviewing existing documents. It is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating both printed and electronic material (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Rapley, 2007). Document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation (Bowen, 2009). The current study reviewed newspaper and television documents in combination with other instruments: non-structured interviews and questionnaires. Documents contain text (words) and images that have been recorded without the researcher's intervention. Atkinson and Coffey (2004) say that documents are social facts which are produced, shared and used in socially organized ways. Bowen (2009) gives a list of materials that pass as documents. Among them, are newspaper articles and television programme scripts that were used in this study.

The review of documents was appropriate for this study as it could help the researcher get the views of the print media opinion makers on National Assembly women and men politicians, and also get gendered discourses from politicians recorded in the newspapers, and from television talkshows, that could supplement those from the unstructured interviews. De Vaus (2001) and Fraenkel and Wallen (2000) also note that document reviews are useful in eliminating researcher's effect.

3.5.3 Semi-closed Questionnaires

Semi-closed questionnaires (Appendix 3) have both closed-ended and open-ended questions. The semi-closed questionnaires were administered on the members of the electorate in selected constituencies of Nairobi County. The members of the electorate consisted of men and women of voting age. They were given questionnaires at selected locations in their constituencies. The questionnaires hoped to collect ideologies held by the electorate about the National Assembly politicians, and about men and women in general. The study posited that the Kenyan electorate, who belong to the wider Kenyan society, shared certain ideologies about men and women, and about who they thought as suitable in elective politics, which they had acquired through socialization by means of everyday language. Information from questionnaires could be useful in showing how language might construct meanings that may affect the choices of the voters.

Questionnaires were used for this group of respondents because they were spread across a wide geographical area, hence questionnaires would make the study cost effective. To increase validity, the researcher ensured that the questions were arranged in a logical order and were simple and easy to understand. The researcher also pre-tested the questionnaires with a small group of respondents before using them in the actual research. The researcher also met the respondents and made necessary clarifications. The closed ended items of the questionnaires were adopted from past studies (Aalberg & Jenssen, 2007; Abrams, 2012; Bauer, 2016; Edwards, 2015; Begley, 2000; Talbot, 2003) with modifications.

3.6 Data Collection Procedures

The study was conducted with the authority of the relevant bodies. To begin with, the researcher received a letter of introduction from Kenyatta University Graduate School to facilitate the study. The researcher then obtained a research permit number NACOSTI/P/17/55478/15243 from the National Council for Science and Technology (NACOSTI). In addition, the approval and consent to collect information from the study respondents was sought and granted by the relevant management and personnel.

The Kenya Television Network (KTN) media management granted the researcher consent to collect relevant material from their television and newspapers under the researcher's guiding search phrases "gender and politics in Kenya", "women

and politics in Kenya” and “women and political leadership in Kenya”. The other media houses granted consent but directed the researcher to access their talk shows via YouTube. The researcher was also granted permission to collect data from the newspapers from Kenyatta University Library as well as from the internet using the same search phrases. The researcher obtained talk shows from the rest of the media houses that were on gender and politics from YouTube.

3.6.1 Collection of Data from National Assembly Politicians

The interviews with members of the National Assembly were conducted with prior permission of the individual members of the national assembly, and at their place of convenience. To reach the interviewees, the researcher used the friend-of-a -friend method (Milroy & Milroy, 1985). The researcher first contacted people that she knew, and who had access to the National Assembly politicians. They helped her to get in touch with the respondents. The interviewees were then contacted in advance and their consent sought. The date, venue and time of the interviews were also fixed in advance. At the time of the interview, each interviewee was assured of his or her anonymity, and assured of the confidentiality the information he or she shared.

The researcher collected data by conducting in-depth one-on-one unstructured interviews with each of the ten sampled members of the national assembly. The interviews were conducted with the aid of the interview guide with questions that

were based on the research objectives. The interview responses were recorded with the help of a digital audio-recorder, in order to guard on the loss of important information since the researcher was engaged in both asking questions and noting areas that needed clarification or further probing. Audio-recording also saves the time to consciously select the data to note down (Tessier, 2012). Since the researcher interviewed one respondent at a time, the audio recorder was placed on the table. As there were no other persons in the interview area apart from the respondent's personal aide, the place was quiet enough to capture a clear recording.

The interview sessions lasted for about forty five minutes to one hour and fifteen minutes. The researcher was able to probe further on particular responses in order to get in depth views. The respondents sometimes deviated but the researcher always refocused their responses. The audio recorded data were later transcribed and the relevant data, which were the gendered political discourses, picked for further analysis of the inherent lexical items and expressions, and how the expressions constructed, and positively or negatively affected the politicians. Data that were not relevant were kept for future reference.

Table 3.5: Interviews with Politicians

Data type	Gender	Time
Interview 1	Female	1 hour 5 minutes
Interview 2	Female	58 minutes
Interview 3	Male	1 hour 3 minutes
Interview 4	Male	45 minutes
Interview 5	Male	51 minutes
Interview 6	Female	1 hour 15 minutes
Interview 7	Female	1 hour 7 minutes
Interview 8	Male	56 minutes
Interview 9	Male	49 minutes
Interview 10	Female	57 minutes

3.6.2 Collection of Data from Document Reviews

Document analysis entailed finding, selecting and appraising print media and television media documents and it yielded both written, and spoken excerpts, quotations and entire passages (Bowen, 2009). The process of finding newspaper documents involved skimming and was guided by key words and phrases that usually characterise political debates in the area of gender, such as ‘women and politics’, ‘women in politics’, ‘women in power’, and other related phrases. The process of selecting and appraising involved close reading of the newspaper news articles, opinion articles, and television talk shows.

First, the researcher skimmed through the newspapers with the aid of a research assistant, who had been trained earlier on the type of news items and opinion

articles that the researcher was interested in. The researcher then photocopied and scanned the articles. The researcher also accessed some of the articles electronically through the internet, by keying in the relevant titles on the computer internet search engines, and printed the articles. The researcher then put all the articles together and closely read them one by one, taking field notes of those that were relevant, or sections that were relevant. The articles that were not relevant were kept for other future references. Relevant articles and sections of relevant articles, which were those that were laden with gendered political discourses, were typed for the analysis the gendered lexical items and expressions and how they constructed, and positively or negatively affected the politicians.

Further, the study collected data by reviewing transcripts of television talk shows on the topic of women and politics. The researcher first downloaded television talk shows using search words such as “women and politics”, “women and power” “gender and politics” and other related phrases, onto the laptop. These were then combined with talk shows that had been obtained from KTN. The gendered discourses about National Assembly politicians from television talk shows supplemented data from the interviews, and were analysed for linguistic items and expressions, constructions and discursive effects.

3.6.3 Collection of Data from the Electorate

With the help of a research assistant who had been briefed earlier, the researcher administered paper-and-pen questionnaires to eighty members of the electorate. The eighty respondents were first briefed on the purpose and the importance of participating in filling the questionnaires. They were also assured of their confidentiality. They were allowed to ask any questions for clarifications. The members of the electorate were told to return the filled questionnaires at an agreed place where the researcher or research assistant could pick them. Those who were not able to return their questionnaires at the agreed place were told to indicate so, so that the questionnaires could be picked from their places of convenience by the researcher or research assistant.

The respondents were given up to three weeks to fill the questionnaires. During this period, they were reminded twice by the research assistant who was in constant communication with the researcher, so as to increase the response rate. After three weeks, the researcher with the assistance of the research assistant, collected the questionnaires from the respondents. A total of seventy six questionnaires were returned. This was a response rate of 95 percent which was representative enough. The researcher later read the questionnaires and picked the electorate's beliefs about men and women politicians, and men and women in general, in Kenya. The beliefs were later analysed for underlying ideologies and the linguistic strategies that were used to drive these ideologies.

3.7 Data Analysis Procedures

The researcher listened to the tape-recorded data from the unstructured interviews and transcribed them. The researcher also transcribed the data from the television talk shows. Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming and Danao, (1993) define discourse transcription as the process of creating a written representation of a speech event so as to make it accessible to discourse research. The transcribed data was then translated because some data were in Kiswahili and there one was one case that involved a local language. These data were then combined with the data from the newspaper transcripts. The data from the questionnaires were also translated as some were in Kiswahili. The researcher tried to maintain the relevance between the source language texts and the target language texts, which was English in this case. Relevance is a term used in a relative sense to refer to the closest possible approximation to source text meaning, as there is no such thing as a formally and dynamically equivalent target language version of a source language text (Gutt, 1993; Hatim & Mason, 1990).

The study data consisted of written and spoken texts from which linguistic items and expressions such as words, phrases and sentences that were used by the politicians and the print media to refer to or describe the National Assembly politicians in Kenya, were picked. The study data also consisted of nonverbal texts. Further, the data included the beliefs the electorate held about men and women politicians and men and women in general, in Kenya.

The study data were first categorised into those texts that referred to women politicians and those that referred to men politicians. The texts were then coded according to source and speaker. The researcher used thematic analysis to identify recurring topics among the texts that addressed the gender of women and men politicians in relation to power. Thematic analysis is the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data. Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that it is the first qualitative method that should be learned as "...it provides core skills that will be useful for conducting many other kinds of analysis" (pp.78). Texts with similar themes were put together. The researcher further tried to establish the relationships among the identified themes.

The themes for the politicians' verbal and nonverbal gendered discourses were guided by Gee's (2000) notion of discourse provided ways of looking at the themes and enabled the researcher to look at the worldviews of the politicians, the print media opinion makers and the electorate. The combination of "saying-doing-being-valuing-believing" (Gee, 2000: 6) is what James Gee describes as a Discourse. According to Gee (2000), Discourse refers to when discussing the combination of language with other social practices such as behaviour, values, and ways of thinking, clothes, customs and perspectives within a specific group. The researcher took each transcript in turn and highlighted important statements (Gillham, 2000), from which a set of categories were identified and also given themes.

Similar themes from politicians' verbal and non verbal gendered discourses were discussed under broad predetermined categories identified with the aid of Van Dijk (2001) discourse structures and Burgoon's (1994) and Guimarães' (2013) views on non-verbal language, and Hall's (1976) conceptualization of the non-verbal as visuals. The categories for the discussion of the electorates's beliefs were guided by discourse strategies of discourse, literature and the identified themes.

Fairclough's (2001) and Van Djik's (2001) approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis were be used to analyse and interpret the identified texts under each of the themes. Fairclough's (2001) three dimensional approach to CDA was used to describe, interpret and explain the texts. The texts were first described in terms of their formal or linguistic properties. Next, the study interpreted the formal properties in terms of the local context. This entailed identifying the participants in terms of who made the utterance and to whom the utterance was made, and in what context. Lastly, the study explained the effects of particular formal aspects of the texts in the global context. Lakoff (2005) argues that it is important to analyse how linguistic items and expressions may be used to create cohesive public meaning.

The linguistic items and expressions were explained in terms of how they constructed the National Assembly politicians and the power relations that they enacted. The power relations were then explained basing on the broad societal

currents that affected the identified discursive discourses. The data from television interviews, news reports and unstructured interviews provided useful insights and were thus an important basis for the explanations. Lastly, the study analysed the effects of these power relations on the National Assembly politicians in Kenya.

The two theories, that is Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001), were applied by identifying a text like 'iron lady' (This term was borrowed from Britain, where it was first used to refer to the then Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher). The researcher would then determine the context in terms of the producer and recipient(s) and any other participants who were involved. At the level of lexical choice and lexical style, the text was seen as a deviant collocation of two unrelated terms. These are 'iron' which is a hard substance and 'lady' a female adult human being. Thus, this lady is compared to something hard, tough or stubborn, meaning that she is a tough or stubborn lady. The dominant ideology playing here is that ladies are supposed to be soft. Therefore, a lady who displays iron-like characteristics is acting contrary to the norm.

3.8 Logistical and Ethical Considerations

To obtain authority to conduct research, we applied for a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation [NACOSTI]. This was important in confirming to the respondents that the data they were required to

give was purely for research purposes. We also pre-tested the research instruments to determine their reliability and validity. The study was also guided by a work plan to ensure we worked within the required timeline. To obtain data from the electronic media, we sought prior approval from the media houses. We did not need permission to access the print media houses since the newspapers were available in the university library. However, the researcher sought permission from Kenyatta University, in order to access the newspapers.

All the respondents were assured of the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses. The questionnaires had clear guidelines and explained to the respondents why their responses were important. The questionnaires were also designed in a simple to complex order with majority of the questions being closed-ended. This design would encourage the respondents to fill them to the end.

3.9 Data Presentation

Data presentation entailed the use of codes, tables, pie charts and written descriptions. The texts that were collected from the unstructured interviews and newspaper reports were coded to indicate who spoke them and from which source they were picked. For instance, W1 INT was used to refer to the particular woman politician who was interviewed. Each of them was given a number. These texts were then tabulated to show the total number of texts that were collected from

each source. The texts were then classified into those that referred to the men politicians and those that referred to women politicians. These data were also presented as written descriptions under various categories that were guided by the literature, and the themes, and the different levels of analysis by Van Dijk (2001), Burgoon (1994), Guimarães (2013) and Hall (1976).

To summarise the data, we established ratios and percentages of those that referred to men and those that referred to women. This information was presented in pie charts. We also established the ratios of those that constructed the women politicians positively to those that constructed the women politicians negatively. The same was done for the texts that referred to the men politicians. This information was also presented in pie charts.

Data from the newspaper opinion articles were also presented as the data from the unstructured interviews and newspaper news reports. However, ratios, percentages and pie charts were not used because all the texts referred to the women politicians. Data from the questionnaires were classified and similar themes, and subsequent categories established. The data were then discussed under the relevant categories.

3.10 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has detailed the research methodology adopted in this study. It majorly revolved around the cross-sectional design and qualitative procedures. The sampling, data collection and data analysis all fit within the framework of the cross-sectional design. The study adopted purposive sampling which is the main sampling design in cross-sectional surveys. The study also used the qualitative procedures of interpretation and explanation.

CHAPTER FOUR
GENDERED CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF POLITICIANS AND PRINT
MEDIA OPINION ARTICLES

4.0 Introduction

This chapter is based on the first and second objectives of the study. In line with the first objective of the study, the chapter first discusses the gendered linguistic items and expressions that were inherent in the campaign speeches of politicians, and the opinion articles of the print media. Secondly, the chapter discusses the second objective of the study which, focused on how the linguistic properties of the campaign speeches of politicians, and the print media opinion articles constructed the politicians in Kenya. This chapter is divided into two major sections. The first section discusses the linguistic properties of the campaign speeches of politicians, including those that were obtained from the television and newspaper news articles. The second section details the linguistic properties of the newspaper opinion articles. This chapter utilises data from unstructured interviews and document reviews.

Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) CDA frameworks were employed in the discussions of the discourses of the politicians and the print media. The view of CDA that is used here deals with the discursively enacted or legitimated power relations. This means that unequal power relations are realised through language, and specifically the language of the dominant group in society. This dimension of CDA also recognises that discourse is ideological.

The ideologies are connected to society, discourse and social cognition, and are therefore the basic frameworks for organising the social cognitions shared by the members of social groups, organisations and institutions. Discursively implemented dominance involves unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed.

The discussions in this chapter reveal and account for the unequal power relations in elective politics in Kenya in terms of preferential control to text and talk. The discussions also show how text and talk influence the minds, and indirectly the actions, of the politician, and the electorate thereby constructing the male and female politician differently.

4.1 The Nature of the Campaign Speeches and the Newspaper Opinion

Articles

This chapter utilised data from unstructured interviews and document reviews. The unstructured interviews were administered on five women and five men national assembly politicians, giving a total of ten interviewees. The study also reviewed selected newspaper articles from four national newspaper groups, and selected talk shows from four national television stations between 2013 and 2017.

The findings revealed that the gendered campaign speeches of politicians and the gendered newspaper political opinion articles utilised both the verbal and nonverbal language. The ten politicians who were interviewed reported what they

had observed (nonverbal) and what they had said or heard (verbal). The politicians cited the speeches they had produced themselves during campaigns, or heard directly from their political opponents, or from their own campaigners and supporters, or from the campaigners and supporters of their political opponents. The politicians also reported what they had observed. Other verbal and nonverbal campaign discourses were obtained from newspaper news items. These were news items that had recorded, in direct speech, what particular politicians had uttered (verbal) or observed (nonverbal).

This study uses the term ‘campaigners’ to refer to people, both male and female, 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. Both the campaigners and supporters attend the political rallies of the candidates they support and the candidates they do not support. Since it is problematic to draw a line between campaigners and supporters, this study used the term “campaigners” to include supporters.

The verbal discourses were in the form of spoken and written texts, while nonverbal discourses comprised of wordless or visual texts. Verbal communication is here defined as the exchange of messages or information

through spoken or written words while nonverbal communication is the process of sending or receiving wordless or visual cues (Guimarães, 2013). Table 4.1 gives a summary of the sources of the verbal and nonverbal data.

Table 4.1: Sources of the Verbal and Nonverbal Data

Instrument	Respondents/documents
One-on-one unstructured interviews	Five women politicians
	Five men politicians
Document reviews: Newspaper groups	Daily Nation
	The Standard
	The Star
	Citizen
Television channels	NTV
	KTN
	K24
	Citizen Television

Verbal data consisted of spoken and written texts. Each of the two is explained below. Spoken data consisted of gendered discourses that were obtained from politicians during the unstructured interviews; discourses from the newspapers that were recorded as they had been spoken by politicians (direct speech) in newspaper news items; and discourses that were collected from politicians during television talk show interviews.

Written data constituted discourses about politicians, obtained from newspaper opinion articles. Table 4.2 gives a summary of the verbal data in terms of the tools that were used to collect the data and from which respondents.

Table 4.2: Sources of Verbal Data

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

Table 4.2 gives the sources of verbal (written and spoken) data. The politicians who were interviewed and those who participated in television talk shows or were recorded in newspaper news items, either, themselves, produced the discourses or cited the discourses they had heard.

Nonverbal data constituted of gendered discourses that were obtained from the unstructured interviews, newspaper articles and television talk show interviews that involved communication by means other than spoken or written words were classified as nonverbal data. These data fell into two categories: nonverbal discourses that were obtained from newspaper documents and nonverbal discourses obtained from unstructured interviews, television talk show interviews and newspaper news articles. These entailed politicians' reports of what they had

experienced or observed. Table 4.3 presents the tools that were employed in collecting nonverbal data and respondents.

Table 4.3: Sources of Nonverbal Data

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

Table 4.3 shows that all the non-verbal texts were cited by politicians or came from opinion makers. In the next section, we provide a description of the types of linguistic items and expressions that characterized the verbal texts and the features of non-verbal language that were inherent in the non-verbal texts.

4.2 Presentation of the Verbal and Nonverbal Data

It is important to note that the data from politicians was obtained from three sources: interviews, newspaper news articles and television talk shows. The print media opinion articles were obtained from the newspapers. The verbal discourses were categorised based on Van Dijk's (2006) levels of analysing the relationship between ideology and discourse.

Van Dijk (2006) outlines various levels of analysis, and the linguistic features that should be analysed at each level, when doing CDA (cf. 2.4.1). This information is summarized in table 4.4.

Table 4.4: 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	Biased reasons and causes, semantic rhetoric (metaphors, similes, repetition, oxymorons), topicalisation, "that" reference
Pragmatic level	Insults, advice and plain assertions, commands

The study also categorised the features of nonverbal discourse as conceptualised by Burgoon (1994), Guimarães' (2013) and Hall (1976) (cf. 2.4). The study identified five main types of nonverbal features from the non-verbal discourses of politicians, and the newspaper articles. From the different dimensions on non-verbal communication postulated by Burgoon (1994) and Hall (1976), the study identified the first four features of nonverbal communication. And from Guimarães' (2013) non-verbal visual images of the print media, the study also identified the fifth feature of non-verbal communication from the newspaper visual images. The five types on non-verbal communication features are given in table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Types of Nonverbal Texts

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 verbal and nonverbal texts of politicians and the print media form the basis of the discussion in this chapter. Below, the study begins with the analysis of the the spoken gendered discourses that were obtained from politicians in the one-on-one interviews, the television talk show interviews and newspaper news articles.

4.3 Linguistic Analysis of Politicians' Spoken Gendered Discourses

This section identifies and describes the linguistic features of the gendered spoken discourses that were obtained from politicians during the unstructured interviews, and from the newspaper news items and television talk shows. The section analyses the discourses at the lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels as postulated by Van Dijk (2001) (cf. 2.5.1). Van Dijk (2006) outlines the linguistic properties under each of the levels, that we should pay attention to when doing a formal analysis in CDA.

Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) approaches to CDA are employed in the analysis. Fairclough (2001) gives a three dimensional approach to CDA. The first dimension of Fairclough's (2001) approach to CDA, which he calls description, involves the identification of the formal properties of texts at the levels of phonology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics.

This section also interprets and explains the discourses based on Fairclough's (2001) second and third levels of analysis. The second level, which is interpretation, entails looking at the interactive process that leads to the production of a text. The level links the text with the social and cultural context through the analysis of text production, perception and dissemination. So it analyses the ways in which the producers and interpreters of text rely on practices, and conventions that can be perceived from the linguistic properties of the text.

This study interpreted discourse by finding out who produced the text, to whom it was directed and who else was present. The third level, which is called explanation, concentrates on clarifying the link between discourse as social practice and other social structures. This level also studies the relations of power, domination and ideological processes to the specific discursive event. The study explained the discourses based on the contexts of situation, institution and society at large, where the discourses were produced.

Van Dijk's (2001) theory of ideology, which includes a cognitive component, was important in identifying the ideologies underlying the discourses. Ideologies are here defined as the basic principles that organise the attitudes shared by the members of a group. These ideologies are used by the dominant groups so as to reproduce and legitimise their domination over others (Van Dijk, 2001).

The names of the five men and five women politicians who were interviewed were concealed for confidentiality. Similarly, all the names of the politicians who talked in the texts that were picked from the newspaper interviews or television talk shows were also concealed. Lastly, the names of politicians or places mentioned by the other politicians, or mentioned in the newspaper articles were concealed. The symbols and codes presented on page xviii were used to identify the texts and the respondents. The following sub-section explores each of the gendered linguistic properties that were inherent in the verbal discourses of the politicians.

4.3.1 Lexicalisation

Lexicalisation refers to the careful choice of words in order to express a certain meaning. Van Dijk, (2006) says that lexicalisation is a major and well-known domain of ideological expression and persuasion. The findings revealed that politicians and campaigners utilised carefully chosen words to persuade and push their ideologies among the electorate.

The campaign discourses made use of lexical items such as nouns and adjectives, nicknames and metaphors, to underlie the belief system of the speakers on the men and women politicians. The use of stereotypical adjectives and nouns are central to the construction of an event or a person, whether or not that construction is evaluating its object positively or negatively (Lakoff, 2003). The lexical items are discussed below.

4.3.1.1 Nouns and Adjectives

The gendered texts that were obtained from politicians, through interviews and document reviews, utilised carefully chosen nouns and adjectives for ideological management (Van Dijk, 2006). For instance, there was the use of the noun “boss” versus the adjective “bossy” to refer to National Assembly politicians.

W1 NTV VLS observed that people used the word “boss” to refer to men in leadership positions but considered women in similar positions as “bossy”. W1 NTV VLS was participating in KTN television show called Victoria’s Lounge. The theme of the show was “Women in Politics” and it had four women politicians. W1 NTV VLS was vying for Member of Parliament (MP) in P1 Constituency of Nairobi County in the 2017 general elections. She is someone that a lot of people know on social media and she is very vocal when it comes to politics. She says:

Text 4.1 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. This is a view that is held by many people whether male or female including politicians. 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).

W1 INT also observed that people have higher regard for men politicians than they have for women politicians. She remarks:

Text 4.2 W1 INT

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

W1 NTV VLS observes that people say that 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" is used here in its sense as a noun while "bossy" is an adjective. The noun "boss" has many meanings but in the context in which W1 NTV VLS uses it here, it refers to a respectable person or leader. "Boss" (*mkubwa*) constructs the men politicians as a person with authority. "Bossy", on the other hand, is a derogatory term which refers to someone who likes giving instructions even where none are needed. W1 NTV VLS further notes that 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. Thus, different parameters are used to gauge men and women in society.

W1 NTV VLS explains that the notion that it is only men who can be leaders has its origin in the patriarchal society that we live in. This means that it is men who have been in leadership and so society has come to naturally take it that way. W1 NTV VLS observes that society has conditioned people to believe in certain qualities as being masculine and others feminine. Society, therefore, considers the leadership qualities of assertiveness and decisiveness as masculine. Women are expected to be demure or to be seen but not to be heard.

However, leadership, as already pointed out by literature, is a role that belongs to both men and women (The UN, 1948; World Bank, 2001). Therefore, when the term “boss” is used to refer only to men, then one gets the impression that it is only men who are supposed to play the role of leadership. Thus, the use of the noun “boss” to refer to men leaders constructs men as leaders, while the use of the adjective “bossy” constructs women as unsuitable leaders.

National Assembly politicians were also referred to using the adjectives opinionated versus naïve to. W1 NTV VLS further notes that men politicians and other male leaders say that she is opinionated. She remarks thus:

Text 4.3W1 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 normalise 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 normalising it so that women are on these panels, you know, political discourse (NTV, Victoria's Lounge show, November 10 2016).

However M2 INT feels that women politicians are naïve. M2 INT says:

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. Men politicians tend to be more articulate (M2INT).

The use of the adjective “opinionated” in this context refers to the quality of being articulate and informed. The way people use the word opinionated to refer to W1 NTV VLS suggests that this is the non-norm or abnormal quality for her as a woman. W1 NTV VLS observes that the word “opinionated” is used negatively and it is meant to be an insult. She wonders whether she is supposed to be anti-opinionated. This implies that the people who use it do not expect a woman to be opinionated. This quality is associated with men. The woman politician is therefore here constructed as extraordinary or possessing qualities that a woman is not expected to have.

On the other hand, as much as people see some women politicians as opinionated M2 INT observes that most women are not elected into political positions because they are naïve. “Naïve” is an adjective which in this context refers to someone who is inexperienced and uninformed. The adjective, “naïve”, constructs women politicians as inexperienced. M2INT notes that the opposite is true for the men politician. In other words, M2 INT implies that the men politicians are experienced and articulate and these qualities are lacking in women politicians. These findings agree with Richmond, (1992) that various ideologies emerge from gendered discourses on the expected qualities of women such as passivity, subservience or inferiority, compliance and obedience.

A woman politician who is opinionated is looked at negatively just as the woman politician who is naïve. “Opinionated” as we have already seen from the context, in which it is used, has almost the same meaning as “informed” and “articulate”. However, a man politician who is opinionated is not looked at negatively. So, the woman who is opinionated, and the one who is naïve are both constructed negatively; that is, one as unnatural and the other as inexperienced. Hence, there appears to be a political dilemma for the women politicians.

The study further identified the use of the adjective *Mwamamke wazimu/ mad* woman to refer to one National Assembly woman politician. W4INT, noted that some men politicians and both men and women campaigners used the phrase

“*mwanamke wazimu*” (mad woman) to refer to a woman politician who was vying for a presidential position in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. The men politicians, and both men and women campaigners of one of the men presidential aspirants frequently referred to the woman politician as “*mwanamke wazimu*” (mad woman) and asked the voters to withdraw their support from her. The phrases were used in both English and Kiswahili, depending on the audience that was being addressed.

Text 4.5 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). I think this is because in Kenya, women seldom vie for presidency. Actually, she was the fourth woman vying for that position after CN who tried and failed. Remember our society is also largely patriarchal. Furthermore, we have not had many women elected into the other elective political positions such as MP. We did not get even one woman elected as senator or governor in 2013.

The use of the word “*wazimu*” / “mad” in this context showed that the woman politician was doing something contrary to the norm. The norm here refers to a man vying for the presidential position. The men politicians and the men and women campaigners of one man presidential aspirant portrayed the woman politician as abnormal or unreasonable for choosing to vie for the most powerful political position in the country.

Lastly, the other gendered adjectives that were used to refer to national assembly politicians were *wanyonge na dhaiifu* (fragile and weak) versus *wenye nguvu* (those with strength). The adjectives “*wanyonge*” (the fragile) and “*dhaiifu*”

(weak) were used by a man politician during campaigns. The two adjectives can loosely be translated in the context they were used to mean those who are physically fragile and weak. “*Wenye nguvu*” (those with strength) on the other hand refers to those who are physically strong. Woman W5 INT states that her opponent during the 2013 campaigns told the constituents that politics required strong people and not people who are “*wanyonge*” (fragile) and “*dhaifu*” (weak) as illustrated below.

Text 4.6 W5INT

Siasa ni chafu na iko na vurugu mingi. Aihitaji 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).

W5 INT noted that the man politician was using the adjectives “*wanyonge*” (fragile) and “*dhaifu*” (weak) to describe her and other women politicians, and the adjective “*wenye nguvu*” (with strength) to refer to himself and the other men politicians. The adjectives construct the woman politician as physically unsuitable to engage in politics, and endorse the man politician as physically suitable for politics. However, there seems to be no proof for a one to one relationship between physical strength and political leadership. W2INT observes that with the notion that politics is a dirty game, it is the players who make it dirty, and even any other workplace can become dirty depending on one’s workmates.

The use of nouns and adjectives to describe the politicians is gendered. Men are described with empowering nouns and adjectives while women are described

using derogatory and demeaning nouns and adjectives. According to Fairclough (2001) and Van Dijk (2001) this creates the 'Us' versus 'Them' dichotomy in electoral politics which is likely to lead to social inequalities through the creation of gendered identities in electoral politics. The following section looks at nicknames as the second examples of lexicalisation.

4.3.1.2 Nicknames

Some of the verbal discourses that were collected from the interviews with politicians and newspaper articles were in the form of gendered nicknames. Nicknames associate particular people with certain qualities that resemble those that they possess, which may be negative or positive (de Klerk & Bosch 1996). These can contribute to both positive and negative views of self and others, and are often inaccurate (de Klerk & Bosch 1996).

Mehrabian, (1997) says that a name has a social meaning and can impart significant and differentiated impressions, both positive and negative. Individuals attribute characteristics to people based on their given name (Mehrabian, 2001), and this name can lead to social consequences (Fryer & Levitt, 2004; Laham, Koval, & Alter, 2012). That is, names may carry personal significance, thus making them a potential contributor to the development of a person's identity, behaviours, and choices (Insaf, 2002). The sociological studies of nicknaming practices have shown that naming practices are often associated with domains of

language use such as the political arenas (Adams, 2008, 2009; Gladkova, 2003; Liebersson, 2007).

M1 INT identified the nickname “*sonko*” (affluent) as a word which is used to refer to people who are very rich and especially men. It is used in Kenya to refer to a specific man politician. M1 INT says:

Text 4.6 M1 INT

Kenyan politics is associated with money and once the electorate gets the impression that an aspirant has a lot of money, they will give him or her more support because they think that they will benefit financially. An aspirant is in most cases more appealing to the public if she or he has a lot of money. That is why you may hear of a politician called “*sonko*” (moneyed). When a politician uses such a name it is meant to give him an advantage over the other aspirants. It is a political gimmick or impression; it does not necessarily mean that a person has money. But the first perception you get to the electorate is that you are moneyed.

The word “*sonko*” (affluent) is gendered because as much as it is used to outdo both male and female opponents, it is a word that is associated mostly with rich men even outside politics. It is rare to find a rich woman in Kenya who is referred to as “*sonko*” (affluent). When a man politician has this nickname, then it puts him a notch higher over the other aspirants especially women aspirants who are usually not associated with a lot of money. For instance, some women aspirants are referred to as *soda ndogo* (small soda) (cf. 4. 33 W5 INT).

W3 INT also identified the Luo word “*otada*” (tough man) as a nickname that is associated with a specific Luo politician. Luo is one of the indigenous tribes in Kenya. W3 INT says:

Text 8.4 W3 INT

You will find for instance JM is referred to as *otada* (tough man) and when he goes to the constituency his supporters will start chanting *otada biro! otada biro! otada biro!* (Strong one has come! Strong one has come! Strong one has come!) But they will refer to a woman politician as *min* (mother) so and so or *nyar* (daughter of) Gem. You remember they even used to call CN *mama* (mother of) rainbow. (You will find for instance JM is referred to as “strong man” and when he goes to the constituency, his supporters will start chanting, strong one has come! Strong one has come! Strong one has come! But they will refer to a woman politician as mother of so and so or the daughter of Gem. You remember they even used to call CN mother of rainbow).

The adjective constructs the man politician in question as tougher than his male counterparts, but more of rules out all women politicians, who society does not consider or expect to be tough as seen in Text 6.4 W5 INT above. The text paints politics as belonging to the tough, and who in this context are believed to be men.

Further, M5 INT observed that the phrase *Mama Nai* or *Mama Yao* (‘Mother of Nairobi’ or ‘their mother’) was used by campaigners and other politicians who were supporting RS who was vying for the Nairobi County Woman Rep position.

Text 4.9 M5 INT

The phrase *mama Nai* (mother of Nairobi) or *mama yao* (their mother) was also coined as a campaign slogan for RS, simply to give her an upper hand over other women aspirants. Some are calling themselves *thitima*, (electricity) *minji minji* (loosely translated as young and succulent)and so on.

Nairobi County hosts Nairobi City, which is both the capital city and political city of Kenya. To vie for the seat of Woman Rep in Nairobi County is quite competitive since it entails representing the county deemed most powerful in Kenya. The nickname was coined and used by the woman politician’s supporters

and herself to brand herself as the only woman capable of taking care of the people of Nairobi County just as a mother does to her children. This nickname was therefore used to outdo her other women competitors. The woman politician received a lot of support that culminated in her win. The nickname appears to have contributed to her win. The nickname therefore constructed her positively.

Lastly, M5 INT noted that the phrases “*baba yao*” (their father) and “*Baba*” (father) are used like “*mama yao*” (their mother) in text 4.9 M5INT above.

Text 4.10 M5 INT

We have *baba* (father) and *baba yao* (their father) referring to specific men politicians, also- generally for political advantage.

“*Baba yao*” (their father) is used in reference to a specific politician in Kenya. It constructs the man politician as a provider; a role associated with men in society. This is a positive construction. Unlike “*mama yao*”, (their mother)(Text 9.4 M5 INT) “*baba yao*” (their father) is meant to outdo both the male and female competitors of the aspirant.

M5 INT above observed that the word “*baba*” (father) (Text 4.10 M5 INT) is also a name that refers to a particular politician in Kenya. The word has almost a similar meaning to “*baba yao*” (their father) but it does not specify the people that the aspirant is father to. It is more universal implying that the aspirant is father to everybody. It constructs the man politician in question as a provider of everybody.

This is unlike “*mama*” (mother) in Text 4.12 WINT which constructs the woman politician negatively in political contexts. M5 INT notes that

Text 4.11 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.

Although the nicknames above were gendered, they constructed the politicians they named positively in the political context, and therefore gave them an upper hand over the other competitors. The study did not find any nickname with a negative connotation. This means that in other contexts, gendered political discourses have a positive connotation. For instance, ‘*mama yao*’ (their mother) (Text 4.9 M5 INT) gave the woman in question an edge over the other women candidates who were vying for the Woman Rep position in the same county. It is important to note that the nickname was being used to refer to one woman among the other women who were vying for a similar seat. However the scenario could be different for women politicians when, for instance, the nickname is used in a context where there are both men and women competitors. For instance, the title “*mama*” (mother), though it is not a nickname, may construct a woman politician negatively as illustrated in the section on titles below.

On the other hand, when a man politician is called ‘*baba yao*’ (their father) in a context where there are men and women competitors, the term attracts a lot of appreciation from both men and women supporters. This is the case with ‘*baba*’

(father) which is much appreciated nickname in reference to one of the men politicians in Kenya. The use of nicknames therefore positions the men and women politicians asymmetrically in terms of power, as already noted in other contexts in the literature (Aberi, 2009; Dlamini, 2010; Kitetu, 1998; Ndambuki, 2010; Yieke, 2002). The exercise of power basically involves focusing on the kinds of interaction, in which participants are positioned asymmetrically, through discourse (Van Dijk, 1997). We now turn to the third example of lexicalisation, which was the use of titles.

4.3.1.3 Titles

A title in this context is understood as a word or words added before someone's name in certain contexts to specify their office, position or to convey respect or status (Levinson, 2004). Titles and even the nicknames discussed in section 4.3.2.2 above are called honorifics. Levinson (2004) defines honorifics as systems of address of any kind such as titles and nicknames. Crystal (2003) agrees that an honorific is a term used to refer to linguistic expressions like "*mheshimiwa*" (honourable) or "madam" that denote respect, honor and social esteem and are therefore crucial for politeness needs. However, Barke (2010) argues that honorifics have the potential of creating social identities and hence social differences. For instance, the study identified the use of the titles "*Mheshimiwa*" (boss/honourable) and "madam" or "*mama*" (mother) to refer to National

Assembly politicians. W1 INT observed that the titles that are used for men and women in similar positions of leadership are sometimes different. She remarks:

Text 4.12 W1 INT

Male politicians are usually referred to with such titles as *mheshimiwa* (honourable) while the women politicians are referred to as “madam” or “*mama*” (mother) even when they are serving in similar positions. In parliament, you will hear of madam speaker, madam chair. You’ve even heard women being referred to as madam president, lady justice and so on. You will never hear of related titles referring to men in similar positions. When you are a woman, you are always being reminded that you are one.

“*Mheshimiwa*” (honourable) constructs the men politicians as highly respectable. The title is neutral, so it does not appeal to the gender of the men politicians. However, the titles “madam” and “*mama*” (mother) are not neutral as they appeal to the gender of the women politicians. 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 constructs a woman as a mother and not as 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) respectively (Text 4.10), one may not find any other man politician being called “*baba*” (father) as already discussed above. It is important to note that the woman politician already discussed above, who was vying for the Nairobi Woman Rep position, was nicknamed “*mama yao*” (their mother) “or “*mama Nai*” (mother of Nairobi) (Text 4.9 M5INT) during the campaigns and it boosted her political image. This may have been due to the fact that in that context, she was competing with other women aspirants. However, it appears like when a woman politician is competing with men aspirants, the term may become unsuitable constructing her more as a nurturer than a leader.

The men politicians are associated with respectable titles which boost their social standing and give them an edge over the women politicians. On the other hand, the women politicians are associated with gendered titles which in the context of other competitors, who are men, reduce their social standing and foreground their femininity.

The lexical items discussed above profile National Assembly men and women politicians differently in similar political contexts, which brings in the aspect of gender. Bern, (1993) says that naturalised norms and expectations about men and women are imposed upon each of the two on the basis of this gender assignment. He further notes that this often leads to stereotyping and hence gendered differences of domination and subordination. The representational practice of

stereotyping plays a central role in hegemony, by endlessly reiterating what amounts to caricatures of subordinate groups (Hall, 1997).

4.3.2 Interrogatives

The campaign discourses were not only laden with gendered lexical items but also gendered syntactic constructions. Most of these were in the form of interrogative sentences. Questioning, according to Van Dijk, (2006) is also used as a form of ideological management. All the five women politicians who were interviewed, that is, W1INT, W2INT, W3INT, W4INT and W5INT observed that they were frequently asked questions relating to their personal lives and that have little or nothing to do with their political lives. However, apart from one man politician whose marital status was referred to by a woman politician (Text 4.35 M2 INT), the other four men politicians who were interviewed said that they have never faced such questions. The women politicians who were interviewed observed that such questions were usually asked by campaigners of their male opponents, the men politicians themselves or men and women members of the electorate. Texts 13-19 below give a sample of the questions.

Text 4.13 W1 INT, W2INT, W3INT, W4 INT, W5INT,

Are you married?

Text 4.14 W1 INT, W2 INT

Where are you married?

Text 4.15 W1 INT, W4 INT, W3 INT

Who will take care of your husband?

Text 4.16 W2 INT

With whom have you left your husband?

Text 4.17 W1 INT, W2 INT

Where were you born?

Text 4.18 W3 INT, W5 INT

Do you have children?

Text 4.19 W1 INT, W4 INT, W5 INT

How are you raising your children?

W1 INT and W4 INT gave question 4.13, question 4.15 and question 4.19 as some of the questions they have faced during campaigns or during media interviews. W2 INT gave question 4.13 and 4.16 W3 INT gave question 4.13, 4.15 and 4.18 while W5 INT noted that she has been asked questions 4.13, 4.18 and 4.19. Question 4.13 is the most frequently asked question. All the five women politicians who were interviewed have encountered the question. Questions 4.15 and 4.19 have each been directed to three of the women politicians who were interviewed. Questions 4.14 and 4.17 have each been directed to two women politicians who were identified by W1INT but were not among the five who were interviewed. Question 18.4 has also been directed to one of the women politicians who were interviewed. Question 16.4 was given by one of the women politicians who were interviewed.

Question one is about the marital status of the women politicians. This question, in the political context, suggests that marital status is an important factor in the political career of a woman political aspirant. W3INT observes:

Text 4.20 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 married women are considered morally upright, and are not supposed not spoil this reputation by joining politics.

Text 4.20 by W3INT raises a contradiction on the question of the marital status of the women politicians. While in one context politicians and the campaigners suggest that a woman political aspirant should be married, in another context, the politicians and campaigners note that politics is for single women and divorcees. The men political aspirants and their campaigners, who are both men and women, therefore seem to play with the issue of marital status to their political advantage. Question 4.14 and question 4.17 seek to find out where the women politicians are married and where they were born.

W2INT explained that these questions are asked when either a woman politician is married within her community but outside her constituency, or when she is married outside her community. She adds:

Text 4.21 W2INT

These questions are not asked because the men political aspirants and their supporters do not know where the woman aspirant is married. The questions are asked with the full knowledge of the men political aspirants and their supporters. These questions are simply meant to reduce the support of the woman aspirant among the electorate by portraying her as an outsider.

Questions 4.14 and 4.17 are illustrated by the utterances in Texts 4.22 W1 NAT NSP ART and 4.23 M2 NAT NSP ART below, which portray women as outsiders in areas where they were born because they are married outside those areas. Text 4.22 W1 NAT NSP below records a woman politician, W1 NAT NSP ART, who was vying for MP in P2 constituency in the August 8th 2017 general elections. She observed that women have a hard time contesting in some areas because some clans only want their native sons to vie. She said:

Text 4.22 W1 NAT NSP ART

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).

Text 4.23 M2 NAT NSP below presents an utterance that was made by a man politician, M2 NAT NSP, who was vying for a gubernatorial position in P3 County. M2 NAT NSP was speaking at a public function in his county. The utterance was directed to a woman politician who is married outside her community, but who was also vying for a gubernatorial position in the county where she was born, in the August 8th 2017 general elections. M2 NAT NSP ART said:

Text 4.23 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 P4. She lost her birthright as a daughter of P3 County because of that marriage (*Daily Nation*, Wednesday, February 1, 2017).

The man politician tells the members of his county that if the woman politician vies in the region where she was born, she will divert the resources meant for the

people at P3 County to assist the people where she is married (P4). Question two and five in this context are supposed to persuade the electorate not to vote for an outsider and instead vote for him. 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. Women are thus constructed as people without abode.

The man politician uses the in-group - out-group (Van Dijk, 2006) 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. Text 4.23 implies the ideology that women are outsiders. Ideologies are assumed to control, through the minds of members, the social production of a group (Van Dijk, 2006). Fairclough (2000) observes that discourse is to a large extent ideological. The utterances people make reflect the belief system in their society.

Questions three, six and seven seek to know how the women aspirants will take care of their husband, whether the women aspirants have children and how they will raise their children. As already pointed out in the literature most societies

assign the role of family and child rearing to women. An article by World Bank, (2001) points out that nearly all societies give the primary responsibility for the care of infants and young children to women and girls. On the other hand, society assigns men the role of military service and defence.

Questions 4.15, 4.18 and 19.4 above confirm that these traditional gender roles are still at work in the Kenyan society. These traditional gender roles are manipulated by men politicians and their campaigners to discourage women aspirants from vying for political seats and also convince the electorate not to vote for the women politicians. The questions suggest that the women politicians' roles are to take care of their husband and children.

Question 4.18, which seeks to know whether the women politicians have children, has another meaning in the political context as W5INT observes below.

Text 4.24 W5INT

Even when people know that you have children, they will still ask you the question as a way of reminding you that you are supposed to take care of your children instead of joining politics. If you have no children, the question suggests that you are not fit to vie for a political post.

This could be linked to the discrimination of women without children in the African society. A study done by Egede (2015) on childlessness in Sub-Saharan Africa, reveals that barren women face stigma, isolation, rejection, exclusion and inheritance restrictions.

As W5INT explains, the questions above are not asked because the men politicians or their supporters have no knowledge at all of the personal lives of the women politicians and would like to have answers from the women. The men politicians and their supporters capitalise on the belief that a woman should have and look after children. However, even when she has children, the men politicians and their campaigners will advocate that she stays at home to take care of the children. These findings agree with Yieke (2001) and Nkinyanyi (1994) that women are positioned as caregivers and domestic workers. The aim of the men politicians and campaigners is to ensure that such beliefs persist or do not change. The politicians and campaigners keep reinforcing the beliefs so that the beliefs continue appearing as the norm.

These questions blatantly disobey the maxims of communication (Grice, 1981) in order to achieve certain communicative effects. Grice (1981) calls this implicature. In the questions above, the use of implicature tactfully persuades the listeners to believe that women should not participate in politics. In CDA's view, this is the use of control through consent or belief systems that come to be accepted without question (Fairclough (2001); Gramsci 1971; Van Dijk (2001).

4.3.3 Semantics

This sub-section is not concerned with semantics as the conceptual meaning of words, phrases and sentences, but with how ideologies are assumed to control the

construction of meaning in discourse. 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 lexicalisation and syntax is more generally for the management of meaning. We shall discuss the creation of ideologies at both the local level (local coherence) and the global level (global coherence).

4.3.3.1 Local Coherence

Local coherence refers to ideologically controlled representations of the situation or context models. Van Dijk (2006) suggests that local coherence entails the use of biased reasons and causes that make facts implicit while the non-facts are made explicit.

A nominated woman politician, W4 NAT NSP ART, from the P5 community observes that people from her community encourage her to vie for the Woman Rep position but not the position for MP which they claim is a reserve of the male politicians. The people from her community further claim that the woman should not vie for a political seat because women do not take people to war. These two are instances of gender biased reasons. She says:

Text 4.25 NAT NSP

“...seeking an elective post is not easy, especially in a constituency where women have traditionally not asked for votes”. Ms. 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 P5 or P6, 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 4.25 NAT NSP ART gives two gender biased reasons why a woman should not vie for political seat and why a woman should not vie for certain political seats. One of the reasons is that a woman cannot lead people to war and the second is that there is a political seat that is a preserve for women. The two reasons imply that all the other political seats are a preserve of men, and that men politicians lead people to war yet this is not the case. Furthermore, in its resolution 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security, the UN Security Council demands that women should be involved in peace keeping because they are the worst affected in times of conflict. It reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace building, and stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, as well as the need to increase their role in decision-making (UN Women, 2017).

M1 INT observes that the view above is pegged on traditional believes which should not be applicable in the modern society. He says:

Text 4.26 M1 INT

Culturally, it is men, and particularly the political leaders who led people to war. Even in the present society, it is mostly still male military officers who may lead people to war. However, it is important to note that in the modern society, it is not the MP who leads people to war. The MP is directly involved in peace keeping in his constituency together with other stakeholders in the government. Article 95 section (1) of the Kenya (2010) constitution gives one of the roles of the members of the National Assembly as approving declarations of war and states of emergency. It is contradictory, when the people encourage the woman politician to vie for Woman Rep position but not the MP position, yet both are elective political leadership positions charged with similar functions. If a political leader is meant to take people to war, then even the occupant of the Woman Rep position may be required to take people to war. Those are misconceptions and leaders should also endeavour to inform the public appropriately.

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 as M1 INT observes. However, being a man may not necessarily 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), Van Dijk (2001) and other proponents of CDA observe that ideologies are produced, sustained, spread and naturalised through discourse. Through utterances such as Text 4.25 NAT NSP, therefore, traditional gendered political roles are reproduced, maintained and disseminated to an extent that they become hegemonic even in the modern society where they may not be wholly applicable. The members of the community therefore apply the beliefs without

questioning their authenticity. Text 4.25 NAT NSP constructs the woman politician as inferior and weak, and therefore unsuitable as a political leader.

The Woman Rep post was an outcome of the two-thirds gender rule whose aim was to increase the representation of women in parliament. The creation of the Woman Rep position did not annul the participation of women in other political positions. The position was created through the affirmative action in Kenya to boost the number of women in parliament (RoK, 2010). This was in a bid to boost the number women parliamentarians, which was below the constitutional requirements. Article 97, Section (1) (b) of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 (RoK, 2010) created the position of Women Reps.

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 Constitution (RoK, 2010). However, they also have extra roles such as addressing the challenges that face women and girls in their areas of jurisdiction. They have also been allocated a fund known as the Affirmative Action Social Development Fund to assist women to implement projects in their counties that are in line with their mandate of female gender empowerment (Nyegenye, *et al.*, 2013). The Woman Rep position is therefore charged with similar responsibilities as those of MP and more.

The following utterances further reinforce W4 NAT NSP's observation that women should only vie for the Woman Rep position.

Text 4.27 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)

Yet in another episode, the *Daily Nation* newspaper gives the following news report.

Text 4.28 STD NSP ART

While talking at a meeting held at P8, Mrs. W2 STD NS ART 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 as "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).

Apparently, 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] as W4INT observes below.

Text 4.29 W4INT

The relatively recent creation of the position of Woman Rep, coupled with the existing belief that highly powerful positions are for men has been used by men politicians as a campaign strategy meant to create the impression that the only elective political position women are supposed to vie for is that of Woman Rep.

The suggestion that women political aspirants should vie for the Woman Rep position only is a deliberate use of false reasons or non facts in order to keep women out politics (Van Dijk, 2006). Women have rejected this title and would instead like to be referred to as County MPs. Furthermore, there is even an argument that there is nothing which bars men from vying for this seat. The

association of women with the Woman Rep positions constructs women politicians as inferior and therefore unsuitable for positions of higher social standing. This agrees with the UN Women (2017) report that in most countries, even in those where women politicians have hit the 30 percent requirement or even surpassed it, there are a few women holding powerful positions.

4.3.3.2 Rhetoric

Specific rhetorical structures of discourse such as semantic figures may be a function of ideological control (Van Dijk, 2006). This means that information that is unfavourable to us is made less prominent whereas negative information about them is emphasised. The semantic figures of discourse, which characterised the gendered discourses of politicians that were collected through interviews and document reviews, were metaphors.

A metaphor is an implied comparison using a word to mean something similar to its literal meaning. A contradiction arises between the literal meaning and the referent. Most compliments or insults contain metaphors. Ideologically motivated metaphors are meant to demean, belittle, marginalize or dehumanise (Van Dijk 2006). The metaphors that were picked from the politicians' responses during the interviews are discussed below.

There was the use of the metaphor “flower girls” to refer to National Assembly women politicians. M4 INT and W5 INT noted that the nominated women politicians are openly discriminated by both elected men and women politicians who refer to them as “flower girls” but there is no equivalent term for the nominated men politicians. 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 Constitution (RoK, 2010). W5 INT gave an incident in which one elected woman politician told a nominated woman politician thus:

Text 4.30W5 INT

You are just a flower girl.

M4 INT also gave an instance when a male member of parliament out rightly referred to all nominated women parliamentarians as flower girls. This metaphor equates the women parliamentarians to the girls who spread petals on the floor in a wedding before the bride. Apart from entertaining the audience, they decorate the path that the bride will pass. This is a secondary role since the main role belongs to the bride. The metaphor “flower girls” demeans and marginalises women politicians, and constructs them as inferior or secondary.

Another metaphor that was identified was “*rinda*”. It was used to refer National Assembly women politicians. A man politician and his campaigners used to refer to his opponent who was a woman politician, as “*rinda*” a Kiswahili word which

means “woman’s dress”. This word creates the image that the opponent of the man politician is a woman. M3 INT said that the campaigners of the man politician could begin chanting *rinda* (woman’s dress) amidst claps, when the woman politician appeared at public functions in the area where both were vying for MP. The chant was as follows:

Text 4.31 M3 INT

Rinda (claps), *rinda* (claps), *rinda* (claps). (Woman’s dress (claps) woman’s dress (claps) woman’s dress (claps)).

The chant creates mental images of a woman and rekindles the image of gender difference among the electorate. It evokes the images of femininity as opposed to masculinity. The chant therefore constructs the woman politician as feminine. “*Rinda*” (woman’s dress) constructs the woman politician as different and unsuitable for political leadership. *Rinda* (woman’s dress) is an ideologically laden metaphor that re-invokes the belief that politics is for men and not women.

“*Kilemba*” (headscarf) was another metaphor that was used to refer to National Assembly women politicians. Like “*rinda*” (woman’s dress), “*kilemba*” creates mental images of a woman. A headscarf is associated with women because in Kenya, it is worn by many women. Like the word “*rinda*” (woman’s dress), above, this word is gendered. The same man politician M3 INT who was interviewed said that the campaigners of the same opponent always referred to the woman politician as “*kilemba*” (headscarf) during the campaigns. The campaigners could be heard asking some audiences thus:

Text 4.32 M3 INT

Mnataka kilemba? (Do you want a headscarf?)

The word is used to inform the electorate that a woman is different from a man and appeal to the electorate to support the man opponent. “*Kilemba*” (headscarf) and “*rinda*” (woman’s dress) are both laden with ideology and in the context of politics, the metaphors send the message that politics is for men and not for women, and therefore give the men politicians political mileage over the women politicians.

Further, there was the use of the metaphor “*soda ndogo*” (small soda) to refer to National Assembly women politicians. W5INT noted that some men politicians and their supporters call women politicians “*soda ndogo*” (small soda).

Text 4.33 W5INT

During campaigns, our male opponents call us *soda ndogo* (small soda).

The metaphor *soda ndogo* (small soda) compares women politicians to a small soda which is seen as cheap and can be afforded by people who do not have much money. The phrase is an implicature that is tactfully used to create an image of poverty. The metaphor constructs women politicians as poor and projects the men politicians as rich. The phrase is also a way of indirectly informing the electorate that women politicians do not have money and hence do not measure up to the post. The phrase also seeks to convince women politicians that they cannot make

it in politics without money. The metaphor also informs the electorate that the money the women politicians may give them can only buy the small soda or is of little consequence. This is convincing in the Kenyan scenario where politics is associated with dishing money to the electorate (cf. Text 6.34 W3INT).

“*Soda ndogo*” (small soda) is also an ideologically laden metaphor that reminds the electorate that women do not own wealth and are therefore poor. Since Kenyan politics involves giving the electorate money, the metaphor suggests that the women politicians may not afford to give the electorate money.

The study identified the use of the metaphor “thief” to refer to men National Assembly politicians. M3 INT, who was interviewed, said that the campaigners of his woman competitor and the woman politician herself told the constituents that he is a thief. M2 INT says:

Text 4.34 M2 INT

She told them that I’m a thief and that they should elect a woman because women do no steal.

The woman politician and her supporters construct the men politicians as thieves or as people who misappropriate public funds, and therefore portray women politicians as honest caretakers of public funds. The man politician notes that the campaigners of his woman opponent and the woman opponent told the constituents that if they wanted the constituency development funds to be put into good use and if the constituents wanted their children to get bursaries, they should

elect a woman. The use of ‘thief’ creates otherness where women politicians belong to the non-thieves and the men politicians belong to the group labeled as thieves.

Lastly, the metaphor “*mafisi*” (hyenas) was also used to refer to National Assembly men politicians. M4 INT said that the campaigners of women politicians told constituents that men politicians would squander their constituent development funds to marry more women or with young women. M4 INT says that the campaigners use the term “*mafisi*” (literary translated as big hyenas) to associate men politicians with the misuse of public funds on women. “*Mafisi*” (hyenas) was coined when a young woman was stripped by a group of *matatu* (public service vehicle) touts in Nairobi for being indecently dressed. “*Mafisi*” (hyenas) is derived from the Kiswahili word “*fisi*” which means “hyena”. The plural of “*fisi*” (hyena) in standard Kiswahili is “*fisi*” (hyenas). The prefix “*ma-*” (aspect of bigness) gives the word an aspect of negative bigness that is associated with destruction. The Kiswahili word “*fisi*” (hyena) with the prefix “*ma-*” (aspect of bigness) has therefore recently acquired a new meaning in Kenya.

This word has more than one meaning. In the context of politics, the word refers to men 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. In other contexts, the word simply means “men”. M2 INT,

who was a bachelor during the run up to the 2013 general elections, said that the campaigners of her woman opponent and the woman opponent herself told the constituents that if they elected him, he would take their resources to Koinange.

The woman aspirant asked:

Text 4.35M2 INT

Yaani mnataka kupigia mwanamme kura? Mnataka kuchukua mali yetu Koinange? Hawa ni mafisi. (You mean you want to vote a man? You want to take our resources to Koinange. These are big hyenas).

M2 INT notes that in other contexts, the word “*mafisi*” (hyenas) is used to refer to men political aspirants who are bachelors.

As the woman politician asked these questions, her campaigners kept shouting “*mafisi*” (big hyenas) at intervals. The woman politician alludes to Koinange, which is a street in Nairobi City that is associated with high level prostitution. “*mafisi*” (big hyenas) compares the married men and bachelor politicians to the hyena, an animal which is known to be greedy in the Kenyan context. The woman politician implies that if the man politician won the election, he would use the public resources to serve his own interests and not those of the public, which he is meant to serve. This metaphor paints the married and unmarried men politicians as self-serving opportunists and portrays women politicians as good caretakers of public resources.

Figurative speech, especially the use of metaphors such as the ones discussed above, is an important means of peppering rhetoric for (Wundsam, 2016).

The use of metaphors enhances the stereotyping of women politicians in politics more than men. Obura (1991) and Yieke (2002) observe that women are usually stereotyped and subordinated in both private and public domains. Such metaphors, in political discourse, always work to emphasise what is considered thematically important at a particular moment in time (Wundsam, 2016) such as making men or women politicians superior or popular for political advantage and making others inferior or unpopular for political disadvantage. The bottom line for the use of rhetoric is for political advantage and hence it is a means to power.

4.3.4 Pragmatics

Pragmatics in the context of CDA is concerned with those speech acts that demean others in contexts where none is expected (Van Dijk, 2006). Van Dijk (2006) says that such speech acts are used for ideological management. Under pragmatics, the study looked at speech acts that implied the inferiority of the men or women politicians. The following section discusses the speech acts that were drawn from some of the gendered utterances.

4.3.4.1 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. Text 4.36 M1 NTV JKL below consists of a series of insults hurled by a man politician and directed at a

woman politician. The text was obtained from KTN's 16th November, 2016 television live show that used to be aired twice weekly. The title of the show for this particular night was "Debate on the Nairobi Gubernatorial Candidates". The focus of the debate was on the candidates' manifestos and the politics of P7 County and the issues affecting P7 County. The show was meant to host all the candidates vying for the P7 Gubernatorial position in the 2017 general elections in Kenya. However, only two turned up: one a man (M1 NTV JKL) and the other a woman (EP). In the text, it is M1 NTV JKL speaking.

Text 4.36 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).

In Text 4.36 above, M1 NTV JKL initially says that EP is beautiful and later says that she is not beautiful. M1 NTV JKL claims that everybody wants to rape EP because she is beautiful. Later, he reverses and claims that EP is someone who chases men, who are not even interested in her because she is not beautiful. M1 NTV JKL says that EP is nothing and is useless. M1 NTV JKL constructs EP as having loose morals, ugly and useless.

To portray the woman politician as having loose morals, the man politician uses expressions such as 'you are chasing men all over' and 'who wants you?' To portray her as ugly, the man politician uses the expressions 'you think you are

beautiful? ... you are not' and 'you are not beautiful'. To imply that the woman politician is useless, the man politician uses the expression 'you are absolutely zero', 'you are nothing' and 'you have nothing'. The man politician also insinuates that the woman politician has been manipulated to vie by cartels. Therefore, it is not the woman politician's decision to vie; it is the decision of others (cartels). This portrays EP as lacking independence. The man politician demeans EP's intellectual capacity by showing that she is not able to reason and make her own decisions. The man politician moves away from discussing the issues of the day (described above) to attack the personality and sexuality of the woman politician.

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 (cf. Texts 5.7.QN & 5.3QN). The man politician sexualizes the woman politician by centering on how beautiful or not she is, and focusing on her sexual morality. W1 INT notes thus:

Text 4.37 W1 INT

Once a woman enters politics, her sexuality is used against her.

Threats and insults fall under pragmatics as they presuppose relations of dominance and power (Van Dijk, 1995). For instance Text 4.49 (cf 4.3.10) notes that women face both verbal and nonverbal threats and insults from male opponents and their supporters. Text 4.36 M1 NTV JKL presents a set of insults

such as “you are nothing” and “you are absolutely zero”. 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). Lack of respect and rudeness and other forms of verbal impoliteness are routine forms of everyday verbal discrimination (Essed, 1991).

4.3.4.2 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 for or otherwise appropriate, since both presuppose inferiority of the recipient (Van Dijk 2006). Van Dijk (2006) says that advising is a speech act that is used by someone or a group that feels superior over another. Some of the campaign speeches were in the form advice and plain assertions. For instance, a man politician, M2 STD NSP, advises a woman politician JB with whom they were competing for the P8 Gubernatorial seat thus:

Text 4.38 M2 STD NSP ART

“... 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)

M2 STD NSP seems to be advising the woman politician that the gubernatorial position is for men hence she should go for seats which are reserved for women such as Woman Rep (cf. Texts 4.25 & 5.27 NAT NSP ART). He uses the modal

“should” to show that the gubernatorial seat is the obligation of men. M2 STD NSP ART centres on the Woman Rep position that was created by the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 (RoK, 2010) to create the impression that it is the only position that women should contest.

M2 STD NSP ART makes this statement at a public function. His aim is therefore to convince the electorate that women political aspirants should only vie for Woman Rep positions. What the man politician implies here 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. A woman aspirant, W3 NAT NSP, who was vying for the P11 gubernatorial seat says:

Text 4.39 W3 NAT NSP ART

“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)

The text above shows that women are deemed fit to occupy those political positions which are regarded as ‘second hand’ or ‘inferior’. If they vie for electoral positions that have deputies, they are told to be the deputies or running mates of their male competitors instead. Otherwise, they should go for the Woman Rep position. These findings agree with Ndambuki (2010) that women are usually constructed in deficit discourses.

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. Language is a tool to promote, protect and legitimate power. This agrees with Kress (1990) that language institutionalises discrimination through ideological assumptions that support particular practices such as the association of inferior political posts with women politicians. Kress (1990) further notes that nature of such practices depends on the power relations which underpin the practices.

4.3.4.3 Commands

Commands, like insults, presuppose relations of dominance and power (Van Dijk, 2006). Campaigners of a man opponent of W3 INT used the chant below to force her out of a political meeting. She observes that the intent of the incident was to depopularise, harass and humiliate her.

Text 4.40 W3 INT

Enda kwa mzee wako, enda kwa mzee wako...

The chant in Text 4.40 W3 INT was directed at a woman politician who was holding a meeting with her supporters in a hotel. The chant carries the ideology that a woman should not be out at night but should be with her husband. An idea of public versus private space is seen here; men are for public space while women are for private space. The command is made in the form of a repetitive chant. Repetition is an aspect of rhetoric that is used for emphasis (Van Dijk, 2006).

Repetition, in this incident, emphasises 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 her. Commands, like pieces of advice discussed in sub-section 4.3.5.2 above serve to institutionalise discrimination (Kress, 1993) and hence hedge out the political opponent in a bid to maintain the status quo (Lakoff, 2003).

This sub-section has analysed the spoken language of politicians and campaigners. It emerges that most of the linguistic features are gendered, and they to a large extent construct the women politicians negatively. This could undermine women's political chances while elevating the chances of the men politicians. However, the discourses are based on the traditional gender ideologies and their use in the political arena is to disadvantage women politicians. The following section discusses how non-verbal language is used to construct the politicians in Kenya.

4.4 Analysis of Nonverbal Gendered Discourses of Politicians

Apart from the use of verbal discourses to construct the national assembly politicians, politicians and campaigners also used nonverbal language to construct the national assembly politicians in Kenya. Fairclough (2001) and Van Dijk (1993) assert that ideologies can be expressed through both verbal and nonverbal language. Nonverbal communication goes beyond just kinesics (body movements, facial expressions and eye contact) to include images (Guimarães' (2013) vocalics

or paralanguage, personal appearance, proxemics or personal space and haptics or touch (Burgoon's (1994), and Hall, 1976). This study conceptualises non-verbal language in the same sense as it is used by Burgoon's (1994), Guimarães' (2013) and Hall (1976). Peterson & Leonhardt (2015) say that nonverbal language expresses sometimes unconsciously, our hidden beliefs and feelings and thus can be analysed for meaning in discourse. They note that both the verbal and nonverbal actions of the participants are constitutive elements of the context of situation. Therefore, for a full description of the gendered political discourses, it was important to establish and define both the linguistic systems in operation and their linguistic expression in nonverbal behaviour.

This section discusses five forms of nonverbal language through which ideology is enacted, sustained and transmitted by politicians and campaigners. The forms of non-verbal language that will be discussed here are: physical touch and social space, paralanguage body movements, facial expressions and gestures. The data used here was collected through unstructured interviews with National Assembly politicians, newspaper news articles, and television talk shows. The ten politicians who were interviewed cited instances when nonverbal discourses were used to intimidate them or their colleagues. The politicians in the television talk shows and those whose experiences were recorded in the newspapers gave similar observations.

4.4.1 Physical Touch and Social Space

Types of touch communicate particular meanings (Burgoon, 1994; Hall, 1976) and can be manipulated for ideological management (Fairclough, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001). The study analysed cases where inappropriate touches were made on the opposite sex for ideological management. W2INT, W3INT and W5INT observed that some of their male campaigners take advantage of the context to touch them inappropriately. The kind of touch one makes on another person depends on the relationship between the people (Burgoon, 1994; Hall, 1976). W2INT observed thus:

Text 4.41 W2INT

Sometimes, you expect a male supporter to give you a handshake but he surprises you by giving you a prolonged hug or greeting you with both of his hands, with one high up just below the shoulder. But the same supporter will dignifiedly shake the man politician with both hands. You cannot be amused with this behavior because he is taking advantage of the situation... Men need to respect women politicians during campaigns.

Similar sentiments were given by W5IN who confessed thus:

Text 4.42 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 just 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.

The men politicians who were interviewed did not give any examples of inappropriate touches by their campaigners. M3INT noted thus:

Text 4.43 M3INT

During the campaigns, especially when you are on a meet-the-people-tour, you mingle a lot with your supporters and there may be physical contact, but it is normal.

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 varies by culture. In politics, space is determined by communication and the relationship one has with the campaigners. The touches mentioned by mentioned by W2INT and W5INT could therefore be said to be inappropriate since they contravene the dictates of personal space. The inappropriate touches lower the dignity of the woman politician and construct her as cheap.

4.4.2 Paralanguage

Paralanguage is used here to refer to nonverbal cues of the voice (Hall, 1976). An example of paralanguage that we found was heckling. The Daily Nation of Tuesday 28, February 2017 pp 19-20 carried the following story.

Text 4.44 NAT NSP ART

Women have continued to be attacked by the supporters of the men opponents and the men organise 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 (*Daily Nation*, Tuesday 28, February 2017, pp 19-20).

The article reveals that men politicians organise youths to heckle women politicians. Heckling is a form of paralanguage that creates helplessness. Heckling therefore constructs the woman politician as helpless. The article notes that the men politicians use gender as a campaign tool to demean women aspirants and get them out of politics.

In another article in the *Daily Nation* (Tuesday 28, February 2017 pg 19-20), one young woman political aspirant, W6 NAT NSP ART, remarks thus:

Text 4.45 W6 NAT NSP ART

“As a youth and a woman, I am greatly disadvantaged through harassment, blackmail ... but am determined to win the seat” (Tuesday 28, February 2017 pg 19-20).

M5INT observes thus:

Text 4.46 M5INT

Many women aspirants do not have organised groups to counter the various forms of harassment meted on them by their male opponents.

M5INT agrees with the newspaper article that mostly it is the men politicians who have organised groups that harass their opponents. Their opponents can be men or women aspirants. The difference is that women do not usually have organised groups to counter the harassment such as heckling. According to the *Daily Nation* (Tuesday 28, February 2017 p. 19-20) heckling becomes gendered when it is specifically used to disparage women aspirants in order to push them out of politics. Forms of non-verbal communication may signal interpersonal and social relations, and therefore ideological meanings (Fairclough, 2001). Nonverbal language such as heckling is therefore capable of influencing the context models of the communicative context.

4.4.3 Body Movements

Body movement as a form of non-verbal language may also be used to create gender differences in politics. M2 INT cited the dances that are usually performed

to politicians during campaigns as capable of creating gendered images of the politician. He gave the following observation.

Text 4.47 M2 INT

In most communities in Kenya, during political campaigns and rallies, it is women who welcome the political aspirants with dances and ululations as the politicians join the gatherings. This is done just as the politician alights from his or her vehicle and before the official programme begins. Most of the time, these political aspirants are men although in a few cases they may be women. This is because the men politicians have been and still are the majority in Kenya. Although in a few cases, even men dance to welcome leaders, in most cases it is the women who sing and dance to welcome political leaders. Men join in the welcoming by whistling. Although the women also perform welcoming dances for the women politicians, these dances for women politicians are not so conspicuous since most politicians are men. This means that, most of the time, the dances are performed for men politicians. The women surround the man politician and put him at the centre as he joins them in the dance. They then dance together with the politician as they escort him to the podium.

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 politicians are men and not women. This may explain why some female politicians are trying to distance themselves from being used as objects of entertainment.

The electorate constantly sees women dancing to welcome the men politicians and come to associate political leadership with the men politicians. The vigorous welcoming dances and ululations are therefore a form of non-verbal language that constructs the men politicians as leaders and the women as the welcomers. According to Ekman (1975) nonverbal clues grasp the attention of the audience and make greater impression on them. Therefore, body language is a very

important element of public performances that can positively or negatively contribute to the image of every politician.

4.4.4 Facial Expressions and Gestures

Nonverbal gestures and facial expressions are seen as symbols which function within a complex relationship between verbal and nonverbal behaviour (Peterson & Leonhardt, 2015). According to Bolinger (1975), we are normally informed by our eyes and ears. Thus, audible and visible gestures have much in common. Apart from gendered verbal threats (Text 27.4 NAT NSP ART) and verbal gendered insults (Text 36.4 MI NTV JKL) women also face gendered non-verbal threats and insults. The gendered nonverbal insults and threats are in the form of facial expressions and gestures. W1 INT said that non-verbal threats and insults are usually done through facial expressions and gestures, by campaigners. These facial expressions and gestures are in many cases sex oriented. W1INT notes thus:

Text 4.48 W1INT

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

W4NP who was interviewed by the Daily Nation of Tuesday 28th February, 2017, and was vying for the MCA seat for the P12 ward observed that:

Text 4.49 W4 NAT NSP ART

“Women face both verbal and nonverbal 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).

Text 4.49 W4 NAT NSP, while confirming that women usually encounter verbal and nonverbal threats and insults, also shows that, mostly, it is the young women aspirants who may be scared by the threats and insults. Those women who have been in politics for long may not be scared. Literature shows that women who have been nominated are likely to vie for, and win electoral posts than those coming in for the first time (USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013). However, it is worthy to note that the use of facial expressions is only a gimmick meant to scare off women aspirants.

This sub-section has looked at how politicians and campaigners construct the politician through verbal and nonverbal language. Most of the discourses in this sub-section construct the women politicians negatively and construct the men politicians positively. The findings in this sub-section agree with other studies (Aberi, 2009; Choti, 1998; Kitetu, 1998; Otiso, 2016) that women are usually constructed negatively in various contexts. This could undermine women's political chances while elevating the chances of the men politicians. Fairclough (2001) notes that forms of non-verbal communication may signal interpersonal and social relations, and therefore ideological meanings. This can influence the context models of the communicative context.

The next section discusses how the media constructs the politician through verbal discourses in opinion articles of the print media. The section also analyses the nonverbal language of the print media opinion articles.

4.5 Analysis of the Gendered Verbal Linguistic Items and Expressions Used in the Newspapers

This section discusses the gendered discourses that were used in newspaper opinion articles to talk about National Assembly politicians that were collected through document reviews. The discourses are supported by data from the interviews. This section looks at the verbal language of the newspaper media while the next section discusses the nonverbal language of the newspaper media. Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) views on CDA are applied here as they were used in the preceding section.

Every instance of language is a reflection of the prevailing discursive and ideological systems in the society where it is used (Fairclough, 2001). Ideology in the context of the print media refers to a set of ideas or beliefs, which are held to be acceptable by the creators of media text. Newspapers use different linguistic devices to project their viewpoints and to suit the ideological expectations of their audience (Pajunen, 2008). Pajunen (2008) also notes that ideologies are based on a set of beliefs and attitudes of a group or society. He further argues that such ideologies can be projected in the media through newspapers news, advertisement, editorials and features. He points out that, for instance, some

writings are regarded as expressing gender imbalance since they tend to portray the female gender in the negative light. Lakoff (2003) notes that power in newspapers is displayed through the news writer and the editorial board. The news writer expresses his power through his or her choice of linguistic resources of the language.

The analysis in this section followed the same outline as the one that was used for the spoken discourses from politicians (cf. 4.3) above. The study identified and described the data in this section using Van Dijk's (2006) levels of analysis, which are the lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic levels, and interpreted the data with the aid of Faiclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) conceptualisations of CDA.

4.5.1 Lexicalisation

Lexicalisation, as already noted elsewhere in this study (cf. 4.3.1), is the careful choice of words based on discourse genre or personal context for ideological expression and persuasion (Van Dijk, 2006). The print media used carefully chosen words to construct the Kenya National Assembly politicians. The study identified the careful use of verbs and adjectives. These are discussed below.

4.5.1.1 Verbs and Adjectives

Lakoff (2001) says that the choice of words by the media can create cohesive public meaning by influencing a people's believe system. The kind of words that are used to refer to men and women can shape the people's worldview (Ghim-Lian, 2001; Angela and Mean, 2000) and show how language reveals, embodies and sustains attitudes to gender (Moore, 2002). The print media texts described reactions to politicians' success using carefully chosen verbs, and used adjectives to describe other politicians. The verbs were "crash" and "burn" (Text 4.50 STD NP ART), and "shocked" (Text 4.51 STD NP ART). "Crash" and "burn" were used in the sentence, "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". The entire text is given below.

Text 4.50 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).

The verb "shocked" is used in the text below.

Text 4.51 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).

Text 4.50 STD NSP ART was documented in *The Standard* newspaper (July 20th 2016) during the campaigns by the American presidential candidates, Hilary Clinton and Donald Trump in 2016. This was after Hilary Clinton was nominated by the Democratic Party to vie for the position, on the Democratic Party ticket. During the time the article was written, there were all indications that Hilary Clinton was way ahead of Donald Trump. An opinion poll by the Reuters Ipsos on Tuesday July 5, 2016, put Hillary Clinton ahead of her Republican Rival by eleven points (Kahn, 2016). The media in Kenya thus predicted her win long before the elections. She was automatically added to the list of two other women presidents in two of the six largest economic powers in the world. The article also alludes to other women who have served in the most powerful political positions in their countries in the past such as Pakistan's Benazir Bhuto and Britain's Margaret Thatcher. Though the text does not talk about the women politicians in Kenya, it was written by a Kenyan media journalist. It presents a foreign political scenario from a Kenyan perspective.

It is important to note that the article was applauding the notable progress that women are making in politics. However, the article still ended up portraying Hilary Clinton and the other women politicians in the article, against the backdrop of the gendered ideological thinking in Kenya. Fairclough (2001) says that people are not always conscious of the ideologies they pass across. They may inadvertently produce them. This may be the case with article above.

The verbs “crash” and “burn” in text 4.50 STD NP ART above show that the men politicians’ political careers have been ‘destroyed’ by the women politicians and it is the women politicians who have been “left standing”. While the text 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 roles. 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.

Text 4.51 STD NSP ART uses the verb ‘shocked’ to show how the news of GW’s victory was received by the public. The word ‘shocked’ implies that the public did not expect a woman to win. In other words, the woman politician is seen to have done the unexpected. Her victory is viewed as the non-norm, strange or unnatural. The use of the verb therefore portrays the woman politician as extraordinary.

Various adjectives are also used to describe politicians. In Text 4.52 STD NSP ART below which was picked from *The Standard* newspaper of August 8th 2016, the author describes two women Kenyan politicians MK and CN. The text describes the dress code of MK as “severe”, and the colour of her dress code, which is always red or black, as “tough” and “serious”. She is sometimes adorned with the green apparel of her party. Colours are gendered; women are usually associated with red or pink flowered dresses while men are associated with blue

and black. Men's colours are usually associated with seriousness. Therefore, when MK wears such colours, it is seen as a mark of seriousness or formality, while the soft colours show lack of seriousness. But it is also important to recognise the fact that MK is also a lawyer and their dress code is also black. On the other hand, the writer describes CN as politically "coy" and "seductive".

Text 4.52 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**.⁷ (*The Standard*, August 8th 2016).

Text 4.52 STD NSP ART above is a direct attack on women politicians who depend on men politicians for political goodwill. Text 4.52 STD NSP ART also applauds MK and CN who are independent women politicians. That is, they do not depend on men politicians for political survival like other women that the writer calls "flower girls". The writer uses the adjectives "rebellious" and 'iron ladies' to describe them. According to the author, they possess the toughness that is required for political survival. Text 4.52 STD NP ART acknowledges that politics requires some degree of toughness. For a woman to survive in politics,

she needs to shed off her femininity, manipulate her femininity for political advantage or blend femininity with masculinity (cf. Text 4.55STD NSP ART). MK is portrayed as masculine even in her dressing which involves tough and serious colours, while CN is portrayed as ‘coy’ and ‘seductive’ both of which are associated with femininity. This is can be interpreted as the social construction of gender.

While the writer appreciates the two women politicians, he evokes 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” has sexual connotations. Although both women politicians are constructed as tough in politics, MK comes out more as masculine or a “man”. CN, on the hand, is portrayed as tough and feminine but she is also sexualised. The author of this article is not producing his own ideas but socially constructed ideas.

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 above text points to the societal expectation of a woman politician. She has to be either masculine or sexually appealing. The two women politicians being

members of society seem to have picked the cue from society in order to excel in politics. However, there are other women who may not be tough or seductive, yet they possess leadership qualities. The creation of such standards for women may prevent some women from participating in politics because they feel they do not meet the requirements. Furthermore, even when some women go ahead and vie, the standards could be used by the electorate to make judgment on whom to vote.

Women politicians responded variously as to whether a women politicians have to rescind their femininity or soft power (for instance, lessen make up, avoid dress suits and bright colours) in order to win an electoral post. Two women politicians who participated in Victoria's Lounge show gave the following views:

Text 4.53 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).

On the other hand, WI NTV VLS 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. Below is what the people had said:

Text 4.54 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).

W2 NTV VLS in Text 4.53 says that women have to be tough and should rescind their femininity if she they are to survive in the male dominated world of politics. According to her, since some men politicians are rough and do not respect

women, the women politicians have to be equally tough. She alludes to an incident where a man politician slapped a woman politician. However, W1 NTV VLS feels that in some contexts, being feminine may work for a woman politician. She cites a case where members of P9 constituency said that they would vote the woman candidate if she was as beautiful as they saw her in the media. And she actually won on that pretext. In the 2013-2017 elections, some women used their femininity to assume political power.

Text 4.55 STD NSP ART below also describes a woman politician using the adjectives “brilliant”, “beautiful”, “stylish”, “articulate”, “unassuming”, and “classy”. She is further described as a “sharp dresser” and as having a “dimpled smile”. The study used the initials of her name (AM).

Text 4.55 STD NSP ART

AM: 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).

In the text above, the author uses the lexical items ‘brilliant’, ‘articulate’ and ‘unassuming’ which 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 sexualise 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. Therefore, good leadership qualities are a given for men. The author constructs a woman politician who is physically a woman but politically a man. She acts like a lady but behaves like 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 seen in Text 4.55 STD NSP ART.

People share an understanding about how men and women are supposed to behave and the characteristics they are meant to possess (Angela and Mean, 2000). This leads to the creation of masculine and feminine stereotypes such as the ones used to describe the women politicians above. Because men have had power and have dominated social institutions for so long, masculine traits and occupations have been more valued and masculinity is seen as a collection of traits that lead to success (Richmond, 1992). Stereotyping is however an enactment of power as it reduces, essentialises, naturalises and fixes differences and facilitates the “Us”-“Them” dichotomy (Hall 1997:258). This is meant to diminish the image of others while that of theirs increases. Stereotypes play an important part in hegemonic struggle or control by consent (Hall 1997). Masculinity should not be taken as the yardstick for political leadership.

Furthermore, current studies in masculinity show that men have started to contest masculinity as it is harmful to them (Njoya, 2008).

4.5.1.2 Titles

A title, as already described, is a word or words added before someone's name to specify their office, position or convey respect (Levinson, 2004). Titles are a type of honorifics. Honorific forms express the speaker's social attitude to others and also indicate the social ranks of the participants in the discourse and the intimacy (Nariyama *et al.*, 2005). Although honorifics are used for the purpose of politeness (Levinson, 2004), they have have the potential of being manipulated for ideological reasons. Barke (2010) says that honorifics can lead to the creation social identities. For instance, the author of text 4.56 STD NSP ART uses the titles "Miss/Mrs" to refer to the same woman politician. Text 4.56 is given below for illustration.

Text 4.56 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 the titles “Miss” and “Mrs” to refer to the same women politician at the same time. These two titles are gender insensitive in the modern linguistic context and have been replaced with the more gender neutral title ‘Ms.’ The author is aware of the gender neutral title ‘Ms.’ but chooses to use “Miss./Mrs”. The author seems to intentionally bring in 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 (cf.4.3.3).

The use of both titles implies that the author does not know whether the woman politician is married or not. The author casts the woman politician’s marital status in doubt. The author seems to persuade the reader that a woman, whose marital status is unclear, is unsuitable for the high political office. The author constructs the political career of the woman politician as determined by her marital status but does not put similar standards for men politicians. This echoes Lakoff’s (2001) views that women in politics are usually judged using different standards and more harshly than men. However, there is no proof that marital status is a prerequisite for political leadership. Kenya has had both married and single men and women politicians with good political records.

4.5.2 Phrases and Sentences

This section analyses the newspaper opinion articles at the level of syntax. The section does not analyse the structure the structure of phrases and sentences, but

looks at the ideological nature of the various gendered syntactic constructions. The newspaper discourses were not only laden with gendered lexical items but also gendered expressions in the form of phrasal and sentence constructions. The phrases consisted of idiomatic expressions while the sentences were mostly interrogatives.

4.5.2.1 Idiomatic Expressions

An idiom (also called idiomatic expression) is “a form of expression, grammatical construction, phrase, etc., peculiar to a language; a peculiarity of phraseology approved by the usage of language, often having a significance other than its grammatical or logical one” (Makkai, 1972: 23). In other words, idioms do not mean exactly what the words say. They have hidden meanings. Idioms can be exploited for ideological management.

Text 4.56 STD NSP ART above and Texts 4.57 STD NSP ART, 4.59 STD NSP ART below, all of which were from newspaper opinion articles, used some idioms that were gendered. Text 4.56 above uses the idiom “screaming their heads off” to refer to women parliamentarians in a demeaning manner. The author says;

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 author argues that there is 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 it was to be passed they did not turn up. They left the women parliamentarians to “scream their heads off”. The idiom portrays the woman politician as a helpless noisemaker. The author of text 4.57 below also uses the idioms “sending shivers down the spines” and “going back to the drawing board”.

Text 4.57 STD NSP ART below illustrates the context where two of the idioms were used.

Text 4.57 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 4.57 STD NSP ART above 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 men politicians and reveal that a rise in number in the 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. However, the women only constituted 19 percent of parliament. Men never complain that women are too many in society, yet the last census (2009) showed that women constituted 52 percent of the population while men accounted for 48 percent of the population. The idea behind such utterances was that women were seen to have encroached into men's space. The woman politician noted that you could hear the men politicians say:

Text 4.58 NTV VLS

These women are so many.

Lastly, Text 4.59 STD NSP ART below also uses an idiom to emphasise the notion that women politicians cannot succeed in politics without the backing of a man or men politicians. The author of text 4.59 (below) says that men are "the wind beneath your wings". The text further suggests that the women politicians are only supposed to control this male energy. The text implies that a woman politician cannot succeed without the backing of a man or men politicians. The idiomatic expression constructs women politicians as dependent or lacking in independence.

Text 4.59 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

Maybe 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).

However, text 4.52 STD NSP ART above gives examples of women politicians who have succeeded independently. The text also alludes to men who cling to other men for political survival. Therefore the insinuation that women are dependent and men are independent is not wholly true. This is an instance of gender stereotyping governed by gender ideology (Edwards, 2015).

4.5.2.2 Interrogatives

The newspaper opinion articles were also characterised by gendered syntactic constructions. Most of these were in the form of interrogative sentences. Van Dijk, (2006) says that questioning, is a form of ideological management. The types of questions that were used by politicians for ideological management were rhetorical questions. The purpose of rhetorical questions is to provide information. Generally, in such questions, the speaker does not expect an answer from the hearer, since the answer is given by the speaker himself or herself (Athanasiadou, 1991).

Text 4.56 NSP ART above illustrates the use of interrogatives by print media articles to construct politicians in Kenya. The article above was a news item in the *The Standard* of August, 30th 2016, and it was 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". The woman politician felt that, the media by asking that question was actually telling the public that Kenya is not ready for a female president. Text 4.56 STD NSP ART above is therefore a response to the woman politician's answer.

The author of the article asks eight questions as outlined below.

1. Is Kenya ready for a female president?
2. ... but is Kenya really ready for a female president?
3. You expected me to say men feel threatened by women in power?
4. Look around, how many female governors do you see?
5. How many female senators?
6. And the countable female MPs?"
7. Look at the women who ever truly wielded power in this country, was there a man in their lives?
8. Do you expect the same men to vote a woman to be the most powerful 'man' in the country?"

Question one is also the topic of the article. It is the same question that the woman politician had been asked by the television media journalist. The author of the article repeats the question (question two) by introducing the adverb "really". The adverb "really" is used to re-emphasise the question. The use of "but" introduces a contrast from the preceding section which contains the answer of the woman politician to media. "But" shows that the response it got from MK did not address the question satisfactorily and so the author is restating the question. The use of the two words in the question, give the impression that the author does not believe in the response of MK and would also like the reader to agree with him.

Question three precedes the statement “naturally people feel threatened by women in power”. And follows the statement “no, even women feel threatened by fellow women in power”. The use of the word “people” in the preceding statement is unclear. Therefore, the question “you expected me to say men feel threatened by women in power?” in the context of the preceding sentence allows for the interpretation of “people” as women. That is, it is only women who are threatened by women in power. 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. Question three therefore 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.

Questions four, five and six portray the reality of elective politics in Kenya, after the 2013 general elections. There was no woman elected senator or governor. However, 63 (19 percent) out of the total 337 MPS were elected to the position of MP (USAID, FIDA & NDI, 2013). The author uses this outcome of the 2013 general elections to inform the reader that Kenya is not ready for a female president. The author, in other words is asking: if very few Kenyan women were elected as MPS, and none as governor or senator, could we say that Kenya is ready for a woman president? The questions leave the reader to supply the answers and in the process get convinced.

Question seven draws 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. 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 question seven to state that men cannot vote a woman to hold the most powerful position in the country.

The use of an **oxymoron** ‘man’ in question eight is a rhetorical strategy for persuasion. An oxymoron is a deviant collocation of terms which ordinarily cannot be used together. The author asks: “Do you expect the same men to vote a woman to be the most powerful ‘man’ in the country?”. The woman is referred to as a ‘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 man, and not a woman, who can be the most powerful person in the country or president in the country. This oxymoron constructs the men politicians as the rightful occupants of the most powerful position and the women politicians as suited for the less powerful positions.

Another rhetorical feature used in the text is **repetition**, which is used for ideological management. The title of the article is the question: “Is Kenya ready for a female president?” In the clincher sentence of the first paragraph, the author

again asks "... but is Kenya really ready for a woman president?" These two sentences emphasise the central argument of the author.

Related to the two sentences above is the repetition of the sentences "Kenyans are not ready to have a woman to lead them" and "Kenya is not ready for a woman president" both of which state the same proposition. The two sentences emphasise the stance of the author concerning the central argument. The repetition of the sentence "Kenya is not ready for a woman president" comes at end of the text to finally emphasize the author's stand. The repetitions construct the woman politician as unready for presidency in Kenya.

The author, in the same text, combines repetition with another rhetorical feature of discourse, which is the use of **repetition** combined with **similes**. The author states: "Women like fire, are good servants but bad leaders" and then again in the second last sentence of the article states again "Like I said, women like fire, are known to be good servants but bad leaders". The author uses the simile, 'women like fire, are good servants but bad leaders' which compares women to fire. He conceptualises women as fire which he argues is supposed to be controlled during cooking. Otherwise, if it is left uncontrolled, it will spoil the food. The text implies that women are supposed to serve and be led just like fire. The simile belittles and marginalises women vis-à-vis men. The simile echoes what a woman politician said in text 1 that women are there to be seen but not to be heard.

Therefore, apart from questioning, the author backs the argument with other rhetorical features. The questions that arise from the author's argument trigger certain observations. Although the text suggests that men cannot vote a woman into the powerful position of president, some women parliamentarians in Kenya have occupied other powerful political posts such as Cabinet Minister which is an equivalent of Cabinet Secretary in the current parliament.

The author does not explain how some of these powerful women, who were elected, managed to win an election if men did not vote for them. Secondly, the author uses the phrase "same men" in question eight to imply that if a woman does not have a man in her life, we do not "expect the same men" to vote her as president. Does the author mean that a woman who has a man in her life will be voted by men? But Kenya has had a woman presidential candidate, who was married but she did not win. However, at the beginning of the article or even immediately after question eight, the author seems to refer to any woman, whether married or not.

The questions, some of which appear contradictory, are ideologically laden, and their aim is to build a strong argument against a woman politician vying or being voted as a president. The questions are used to discourage the woman politician from vying for the presidential position and to convince the electorate not to vote for a woman presidential aspirant. The questions also reinforce the patriarchal

ideology that the woman politician is 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 aim to construct women politicians as still unqualified for certain political posts such as presidency.

The author of the news 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. A number of ideologies about the woman politician emerge from the questions:

1. Men are naturally the leaders.
2. People are naturally threatened by women in power.
3. Even women feel threatened by fellow women in power.
4. Women are supposed to serve, not lead.
5. A woman who is not married is not fit for presidency.

The writers of media articles are part of society, and therefore share in the societal ideologies. Through the questions, the media asks the woman politician, and by publishing this news article in their daily newspapers, the media demonstrates that they are maintaining and at the same time propagating the dominant societal

ideologies about the men and women politician. The article further rubber stamps the ideology that only married women or women who can demonstrate a relationship with men are acceptable in political positions (Mukhongo & Macharia, 2016). The article neither explains why women are bad leaders nor why men are good leaders. The article also does not explain the relationship between single women and bad leadership.

Athanasiadou (1991) says that the communicative function of rhetorical questions is capturing the interest of the hearer and the intention of the speaker is to emphasize some particular point. The speaker also considers the propositional content he is going to utter to be well-known. A question such as “Is Kenya ready for a female president?” simply passes the information that Kenya is not ready for a woman president and could be based on a well known ideology in the Kenyan context. Many Critical Discourse linguists (Fairclough, 2001; Habermas, 1977; Locke, 2004; Van Dijk, 2001) underlie the fact that ideologies are a kind of naturalized common sense or meanings. Therefore, the use of the questions above is a device to carry power by persuading the reader not to support women politicians, and hence maintain the status quo.

4.5.3 Semantics

In this sub-section, the study discusses the semantic properties of the print media opinion articles. In CDA, semantics analysis is not concerned with the meanings

of words and clauses but with how ideologies are assumed to control the construction of meaning in discourse (Van Dijk, 2006). Below, the study discusses how newspaper opinion articles exploit ideology to construct gendered meanings among the Kenya National Assembly politicians, at both the local level (local coherence) and the global level (global coherence). At the local level, the study discusses the use of semantic rhetoric and and at the global level, the study looks at the use of topicalisation (Van Dijk, 2006). The study also focuses on the semantic aspect of reference.

4.5.3.1 Semantic Rhetoric

Van Dijk (2006) calls the use of stylistic devices like repetition, and semantic ‘figures’ such as metaphors and similes, semantic rhetoric. Semantic rhetoric is used to emphasise a topic so as to make information that is negative about the other or them, more prominent. This prominence leads to hegemony or naturalisation of the information. Specific “rhetorical” structures of discourse may therefore be a function of ideological control when information that is unfavourable to “Us” is made less prominent whereas the negative information about “Them” is emphasised. Repetition and similes, as rhetorical features of media discourse, have already been discussed in Text 4.56 STD NSP ART above. In this sub-section we discuss metaphors and a few more similes as the rhetoric figures that were employed by the gendered verbal newspaper discourses.

The use of similes and metaphors play a fundamental part in the way people represent social reality. The use of these literary devices is central in the way their use positions what is described and the reader's relationships to it (Van Dijk, 2006). Text 4.52 STD NSP ART and 4.59 STD NSP ART above use demeaning metaphors and similes that inferiorate or demean the women politicians.

Text 4.59 STD NSP ART also uses the similes "...**she appeared like a naïve flower girl or debutante** brought in to sprinkle some femininity into the scene" and "...– **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 of 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 image of the woman politician as naïve and as a flower girl has already been discussed in the previous sections (cf. Text 4.4 M2INT & Text 4.30 W5 INT). In text 4.59 STD NSP ART, the image further demeans the woman politician by not only comparing her to a flower girl but also to a debutante. A debutante in this context refers to a young woman who makes her first formal appearance in public. The combination of naïve, flower girl and debutante constructs the woman politician as inexperienced and lacking in agenda.

The author further compares diplomacy to sex. The author implies that the woman politician did not play her diplomatic cards well. 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. Though the woman politician in question is described so, she has held senior 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 Kenya.

Text 4.52 STD NSP ART above 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, who are equated to iron ladies. "iron ladies" is another metaphor that equates the two women politicians to iron. Margaret Thatcher, a former British Prime Minister was said to be the only man her cabinet, hence the term iron lady. The same statement was used to refer to MK, one of the two women politicians in text, when she served as a Cabinet Minister before 2013. She was referred to as the only man in EMK's government.

Iron lady is a name that was formerly used, especially in newspapers, for Margaret Thatcher when she was the British Prime Minister. She was called so because she was seen as a strong leader who did not change her mind easily (Longman, 2009). The metaphor iron lady is used in the text to refer to two women politicians in Kenya who the author thinks have succeeded politically because they have a strong willed personality and they are independent. They are contrasted with those that the same article refers as “flower girls”.

The main argument of the article 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 therefore 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. Furthermore, successful men politicians are not called “iron men”.

Texts 4.52 STD NSP ART and 4.59 STD NSP ART are related in a way. While Text 4.52 STD NSP ART advocates for independence of the women politicians,

which can be achieved by the women politicians having masculine characteristics, Text 4.59 STD NSP ART argues that a woman politician should be dependent on a man or men politicians for political survival to a certain level. Text 4.59 STD NSP ART argues that a woman politician cannot succeed in elective politics if she is not backed by a man or men politicians. The text, however, emphasises that the woman politician, has to manage the men in her political life. These texts appear contradictory and could point to the contradictory debate on women politicians as was seen for the questions that women are normally asked by campaigners. There are prescriptions and counter prescriptions on how women politicians should be like.

Unlike in the above instance, where there are contradictions between two texts, **contradictions** appear even within the same text. For instance, in Text 4.56 STD NSP ART, the author suggests that people fear women in power but goes ahead to ask: “You expected me to say men feel threatened by women in power? No, even women feel threatened by fellow women in power.” Contradictions consist of a logical incompatibility or inconsistency where someone says something that is, and that is not at the same time. The use of contradiction is a display of uncertainty on the part of the speaker or writer.

The writer of this article is not supported by facts in his argument. The argument is largely based on historical and societal beliefs or ideologies. He argues that,

historically, Kenya is largely a patriarchal society and men have therefore been the leaders. Therefore, the only support he has for the argument that he presents is history. This is a case of escapism people resort to their culture when they present a view that has no space in contemporary society. Richmond (1992) says that political information covered in the media, which exploits the semantic figures of rhetoric such as metaphors and similes, constructs women as possessing negative qualities when it is not the case.

4.5.3.2 Topicalisation

The meaningfulness of discourse resides both at the local or microstructural level and the global or macrostructural level. Topicalisation works at the global level. Overall global coherence may be defined in terms of topics or headlines. One major power expressed through newspaper is the power of persuasion, which is often used in the construction of headlines. Van Dijk (2006) observes that topics of discourse define subjectively the information in discourse that speakers or writers find most relevant or important. Hence, topicalisation may be subject to ideological management. For instance, the print media Text 4.56 STD NSP ART 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 subjectively most important information of a news report. For instance, the following topics appeared as headlines in some of the print media texts:

1. Women leaders taking over superpowers. (Text 4.50 STD NSP ART)
2. What flower girls in Kenyan politics can learn from MK, CN (Text 4.52 STD NSP ART)
3. Is Kenya ready for a female president? (Text 4.56 STD NSP ART)
4. AM acting like a lady, but thinking like a man. (Text 4.55 STD NSP ART)

All the headlines above present a summary or give the most important information in the texts from which they were part. The headlines are summaries of texts which appeared concerned with the plight of women in political leadership (except Text 4.56 STD NSP ART) and would like to look for solutions. However, the Texts ended up, either consciously or unconsciously, propagating gendered ideologies about men and women politicians. 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 4.55 STD NSP ART summarises the woman politician it is talking about 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 leadership skills of men are presented as the yardsticks for measuring good leadership and men are portrayed as leaders naturally. The text implies that there are leadership skills for women and others for men. The headline appears rooted in the belief that men are good leaders while women are bad leaders. This is related to Text 4.52 STD NSP ART which associates successful women politicians with masculinity (Lakoff, 2001).

The same case also applies to the headline of Text 4.56 STD NSP ART. The headline appeared as both a headline of a newspaper article and question by a media journalist that was directed towards a woman politician who was vying for the presidential seat in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. The headline suggests that the interviewer and the author of the newspaper article believe that Kenya is not ready for a woman president, yet they did not consult Kenyan on this statement. The question is likely to pass this unsubstantiated belief to the readers or listeners (Van Dijk, 2001). The author of the newspaper article concludes with

the statement: Kenya is not ready for a woman president. This statement actually confirms this belief which is expressed in the form of a question in the headline.

4.5.3.3 “That”-Reference

Reference is the relation between a linguistic expression and what that expression stands for in the real world, on a particular occasion of its utterance (Lyons, 1977). Some of the linguistic expressions that are referential are deictic expressions such as “this” “that”, “there” and so on. In this study, we only look at the use of “that”. The text below uses ‘that- reference’ to refer to a woman politician (MK) who had vied for the presidential post in Kenya in the 2013 general elections. The author argues that MK did not win because she was branded ‘that’ woman. However, as the author explains, MK is a performer. The author wonders whether the issue of “that” man would arise.

Text 4.60 NAT 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 anti-corruption campaigns, also remembered for her scorching of the executive, asking ministers to take political responsibility for the rot in their docket. She quit her plum cabinet post because the executive was interfering in her docket (*Sunday Nation*, March 10, 2013 pp18).

Text 4.60 NAT NSP ART 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. Lakoff (2003) argues that the use of the deictic “that” in the political context does not simply identify the person being spoken about, but establishes the attitude and emotion of the speaker via contempt, and is potentially dis-empowering.

4.5.4 Pragmatics

This study adopts Austin’s (1962) view of pragmatics as the acts people perform in using language. Speech act is an utterance spoken in actual communication and is realised through certain verbs. Van Dijk (2006) refers to the theory of ideological discourse production, which says that the social control of speech acts operates through context models that represent the communicative situation and its participants, goals and other relevant appropriateness condition.

For instance, if speakers share sexist or racist attitudes and ideologies their utterances will feature propositions that imply the inferiority of women or minorities as speech participants. These are for instance the use of commands and threats, lack of respect, and the use of advice and plain assertions where none is needed (Van Dijk, 2006). At the level of pragmatics, the study identified the use of advice and plain assertions in the print media verbal discourses. The pieces of advice and assertions are discussed below.

4.5.4.1 Advice and Plain Assertions

Ideologically based inferiorisation of others may occasion speech acts such as giving advice or even plain assertions in situations, where none is asked for or otherwise appropriate, since both presuppose inferiority of the recipient (Van Dijk 2006) (cf. 2.5.1.6 & 4.4.5.1). Advising is a speech act that is used by someone or a group that feels superior over another (Van Dijk, 2006). Some of the campaign speeches were in the form advice and plain assertions.

Text 4.56 STD NSP ART makes several assertions, which imply finality, in the form of negative and positive statements. The following assertions have been picked from the Text.

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.

Van Dijk (2006) says that such negative evaluations as given above, and generally relations of inequality between speech participants controls speech act production. Text 4.56STD NSP ART seems to be advising the woman politician, through the use of stereotypical assertions, that women are wasting their time championing for their rights because that will not change anything.

Text 4.59 STD NSP ART 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 but to a manageable degree. The main argument of the text is that a woman politician cannot succeed or win a political post if she is not supported by either one or more men politicians.

Some of the assertions from Text 4.59 STD NSP ART 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 agree with Brown and Levinson (1987) that ideologically based inferiorisation of others may lead to inferiorisation of speech partners in such a way that normal rules of politeness are not respected. The pieces of advice and assertions above also imply ideologically driven relations of power and dominance (Van Dijk, 2006).

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 by both the female and male members of the population (Grice, 1971). No wonder the woman aspirant for the presidential seat in the run up to the 2013 general elections was referred to as "*that mad woman*" (Text 5.4W4INT) "that" woman 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.

The linguistic features of the newspaper opinion articles to a large extent project that there are different requirements or standards for men and women. The texts prescribe the relevant qualities women need to possess, and also sexualise and objectify the women politicians. The qualities of the men politicians are retained as the norm. This agrees with Bern (1993) that men and women are perceived through the 'lens' of gender polarisation and assigned to apparently natural categories accordingly. He further observes that on the basis of this gender assignment, naturalized norms and expectations about men and women are imposed upon each of the two. There are a few women politicians who are seen as measuring up, however, they are also masculinised or objectified. It appears that that the media texts rule out most of the women politicians.

This can be summed up the Text 4.61 below by W5 NAT NSP. She cites an instance when the media ruled her out and of the race since they reported her candidature in a brief story close to the obituaries. Her name was not given, but the names of her male opponents were included in the text. Her male opponents were therefore foregrounded by their names and the adjective "seasoned".

However, five months later, the same media reported how she had won the seat after garnering 58 percent of the total votes cast.

Text 4.61 W5 NAT NSP

A woman politician is among five people eyeing the P10 parliamentary seat on a Kanu ticket. She will face off with seasoned names like GMM, SKM, RNM and AMM. She stands little or no chance (*Daily Nation*, Wednesday, February 1 2017)

This section has discussed how the media constructs women politicians. The study did not find gendered newspaper opinion articles that described or referred to individual men politicians among those that were sampled. Another study can thus be done that focuses on gendered newspaper opinion articles on men politicians to find out how the articles construct men politicians. The findings from this section show that the media subjectively presents women politicians as has been found by other studies (Magalhaes, 2002; Mettge, 1998). The newspaper opinion articles consciously and unconsciously portray women in a sexist, biased and distorted manner pegged on the traditional gender ideology. The following section analyses the nonverbal texts of the print media.

4.6 Analysis of the Gendered Nonverbal Discourses of the Newspapers

The non-verbal language of the print media was 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. The study did not review comic books because it is only the newspapers that were sampled for the study. The study also

did not find any gendered photographs in the newspapers that were sampled. The study recommends a study that will focus on the photographs of politicians in the print media. However, the study found two gendered editorial cartoons that were used in the print media.

Both cartoons were done by one of Kenya's most renowned cartoonist pen named Gado. The cartoons were strategically located on the editorial page of the Daily Nation newspaper. The editorial cartoons are believed to capture the most critical political and social issues of the moment (Brait, 1996; Santos 2007). The cartoonists' opinions, through the cartoons, could therefore be very influential on the readers.

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. Regardless of the curse, she won showing that the curse did not work. Elders are the gatekeepers of society and hence their failure is failure of the outdated beliefs about women in politics. 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 of 1st March 2014 gave a written version of the same story. The newspaper reported the woman politician's story and described how elders cursed her for standing for election in 2013. The newspaper version is given below.

Text 4.62 NAT NSPART

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* (old man) 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* (old man) 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* (old man) 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...(Daily Nation 1st March 2014)

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

Text 4.63 NAT NSP ART



Figure 4.1: The Editorial Cartoon of the Woman Politician Who Could Not Be Stopped by Curses

The presentation of the story in the form of words and images confirms Barthes' (1977) argument that 'in relay, text and image stand in a complementary relationship: the words, in the same way as the images, are fragments of a more general syntagm, and the unity of the message is realised at a higher level' (p.41). In other words, 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 4.1 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 visualising 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.

Earlier on, both the print media and the audio-visual media had presented stories suggesting that for the woman politician, represented by the cartoon to win, she had to be the former prime minister's running mate (Daily Nation 9th October 2012). The media thus echoes the campaign speeches discussed above (cf. 4.3) that portray women politicians as best suited for subordinate or inferior positions. For instance in Texts 4.25 NAT NSP ART, 4.27 NAT NSP ART and 4.28 STD NSP ART above, the male politicians and their supporters, advice women politicians to vie for Woman Rep position or become running mates of men politicians. When a woman politician vies for a political position that is seen as senior, such as MP or president, she is portrayed as unusual.

As already discussed in the previous section, it is clear that women politicians are usually sexually objectified using spoken and written language. The second cartoon below, which was in the *Daily Nation* of Wednesday 22nd May 2013, also appears to objectify the role of the women politicians in Kenya.

Text 4.64 NAT NSP ART



Figure 4.2: The WR Massage Cartoon

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 parliamentary session. She demanded an apology for portraying women as sexual

objects who appear to lack in political agenda as portrayed by the cartoon. Her reaction, which was aired in the *Capital News* (May 22, 2013), is captured in text 4.65 CAP NWS below.

Text 4.65 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 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 trivialises the political agenda of the woman politician

Visual images do play a powerful role in the construction of truth and reality. In this respect, there are clear relationships with notions of hegemony in presenting a picture of 'this is how it is.' As Fairclough (1995) notes images have primary over words.

The findings in this section show that the dominant media discourses on women politicians are gendered. These may create structures that prevent women from accessing political power (Maloiy, 2014). This is because such discourses lead to unequal power relations in the political realm (Fairclough, 2001).

4.7 Summary the Linguistic Construction of the National Assembly Politicians

This section provides a summary of the positive and negative constructions of the National Assembly politicians, based on the gendered verbal linguistic items and expressions, and nonverbal discourses discussed in the preceding sections of this chapter. Table 4.6 below provides a summary of the linguistic items and expressions that constructed the politicians positively and those that constructed them negatively.

Table 4.6: Summary of the Verbal and Nonverbal Linguistic Items and Expressions

		Frequency of the linguistic items used at each level				
		Women		Men		Total
		Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	
Lexical	Nouns	00	00	01	00	01
	Adjectives	04	10	03	00	17
	Verbs	00	03	00	00	03
	Titles	00	04	02	00	06
	Nicknames	02	00	04	00	06
Syntactic	Idioms	01	01	02	00	04
	Questions	00	08	00	00	08
Semantic	Local coherence	00	04	00	00	04
	Topics	01	03	00	00	04
	Rhetoric	00	11	00	03	14
	Reference	00	01	00	00	01
	Exclusion	00	01	00	00	01
Pragmatic	Insults	00	01	00	00	01
	Commands	00	01	00	00	01
	Assertions/ Advice	01	07	00	00	08
Nonverbal	Body language	00	04	00	00	04
	Images	00	02	00	00	02
Total		09	61	12	03	85
Percentage		10.59	71.76	14.12	3.53	100

The total number of the linguistic items that were analyzed, as shown by Table 4.6, was eighty five. Sixty one (71.76 percent) constructed the women politicians negatively while nine (10.59 percent) constructed the women politicians

positively. Three (3.53 percent) constructed the men politicians negatively while twelve (14.12 percent) constructed the men politicians positively. Figure 3.4 below compares the negative linguistics items that were used to describe women politicians to those that were used to describe men politicians.

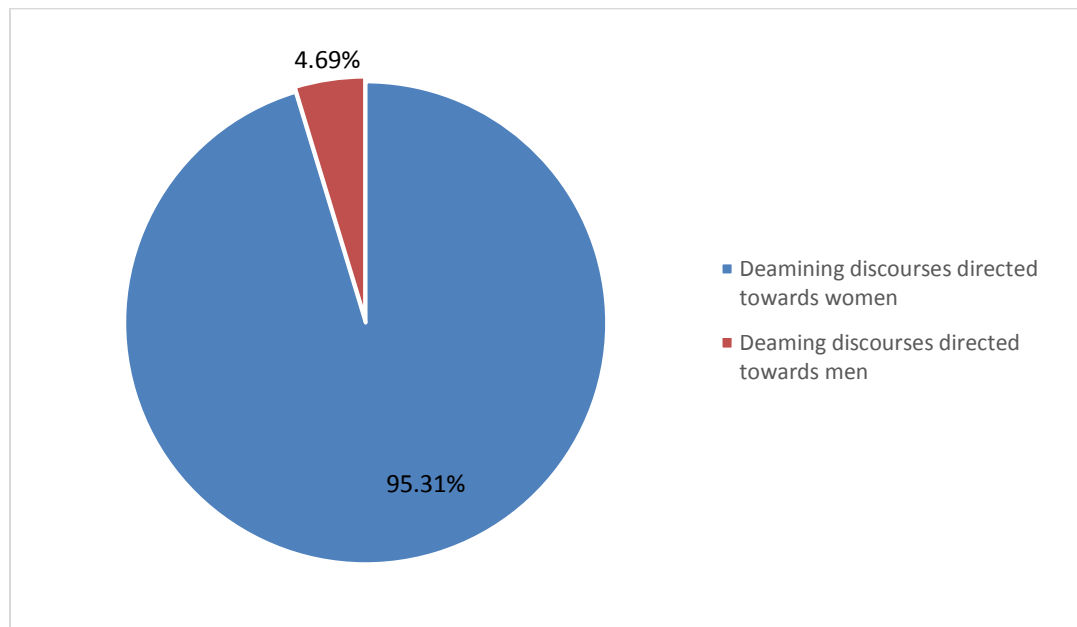


Figure 4.3: The Negative Verbal and Nonverbal Discourses

Figure 4.3 above shows that most of the negative and demeaning linguistic properties of discourse that were collected in this study were directed towards women politicians. The total number of these linguistic items was 64. Out of these, 61 were directed at women (95.31 percent) while 3 were directed at men (4.69 percent). Figure 4.4 below compares the number of the positive linguistic items and expressions to that of the negative linguistic properties among the women politicians alone.

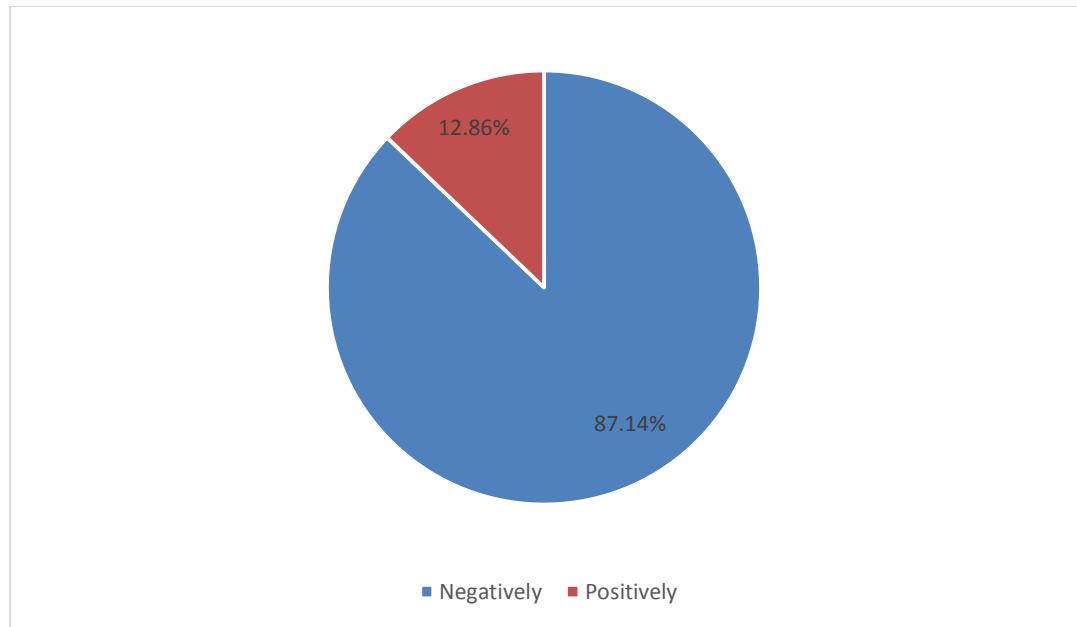


Figure 4.4: Construction of the Women Politicians

Figure 4.4 shows that the either discourses constructed the women politicians positively or negatively. To a large extent, the discourses constructed the women politicians negatively. Sixty one (87.14 percent) linguistic items and expressions were negative while nine (12.86) were positive. Figure 5.4 below further shows how the linguistic properties constructed the men politicians.

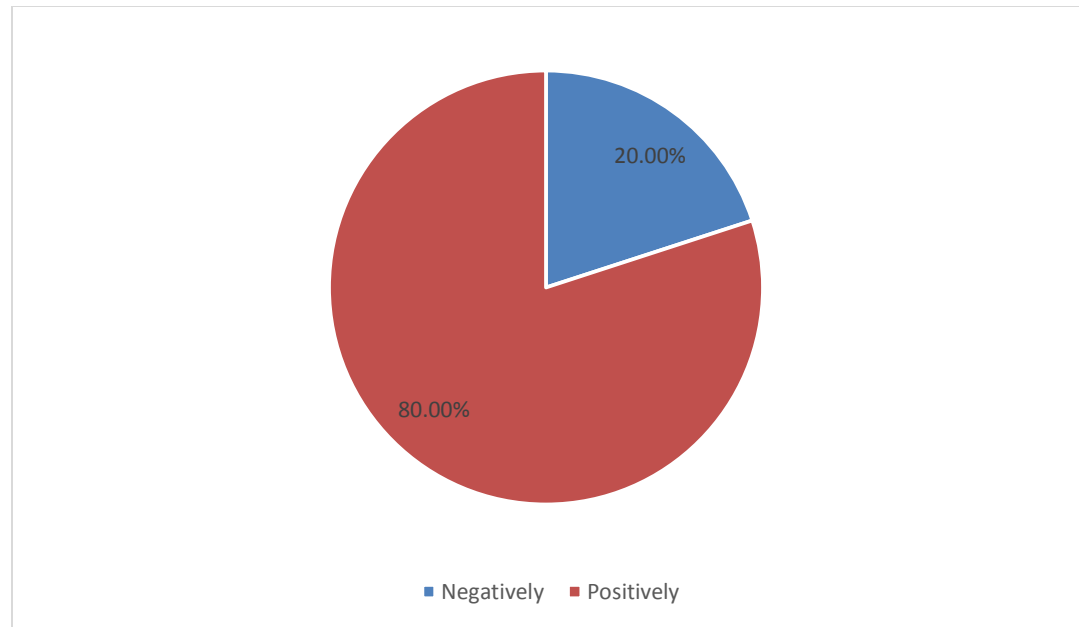


Figure 4.5: Construction of the Men Politicians

Figure 4.5 above shows that the campaign discourses to a large extent constructed men politicians positively. Twelve (80 percent) constructed them positively while three (20 percent) constructed them negatively. Below we summarise this chapter.

4.8 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has discussed the linguistic properties that characterise politicians' campaign speeches and the print media's political opinions on political candidates. The chapter has also explained how these linguistic items and expressions construct the politician in Kenya. This chapter reveals that most of the politicians' verbal and nonverbal discourses and the verbal and nonverbal discourses of the print media texts have sexist attitudes and ideologies.

The vehicle for these gendered discourses is language; various linguistic items and expressions are laden with gendered ideology. These gendered discourses to a large extent construct the women politicians negatively and the men politicians positively. In other words, the gendered discourses feature propositions that imply the inferiority of the women politicians. Apart from inferioration, women are associated more with family, marriage and children. They are also portrayed as dependent on men or, as objects of male attention.

To a large extent politics is seen as the “boys’ league” as one of the articles put it and women are seen as trespassers or intruders. A few women politicians who are thought to “think like men” or have masculine qualities like toughness, are lauded as successful politicians, while the rest pass for flower girls.

CHAPTER FIVE

PREVALENT IDEOLOGIES HELD BY THE ELECTORATE

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the third objective of the study which focused on gendered ideologies that are prevalent among the electorate concerning men and women in Kenya. The discussion is based on data were collected through questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered to eighty members of the electorate in four constituencies within Nairobi County. The chapter focuses on not only gendered political ideologies but also on gendered ideologies outside the political realm. This is because it is the general gendered ideologies within society that are imported into various contexts and institutions of the society. The chapter specifically addresses the electorate's ideologies about men and women that may influence their choice in terms of the gender of the candidate to vote for. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the electorates' beliefs about women and men and in Kenya and the second section performs a linguistic analysis of the beliefs of the electorate.

The discussion presented in this chapter is based on Fairclough's (2001) and Van Dijk's (2001) approaches to CDA. As already explained in Chapter Two (cf. 2.5), CDA is an approach to language as the primary force for the production and reproduction of ideology. The basic tenet of CDA used in this chapter is the belief systems that come to be accepted as "common sense". These are specifically

those beliefs that encourage the acceptance of unequal power arrangements as natural and inevitable or even right or good. Fairclough (2001) views language as discourse. He further observes that discourse is a social practice which involves the whole process of social interaction. The social interaction constitutes the process of production and the process of interpretation. Fairclough (2001) sees the process of interpretation as cognitive. That is, interpretation draws upon internalized meanings or ideologies, which Fairclough (2001) calls “Members’ Resources” (MR) for interpretation. People acquire these internalized MR through social interaction and use the internalized MR to engage in social practice including discourse.

Similarly, Van Dijk (2001) sees ideology as cognitive where he says that language users as members of groups, organisations or cultures have shared mental representations from which they draw during their interactions. This study defines ideology as shared meaning in the form of ideas and beliefs among members of a society, which is embedded in language and differentiates social groups in a society. Ideology operates to the advantage of a particular group. The ideologies of the electorate that are discussed in this chapter are regarded as mental representations or Members Resources that are productive of ideology.

The ideologies among the members of the electorate are believed to originate from the wider Kenyan society - political and media discourses, and other day to day discourses. The ideologies among the members of the electorate are therefore similar to those in the political and media discourses that were analysed in Chapter Four. The discourses that were discussed in Chapter Four originated from politicians, opinion makers, community elders and members of the electorate all of whom have a close interaction and cannot be clearly distinguished. That is, a community elder and an opinion maker could be members of the electorate and a member of the electorate could be a community leader or opinion maker. The political leader interacts with all these groups through political speeches in the formal and informal contexts, and the media.

Therefore, it was important to establish whether there was any relationship between the ideologies held by the electorate and the gendered discourses presented in Chapter Four. Wetherell (1998) argues that analysis of discourse data cannot be complete without a critical analysis of the ideologies that make discourse socially interpretable. Wetherell (1998) points out that CDA should focus on ideologies that are produced by texts and ideologies that produce texts. Chapter Four analysed the dominant ideologies that were produced by the texts. This chapter is concerned more with the ideologies that produce texts. The following section highlights on how the beliefs were collected and how they were organized for analysis.

5.1 Presentation of the Beliefs of the Electorate

We administered semi-closed questionnaires (cf. Appendix 3) to eighty members of the electorate in Nairobi County, who were purposefully selected, based on their gender, age and level education. The categories of gender, age and education were not adopted as analytical criteria but were used in order to increase the validity and reliability of the data. The first section of the questionnaire had closed-ended statements from which the members of the electorate chose, while the second section had open ended questions, which required the respondents to give their individualized opinions. Both the closed-ended and open-ended items of the questionnaires were based on the electorates' beliefs about men and women's traits and behaviour, physical characteristics, roles and occupations.

The closed ended items provided the respondents with traits, behaviour, physical characteristics, roles and occupations and required the respondents to use a tick to assign each of the attributes to either men or women. The traits and behaviour, physical characteristics, roles and occupations were adopted from various linguistic and non-linguistic studies (Aalberg & Jensen, 2007; Abrams, 2012; Bauer, 2016; Brannon, 2004; Edwards, 2015; Talbot, 2003).

The closed ended items were organised and summarised into tables 5.1 and 5.2 below. Percentages were calculated by the use of simple descriptive statistics because it was both clear to count and get percentages.

This entailed counting the number of respondents that attributed a trait or behaviour, physical characteristic, role and occupation to either a man or a woman and establishing percentages.

Table 5:1 Traits and Behaviour of Men and Women in the Closed-Ended Items

Traits and behaviour	Men		Women	
	No.	%	No	%
Hardworking	39	51.3	37	48.3
Intelligent	40	52.6	36	47.6
Domineering	62	81.6	14	18.4
Gossips	19	25.0	57	75.0
Tough	60	78.9	16	21.1
Competitive	56	73.7	20	26.3
Submissive	07	9.2	69	90.8
Decisive	50	65.7	26	34.3
Nice/Cooperative	18	23.7	58	76.3
Passive	20	26.3	56	73.7

Table 5.1 presents scores and percentages, based on the electorate's beliefs about the behaviour and traits of men and women. The findings show that men are believed to be more domineering, tougher, more competitive and more decisive while women are believed to be more submissive and participate more in gossiping. Men are believed to participate less in gossiping, are less nice and cooperative, less submissive and less passive. Women are believed to be less

decisive, less competitive, less tough and less domineering. However, the electorate believes that both men and women are almost similarly intelligent and hardworking. Therefore, Table 5.1 shows that safe for a few behaviours and traits, the electorate profiles men and women differently. Men are associated more with certain traits and behaviours, and the same case applies to women. Table 5.2 below presents the roles and occupations of men and women in the closed-ended items.

Table 5.2: Roles and Occupations of Men and Women in the Closed-Ended Items

	Roles and occupations	Men		Women	
		No.	%	No.	%
Professional	Police officers	62	81.6	14	18.4
	Nurses	10	13.2	66	86.8
	Lawyers	41	53.9	35	46.1
	Engineers	40	52.6	36	47.6
	Pilots	42	55.3	34	44.7
Social	Household repairs	70	92.1	06	7.9
	Household chores	08	10.5	68	89.5
	Raising children	10	13.2	66	86.8
Technical	Drivers	60	78.9	16	21.1
Political	National Assembly Politicians	52	68.4	26	31.6

Table 5.2 presents scores and percentages based on the electorate's beliefs on the roles, and occupations of men and women. The second table, Table 5.2, summarises the roles and occupations of men and women as was given by the

electorate. The scores evident in Table 5.2 show that men are believed to be highly suitable for jobs such as police officers, drivers, politicians, and carrying out household repairs. They are believed to be less suited for household chores, raising children and being nurses. Women are believed to be highly suitable for household chores, raising children and being nurses. Women are believed to be less suitable for household repairs, police officers and drivers. However, men are believed to be slightly more suitable as lawyers, engineers and pilots. Table 5.2 also shows that men and women are profiled in terms of the roles and occupations they can venture into.

From the summary of the data in Tables 5.1, and 5.2, it was evident that the electorate associated certain traits and behaviour, physical characteristics, roles and occupations with women, and others with men. There were other traits and behaviour, physical characteristics, roles and occupations which the electorate associated with both men and women. The data from the closed-ended items therefore shows that the electorate considers certain traits and behaviour, roles and occupations as more suitable to men and others as more suitable to women. The results indicate that there are other traits and behaviour, roles and occupations that are almost equally associated with both men and women. Literature reveals that the way in which individuals in society talk about men and women, shows that they have a shared reference system about what is considered masculine and or feminine (Angela & Mean, 2000; Ghim-Lian, 2001). The beliefs shape

people's worldview and also show how language could reveal, embody and sustain attitudes to gender (Moore, 2002). These belief systems are responsible for ideology (Van Dijk, 2001; 1995).

The responses to the open-ended items of the semi-closed questionnaires were organised by establishing common themes, through thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), that was based on the data and the literature. The themes were arrived at through interrelated codes, which in this case were terms that were used to identify a common belief, while themes were the unifying categories composed of interrelated beliefs. The criterion was based on the frequency in which a code was utilized across the questionnaires. To identify the beliefs about women and men, codes that were considered prevalent appeared at least more than once. Prevalent codes were then grouped by similarity and relevance into themes under two categories: beliefs about women and beliefs about men as presented in tables 5.3 and 5.4 below.

Table 5.3: Common Themes that Emerged from the Electorate's Beliefs about Men Politicians

	Favour men	Work against men
In relation to political leadership	1. Culture supports men's leadership. 2. Religion supports men's leadership. 3. Men's qualities and attributes are suitable for leadership.	1. Misappropriation of public funds. 2. Corrupt 3. Questionable morals

Table 5.3 above gives the common themes that emerged from the beliefs about men.

Table 5.4: Common Themes that Emerged From the Electorate's Beliefs about Women Politicians

	Favour women	Work against women
In relation to political leadership	1. Women have good leadership qualities. 2. Women are good at family organization/leadership.	1. Women as caregivers and family persons. 2. Women's qualities and attributes not suitable for leadership. 3. Women as suitable for family chores. 4. Women's political leadership as jeopardy to family. 5. Women's traits and behaviour not suitable for political leadership. 6. The nature of politics does not favour women.

Table 5.4 summarizes the common themes that emerged from the beliefs about women. The beliefs under each of the themes identified in Tables 5.3 and 5.4 are presented below.

5.1.1 Presentation of the Electorate's Beliefs about Women

This section presents the beliefs that the electorate held about women. The beliefs were organised into various themes as already noted in section 5.1 above.

5.1.1.1 Women as Caregivers and Family Persons

This section highlights those beliefs that see women as caregivers. Women are described as being good at taking care of children. They are supposed to take care of their husbands, and they are responsible for taking care of the home. The responses thus positioned women as caregivers, nurturers and mothers. Below are examples of the affirmative statements from the data that supported the belief that women are caregivers.

Text 5.1QN: Women are good at taking care of children, the sick and the physically challenged.

Text 5.2QN: Women are supposed to take care of their husbands.

Text 5.3QN: Women are responsible for taking care of the home.

There appeared to be a shared belief that the role of women was to take care of others, who not only included husbands and children but also old parents and the sick. The responses indicated that women were supposed to do those jobs which were not engaging so that they could get time to cook and take care of the family as we see in the section below. Politics was deemed time consuming and therefore not suitable for women because politics was believed to deny women the time they needed for family chores, such as cooking, taking care of their husbands and children, and other members of the family. Literature supports that women are usually associated with socially attributed household chores and taking care of others like the sick, the disabled, children and husbands (World Bank, 2001).

The belief that women are caregivers coupled with the type of roles assigned to them by society could explain some of the questions that women politicians are

usually asked during campaigns as indicated in Chapter Four (cf. 4.3.3). For instance, Texts 4.13 to 4.19 (from the interviews) are questions that women politicians are usually asked, and they revolve around the role of women as mothers, nurturers and caregivers. The questions are: Are you married? Where are you married? Who will take care of your husband? With whom have you left your husband? Do you have children? How are you raising your children?

The questions inquire about who would take care of their husbands and children when they are out campaigning or performing their political duties. Each of the women politicians who were interviewed (cf. Chapter Four, 4.3.3) indicated that they had been asked some or all of the questions during campaigns or during their political careers. Such questions therefore signal the shared beliefs about women as caregivers, among the electorate, the politicians, the media and opinion makers. These beliefs agree with World Bank (2001) that nearly all societies give the primary responsibility for the care of infants and young children to women and girls. These beliefs could also explain why women in the public spheres such as politics are usually treated curiously by the media and other male politicians, by for instance focusing on their private lives (Santos, 2000).

5.1.1.2 Women's Attributes in Relation to Politics

The electorate had certain beliefs about the traits and behaviour that it expected women to have. These were not associated with politics, in that, if a woman

ventured into politics, she was seen to have gone against the prescribed norm. For instance, some responses indicated that when a woman ventured into politics, then she was viewed as proud, disrespectful, and immoral. The examples below from the open-ended items of the questionnaire data illustrate this view.

Text 5.4QN

Women who venture into politics become proud.

Text 5.5QN:

An upright woman will not venture into politics.

Text 5.6 QN:

Mwanamke ambaye anajiheshimu hawezi ingia siasa (A woman who respects herself cannot venture into politics).

Text 5.7QN:

Mwanamke anayeingia siasa ni yule ameharibika (A woman who ventures into politics is one that is immoral).

Text 5.8QN:

Wanawake wengi wanaojitosa katika siasa, huwa wanachukuliwa kama wanawake waliokosa nidhamu (Women who enter politics are deemed undisciplined).

Text 5.6 QN implies that engaging in politics waters down a woman's self-respect, which the electorate expects her to keep. Therefore, if a woman keeps away from politics, it is seen as a sign of self-respect. This means that an upright woman is one who does not venture into politics.

Texts 5.4QN to 5.7QN above imply that the electorate expects a woman to exhibit certain qualities such as uprightness, humility, morality and discipline. The electorate feels that these qualities will be jeopardised if a woman ventures into politics. The electorate believes that politics will water down these positive traits that a woman is expected to have and replace them with negative traits such

as pride, immorality, indiscipline and lose of self respect, which are unacceptable qualities for a woman.

Politics is construed as being beyond the normal roles that a woman should venture into. This view is shared by Lakoff (2003) who notes that powerful women are usually seen as having ventured into the non-norm.

5.1.1.3 Women as More Suitable for Family Chores

Other responses from the open-ended items of the questionnaire showed that the electorate believed that women were suitable for family chores which range from cooking, washing and keeping the home neat. There is a shared belief among the electorate that if women get certain jobs which are seen as involving, engaging or time consuming they would not be in a position to perform their family chores. Similarly, the electorate felt that if women got highly paying jobs, they might neglect their traditional family chores. The following statements that were given by the electorate illustrate the beliefs above:

Text 5.9QN

Women are suited for jobs that allow them enough time to cook and take care of the family.

Text 5.10QN

Women are responsible for keeping the home clean.

Text 5.11QN

Women, even in the Bible, are supposed to take care of the home.

Text 5.12QN

If women engage in time consuming jobs such as politics, they will fail in their family chores.

These beliefs concur with Anand (1992) who argues that the invisibility of women could be a result of the gendered division of labour, which glorifies women's role as homemakers and child-bearers, while simultaneously devaluing their productive labour. The same views are found in Nkinyangi (1994) and Yieke (2001).

5.1.1.4 Women Political Leadership as Jeopardy to Family

Some of the respondents simply felt that women should not at all venture into politics because women who venture into politics are feared by men. There was also a general fear that if women held political posts, they would despise their husbands or take direct control of their husbands. The women would thus be the ones to have the say in the family and would be considered family heads. This belief has originated from society and religious beliefs which accord family headship to the man. A woman politician is therefore viewed as a threat to this family hierarchy as some responses revealed.

Text 5.13QN

Women should not venture into politics.

Text 5.14QN

Women who venture into politics look down on their husbands.

Text 5.15QN

Women who join politics sit on their husbands.

Text 5.16QN

Mwanamke akiingia siasa, watu huanza kusema yeye ndiye kichwa (When a woman ventures into politics, people start saying she is the head).

Text 5.17QN

If women get highly paying jobs, they will not take their husbands seriously.

Text 5.18QN

Mwanamke akimzidi cheo mume, ndoa huathirika (If a woman is in a job of higher social standing than the husband, then the marriage is in jeopardy).

Text 5.19QN

Women who join politics are feared by men.

These beliefs are stereotypes or conspiracies (Douglas, Sutton & Gichocka, 2017) to keep women out of politics. Keeping women out of politics is to protect men and husbands. Men fear women if they are powerful economically or socially. The electorate also believed that if women got so much money, they would leave their husbands. This statement suggests that to sustain marriages, women should not venture into high ranking jobs such as politics.

Text 5.20 QN

Wanawake wengi wa siku hizi hudhamini hela, hivyo akipata cheo, atageuka na atakuacha (Most women of nowadays value money such that if they get high ranking jobs, they leave you).

The electorate also believes that when married women get into politics they are not accorded similar respect as that accorded to married women who are not politicians. They are seen as likely to fail in their family chores.

Text 5.21 QN

Wanawake wanao jitosa katika siasa wanachukuliwa na wepesi, sio na uzito kama ule mwanamke ambaye ameithibiti nyumba yake na anaendelea kushughulikia familia (When women join politics, they are not treated with similar seriousness like that of a woman who has held onto to her family and continues to take responsibility).

The belief statements above imply that being a politician is synonymous to headship. According to the electorate, the head of the family as stipulated by the African society and most religions is the man. The statements suggest that politics

is not an occupation for women. The roles and occupations of women as already stated above are within the family. The statements imply that there are certain roles and occupations that women should not engage in and politics is one of them.

The electorate also believes that women who join politics are feared by men. This discourse touches on the stability of the family and the institution of marriage. This means that if a woman joins politics before she gets married, she may not get a husband. If a woman is already married, people believe that her marriage risks break up. According to the beliefs above, if a married woman has a job which is believed to be of a higher social status, such as being a politician, and the man is not, people will say that she is sitting on the husband. Further still, there seems to be a general belief among the electorate that most of the women who enter into politics are single women or divorcees as the following statement suggests.

Text 5.22.QN

Wengi wa wanawake wanaojitosa kwenye siasa hawako kwenye ndoa ama washindwa na ndoa ama ni single mothers (Most women who enter into politics are not married or cannot keep marriage or they are single mothers).

However, the belief above seems to contradict the view of one of the women politicians on a television talk show. The woman politician referred to as W1 NTV VLS in Chapter Four Text 1 makes the following observation to explain why women leaders are single.

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. This is a view that is held by many people whether male or female including politicians. 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).

W1 NTV VLS explains that society has put different standards for men and women whereby, women are expected to be demure and probably seen but not heard. W1 NTV VLS feels that such standards are the ones that lead to some women leaders being single. Her argument is that, when a woman bridges the standards by, for instance, having leadership qualities such as assertiveness, then she is rendered unfit for marriage. It appears like one belief system leads to another belief system. That is, the women who do not conform to the societal beliefs about women may suffer consequences which again may give rise to other beliefs. That is, venturing into politics may render some women unfit for marriage or lead to marriage break up. This may in turn lead to the belief that women in politics are single women or divorcees.

The responses from the electorate suggest that the traditional gender roles of women are used to judge which career women should choose and which career they should not. These beliefs indicate that there seems to be no clear demarcation between family and political career as both appear to influence each other. It is

also important to note that there are women politicians in Kenya who are married. However, the argument by W1 NTV VLS about why many women are single is a subject of further research.

Text 5.17QN, which is a conditional statement, indicates that for a marriage to work, a woman should not be involved in a socially high ranking job than the husband. The statements above therefore relegate the jobs of higher social standing to men while the low status jobs are left for women. The overriding factor in this ranking appeared to be marriage. Women are expected to do the low status jobs in order to safeguard their marriage. This agrees with Taylor (1999) that women tend to be confined to jobs with low status while men are associated with high status jobs.

All the beliefs above are gender profiles or stereotypes which attribute certain characteristics to whole segments of women with the intention of presenting perception as truth (Edwards, 2015). In relation to gender, stereotypes form the basis of how society believes men and women should act (Edwards, 2015). Gender stereotypes are therefore inherently political; they can become naturalized within society through the process of reproduction and maintenance. Lakoff (2003) further contends that a woman who seeks or holds high office is referred to as ambitious. This is intended to disqualify her from the position. However, a male politician who appears to have insufficient ambition is dismissed as lacking 'fire in the belly'.

5.1.1.5 Traits and Behaviour of Women

The electorate has a set of traits and behaviour that they use to define women. The electorate associates the traits and behaviour with poor leadership and political performance. The electorate gave them as reasons why they thought women were not fit or suitable as leaders and politicians. Women were described as indecisive, not good at articulating ideas, not well versed with current affairs and as cowards, weak and emotional.

Women are also seen as people who do not believe in themselves, respect each other and support each other. They were also believed to be their own enemies. Further, women were believed to be like children, and to be easily influenced by their fellow women and male politicians. These beliefs support some of the utterances in Chapter Four which are used during campaigns or during everyday political opinion discourses. For instance, one of the men politicians, who were interviewed, Text 4.4 M2 INT, observed that women are naive and they are not good at articulating issues.

The men and women politicians who were interviewed observed that society has been conditioned to believe that women are a certain way. For instance, W1INT observed that society has profiled men and women according to how they expect each of the groups to behave.

Text 5.23 W1INT

Our societies have drawn a dichotomy between us women and men. There is a way in which they look at us and how they look at men. You hear things like women should be like this, or that, or are this or that.

The following statements from the electorate reveal some of the traits and behaviour that women possess or do not possess.

Text 5.25QN

Women are indecisive.

Text 5.25QN

Women are not good at articulating issues.

Text 5.26QN

Women are not well versed with current affairs.

Text 5.27QN

Women are cowards.

Text 5.28QN

Women are weak and emotional.

Text 5.29QN

Wanawake hawajiamini (Women do not believe in themselves).

Text 5.0QN

Women are easily influenced by fellow women friends to despise their husbands.

Text 5.31QN

Wanawake hawapendani/wanawake ni maadui wa wao wenyewe.
(Women do not like each other or women are enemies of themselves).

Text 5.32QN

Women are like children.

Text 5.33QN

Women do not respect one another

Text 5.34 QN

Women are not supportive of one another.

Text 5.35 QN

Women are easily manipulated by male politicians.

Text 5.36 QN

Women are weak.

Text 5.37 QN

Women are snobs and snubs.

Text 5.38 QN

Women are not independent.

There is a belief that women cannot make decisions of their own. Women are assumed to seek the intervention of their male counterparts in decision making.

This belief implies that politics requires decision making and if women enter into

politics, they will not be able to make decisions. However, Text 4.52 STD NSP ART (cf. Chapter Four) recognizes that there are women politicians who are independent and successful as politicians, although they are still sexually objectified and viewed through the masculine lens. However, the text seems to lump the majority as dependent.

On the other hand, it is believed that women are not well versed with current affairs and are cowards and this is seen as a setback in political leadership. The electorate also believes that women are not good at articulating ideas (Text 5.25QN). Women are contrasted with men whom the electorate believes are good at articulating issues. This belief agrees with the views of Text 4.4 M2 INT that men present their issues in a manner that resonates well with what the society requires.

The electorate believes that women do not believe in themselves. This implies that women cannot manage certain positions such as politics. Women are also seen as people who make marital decisions based on the influence of fellow women. This statement therefore sees a threat to family stability if a woman enters politics. When it comes to family issues, it is believed women are influenced by fellow women but in politics, women are believed to be easily influenced by fellow men politicians. This belief implies that women are not independent minded, they act on the whims of the male politicians.

The electorate believes that women are enemies of themselves, and they do not support one another nor respect each other. However, one of the women politicians who were interviewed, W3INT, made the following observation.

Text 5.39 W3 INT

I would want to say that for me, I used women as a resource. You know the sisterhood, telling women that you need to support me as a fellow woman and that worked for me. Contrary to what people say, at the ground level, women do support fellow women. I was powered by women. I was supported by women. I am still supported and powered by women.

The observation by the woman politician above is contrary to the belief that women are their own enemies. Another woman politician, who was participating in a KTN talk show notes that she was asked why she was feeling bad that Hillary Clinton had lost yet she did not support MK, a Kenyan woman who vied for presidency in the 2013 general elections in Kenya. She makes the following observation:

Text 5.40 W5 KTN TV

I mean let's be realistic about the local Kenyan politics. I would really love to support MK but what is the reality in Kenya? Our politics is very regionalized or coded for ethnicity. So when we are coming in as women, also be alive to those realities. I cannot decide as MO that I am very popular I want to go and vie in PX constituency in JB party, I will not go through. Women politicians have to fight extra harder to win an electoral post, because apart from party politics, they have to grapple with some anachronistic beliefs and cultures.

The woman politician above implies that the factors that may make women not to support fellow women politicians are not unique to women. Men politicians may also not be supported by fellow men politicians under similar circumstances. However, for a woman politician to succeed in politics, she has to work extra

harder because she is faced with extra challenges such as societal beliefs and culture related challenges. Women are further considered emotional, and also compared to children. This implies that women are immature for political leadership and unable to control their emotions when provoked or when handling sensitive issues.

Therefore, the beliefs above are what Hall (1997) calls gender stereotypes that are meant to reduce, essentialise, naturalise and fix differences and facilitates the “Us”-“Them” dichotomy between men and women. The stereotypes are clearly an enactment of power to show superiority over others. Hall (1997) says that stereotypes tend to be directed at subordinate groups.

5.1.1.6 Women and the Nature of Politics

Politics has been constructed as being dirty and violent. Politics is also believed to be for the physically strong people, and to involve large amounts of money. These characteristics are contrary to the societal expectations of women as already discussed above. Some of the statements that were used to describe the nature of politics include:

Text 5.41 QN

Politics is too involving for women.

Text 5.42QN

Politics is a dirty game.

Text 5.43 QN

Politics is violent.

Text 5.44 QN

Siasa yahitaji pesa (Politics requires money).

Text 5.45 QN

Politics requires strong people.

Text 5.41QN implies that politics consumes so much of an individual's time. The statement means that women do not have the time for politicking. As already indicated above, women are not expected to do jobs that will rob them of the time they need to meet their family obligations. Political posts are therefore considered some of those jobs that are seen as engaging and therefore unsuitable for women. Thus, if women engage in politics, they will be jeopardising other more important family roles.

Society expects women to be soft, good, gentle and clean as Text 4.1 W1NTV VLS (cf. Chapter Four) observes. That politics is a dirty game, is a statement that has been used for quite some time in Kenya. Politics is also believed to involve violence. This view is shared with Text 4.6 W5 INT (cf. Chapter Four). Therefore, women are seen as unfit for politics because it is contrary to the qualities that society expects women to exhibit.

Text 5.44QN implies that to participate in politics, you must have money. It also means that women do not have the kind of money that is needed for politics. This view of politics in terms of the money could be responsible for some of the nicknames such as "*sonko*"(cf. Text 4.7, M1INT, Chapter Four) and metaphors

such as “*soda ndogo*”(cf. Text 4.33, W5 INT) that were discussed in Chapter Four.

The last statement connects the physical characteristics of women with the kind of work they should do. Politics is, in this case, considered as a job for the physically strong and not the physically soft. This also relates to the metaphor *otada* (strong man) that was used by W5INT in Text 4.33 of Chapter Four.

5.1.1.7 Women and Culture

Culture is also used to declare women unsuitable for political offices. The electorate believes that culture does not allow women to have more money nor be political leaders. One of the responses in the questionnaires stated thus:

Text 5.46QN

According to our culture women are not supposed to have more money than men.

This is a belief that has originated from the society’s cultural belief that wealth belongs to men and not a women. However, it is important to note that culture is not static and so can be changed. Furthermore, the Kenya 2010 Constitution (RoK, 2010) advocates for equal rights between men and women. One of the women politicians who was interviewed, W4INT, observed that,

Text 5.47 W5INT

Politics is associated with influence, high social standing and high remuneration. People relate these factors to men more than women because this is what they are used to.

As was discussed in Chapter Four, this belief is a cause of dilemma to women’s political ambitions. In Chapter Four, one woman politician, as already noted

above, confesses that she was referred to as *soda ndogo* (small soda) by her opponents and campaigners of her opponent, which constructed her as financially lacking (cf. Text 33.4 W5INT).

The same society that believes that women should not own wealth uses women's lack of wealth to outdo them during campaigns. A man politician who was interviewed, M5INT, remarked thus:

Text 5.48 M5INT

Although we have wealthy women, society still, to a large extent, upholds men as the natural owners of wealth. Family wealth belongs to the man not the woman.

A woman politician who was interviewed, W2INT, observed that historically, most communities in Kenya had men as political leaders and not women. Although there were a few communities like the Agikuyu that are believed to have had women political leadership, as passed down by the Agikuyu myths, it was soon replaced by men political leadership. Therefore, this mythical history is used as a reference point in barring women from participating in political leadership.

However, it is important to note that although these cultural beliefs are still upheld, the number of women legislators has slowly but gradually increased over the years. This is an indication that some of these beliefs have not wholly applied over the years and they are slowly changing as one woman politician who was participating in the NTV Sasa: *Nafasi za Wanawake Katika Siasa*, remarks:

Text 5.50 W5NTV

The belief of some communities is that a woman cannot be elevated to a political position. However, this belief is changing for example among the Samburu. All the stereotypes *mnaambiwangwa hapa wakenya eti* (you are usually told that here in Kenya that) oh *Wasamburu hawawezi* (The Samburu cannot) support *msichana*, *Wasamburu hawawezi chagua msichana*, *tunataka kuwaambia* (a lady, the Samburu cannot elect a lady, we want to tell you) there is always a first time.

Text 5.50 W5NTV above shows that some communities that were perceived as conservative are undergoing a transformation. Although there are many beliefs that portray women as incapable of political leadership as discussed above, there are also beliefs that accord women positive attributes. However, these positive attributes are to a large extent seen as more important in the family than in political leadership.

5.1.1.8 Women and Family

These beliefs, unlike those in subsections 5.1.1.1 to 5.1.1.7 above, show women's roles in the family as a strong basis for leadership. The beliefs projected women positively and to a large extent implied that women had good leadership qualities that could be applied in political leadership if given a chance.

Text 5.51QN

Women are very important people in the family, without them, a family will not be organized.

Text 5.52QN

Wanawake ni kioo cha familia (Women are mirrors of the family)

Text 5.53QN

Behind every successful man is a woman.

The beliefs above show that the electorate recognizes that women have leadership qualities although the leadership qualities are confined to the level of family. Women are reflections of the family are believed to have good organizational skills. The responses of the electorate indicate that women are not biased and they will extend their assistance to all family members. They are capable of making sacrifices in their area of leadership similar to the sacrifices they make for the family.

Women were believed to have good organizational skills and they are a mirror of their families. The responses of the electorate indicated that women are not biased and they will extend their assistance to all family members. There was also a belief that the success of any man depended on the woman.

5.1.1.9 Women Leadership Qualities

These beliefs like the ones in subsection 5.4.1.9 also portrayed women positively. The members of the electorate believed that women have leadership qualities such as being approachable, good at managing resources, knowledgeable, wise, understanding, humane, humble, honest, development conscious and mindful of the whole family and society.

Text: 5.54QN

Mwanamke akiwa kwenye cheo, jamii nzima husaidika (When a woman has a position, the whole society benefits).

Text 5.55QN

Wanawake wana hekima, busara na moyo wa kujali jamii (Women have wisdom, understanding and are mindful of others in society).

Text 5.56 QN

Mwanamke akiwa uongozini atawakumbuka wote (When a woman is in leadership, she will remember or take care of everybody).

Text 5.57QN

Kiongozi wa kike huaminika (A woman leader is trustworthy).

Text 5.58QN

Wanawake wakiwa uongozini, huleta maendeleo (When women are in leadership, they bring development).

Text 5.59QN

Mwanamke katika uongozi anawezawa kumbuka wote katika familia (A woman in leadership is able to mind all the family members).

Text 5.60.5QN

Wanawake ni wakarimu, ni wapole na wana utu (Women are hospitable, gentle and human).

Text 5.61QN

Many women are religious and honest.

Text 5.62QN

Women are good at taking care of finances.

Text 5.63QN

What a man can do a woman can do better.

The statements above demonstrate that the electorate, apart from having the beliefs which show that women cannot be political leaders, they also have a set of other positive beliefs about women. We see that the electorate believes that most women are religious and honest and able to take good care of resources. They believe that when women are in leadership, they have the whole society at heart. These beliefs agree with W3 INT in Text 6.32 who observes that women's roles at home are coupled with other jobs such as running businesses and taking care of the farm, which shows that they are able to multitask. She says that they can exploit the ability to multitask for political leadership.

A woman politician who participated in a KTN talk show, called “*Wanawake na Siasa*” (September 11, 2016) further observes that she was supported by the youth, women and men because of her good leadership qualities. She says:

Text 5.64 W7 KTN TV

Wazee kwa vijana wa kiume na wa kike na akina mama wananipa support kwa maana nimekuwa na uongozi ambao sio wakubagua rangi, sio wakubagua kabila na sio wakubagua umri. Wote nawachukua kwamba, kuwa nawawakilisha. Licha ya kwamba walisema hiki kiti kilikuwa kinasimamiwa na mama, lakini naamini nilipigwa kura na watu wote hao – hizo group tatu. (Men, the youth and women support me because my leadership does not discriminate colour, ethnicity or age. I regard all as the people I represent. Although they said this seat was being occupied by a woman, I believe I was voted by all the people I have mentioned – those three groups).

The woman politician’s words show that she was elected by all the categories of people that participated in voting because of her good leadership. She had utilised her political leadership opportunity to serve the electorate impartially.

The beliefs above, backed by the woman politician’s words, show that apparently women have leadership qualities. The question is: why haven’t these leadership qualities increased the women politician’s chances to the required minimum? One politician who participated in a KTN talk show had the following to say.

Text 5.65 M3 KTN

Watu wanajua mwanamke anaweza ongoza, mwanamke ana maono mazuri, mwanamke ana mtazamo mzuri, lakini hapa kwa mahusiano ndio utia wanaume wasiwasi (People know that a woman can lead, she has good vision, but it the relationship with men that worries men).

Also, another politician who was participating in the “*NTV Sasa: Nafasi za Wanawake*” talk show had the following to say as to why women have performed dismally in political leadership.

Text 5.66 W7 NTV

Siasa zetu ni za wanaume na sana sana katika mila na desturi, uongozi umekuwa na nafasi ya wanaume. Mila na desturi imehakikisha ya kwamba ujumbe ambao unapewa katika jamii ni ya kwamba uongozi na wenye ushukani ni baba. Mwanamke kazi yake ni tofauti na hafai kuwa katika uongozi. Kwanza kabisa, tukiona hata wakati tumeingia katika siasa tangu tupate uhuru, tumekuwa hatuna wanawake ndani ya siasa. (Our politics has mostly been dominated by men and especially considering our culture and traditions, leadership has always belonged to men. Culture and traditions have been responsible for ensuring that the information that is disseminated across society is that leadership belongs to men).

The beliefs about women in this subsection show that women are capable leaders.

The problem is that society has been conditioned to believe that leadership is a quality of men and not women. This agrees with Haslanger's (2000) view that societies in general tend to "privilege individuals with male bodies" (p. 38) so that the social positions they subsequently occupy are better than the social positions of those with female bodies. And this generates persistent sexist injustices negative stereotypes (Anderson, Diabah & hMensa, 2011; Obura, 1991) about women.

5.1.2 Electorate's Gendered Beliefs about Men

This section looks at the beliefs that the electorate held about the men politicians.

It is important to note that the findings showed that the beliefs that the electorate held about men were not as many as those it held on women. The beliefs about men were organized under the following themes.

5.1.2.1 Cultural Beliefs

There was a belief among the members of the electorate that the role of leadership is men's because in most cultures, it is men who were accorded that role.

Text 5.67 QN

Men are culturally allowed to lead.

Text 5.68QN

Men are leaders.

5.1.2.2 Religious Beliefs

There are other beliefs that centre on modern religion. People believe that leadership is a God given responsibility to men. Some of the responses indicated that God gave leadership to men.

Text 5.69QN

It is men who are leaders even in the Bible.

Text 5.70QN

We do not see any woman who is a leader in the Bible.

5.1.2.3 Beliefs on the Qualities of Men in Relation to Politics

The findings revealed that men have superior qualities than those of women. Men were believed to be good and independent at decision making, better at controlling emotions, powerful speakers, articulate, strong and possessed better leadership skills. Most of these qualities were the reverse of what we have already discussed about women above.

Text 75.1QN

Men are good at controlling emotions

Text 5.72QN

Men are more powerful speakers and possess better leadership skills

Text 5.73QN

Men are strong

Text 5.74QN

Men are articulate

Text 5.75QN

Men are decisive

Text 5.76QN

Wanaume wanapendana na wanaheshimiana (Men appreciate and respect each other)

Text 5.77QN

Men are the heads of the family

Text 5.78qn

Men have enough time for campaigning and politicking

The qualities of men listed above were believed to give men an upper hand in electoral politics. Men were believed to be better speakers and good at articulating their political issues. Physical strength was seen as an added advantage to men since the electorate believes that politics requires strong people. Men were viewed as appreciative and supportive of each other. Men were also believed to have enough time to do their politicking. These beliefs as already discussed for women politicians are related to other discourses that are used by politicians and campaigners in Chapter Four which construct men politicians as articulate, affluent and strong. These beliefs about men agree with Richmond (1992) that because men have had power and have dominated social institutions for so long, masculine traits and occupations are more valued, and masculinity is seen as a collection of traits that lead to success.

5.1.2.4 Negative Qualities about Men

There were also negative qualities about men, for example, the belief that men are corrupt and they misappropriate public funds. Men were also believed to forget

or abandon their families when they got so much money. These beliefs also echo the discourses in Chapter Four (cf. Text 34.4) where men are described as thieves or *mafisi* (big hyenas)

Text 5.79QN

Men use government money for their own things.

Text 5.80QN

Men are corrupt.

Text 5.81QN

Men misuse money on women.

Most of the the stereotypes about men politicians above are positive. This is unlike the stereotypes about women politicians that are to a large extent negative. Other studies (Anderson, Diabah & hMensa, 2011; Obura, 1991; Yieke, 2001) show similar trends.

This section has demonstrated that apart from the discourses of politicians, the electorate, and media opinion makers, there exists among the Kenyan electorate beliefs that define men and women, and by extension, men and women politicians. CDA proponents such as Fairclough, (2001) and Van Dijk, (2001) argue that the ideologies are not factual, but through language, they are worked and reworked until they pass for facts. Van Dijk (2003) refers to such beliefs as gendered ideologies; Wetherell (1998) calls them ideologies of masculinity and femininity. This study argues that the gendered ideologies appear to be shared by politicians, opinion makers and the media.

The ideologies, through language, produce the texts that were analyzed in Chapter Four, while the texts, through language, circulate and legitimate the ideologies. These gender ideologies are stereotypical and could affect the decisions concerning the gender of the candidate to vote. Out of the eighty members of the electorate who filled the questionnaires, fifty three (67 percent) respondents indicated that even if they heard a political candidate being labelled on the basis of such beliefs, it would not affect their support as they would consider other factors, while twenty seven (33 percent) respondents indicated that it would affect their support of the candidate. This shows that, although a larger percentage of Kenyans could not rely on such beliefs as a determining factor for the political candidate they would vote for, there is a good number of the members of the electorate that would still rely on such beliefs. Therefore, voter perceptions of political candidates could positively or negatively affect them (political candidates).

5.2 Linguistic Analysis of the Beliefs about Men and Women

The preceding section demonstrates that certain beliefs were used to profile men and women among the electorate. The study identified three syntactic level structures that characterised the written beliefs (from the open ended questions of the questionnaire) of the electorate about men and women. The three structures were the affirmative sentences, negative sentences and conditional sentences. Affirmative sentences are those that state what someone is, has or does. On the

other hand, negative sentences state what someone is not, does not have or cannot do.

Both the affirmative and negative sentences are also declarative sentences. Declarative sentences are statements that express an active state of being in the present tense and have the semantic property of making a truth claim whether in the positive or negative (Pullum, 2011). Conditional sentences express factual implications or hypothetical situations with their implications (Pullum, 2011). The conditional sentences that were collected began with 'if'. Four statements from the data are given below for illustration.

1. Women are children. (Affirmative)
2. Men are good at making decisions. (Affirmative)
3. Women are not good decision makers. (Negative)
4. If women get 'big' jobs, they 'sit' on their husbands. (Conditional)

Analysis of the beliefs further revealed the utilisation of certain linguistic strategies, such as semantic derogation, argumentation, negation, obligation and double speak, through which the beliefs became naturalised. These strategies are discussed below.

5.2.1 Semantic Derogation

Semantic derogation refers to the use of words and phrases that demean and lead to a certain person or group of people to be viewed negatively. To achieve this,

demeaning metaphors, other figures of speech and adjectives are used. For instance, some of the responses from the electorate stated that “women are children”. This is a demeaning or derogatory metaphor that infantilises women and presents them as immature for political leadership. Lakoff (2003) notes that other groups are stereotyped and appealed to as blocs but women alone are appealed to as children interested not in issues but in childish things, such as women in political leadership.

There is also the use of carefully selected adjectives to describe men and women. In relation to politics, adjectives that depict women as inferior are used while the adjectives used to describe men depict them as superior. However, the adjectives that are used to describe women at the level of family paint them positively. For instance, women in the context of politics are described as indecisive, passive, emotional, weak, snubs, snobs and are easily manipulated. These qualities are believed to be unsuitable for political leadership. On the other hand, men are described as decisive, strong, firm, articulate and so on. These are qualities considered suitable for political leadership. These adjectives are stereotypical.

5.2.2 Argumentation Strategies

Argumentation involves a repetitive process that emerges from exchanges among agents to persuade each other in order to bring about a change in intentions (Kraus *et al.* 1993). Argumentation is both a semiotic and epistemic process, which can

cause reflection and knowledge restructuring (Andriessen *et al.*, 2003). In this study, argumentation strategies were used to mean the strategies used in language to justify and legitimise the beliefs about men and women. A statement like “Women, even in the Bible, are supposed to take care of the home” alludes to the Bible in order to justify the claim that the place of women is at home. The statement “when women engage in time consuming jobs such as politics, they will fail in their family chores” tries to argumentatively convince women that politics is a time consuming job and therefore not suitable for women who are supposed to have enough time for family chores. Lastly, a statement like “men are culturally allowed to lead” uses the culture to justify men as leaders.

5.2.3 Negation

Negation is used in this study to refer to the denial of the opposite proposition of the negation. In order to understand the proposition that is negated, we should be able to conceptualise the positive proposition that is being denied (Nahajec, 2009). The study established that there were negative statements that described women such as “women cannot keep secrets”, “women are not good at articulating issues” and “women are not well versed with current affairs”. These negative statements present women as not possessing or lacking certain leadership qualities and therefore render them incapable of political leadership.

5.2.4 Obligation Strategies

The beliefs were also characterized by obligation strategies. Obligation is one of the categories of modality identified by Fowler (1985). Within CDA, modality is understood as encompassing much more than simply the occurrence of overt modal auxiliaries, but rather, it concerns the writer's (or speaker's) attitude toward and/or confidence in the proposition being presented. Fowler (1985:73) provides a brief list to illustrate these categories of modals.

Modality is signified in a range of linguistic forms: centrally, the modal auxiliary verbs may, shall, must, need, and others; sentence adverbs such as probably, certainly, regrettably; adjectives such as necessary, unfortunate, certain. Some verbs, and many nominalizations, are essentially modal: permit, predict, prove; obligation, likelihood, desirability, authority (Fowler 1985: 73).

Obligation is a grammatical aspect that expresses the necessity of something to the recipient. Obligation is usually signaled by the use of modal auxiliaries such as “should”, “must” and “have to”. In this study, obligation was not necessarily communicated by the modal auxiliaries but by other words that express a similar sense such as “suited”, “supposed”, and “responsible”. There were statements such as “women **are suited for** jobs that allow them enough time to cook and take care of the family”, “women **are responsible for** keeping the home clean” and “women even in the Bible **are supposed to** take care of the home”. The verbs that signal obligation communicate the necessity of the subject of the sentence. The words that convey obligation implore the recipient or target of the message to obey.

5.2.5 Double Speak

Lastly, there was the use of double speak which violates the maxims of Grice's (1981) Cooperative Principle. For instance, a statement like "*siasa yahitaji pesa*" (Politics requires money), has two meanings both of which the electorate believe to be true. The sentence could mean that politics requires money. This is the conventional or sentence meaning. From the context, the sentence could also mean that women do not have money that they can use in their political endeavours. The contextual meaning is usually the intended meaning. According to Orwell (2013), this strategy, while monitoring the presence of misleading language in public, also shapes people's consciousness, as they become unwilling to think deeply on the subject. Therefore, the belief that women do not have money could pass for truth or become naturalised.

5.3 Gender in the Electorates' Beliefs

The beliefs discussed above, profile men and women on the basis of their traits, behaviors and physical characteristics. This brings in the aspect of gender. Gender denotes the social phenomenon of distinguishing males and females based on a set of traits which produces and sustains socially constructed differences. Gender is thus a structural principle that organises other social institutions such as workplaces, schools, courts, political assemblies and the state, and the patterns they display in the recruitment, allocation, treatment and mobility of men as opposed to women (Eckert & McConnel-Ginet, 2003).

Ochs (1992) argues that we should not assume that there is a straightforward mapping of language onto gender. That is, language should be taken as a referential index for gender. Ochs (1992) further argues that in any given community there is only a small set of linguistic forms that referentially or directly and exclusively index gender. Such linguistic forms are for example, 'he', 'she', 'him', 'her', and 'Mr', 'Mrs' and 'Ms'. He (Ochs, 1992) says that, instead, gender and other aspects of social identity are much more frequently non-referentially or indirectly, indexed with language. Wetherell (1998), like Ochs (1992) adds that non referential indices are non-exclusive and constituted. That is, a given form is not used by a single group, such as women, and the relationship between a linguistic form and a social identity is not direct but mediated. Gender and other aspects of social identity are much more frequently non-referentially or indirectly indexed with language which is in part shaped and regulated by power.

In the beliefs above, men and women are perceived through the 'lens' of gender polarisation (Bern, 1993) and assigned to apparently natural categories accordingly. For instance, women are believed to be weak and emotional, cowardly, indecisive, dependent and gossips while men are believed to be strong, articulate, decisive and independent. On the basis of this gender assignment, naturalised norms and expectations about men and women are imposed upon each of the two. There is a strong tendency for gender stereotyping to set in. Stereotyping involves a reductive tendency whereby someone's behaviour, personality among others, are interpreted

in terms of common sense attributions which are applied to whole groups (Cameron, 2003). In this study, the term stereotype is used to refer to prescriptions or unstated expectations of behaviour. Cameron (2003) notes that gender stereotypes linked to gender ideology reproduce gendered differences. The stereotypes therefore function to sustain hegemonic or naturalised male dominance and female subordination. Gender ideologies play a powerful role in shaping men and women's lives. They are used to interpret and motivate behaviour and are enacted in socially meaningful behaviour.

The focus of language and gender debates is on exclusion, subordination, normalisation and discrimination. Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) in their framing approach to language and gender research say that the creation of gendered identities is one component. It is one's social identification as a boy or girl, man or woman. It is not what people are but what people do. The findings above support what other scholars in the social sciences have said about the gendered beliefs in society. Edwards (2015) notes that men and women are constructed to behave and interact in ways that perpetuate their gendered identities.

For instance, the beliefs above position women as caregivers and men as leaders. Society (not biology) confines males and females to a particular masculine and feminine character. Gender identities are constantly defined, reconstructed and performed. Gender is therefore something that people do rather than simply have

(Bucholz, 2003). The beliefs above are therefore bound to determine what men and women do in the political scene. That is, the beliefs may motivate men to vie for political seats and encourage women to do their care giving roles.

Institutions are of special concern to CDA analysts, both because of their disproportionate power to produce and circulate discourse, and because they promote dominant interests over those of politically marginalised groups such as racial and ethnic minorities, the lower classes, children and women (Fairclough, 2001). The beliefs presented in the preceding sub-section show that the electorate apportions women less power in the political institution. For instance, the belief that women are children is disempowering to women politicians.

Male and female stereotypes are also referred to as masculinities and femininities respectively. Masculinity and femininity are the terms that denote one's gender. The two terms refer to a complex set of characteristics and behaviors prescribed for particular sex by society and learned through the socialisation process. The biological individual can be viewed as an empty or tabula rasa upon which gendered identities are projected and performed through socialisation.

Therefore, the supposed differences between men and women are accentuated through the legitimisation of social stereotypes which are presented as inherent. The male and female constructs are influenced by worldviews and perceived norms

through discourse (Peterson & Runyan, 1993). For instance, beliefs such as “women are weak” and “men are strong”, in the context of politics, are examples of masculine and feminine stereotypes.

The social construction of gender is actually a system of power that not only divides men and women as masculine and feminine, but typically also places men and masculinity above women and femininity, and operates to value more those institutions and practices that are male dominated and/or representative of masculine traits and style (Peterson & Runyan, 1993). For instance, it is disempowering to believe that women are dependent and indecisive. On the other hand, it is empowering to believe that men are firm and decisive.

Gender profiles or stereotypes attribute certain characteristics to whole segments of women and men with the intention of presenting perception as truth. In relation to gender, stereotypes form the basis of how society believes men and women should act (Edwards, 2015). Gender stereotypes are inherently political; they can become naturalised within society through a process of reproduction and maintenance. For instance, the beliefs presented in the preceding subsection identify women as enemies of each other and men as corrupt.

Masculinities and femininities are socially constructed gender profiles under which men are categorized. However, masculinities occupy a higher level. The dominant

model to which men must aspire is called hegemonic masculinity (Connell, & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity retains the dominant position of social life, while other masculinities, and women are subordinated.

Hegemony refers to the means through which ideologies are able to maintain society's power relationships through consent. The prevailing ideology - masculinity - is created and reinforced by societal institutions through language. As the discourse permeates institutions, it becomes hegemonic or passes for common sense, common knowledge or fact (Bourdieu, 1991; 2001; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Gramsci, 1971; Thompson, 1990). Through naturalisation, ideologies are able to maintain societal power.

Holmes (1984) further observes that, one person's weakness is considered another's qualification. That is, it may be that what was perceived as an inadequacy in women, in men was seen otherwise. For instance, the electorate considers women in politics as immoral, and believes that women who venture into politics are not accorded the societal respect accorded to women outside politics. However, men who venture into politics are not judged on moral grounds and are believed to attract a respect.

Gender stereotypes linked to gender ideology reproduce naturalised gender differences (Lakoff, 2003). In doing so, they function to sustain hegemonic male

dominance and female subordination. There is a very close connection between society, discourse and social cognition in the production and reproduction of ideology. Ideologies are the basic frameworks for organising the social cognitions shared by members of social group, organisations or institutions (Van Dijk, 2001). Ideologies are therefore both cognitive and social.

Social cognition is here defined as the system of mental representations and processes of group members (Fairclough, 2001; Fiske & Taylor, 2013; Resnik, Levine & Teasley, 1991; Van Dijk, 2001). Through complex and usually long-term processes of socialisation and other forms of social information processing, ideologies are gradually acquired by members of a group or culture. As systems of principles that organise social cognition, ideologies are assumed to control, through the minds of the members, the social reproduction of the group. The beliefs of the electorate therefore reflect the gender ideology.

5.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the gendered ideologies that the electorate holds about men and women in Kenya. The findings show that the electorate has gendered beliefs anchored on the traits and behavior of men and women, and the roles and occupations of men and women. Certain traits and behavior, and roles and occupations are attributed to women while another set of traits and behavior, and roles and occupations are associated with men. There is a small set of traits and

behavior, and roles and occupations attributed to both men and women. Women are seen as more suitable for family chores. The traits and behaviors of women may either be linked with good leadership or poor leadership.

Some members of the electorate feel that the good leadership qualities of women could be good for political leadership while others think that the good leadership qualities are only applicable in women's family roles and other jobs. Women are also associated with negative traits and behavior which the electorate believes are not suitable for politics. On the other hand, most of the traits and behaviour of men are believed to be suitable for political leadership. In sum, women are seen as homemakers and careers of the family. This robs women credibility as serious leaders. Marriage and parenthood are considered more important to women than men. The traditional division of labour is shown as typical in marriage. The next chapter will focus on the fourth and last objective of the study which was concerned with how the discursive construction of the politicians affects their political careers.

CHAPTER SIX

THE DISCURSIVE EFFECTS OF THE GENDERED LINGUISTIC ITEMS AND EXPRESSIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter is based on the fourth objective of the study which sought to establish how the gendered discourses that were used in the campaign speeches of politicians and the media opinion articles affected the participation of the 2013-2017 Kenya National Assembly politicians. Participation refers to the decision to vie for National Assembly posts by the politicians and being voted into National Assembly positions by the electorate. National Assembly politicians are the men and women politicians of the national government who are elected or those who vied for the post and lost. These politicians also include other influential political positions such as president and governor.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section looks at the effects of the gendered linguistic items and expressions on the participation of the National Assembly politicians. The second and last section highlights on how the politicians contest the gendered linguistic items and expressions directed at them by other politicians, the supporters of their political opponents and the print media opinion writers. These contestations are referred to as agency in this study.

This chapter uses data from the interviews, and document reviews. Based on the literature, and with the aid of thematic analysis of data from these two sources, the

categories discussed in this chapter were arrived at. The study uses CDA (Fairclough, 2001; Van Dijk, 2001) as analytical tools. Both Fairclough (2001) and Van Dijk (2001) postulate that social practices or discourses have discursive effects on the participants. In the section below, the study discusses the discursive effects of the gendered discourses on men and women politicians.

6.1 Discursive Effects of the Gendered Discourses on Politicians

This section focuses on how the gendered discourses about the National Assembly politicians affected their participation in electoral politics in Kenya. The study, guided by the literature, and through thematic analysis, selected those transcripts from the data that showed how the politicians were either positively or negatively affected by the gendered discourses. The section is divided into two. The first section discusses how the gendered discourses that were used to refer to men politicians by other politicians and the media, affected their participation in Kenya's electoral politics. The second section focuses on how the gendered discourses directed at women politicians affected their participation in electoral politics in Kenya.

6.1.1 The Discursive Effects of the Gendered Discourses on Men Politicians

The study did not find any text in which men politicians openly expressed how the discourses affected them as was the case with women politicians. The examples used here are inferred from the data. Men politicians, as already noted, were to a

larger extent constructed positively in the preceding Chapter Four. The positive construction of men politicians for instance as boss (Text 4.1 NTV VLS), informed (Text 4.4 M2 INT) articulate (Text 4.3 M2 INT), physically strong and tough (cf. 4.3.2) gives them a political advantage over their women counterparts. As discussed in Chapter Five, these linguistic properties reflect some of the beliefs held by the electorate about hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity refers to the natural consent that the physical characteristics and qualities associated with men politicians are the standard.

The beliefs that men and women should be a certain way, or are more suitable for certain positions than others, maintain and promote the gender ideology of masculinity as the norm and femininity as subordinate. The findings of Chapter Five show that the electorate to a large extent has naturally consented to these beliefs about men politicians. The electorate believes that men are the ones who possess the standard qualities of good political leadership (Lakoff, 2001). These qualities therefore positively affect the participation of men politicians in electoral politics. The qualities may motivate individual men to vie for electoral political positions since the men politicians are aware that they (men politicians) are naturally the ones to contest certain electoral political positions. These qualities could also naturally predetermine the choices of the electorate.

The beliefs about men politicians promote the gender ideology that seems to explain the motivation behind utterances such as Text 4.28 STD NSP ART and Text 4.38 M2 STD NSP that were used in Chapter Four.

Text 4.28 STD NSP

While talking at a meeting held at P8, Mrs. 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 as “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...”(*The Standard*, Saturday, November 19th 2016).

Text 4.38 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 4.28 STD NSP ART and Text 4.38 M2 STD NSP ART differentiate the various electoral posts that are contested in Kenya according to gender. The woman politician W2 STD NSP refers to the belief that certain electoral seats, which are considered “more powerful”, are a preserve for men politicians and the “inferior” positions for women, a misconception. Weatherall and Gallois (2003) argue that when there is a personal stake involved (for instance the need to edge out women politicians from contesting certain electoral political seats) people present certain things as factual. Such beliefs, which are expressed through verbal and non-verbal language items and expressions, could positively affect the political career of the men politicians while negatively affecting the political career of the women politicians.

Apart from the five lexical items, noted in Chapter Four, that constructed the men politicians positively, there were only two that constructed the men politicians negatively. The two were “thief” and “*mafisi* (loosely translated as hyenas). The adjective “thief” is used to mean someone who misappropriates public resources while “*mafisi*” has sexual connotations. The men politicians who were interviewed indicated that if it gets out that you are a thief, then you may lose your popularity among the electorate. However, to be referred to using the word “*mafisi*” does not apply to many men politicians and may not really be a determining factor, unless a man politician has affairs with young girls. M4INT, for instance, gave the following observation:

Text 6.1 M4 INT

There are actually some politicians who have been voted out because their opponents used “thief” as a campaign tag. As for *mafisi*, (hyenas)not so much so. People are not really interested in you private affairs. However, an incident like the one which was in the press last year, involving some MCAs and schoolgirls, may put your political career at stake.

The two lexical items, “thief” and “*mafisi*” (big hynenas) that construct men politicians negatively may contribute to the loss of political posts by specific male politicians, but the use of the lexical items will not affect the participation of other men politicians in electoral politics. Therefore, the use of the two terms to construct specific men politicians does not affect other men politicians’ political careers.

The political and media discourses that referred to the men politicians were few. Most of the lexical items and expressions, such as gendered nouns, verbs and

adjectives, and demeaning metaphors and similes, that were collected, were those that referred to the women politicians. The following section discusses how the gendered discourses affected the participation of women politicians in electoral politics in Kenya.

6.1.2 The Discursive Effects of the Gendered Discourses on Women Politicians

This sub-section discusses how the gendered discourses on the National Assembly women politicians affected their participation in electoral politics in Kenya. The data that were collected from the interviews with politicians, and the television media talk shows, and newspaper news articles, contained texts in which women politicians openly expressed how they had been affected by the gendered discourses. Below is a presentation of the effects.

6.1.2.1 Fear and Discouragement

Verbal and non-verbal insults of women politicians by their male political opponents had a negative effect on women politicians' political participation in electoral politics. According to W2 STAR NSP, the verbal insults were laden with prejudices of patriarchy, victimisation and character assassination. W2 STAR NSP ART observed that such insults caused fear and discouragement among women politicians. W2 STAR NSP was a victim of verbal insults from her male competitor during a television talk show. They were both vying for the P11 Gubernatorial position in the 2013 general election in Kenya (For detailed

explanation of the context and the insults from the man politician see Text 4.36 MI NTV JKL). In a later episode after she had been insulted, the woman politician gave the following remarks in Text 6.2 W2 STAR NSP.

Text 6.2 W2 STAR NSP

Men like MM have no place or role to play in our empowerment. He is part of the problem. Let's be even more determined to take our place at the table. I encourage women not to shy away from leadership for fear of victimization, character assassination and prejudices of patriarchy (*The Star*, November 18, 2016)

The remarks of W2 STAR NSP ART in Text 6.2 above imply that young women who may be aspiring to vie for electoral political positions or those who are aspiring could fear or shy away from electoral politics once they hear how another woman politician has been insulted. W2 STAR NSP ART however encourages women to take up leadership roles regardless of the insults they may face.

Texts 6.3 W4 NAT NSP ART and Text 4.4 W1INT further show that verbal and nonverbal insults and threats on women politicians by their opponents could discourage many women from participating in electoral politics.

Text 6.3 W4 NAT NSP ART

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).

Text 6.4 W1INT

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

Women further get discouraged by constant criticism and blackmail. Text 6.5 W6 NAT NSP shows that constant criticism and blackmail of women candidates by their opponents puts women politicians at a disadvantage.

Text 6.5 W6 NAT NSP

“As a youth and a woman, I am greatly disadvantaged through harassment, blackmail from my male counterparts... but am determined to win the seat”.

The questions that women politicians are normally asked by their opponents and the campaigners of their opponents discourage aspiring women politicians from vying for political posts. The following paragraph, Text 6.6 W1 STAR NSP shows that women politicians are usually asked questions about their marital status and sexuality, and this is discouraging. The questions and insults demotivate women politicians from running for electoral political posts and could also discourage young women who are aspiring for political offices as already discussed.

Text 6.6 W1 STAR NSP

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 (*The Star*, May 22, 2015).

Texts 4.13 INT to 4.19 INT in Chapter Four provide an illustration of the kind of question that W1 STAR NSP is complaining about. The questions are directly or indirectly linked to the women politicians' marital status and they are mostly directed at the women politicians.

W2INT in Text 6.7 observes that the questions are a way of discouraging women politicians and reducing their support among the electorate. The questions are used to dissuade the electorate from voting for the women candidates in favour of the men aspirants, whom the electorate is convinced, have a right to vie probably due the dictates of the traditional gender ideology discussed in Chapter Five. The questions disempower the women politicians while empowering the men politicians as W2INT in 6.7 below notes:

Text 6.7 W2 INT

These questions are not asked because the men political aspirants and their supporters do not know where the woman aspirant is married. The questions are asked with the full knowledge of the men political aspirants and their supporters. These questions are simply meant to reduce the support of the woman aspirant among the electorate by portraying her as an outsider.

M2 NAT NSP ART in Text 4.23, Chapter Four, for instance uses the subject of where women politicians are married to discourage them and also reduce their support among the electorate.

Text 4.23 M2 NAT NSP ART

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).

Aspiring women politicians could get discouraged when they realize that they may not be accepted by their clans. The results of chapter five support the idea that there are beliefs among the electorate which are based on traditional masculinity and femininity. Most of the beliefs tend to support male patriarchy. One of the dominant beliefs is that the positions which the electorate considers superior, such as politics, are deemed masculine. Women are associated with

positions and roles which are considered inferior. The results of chapter five further demonstrate that such beliefs have become hegemonic and are thus to a large extent accepted by both men and women in society.

The questions that women politicians are asked could create a problem to women aspirants as they face opposition from their clans who prefer men who were born in those clans as opposed to women who were born in the same clans (Text 6.8 W1 NAT NSP). W1 NAT NSP, who was vying for a parliamentary seat, says that women have a hard time contesting in some areas where they are considered outsiders. Women aspirants therefore face a problem contesting in a situation where the electorate has a predetermined preference for the male candidates. W1 NAT NSP ART in Text 8.6 below explains this challenge.

Text 6.8 NAT NSP ART

“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).

W3 NAT NSP ART in text 6.9 NAT NSP ART below notes that it is not easy for a woman to vie in constituencies where women have not traditionally asked for votes because the people prefer men aspirants.

Text 6.9 NAT NSP ART

“...seeking an elective post is not easy, especially in a constituency where women have traditionally not asked for votes”. Ms. W3NP listed among the challenges the fact that she is the first woman to go for the parliamentary seat.

6.1.2.2 Embarrassment and Disempowerment

Lakoff (2001) notes that sexual conquest enhances a man's power but weakens a woman's. He further argues that linking women politicians to immorality disempowers them. The linguistic items and expressions variously sexualized women politicians and linked them to immorality. For instance, W1INT in text 4.48, Chapter Four, says that the campaigners of her male opponent sometimes used sex oriented gestures to scare her away. She adds that the use of such gestures may scare away new aspirants. W4 NAT NSP in text 4.49, Chapter Four, also notes that women politicians are always linked to immorality. Text 6.10 by W1 STAR NSP exemplifies this concept.

Text 6.10 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).

The text above indicates that linking women to immorality is meant to embarrass them, discredit them and portray them as not suitable for leadership. According to

W1 STAR NSP ART in Text 6.10 sexualising women politicians does not help young women who would like to rise to positions of leadership.

The verbal and nonverbal discourses constructed women as objects by concentrating on the descriptions of their appearance and looks as in Text 6.11 STD NSP ART. Lakoff (2003) argues that even more than sexualisation, objectification via elaborate discussion of appearance is usually dis-empowering. Text 6.11 STD NSP ART below exemplifies the kind of descriptions that women politicians usually get concerning their looks and appearance.

Text 6.11 STD NSP ART

AM: 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).

The description of the woman politician above ends by indicating that apart from being beautiful and smart, she is intelligent. The intelligence is marked by the word “brains”. However, the text foregrounds and emphasises the appearance and looks at the expense of her intelligence. Men in public eye can be praised or criticized for their looks, but such criticisms are both less frequent and less prominent directed at men than women (Lakoff, 2003). Lakoff (2003) further notes that comments about looks are much more dangerous to a woman’s already fragile grasp of power than to a man’s. The comments reduce a woman to her

traditional role of object, one who is seen rather than one who sees and acts. Because this is a conventional view of women, but not of men, comments about looks work much more effectively to dis-empower women than men, and are more hurtful to women, who have always been encouraged to view looks as the primary attribute – as men usually have not. Being the passive object of the gaze is presupposed for women, never for heterosexual men (Lakoff, 2003).

Text 6.12 by W1 NTV VLS further shows how a woman politician's looks may determine her political career. WI NTV VLS gives 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. Below is what the people had said:

Text 6.12 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).

The electorate in the above statement insinuates that if a woman politician is not “beautiful” then they will not vote for her. Therefore, the looks have the potential to affect women politicians' performance in electoral politics.

6.1.2.3 Dilemma

The discursive construction of women politicians could put them in a dilemma as to which qualities they should display in order to be accepted in electoral competitions. As much as there is emphasis on women's sexuality, looks and appearance, public women are still criticized for their appearance as illustrated by

Text 6.13 NAT NSP ART below.

Text 6.13 NAT NSP ART

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 of Nairobi). *Manzi wa Naii* (girl 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* (babe of Nairobi) and *Msupa na Works* (beautiful lady and 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*’ (gentleman of Nairobi) or ‘*Mjamaa na works*’ (gentleman and 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 Martha Karua, 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* (beautiful). 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 Nii* (girl of Nairobi), 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* (okey babe)? Thanks, *Msupa* (beautiful). Have a blessed Easter, *Manzi wa Nii* (girl of Nairobi). (*Saturday Nation*, April 15, 2017).

The article criticizes women politicians, who apply so much make-up to improve on their looks, and dress to impress. The text argues that the women have also tagged to their manifesto, certain words and phrases that are commonly used by men to refer to young or beautiful ladies in Kenya. Such words and phrases are meant to package them as beautiful, fashionable and modern. The words and phrases include *Bae wa Nii* (babe of Nairobi), *Manzi wa Nii* (girl of Nairobi) and *Msupa na works* (beautiful lady and works).

Political campaigns capitalize on swaying public perceptions, which are constantly shifting. For instance, in the 2013 campaigns, many politicians adopted

Sheng, a language associated with mainly Nairobi's young people, as a slogan to appeal to the touch points of the young voters. The words and phrases used by the women politicians in the text above could therefore pass for campaign slogans that were meant to identify the women politicians with Nairobi's urban youth. However, the text criticizes the women politicians for parading their physical appearances instead of selling their policies.

A man politician who was interviewed observed that it was not that the men politicians were selling their policies during the campaigns, but the criticism is a reflection of society's appreciation of masculinity more than femininity in the public domain. He says:

Text 6.14 M2 INT

We live in a society where men are expected to play up their masculinity traits in public without the same consequences that the women face when they play up their femininity.

A woman politician also gives similar views as the man politician above, but adds that society, through various channels such as popular and social media, places very high expectations on women's outward appearance. So, for a woman to be successful in politics she has to bear both the demands of beauty and the brains.

Text 6.15 W1 INT

While being smart elevates one's confidence, it is unfortunate that the popular and social media prioritise women's looks over their policies, and put a lot of pressure on women aspirants to be seen as likable. A woman is expected to have both beauty and brains.

Another woman politician notes that it is not always the case that it is the women politicians who adopt such slogans for campaign. Some of the words and phrases are generated by their campaigners or supporters, and others by their campaign strategists. She cites an instance where one of the campaign strategists of a woman politician had to quickly change her slogan from “*bae wa Nairobi*” (babe of Nairobi) to “*wakili nama hustler*” (lawyer for the hustlers) because the former worked negatively on her image. The latter slogan brought in her professional credentials to play down on the first slogan which subjected her to sexual objectification.

The text therefore captures the attitudes held by some members of the Kenyan society about women politicians, and especially the Woman Rep position. The women are variously sexualized and objectified, and portrayed as lacking in political agenda. They are also subjected to harsher scrutiny of their moral character when compared to their male counterparts. Sexual objectification gets worse when one is perceived as good looking (Lakoff, 2003).

A male politician, who was interviewed, notes that women politicians have to contend with rumours and gossips about their marriages, moral uprightness and appearances more than men politicians. The article appears to suggest that women politicians should tone down their femininity and be more masculine in the political realm. The societal expectations therefore come to bear on women's

political careers. A woman who is vocal will earn the masculine tag “iron lady” and will only earn respect when she proves to be “as strong as a man”. The Kenyan society sets high standards for women and uses the standards to the judge women politicians, thus putting the women in a dilemma.

The findings from the electorate in Chapter Five demonstrated that there were certain qualities that the electorate expected men politicians to possess and others that they expected the women politicians to possess. For instance, men were expected to be articulate, strong, decisive and independent while women were expected to be weak and emotional, indecisive and dependent. W3 INT for instance notes that while some successful women politicians are lauded for being tough, women politicians are at the same time criticized for being tough. She remarks that you will hear people say about a certain woman politician:

Text 6.16 W3 INT

She is tough! (said with a fall-rise intonation)

The fall-rise intonation in this context is used to show surprise and criticism. The intonation suggests that the referent (she) is behaving in a manner that is not expected of her.

It is important to note that as much as the electorate values toughness as a leadership quality for men, it does not always approve of it in women. People naturally do their gender and where people’s behaviour does not conform to dominant norms of masculinity or femininity, their behaviour is rendered

unintelligible or incoherent. Certain behaviours may be criticized and meet certain repercussions because they deviate from the normative conceptions of how sex, gender and sexuality should be (Holmes & Meyerhoff, 2003).

The findings in Chapter Four showed that there were women politicians who met the description of the traditional feminine gender model in terms of qualities and appearance. For instance, CN was described as coy and seductive while AM was described as elegant and beautiful. While some of these women politicians are described as being feminine in their thinking and masculine in their thinking, yet, another category of women are dismissed as flower girls who go to sprinkle their femininity in parliament and other public places. Further, other women politicians who are seen as successful are described either with a blend of both feminine and masculine qualities while others are described only in masculine terms. Text 6.17 STD NSP ART below describes two prominent Kenyan women politicians who served in the national assembly for several terms. MK is described in masculine terms while CN is described in feminine terms.

Text 6.17 STD NSP ART

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).

MK is viewed through the lens of traditional masculinity while CN is viewed through the lens of traditional femininity. However, it is important to note that the two women politicians have succeeded politically regardless of their qualities. M2INT's (Text 6.18) observations below imply that the two women politicians have successfully managed to rise above the gauge of traditional gender. But, it appears that a woman must work extra harder to rise to this level. For instance, men politicians are not elected because they fit in the qualities described in the extract above such as being rebellious, serious, non-sycophants and dressing styles.

Text 6.18 M2INT

CN especially cut a niche for herself as the first woman to vie for presidency and later she earned the title *mama rainbow* (mother of rainbow) when she joined the opposition's Rainbow Party. These boosted her public image. MK is a polished politician who has displayed a level of politics that only equals a few other politicians in Kenya who are dedicated to their course.

6.1.2.4 Trivialisation

The inferioration, sexualisation, objectification and subordination of women trivialises their role as politicians. Trivialisation of women is dis-empowering as it reduces their support among the electorate and thus reduces their political chances. W1 INT in Text 6.19, given below, observes that sexual objectification of women politicians trivialises their political contribution.

Text 6.19 W1 INT

...sexual objectification of female political candidates trivializes what women can bring to the table. Many articles look at new female aspirants from a sexual lens. If we allow that narrative to build and grow, we will lose what we are trying to do on bringing and normalising women leadership (NTV, Victoria's Lounge November 10th 2016).

The following, Text 6.20 CAP NWS, shows how sexual objectification could affect women politicians. The Text was a reaction by women parliamentarian to a cartoon in one of the local dailies that featured women parliamentarians, who had accompanied a Kenyan Deputy President on an official government trip, massaging the Deputy President.

Text 6.20 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).

W1 INT in Text 6.19 above, points out that sexual objectification of women candidates affects their participation in elective politics by downplaying their political agenda among the electorate. This could influence the view of women candidates as people who have little to contribute in politics. The choice by the electorate, of either a man political candidate or woman political candidate, might to some extent be negatively affected by the trivialisation of women candidates.

The trivialization of women politicians is further propagated by traditional gender ideologies that relegate women to subordinate roles. Texts 6.21 NAT NSP ART and 6.22 W4 INT below trivialize the role of women as politicians and associate them with either those political roles that are considered less “powerful” or none at all.

Text 6.21 NAT NSP ART

“...seeking an elective post is not easy, especially in a constituency where women have traditionally not asked for votes”. Ms 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 6.22 W4INT

The relatively recent creation of the position of Woman Rep, coupled with the existing beliefs that highly powerful positions are for men has been used by people as a campaign strategy meant to create the impression that the only elective political position women are supposed to vie for is that of Woman Rep.

Texts 21.6 NAT NSP and 22.6 W4 INT explain the beliefs of the electorate about the men and women politicians. The beliefs which centre on the trivialization and subordination of women politicians are likely to favour men political candidates over the women candidates. The fact that most political parties are dominated by men politicians, as both men and women politicians, who were interviewed noted, makes it difficult for women to penetrate political parties as leaders of political parties or as candidates in the political parties.

The discussions in this section show that the negative construction of women politicians appears to have a disempowering effect. Women may lose because they are portrayed as venturing into a career that is not normally associated with women in society. The women politicians are thus judged based on certain traits and not what they can bring to the table. Singling out women who have succeeded

politically and associating them with masculinity or lack of it, sexualising and objectifying them and labeling and branding is disempowering (Lakoff, 2003).

Disempowerment is reflected in the power of the discourses to discourage, demotivate, inferiorate, trivialise, and cause fear and dilemma among the aspiring women politicians. Women politicians may get discouraged and demotivated by questions on their marital status and sexuality, and certain societal beliefs about women. Aspiring women politicians may also not vie for National Assembly seats for fear of things such as patriarchal prejudice, verbal and non-verbal threats and insults, and being associated with immorality.

Lakoff (2003) argues that prominent women are usually sexualized. He notes that political males are sometimes seen as sex objects, but we should not be misled by the apparent parallel: sexual conquest enhances a man's power, but weakens a woman's. He further argues that even more than sexualisation, objectification via elaborate discussion of appearance is usually dis-empowering. He notes that although men in the public eye may be criticized for their looks, such barbs used on women are both less frequent and less prominently directed at men.

6.1.2.5 The Reconstruction of Agency by the Women Politicians

Apart from the negative effects above, the gendered discourses also led to a positive effect, which was the reconstruction of agency by the women politicians.

CDA calls attention to the ideologies of gender embedded in the most pervasive forms of discourse in contemporary society. As much as it identifies women as the primary consumers and subjects of discourse rather than the producers, it advocates more for agency. Agency is the approach based primarily in the capacity of the consumer of the text to identify and reject these dominant discourses (Bucholtz, 2003). Talbot (2003) also argues that negative gender ideologies should be contested. This section looks at how the women politicians identify and reject the dominant gendered discourses.

Women politicians were not passive consumers of gendered discourses. They also produced counter discourses to reduce or clear the effects of such discourses. Although women politicians have not yet reached the critical 30 percent global requirement, they have been actively involved in fighting for their course, and this explains the rise of the numbers of elected women politicians since the onset of multi-party democracy in Kenya.

The discourses that were collected from politicians and the print media, included those that condemned prejudice against women and women politicians, and urged women not to fear or get discouraged from engaging in politics. For instance W2 STAR NSP ART ART in Text 6.23 below, who was publicly insulted her male opponent, is aware that the insults from the man politician are likely to discourage other aspiring women politicians from running for electoral political seats.

She later dismisses the insults from her male opponent and encourages women to stand firm and pursue their political courses regardless of the verbal and nonverbal gendered discourses meted. These are only used in order to scare them and discourage them from participating in electoral politics. According to her, women should get even more determined and emboldened in their political participation.

Text 6.23 W2 STAR NSP ART

Men like MM have no place or role to play in our empowerment. He is part of the problem. Let's be even more determined to take our place at the table. I **encourage women not to shy away** from leadership for fear of victimisation, character assassination and prejudices of patriarchy (*The Star*, November 18, 2016)

W2 STAR NSP ART in Text 6.23 is aware that the sexuality based insults by her opponent are likely to discourage other women politicians from participating in elective politics. Her remarks are therefore an agency call to her fellow women politicians.

W5NAT NSP ART, in Text 6.24 who was vying for the a Gubernatorial seat, raises her voice against the kind of questions women politicians are asked during campaigns, especially questions on their marital status and sexuality. W5NAT NSP ART, questions the authenticity and relevance of such questions to women politicians' political career. She thus advocates for women politicians to be given a level playing ground with their men competitors. Women politicians should not

Text 6.24 W5 NAT NSP ART

It is very wrong to ask a woman about her marital status when nobody bothers to pose similar questions to men" (*Daily Nation*, Tuesday 28th February, 2017).

The same sentiments are shared by W6 NAT NSP ART in Text 6.25 below. She was reacting to her male opponent who was going round the constituency, and the telling the electorate not to vote her because she was married outside her constituency and ethnic community. Her opponents were also spreading rumours about her marriage.

Text 6.25 W6 NAT NSP

Such people would do well to tell us which clause in the Elections Act considers marital status, sex or tribe, as a prerequisite for admissibility into political contest (*Daily Nation*, Wednesday February 1, 2017)

Women politicians would further like to be measured in terms of their articulation of issues and matters of development. W4INT in Text 6.26 protests against the personalized politics that women politicians are always engaged in. She observes that men politicians and campaigners should use an issue based approach when engaging women politicians.

Text 6.26 W1 INT

We are usually engaged in personalized politics by our opponents instead of being measured in terms of issue articulation and matters development. (*Daily Nation*, Wednesday, February 1, 2017)

W1INT, in Text 6.26 just as W5 NAT NSP in Text 6.25 above, advocates for an equal playground for women politicians vis a vis their male counterparts. The parameters used to measure the political successes of the men politicians should be same ones used for the women politician.

W6 NAT NSP in Text 7.27 below notes that it is the role of political parties to nurture women political leadership. This is in reaction to political parties' open favouritism of men politicians. Below, she observes that it is not fair when a woman wins a nomination, like she did, and then the party gave the ticket to a man politician.

Text 6.27 NAT NSP ART

I won the ODM ticket in 2013 but unfortunately I did not get the certificate despite being a woman. ... It is the duty of political parties to nurture women leadership. (*Daily Nation*, Tuesday 28th February, 2017 pg 19-20).

W6 NAT NSP won the nominations but the certificate was given to a man. However, she did not give up. She vied from a different political party and won the seat in the 2013 general elections. She urges political parties to stop being discriminatory and support women political leadership. She also indirectly urges other women politicians to emulate her example of not giving up even when they are denied the nomination tickets.

W2STD NSP ART, in Text 6.28 urges women politicians to vie for all seats as they are qualified for them. This is in reaction to utterances from other politicians and campaigners to the electorate that women politicians are only suited for Woman Rep political positions and not the other political posts.

Text 6.28 W2 STD NSP ART

While talking at a meeting held at P6, Mrs W2NSP 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 Representative that has been touted as "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..."(*The Standard*, Saturday, November 19th 2016).

W2 STD NSP in Text 6.28 is makes a call to the women politicians not to fall victim of the emerging ideology that women politicians are only supposed to vie for the Woman Rep position. She urges aspiring women politicians to vie for all seats including that one of presidency. The Woman Rep post, as already explained elsewhere in this study, was an outcome of the two-thirds gender rule whose aim was to increase the representation of women in parliament. The position was created through the affirmative action in Kenya to boost the number of women in parliament. The affirmative action is captured by in the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 (RoK, 2010).

In Text 6.29 CAP NWS a woman politician demands an apology to the entire lady members of parliament because of their sexist portrayal by the media during a trip of some women MPs and the Deputy President (DP). This is a clear demonstration of agency as the woman politician seeks to reconstruct the role of the women politicians during the trip. The role of the women politicians who had accompanied the DP on an official trip was trivialized by the cartoon. They were featured in a cartoon in the act of massaging the DP.

Text 6.29 W1 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 woman politician in the above utterance would like the media to change the ways it looks at women politicians. That is, the media should stop sexualizing women politicians (by focusing on the waist down) which trivializes them while elevating the men politicians. She uses “waist up” to remind the media that women politicians are intelligent people who are capable of making pertinent contributions in national development.

This show of agency by W1 CAP NWS is also echoed by Text 6.30 W2 CTN TV when the media asks her the question “is Kenya is ready for a woman president?” She brushes off the question and asks the media to stop asking such questions which do more harm than good. The question serves to psyche Kenyans that they are not ready for a woman president.

Text 6.30 W2 CTN TV

Media houses are psyching Kenyans to reject a female president by dwelling on whether Kenya is ready for a female president. Questions like these perpetuate or emphasize that we are not ready. We should build a different narrative (Citizen TV, Wednesday, July 22, 2015).

According to W2 CTN TV in Text 6.30 this question is a scheme by the media to indirectly inform the electorate that Kenya is not ready for woman president. Her answer is a way of telling the media to stop asking questions that incite the electorate to reject women presidential candidates.

Text 6.31WI STAR NSP ART below, a woman politician also reacts against the constant sexualisation of women politicians through media articles. The author

castigates the writers of such articles and dismisses such articles as non-news and irrelevant to the people of this country. She advocates for different standards of judging women politicians other than focusing on their personal lives.

Text 6.31 WI STAR NSP ART

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 (*Capital News*, May 22, 2013).

Apart from contesting the gendered discourses, the findings showed that the women politicians who had succeeded in electoral politics were actively engaged in calling upon their fellow women to enter politics. W3 INT in Text 6.32 below recognises that there are many barriers for aspiring women politicians, but she urges women to rise above the barriers and participate in political contests. She uses herself as an example, when amidst the challenges that women face, she went ahead and vied and won. She tells women not be deterred by the challenges they may face in political careers, because every career has challenges.

She observes that just as women have ventured into professions that were not initially seen as women's, they should equally do the same for politics. She says that even stay home women should vie for political posts because they have learnt to multitask. She notes that women need to realize that they have leadership qualities, which they need to apply in political leadership. The beliefs of the

electorate, which were discussed in Chapter Four, concur with the view that women have many leadership qualities.

Text 6.32 W3 INT

We cannot deny that leadership positions are presented in society as though they were men's positions. So when a woman is vying, you're sort of being questioned, how come? I remember once in 1992, a professional colleague of mine asked me, since when did you become a politician? Yet I had been active in law society politics and in national politics. The same question was not going to my male colleagues. And I said I will vie and see who can stop me other than the electorate and I vied and the rest is history.

So, we have many barriers, including the stereotypes that this is not a woman's job. We've got to overcome that as women, and just like any other job, even engineering was never seen as a woman's job, yet now we are having many women engineers, as we are having accountants. You know, the job that was traditionally seen as a woman's is teaching and nursing. You know I remember when I said I was doing law being told that teaching is a good job because I will have a three months' holiday every year which I can look after children. So as a woman, you are being weighed with your productive role.

After all even when you are a stay home mom, most moms are not doing the chores of bringing up children, you know. If there is a farm, you will be the farm manager. If there is a business, you are the business manager; you will be multitasking. So, let's step out. Nature has prepared us for multi-tasking. Whatever job you are in, yes, you can go into politics.

Some women politicians also felt that women should not be scared from participating in politics as there was nothing peculiar about politics because even the workplace could become dirty. Furthermore, the money problem was experienced by both men and women politicians.

Text 6.33 W2 INT

The notion that politics is a dirty game; it is the players who make it dirty and even the workplace can become dirty depending on who your workmates are. So, let get over being afraid. The money huddles will be there but having been in politics for a long time, I tell you that even the average male does not have money. They havemoney issues just like women. They will be flocking to various political parties searching for people who can sponsor them. So there is nothing peculiar about women without money wanting to vie. Over ninety percent of the males vying won't have money too. So, you are just one of them. You just have to find a way of mobilizing both human and financial resources so as to support your campaign.

W3 INT in Text 6.34 urges women to come out and be change agents, because politics has become so much monetized. This way, women could increase their political chances. She notes that when she entered politics, money was not so much a big issue.

Text 6.34 W3 INT

And we also have to come out and be change agents so that we change our politics. It is now too much monetized. When I vied for the first time and up to the third time, we didn't have to use money. You just go to people. The money you needed was strictly for logistics. But now, the electorate assumes the moment you say you are vying, it is like you are offered money by the government or by some other person. So, if you are not dishing out money, you are not seen as a serious candidate. You might even be suspected you are withholding money and which otherwise should go to the electorate.

So, to increase our numbers we have to be change agents, so that we talk and engage the people, so that we take our politics away from the money and return to issue based politics. I remember they never elected me because I had money. It is because I had ideas and ability to do the job which is, one, representation in parliament, mobilizing them to do things for themselves including development and helping them prioritise their projects.

W4INT in Text 6.35 observes that the claim by their male colleagues, after the 2013 general elections, that women politicians were so many in parliament and that women needed to emphasize more on quality than quantity was a diversionary tactic. She implies that more women need to vie because women still need the numbers. She notes that both men and women need to be sensitized on quality as it affects both parties. However, she urges women who get elected to articulate women's issues.

Text 6.35 W4 INT

We need both quantity and quality for women. But even if we were to start at quantity, are we having quality by having a large quantity of men as leaders? So why are we talking of quality because women have asked to have their space? These are diversionary tactics. We have men from 1963 and even traditionally before then. Have we had quality leadership? Have we ever addressed the issue of quality? Why does quality come in when women come in? I don't want to talk about quality, let us first get quantity and let us move together. But it is our duty to ensure that we sensitize women and men together.

I do not want to talk about quality, let us first get quantity and let us move together. But it is also our duty to ensure that we sensitize women and men.

If women are elected on that women's quota, when they come, they should articulate women's issues and make things better because they are standing on women's shoulders. They should help others to get where they are. If not, then we will start a conversation in the villages so that next time we elect people with a proven track record.

W3 INT in Text 6.36 below further urges aspiring women to have thick skin and clear focus and avoid getting distracted by the discourses directed towards them. They should start early because more is demanded of them.

Text 6.36 W3 INT

A woman can win, with thick skin and with clear focus of what you want to achieve and knowing that you should never be distracted by your distractors. And because the electorate is not so used to women vying like men, knowing you have to cover more ground than them. So start early and do not fear your male competitors. If you are cash trapped they are probably more trapped. Occasionally you will be competing against rich people. Like my first election; I was competing against a tycoon. I flowered them with my mouth only without money, not for anything. Just go and convince the people. Take it wherever you are before people, you are before an interviewing panel. Put on your best.

Every explicit word was used on me and the voters still elected me. My duty is to say that you count your insults, I'll count the votes. And it is not my duty to get diverted so that when you go to the podium, you are answering critics instead of giving your manifesto. You must never lose focus and if you ever answer anything, it must be a by the way at the end when you have finished.

W3 INT in Text 6.37 advocates for change of the curriculum and other social institutions that aid in the gender socialization. This may change the way society views both men and women. This may further lead to increased participation of

women in electoral politics. She feels that she lost an electoral seat where she believes she was the best candidate on the grounds discrimination.

Text 6.37 W3INT

I think in the education curriculum, we need to check what examples we are giving. If you look even in the set books, you will see more examples of men in certain roles. We have to make our curriculum gender neutral so that it is accommodating to both men and women. We have to resocialise ourselves. Even as mothers we are brought up in patriarchy. So you will still catch yourself telling your girl what she can't do and what is for a boy. It will take a generation or more so that attitudes can change and able women leaders shall not be discriminated upon. I believe that even with my experience, I was discriminated upon by the Kenya voter, both male and female. I still believe I was the most qualified candidate. Qualified in terms of all the things the constitution puts in Chapter Six and all the other leadership qualities. I believe I had qualifications which I could have demonstrated. Even the manifesto articulation, everything. I campaigned harder than all of them. I went to every part of Kenya. I literally slept in every county in Kenya including Mandera, you see, and Wajir. And I know the country so well, interacted with people. It did not translate to votes. The only thing I did not do and the males were doing, there was no money to give. But I had enough money to get me round the country.

Successful women politicians have initiated and participated in national interventions intended to increase the participation and representation of women in parliament. The interviews revealed that some successful women politicians have over the years and still, are involved in these initiative as in W3INT in Text 6.38 below states:

Text 6.38 W3INT

From day one as an MP, we advocated for having more numbers and very successfully. If you remember in 1997, that was my first term in parliament, we had the IPPG and I was a core member of that IPPG. And as the only woman in the constitutional committee of 20, I was able, working with women outside, to propose amendments to the then constitution Article 80. We commended it to outlaw discrimination on basis of sex. That was the way it was worded, ...on the basis of gender. We also created a new section, 33(a), to decree that all nominated seats whether in parliament or local assemblies, parties must observe gender parity when nominating. And though it was not practiced strictly, it was fulfilled over 80 percent.

Out of that single amendment to the constitution, and a new clause, after the 1997 general elections in 1998, for the first time, we nominated women councilors throughout the republic. Even if their numbers were not tallying, we were introducing the women's leadership. And in parliament for the first time, instead of the single woman being nominated, we have five nominated women out of twelve. KANU robbed as one seat and we went to court. The case was never heard until the next term, and dismissed on funny grounds. But we got five for the first time and out of the four elected plus the five we became nine in parliament.

Thereafter, I was a member of the drafting committee, when people came together in 1998 to start the formal journey of the constitution. The drafting committee was chaired by Bishop Philip Sulumanti. They called it the Sulumanti Committee. I and Professor Wanjiku Kabiru were the joint secretaries and we had other ladies and men as members. For the first time, we were able to put it in legislation in the Constitution of Kenya Review Act 1998, that one third of all the organs of review must be women, you see. We started the quota system then, you know.

The 1997 amendment introduced gender by parity legislation for constitutional review and even when the Act kept on being amended, they never removed that one third. That is the one third that has now been realized in the 2010 constitution. Unfortunately, we were not able to convince our male colleagues in Naivasha that we should put a formula for parliament. They only accepted a formula for county assemblies. And that is why we are still having the problem. But you can see, it has altered the face of parliament.

WI INT in Text 6.39 below concludes by asking women to participate in politics regardless of the insults and other barriers they may face because one cannot completely avoid such insults from both men and women in all spheres of life.

Text 6.39 WI INT

Whether you are in politics or in any other job, you will not completely shutout men or women, because also there are some women who will use derogatory terms on you, which means they do not ,even, they are not aware of themselves as women. They are not realizing they insult themselves in an attempt to insult you. I think you can't really run away from those types in society. Whatever job you are in, even in church group, you will still get somebody who will insult you. So let's learn to shut our ears to them, and get on. The way to give them a heavier burden than the one they give you of an insult is to ignore them. Remain focused and keep moving forward. Some of them will eventually join you.

This section has demonstrated that he kind of language politicians and the media use either positively or negatively affect the National Assembly politicians. This agrees with Atambo (2013, 2011) that the kind of language people choose to use is bound to cause positive or negative effects and reactions on others.

6.2 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has discussed how the gendered discourses of politicians,through campaign speeches directed at their opponents, and the print media opinion articles affected the participation of National Assembly politicians in electoral politics in Kenya. It is worth noting that the gendered portrayal of the women politicians negatively affects or undermines their political standing and puts them at a disadvantage in relation to the male politicians, and hence leads to unfair competition.The negative construction of the women politicians not only trivializes and demoralizes, but also throws them into dilemma and discourages them from vying for elective political. This negative construction could also

influence the voter perceptions of the women politicians vis a vis the men politicians.

However, the gendered discourses have also led to positive reactions such as the engagement in agency by the women politicians. The women politicians who have wielded their way into elective positions regardless of the gendered discourses that construct them negatively or as unsuitable for certain elective political posts, do not act as passive consumers of these gendered ideologies or discourses. They raise their voices against such discourses and point out that they should be treated with dignity and be accorded due respect. They also reconstruct their image as capable leaders.

Women therefore have to justify their existence in the public domain, and often have to compete with conservative stereotypes, whereas men are spared this kind of legitimisation pressure. Men are simply, and more easily, accepted.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This study looked at the discursive construction of the 2013-2017 Kenya National Assembly politicians, by campaign speeches of politicians and the print media opinion articles. The study also discussed the ideologies held by the electorate about the Kenya National Assembly politicians. Lastly, the study looked at the discursive effects of the gendered discourses on the Kenya National Assembly politicians. The major assumption of the study was that the discursive construction of the politicians by the campaign speeches of other politicians and the media, either positively or negatively affected their participation in Kenya's elective politics. Subsequently, the positive construction of politicians accorded them more power, while the negative construction disempowered them, thus leading to the creation of social identities and inequalities. The study used Critical Discourse Analysis both as a theory and method of data analysis.

The study was guided by four objectives. The first objective was to identify and describe the linguistic items and expressions used in the campaign speeches of politicians and the media opinion articles to refer to the 2013-2017 national assembly politicians. The second objective was concerned with finding out how the the linguistic items and expressions used by politicians and the print media constructed the 2013-2017 national assembly politicians. The third objective set

to point out the common ideologies that were held by the electorate about the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians in Kenya. The fourth and last objective sought to establish how the gendered discourses of politicians and the print media affected the participation of the 2013-2017 National Assembly politicians in Kenya's elective politics. Below, we give a summary of the findings.

7.1 Summary of Findings

In line with the objectives, the study identified and described the linguistic features in the discourses of politicians and the print media opinion articles. The study also pointed out the prevalent ideologies of the electorate about the men and women politicians, and men and women in general. Lastly, the study singled out the discursive effects of the gendered discourses on men and women politicians. These formed the basis of analysis.

The findings revealed that the discourses were both verbal and nonverbal. The verbal discourses were both written and spoken. These verbal texts were analysed for lexically, syntactically, semantically and pragmatically controlled ideologies. The linguistic properties that were identified at the lexical level included nouns, verbs, adjectives, nicknames and titles. The study identified idioms and questions at the level of syntax. At the semantic level, the study identified features of local coherence, topicalisation, rhetoric and "that" – reference. At the level of pragmatics, the study identified speech acts such as insults, commands and advice

and plain assertions. Nonverbal language consisted of body movements, facial expressions, paralanguage, personal space and touch, and images in the form of editorial cartoons.

The electorate had various gendered beliefs about men and women in Kenya. These beliefs used the linguistic strategies of negation, semantic derogation, argumentation, obligation strategies, and double speak to push their gender ideology.

The discourses produced positive effects and negative effects. The positive construction of politicians was politically empowering through image elevation and encouragement and support. The negative construction of politicians was disempowering through image damage, discrimination, discouragement, demoralization, trivialization and dilemma. In the following sections, we present a summary of the major findings based on the verbal and nonverbal language items and expressions, and the beliefs of the electorate.

7.1.1 Gendered Campaign Speeches of Politicians and Print Media Opinion

Articles

Based on the first and second objective, the study established that politicians, who included politicians' campaigners and the print media opinion writers, used ideologically managed verbal and nonverbal language structures to refer to National Assembly politicians. There was the use of lexicalisation which entailed

the use of carefully chosen words such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, nicknames and titles. The lexical items to a large extent constructed men politicians positively and constuted women politicians negatively. The study established that the only lexical items that constructed women politicians positively were nicknames that were exploited for political advantage. However, there were other lexical items that worked positively in certain contexts and not others. For instance, if women politicians were competing with other women politicians, some lexical items constructed them positively. But in mixed contexts, the same lexical itemse items constructed women politicians negatively. This was not the case for men politicians. The equivalents of the lexical items and expressions that constructed women politicians negativelyin mixed contexts, constructed men politicians positively in similar contexts.

The study also identified the use of ideologically managed idioms and interrogatives at the level of syntax. The interrogative sentences from politicians and the print media constituted of questions that were only directed at women politicians. The questions for instance inquired on the women politicians' marital status, motherhood, birthplaces, marital homes and family responsibilities. The questions constructed women politicians as caregivers or nurturers, outsiders and as tied to family roles. The newspapers used idioms that fore grounded the unnatural order that had been created by women clinching top political posts, and painted them (women) as a threat to men political leadership which was seen as

the norm. Women were constructed as the unnatural holders of the top political offices while men were seen as the natural holders of the offices.

Further, there was the use of ideologically controlled meanings at the level of semantics through the use of structures such as local coherence, semantic figures of rhetoric, topicalisation and that-reference. Local coherence entailed the use of biased reasons and causes that made facts about women politicians implicit while the non-facts were made explicit. There was also the use of ideologically managed topics that foregrounded subjective ideas about women politicians.

The study established that rhetorical structures, in the form of semantic figures of speech to a large extent constructed women politicians negatively. These were mostly metaphors that emphasized negative information about women politicians and downplayed unfavorable information about men politicians. These metaphors to a large extent belittled the women politicians. There was also the use of other rhetorical structures such as similes, repetition and oxymoron for similar reasons. The study found contradictory statements that displayed a kind of jerkiness or lack of clarity in the flow of thought in the newspaper opinion articles. They were used with the intent to divert certain truths that could portray men politicians negatively and women politicians positively.

At the level of pragmatics, there were speech acts that implied the inferiority and discrimination of women politicians. The speech acts consisted of insults, advice and plain assertions, and commands in situations where none was appropriate. These speech acts implied relations of dominance and power.

Apart from the written and spoken lexical items and expressions, politicians and also used nonverbal language features to refer to women politicians. The study established that these forms of nonverbal language were enacted through ideology. The study identified inappropriate touches and contravention of women politicians' social space, heckling, and sexual oriented facial expressions and gestures. There was also the use of body movements in form of welcoming dances by women. The study further established that newspapers used images which were in the form of editorial cartoons. The editorial cartoons objectified and sexualized women politicians thus presenting them as people whose interest was in non-issues. The editorial cartoons also presented women politicians with the physical attributes of men, therefore constructing them in masculine terms.

This choice of particular linguistic structures by politicians and the print media, to refer to politicians, and the use of nonverbal discourses to a large extent constructed women politicians negatively and to a large extent, constructed men politicians positively. For instance, women politicians were constructed as naïve, weak, and variously sexualized and objectified. The women politicians were seen

as caregivers, and were also portrayed as outsiders in politics. Successful women politicians were viewed through masculine lens, and portrayed as unnatural or extraordinary. Other successful women politicians were seen as masculine in terms of leadership but they were still sexualized in their appearance and behaviour. It was further established that it was only the sampled spoken discourses that had lexical items and expressions that referred to men politicians. The sampled written and nonverbal discourses only consisted of lexical items and expressions that referred to women politicians only. This means that most of the gendered discourses are usually about women politicians.

When women vie for or hold political positions, their treatment is curious, often focusing on their sexuality or lack of it, and their external appearance. The women demeaned and trivialized and thus portrayed as inferior, secondary or subordinate. Men politicians are constructed as superior, and the natural holders of political power. However, the study established that these positive and negative constructions of men and women politicians were not based on any facts but were largely ideological, and were used for political advantage and maintenance of the status quo.

7.1.2 Prevalent Ideologies Held by the Electorate about Men and Women

The study, in line with the third objective, established that there were prevalent ideologies held by the electorate about the men and women in Kenya, both inside

and outside politics. The findings revealed that the electorate had gendered beliefs that about men and women politicians and men and women in general. The electorate associated certain characteristics, qualities, professions and roles with men and others with women. For instance, men were believed to be strong, tough, decisive and competitive while women were believed to be passive, submissive, indecisive and weak. Men were also to a large extent associated with professions such as pilots and engineers, and were associated with politics and household repairs. Women were to a large extent associated with professions such as being nurses and teachers, and social roles such as household chores, raising children. The electorate believed that the role of women was to provide care for children, family members and, other members of the extended family.

According to the electorate, the nature of politics was not suitable for women and Women were unsuitable for politics. For instance, there was the belief that when women ventured into politics, they put their marriages and families at risk and neglected their family chores. The electorate believed that such women were not serious. Women in politics were also believed to be single mothers, unmarried women or those women that had not been able to keep their marriages.

However, the findings showed that the beliefs of the electorate may not be wholly correct. For instance, while the electorate believed that women were their own enemies, some women politicians who were interviewed noted that they had

received a lot of support from fellow women on the ground. Similarly, contrary to these beliefs, it was not all women politicians that were single mothers or had failed in their marriages. Some of the women politicians who were interviewed were married.

Although the electorate, to a large extent, did not believe that women should venture into politics, the electorate however believed that women had leadership qualities. For instance, the electorate believed that women were approachable, good at managing resources, knowledgeable, wise, understanding, humane, religious, humble, honest, development conscious and mindful of the whole family and society.

The beliefs about men were fewer than the beliefs about women, and while most of the beliefs about women indicated that women were not suitable for leadership including politics, most of the beliefs about men supported men as suitable for leadership. The electorate, for instance, believed that culture and religion advocated for, and recognized men as political leaders and leaders in general. Men were also believed to possess qualities that were seen as the right qualities for leadership. These were qualities such as being independent and good decision makers, better at controlling emotions, powerful speakers, articulate and strong. There were a few beliefs about men politicians that portrayed men as unsuitable for leadership.

A linguistic analysis of the beliefs about men and women established that the beliefs utilized linguistic strategies such as negation, semantic derogation, lexicalization, argumentation and double speak. The linguistic strategies served to naturalise the beliefs. For instance, semantic derogation entailed the use of words and phrases that were demeaning and could make a certain person or group of people to be viewed negatively. This was achieved through semantic figures of speech such as metaphors. Negation strategies persuasively presented women as lacking certain qualities that were pertinent in political leadership while the obligation strategies compelled one to believe in the prescribed roles.

Through these linguistic strategies, the beliefs were naturalized and hence stereotyped and profiled men and women differently. The beliefs thus lead to the creation of gender identities and social inequalities. Men and masculinity were seen as superior as and more suitable for politics than women and femininity. The study therefore cannot rule out gender ideology in Kenya's electoral politics.

7.1.3 Discursive Effects of the Gendered Linguistic Items and Expressions

The study did not come across any discourses among those sampled where men politicians implied negative or positive effects from the gendered discourses. However, the largely positive construction of men politicians, through the discourses of other politicians, the print media, and the beliefs of the electorate,

could motivate men politicians to vie for national assembly seats, and also be assured of a majority support among the electorate.

On the other hand, there were discourses in which women politicians themselves or other women politicians indicated how they had been affected. The effects included fear and discouragement, embarrassment, dilemma, feeling trivialized, and enjoyin less support among the electorate. Women politicians feared vying for national assembly seats and got discouraged due to verbal and non-verbal insults that were directed at them. The insults were characterized by prejudices of patriarchy, victimization and character assassination. Women politicians also got discouraged by being asked personal questions which did not have a direct relationship with the political offices they were vying for. Further, women politicians got embarrassed and hence could shy off from electoral politics. The embarrassment emanated from the constant association of women politicians with immorality by politicians and the print media. The use of sexually-oriented nonverbal language cues by campaigners was also a source of embarrassment to women politicians.

The negative construction of women politicians put them in a dilemma as to which qualities they ought to possess in order to excel in elective political competitions. The gendered discourses either portrayed successive women politicians as masculine in all qualities while in other discourses, women

politicians were portrayed as striking a balance between masculine and feminine qualities but their femininity was sexualized. Other women politicians' appearance was variously sexualised and objectified by the discourses. Lastly, the negative construction of women politicians made them feel inferior and trivialized. The trivialization of women was disempowering, hence limiting their chances of vying for elective political seats and getting elected by the electorate.

However, women politicians were not passive recipients of the gendered discourses. They engaged in agency by producing counter discourses in a bid to reduce the negative effects of these discourses, encourage each other, and reconstruct and redefine their political agenda. The study established various instances where women politicians contested the negative discourses in a bid to reconstruct their diminished political roles. Women politicians encouraged each other to ignore the verbal and non-verbal insults, and questions on their marital status and be even more determined to play their political roles. The women asked their fellow women politicians to vie for all seats and shun the false beliefs that women were only fit for particular or certain positions and not others. The women politicians also advocated for an issue based politics for women politicians instead of personalized politics. They further asked political parties to shun prejudice and nurture women leadership. The women politicians who have been in politics for long asked aspiring women politicians and other women politicians to ignore the setbacks and focus on their political agenda as even men face the

same of the challenges that women faced. Lastly, the women appealed to the media to desist from framing discussion topics in ideologically prejudiced ways, and to stop presenting images of women politicians as sexual objects interested in non-issues.

7.2 Conclusions

The study set out to reveal the power and gender inequalities in Kenya's National Assembly electoral politics, from a linguistic perspective. The study establishes that the power and gender inequalities could be attributed to two factors: The use of ideologically managed features of language by politicians and the print media to describe the National Assembly politicians, and the ideologies the electorate hold about the politicians.

The first factor is covered by the first and second objectives of the study, which focused on the linguistic properties that were used in the campaign speeches of politicians, and print media opinion articles, to describe the National Assembly politicians and the discursive nature of the linguistic properties. To a large extent, the discourses that are directed at women politicians are discriminatory, while those directed at men politicians are not. Hence, the verbal and non-verbal discourses construct the men and women politicians differently. Women politicians are constructed negatively while men politicians are constructed

positively. Women politicians are variously sexualized, objectified, trivialized and subordinated while male politicians are always elevated.

The second factor is covered by the third objective, which was concerned with the beliefs about men and women, among the electorate. The study reveals that the electorate holds various beliefs which mostly portray men as suitable leaders and women as unfit for leadership. These beliefs glorify hegemonic masculinity and trivialize femininity. The study establishes that such beliefs are loaded with linguistic strategies that serve to naturalize the beliefs. The naturalized beliefs are stereotypical and hence responsible for gender ideology.

As a result of the two factors, the participation of the National Assembly politicians in the electoral politics of the National Assembly of Kenya is positively or negatively affected. This was the concern of the fourth objective. The study establishes that the verbal and nonverbal discourses of the politicians and the print media opinion articles, and the beliefs of the electorate positively or negatively affect the participation of men and women politicians. Since men politicians are favoured by the discourses of politicians and the print media opinion articles, and the electorate's beliefs, they are more likely to get motivated to vie for national assembly seats.

On the other hand, women politicians, who are unfavorably constructed by the discourses as well as the beliefs of the electorate, feel discouraged, embarrassed, demotivated, trivialized, demeaned and are left in dilemma. These effects are likely to reduce their participation in the elective politics of the National Assembly, and also reduce their support among the electorate. However, women politicians are not passive recipients of the biased discourses and beliefs. Women resist the negative discourses, and redefine themselves by encouraging and urging each other to ignore the negative discourses, and castigating the producers of the negative discourses.

The gendered discursive discourses are much more likely to curtail the political ambitions of aspiring and first time or young women politicians. The discourses, which are the basis of the electorates' ideologies, could also inform the voters's choices of political candidates. However, these gendered discourses are not true, but are propagated by the dominant members of society who are men, so as to create a false reality that could favour them in order to maintain the status quo. Women politicians who have succeeded are actively engaged in dispelling this false reality and encouraging their fellow women to rise up and contest all political seats.

7.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings of the present study, it would be helpful if a programme for sensitizing politicians, opinion makers, the media and the electorate on the existence of unsubstantiated beliefs about men and women. Such a programme could aim at creating gender awareness especially in the use of language when referring to, or describing men and women politicians. This could help change the campaign discourses of politicians and the views of the print media opinion writers. The programme could also be a step towards eliminating some biased beliefs that the electorate holds on men and women politicians, and could also motivate more women politicians to participate in electoral politics.

Secondly, it would be important to find a system that would incorporate both the parents and the schools in training young children. This would ensure that from an early age, children are socialised on the right attitudes to gender and their general worldview.

Lastly, the government, parliament, political parties and other relevant stakeholders could demonstrate their commitment to the gender agenda as far as the implementation of the two-thirds gender rule is concerned. The government, non-governmental organizations, women organisations and other relevant stakeholders could also be at the forefront to encourage and sensitise women who

have a political interest, not to shy away from politics because of the gendered discourses.

7.4 Suggestions for Further Research

First, the present study used the variables of gender, age and education background for the the purpose of obtaining a representative sample. Each of them was not considered separately during the analysis. Another study could be carried out to find out the views of each of these groups of respondents on language, gender and power in Kenya.

Secondly, a comparative study between Kenya and another African country that has attained the 30 percent representation requirement could be done to compare the kind of political discourses that are used to refer to women politician in both countries. If the discourses are also negative, then it would be important to establish how the other country is handling or coping with the discourses. If they are positive, then they would form a basis for recommendations in the Kenyan context.

Thirdly, the study covered the period between 2013 and 2017. Another study could be carried out covering the period after 2017 to establish whether the gendered discourses are still the same or have changed since gendered discourses are bound to change over time.

Lastly, the current study focused on the gendered discourses used by politicians and newspaper opinion writers. The study did not find any gendered opinion article about men National Assembly politicians in the newspapers that were sampled. Another study could be carried out that focuses on non gendered opinion articles on men National Assembly politicians, to establish how the newspapers position them. Such a study would form an important basis for recommendations concerning the positioning of women National Assembly politicians by the newspaper opinion writers.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Unstructured Interview Guide for Women Politicians

Glad to meet you *mheshimiwa*. My name is Norah Atambo. Thank you for granting me an opportunity to interact with you. I am postgraduate student at Kenyatta University pursuing a PhD in Applied Linguistics. I intend to investigate the interface interface among language, gender and power. Your answers will be very helpful in supplying the relevant information for my study. Your responses will purely be for research purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. With your permission, I shall tape record your responses to ensure that I do not lose anything.

1. In your assessment, why do we have fewer women than men in parliament?
2. As one of the successful politicians in Kenya, how have you been able to excel?
3. People have argued that numbers (quantity) of men or women in parliament are not important, rather the ability to perform (quality). What is your take on this?
4. Is there anything that you have been able to do in order to improve the participation and representation of women in electoral politics?
5. Which other interventions from parliament, government and politicians should be put in place in order to improve the participation and representation of female politicians.
6. Sometimes people have used derogatory, demeaning and sexist language to refer to women politicians.
 - i. Are there references that have been made to you or other female politicians that you did not like? If so, which ones?

- ii. Do think such references are true about women politicians?
 - iii. Do you think this kind of references may affect voter perception of female politicians?
 - iv. Do you think this kind of language may discourage female aspirants?
7. Would you say there is anything they need to improve? If so, which one?

Appendix 2: Unstructured Interview Guide for Men Politicians

Glad to meet you *mheshimiwa*. My name is Norah Atambo. Thank you for granting me an opportunity to interact with you. I am postgraduate student at Kenyatta University pursuing a PhD in Applied Linguistics. I intend to investigate the interface interface among language, gender and power. Your answers will be very helpful in supplying the relevant information for my study. Your responses will purely be for research purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. With your permission, I shall tape record your responses to ensure that I do not lose anything.

1. In your assessment, why do we have more men than women in parliament?
2. People have argued that numbers (quantity) of men or women in parliament are not important, rather the ability to perform (quality). What is your take on this?
3. Which interventions from parliament, government and politicians should be put in place in order to improve the participation and representation of women politicians?
4. Sometimes people have used sexist terms to refer to politicians.
 - i. Are there such references that have been made to you or other politicians that you did not like? If so, which ones?
 - ii. Do you think this kind of references may affect voter perception of politicians?
 - iii. Do you think this kind of language may discourage political aspirants?

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for Members of the Electorate

A. Introduction

Dear respondent,

My name is Norah Atambo, a PhD student in the Department of English and Linguistics of Kenyatta University. I am conducting a study in the area of language and politics purpose of attaining a doctorate degree. Your responses will therefore only be used for the purpose of research, and will be treated with uttermost confidentiality.

B. Demographic information

Please tick as appropriate

Sex: Male Female

Age: 18-45 46 and above

Level of Education: High school and below College and above

C. Questions

Please tick [✓] where appropriate or fill in the information where required. All responses will be treated as confidential.

1(a) For each of the following questions, indicate your answer by ticking the appropriate quality or trait you would use to describe a man.

More hardworking Less hardworking Not sure

More intelligent Less intelligent Not sure

More domineering Less domineering Not sure

Gossip more Gossip less Not sure

More tough	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less tough	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More competitive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less competitive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More submissive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less submissive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More decisive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less decisive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More cooperative/nicer	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less cooperative	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More passive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less passive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>

(b) Please write any other qualities or traits, apart from the ones above, that you would use to describe a man.

2(a) For each of the following choices, indicate your answer by ticking the appropriate quality or trait you would use to describe a woman.

More hardworking	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less hardworking	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More intelligent	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less intelligent	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More domineering	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less domineering	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gossip more	<input type="checkbox"/>	Gossip less	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More tough	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less tough	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More competitive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less competitive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More submissive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less submissive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More decisive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less decisive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
More cooperative/nicer	<input type="checkbox"/>	Less cooperative	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>

More passive Less passive Not sure

(b) Please write any other qualities or traits, apart from the ones above, that you would use to describe a woman.

3(a) Tick the role or occupation you would assign to:

	i. A man	ii. A woman
Police officer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Household chores	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nurse	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Raising children	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Household repair	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Engineer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lawyer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Driver	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pilot	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Politician	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(b) Kindly give reasons why you assigned:

(i) The man, the roles and occupations you did.

(b) The woman, the roles and occupations you did.

4. In your own opinion:

(a) What would an ideal man be like?

(b) What would an ideal woman be like?

5. (a) When you think about political leadership, who comes into your mind?

Please tick the appropriate answer.

i) Woman

ii) Man

iii) Both

b) Please give reasons for the answer you picked above.

c) Kindly give reasons for the choice you left out in 5 (a) above.

6. (a) When you voted in the last general elections, do you think any of the beliefs above influenced you in any way?

(i)

(ii)

(b) Kindly explain how the belief of beliefs influenced you.

Thank you very much for your time and responses.

Appendix 4: Transcripts of the Verbal and Nonverbal Campaign Speeches

Text 4.1 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. This is a view that is held by many people whether male or female including politicians. 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 4.2 W1 INT

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

Text 4.3 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. Men politicians tend to be more articulate (M2INT).

Text 4.5 W4 INT

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). I think this is because in Kenya, women seldom vie for presidency. Actually, she was the second woman vying for that position after CN who tried and failed. Remember our society is also largely patriarchal. Furthermore, we have not had many women elected into the other elective political positions such as MP. We did not get even one woman elected as senator or governor in 2013.

Text 4.6 W5 INT

Siasa ni chafu na iko na vurugu mingi. Aihitaji 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).

Text 4.7 M1 INT

Kenyan politics is associated with money and once the electorate gets the impression that an aspirant has a lot of money, they will give him or her more support because they think that they will benefit financially. An aspirant is in most cases more appealing to the public if she or he has a lot of money. That is why you may hear of a politician called “*sonko*” (moneyed). When a politician uses such a name it is meant to give him an advantage over the other aspirants. It is a political gimmick or impression; it does not necessarily mean that a person has money. But the first perception you get to the electorate is that you are moneyed.

Text 4.8 W3 INT

You will find for instance JM is referred to as *otada* (tough man) and when he goes to the constituency his supporters will start chanting *otada biro! otada biro! otada biro!* (Strong one has come! Strong one has come! Strong one has come!) But they will refer to a woman politician as *min* (mother) so and so or *nyar* (daughter of) Gem. You remember they even used to call CN *mama* (mother of) rainbow. (You will find for instance JM is referred to as “strong man” and when he goes to the constituency, his supporters will start chanting, strong one has come! Strong one has come! Strong one has come! But they will refer to a woman politician as mother of so and so or the daughter of Gem. You remember they even used to call CN mother of rainbow).

Text 4.9 M5 INT

The phrase *mama Nai* (mother of Nairobi) or *mama yao* (their mother) was also coined as a campaign slogan for RS, simply to give her an upper hand over other women aspirants. Some are calling themselves *thitima*, (electricity) *minji minji* (loosely translated as young and succulent) and so on.

Text 4.10 M5 INT

We have *baba* (father) and *baba yao* (their father) referring to specific men politicians, also- generally for political advantage.

Text 4.11 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.

Text 4.12 W1 INT

Male politicians are usually referred to with such titles as *mheshimiwa* (honourable) while the women politicians are referred to as “madam” or “*mama*” (mother) even when they are serving in similar positions. In parliament, you will hear of madam speaker, madam chair. You’ve even heard women being referred to as madam president, lady justice and so on. You will never hear of related titles referring to men in similar positions. When you are a woman, you are always being reminded that you are one.

Text 4.13 W1 INT, W2INT, W3INT, W4 INT, W5INT.

Are you married?

Text 4.14 W1 INT, W2 INT

Where are you married?

Text 4.15 W1 INT, W4 INT, W3 INT

Who will take care of your husband?

Text 4.16 W2 INT

With whom have you left your husband?

Text 4.17 W1 INT, W2 INT

Where were you born?

Text 4.18 W3 INT, W5 INT

Do you have children?

Text 4.19 W1 INT, W4 INT, W5 INT

How are you raising your children?

Text 4.20 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 married women are considered morally upright, and are not supposed not spoil this reputation by joining politics.

Text 4.21 W2INT

These questions are not asked because the men political aspirants and their supporters do not know where the woman aspirant is married. The questions are asked with the full knowledge of the men political aspirants and their supporters. These questions are simply meant to reduce the support of the woman aspirant among the electorate by portraying her as an outsider.

Text 4.22 W1 NAT NSP ART

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).

Text 4.23 M2 NAT NSP ART

She is married to an outsider. If you elect her she will divert our resources to go and develop her home region in P4. She lost her birthright as a daughter of P3 County because of that marriage (Daily Nation, Wednesday, February 1, 2017).

Text 4.24 W5 INT

Even when people know that you have children, they will still ask you the question as a way of reminding you that you are supposed to take care of your children instead of joining politics. If you have no children, the question suggests that you are not fit to vie for a political post.

Text 4.25 NAT NSP ART

“...seeking an elective post is not easy, especially in a constituency where women have traditionally not asked for votes”. Ms. 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 P5 or P6, 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 4.26 M1 INT

Culturally, it is men, and particularly the political leaders who led people to war. Even in the present society, it is mostly still male military officers who may lead people to war. However, it is important to note that in the modern society, it is not the MP who leads people to war. The MP is directly involved in peace keeping in his constituency together with other stakeholders in the government. Article 95 section (1) of the Kenya (2010) constitution gives one of the roles of the members of the National Assembly as approving declarations of war and states of emergency. It is contradictory, when the people encourage the woman politician to vie for Woman Rep position but not the MP position, yet both are elective political leadership positions charged with similar functions. If a political leader is meant to take people to war, then even the occupant of the Woman Rep position may be required to take people to war. Those are misconceptions and leaders should also endeavour to inform the public appropriately.

Text 4.27 NAT NSP ART

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 4.28 STD NSP ART

While talking at a meeting held at P8, Mrs. 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).

Text 4.29 W4 INT

The relatively recent creation of the position of Woman Rep, coupled with the existing belief that highly powerful positions are for men has been used by men politicians as a campaign strategy meant to create the impression that the only elective political position women are supposed to vie for is that of Woman Rep.

Text 4.30 W5 INT

You are just a flower girl.

Text 4.31 M3 INT

Rinda (claps), *rinda* (claps), *rinda* (claps). (Woman's dress (claps) woman's dress (claps) woman's dress (claps)).

Text 4.32 M3 INT

Mnataka kilemba? (Do you want a headscarf?)

Text 4.33 W5INT

During campaigns, our male opponents call us soda *ndogo* (small soda).

Text 4.34 M2 INT

She told them that I'm a thief and that they should elect a woman because women do not steal.

Text 4.35M2 INT

Yaani mnataka kupigia mwanamme kura? Mnataka kuchukua mali yetu Koinange? Hawa ni mafisi. (You mean you want to vote a man? You want to take our resources to Koinange. These are big hyenas).

Text 4.36 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).

Text 4.37 W1 INT

Once a woman enters politics, her sexuality is used against her.

Text 4.38 M2 STD NSP ART

"... 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 4.39 W3 NAT NSP ART

"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 4.40 W3 INT

Enda kwa mzee wako, enda kwa mzee wako...

Text 4.41 W2 INT

Sometimes, you expect a male supporter to give you a handshake but he surprises you by giving you a prolonged hug or greeting you with both of his hands, with one high up just below the shoulder. But the same supporter will dignifiedly shake the man politician with both hands. You cannot be amused with this behavior because he is taking advantage of the situation... Men need to respect women politicians during campaigns.

Text 4.42 W5 INT

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 just 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.

Text 4.43 M3 INT

During the campaigns, especially when you are on a meet-the-people-tour, you mingle a lot with your supporters and there may be physical contact, but it is normal.

Text 4.44 NAT NSP ART

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.

Text 4.45 W6 NAT NSP ART

“As a youth and a woman, I am greatly disadvantaged through harassment, blackmail ... but am determined to win the seat”.

Text 4.46 M5 INT

Many women aspirants do not have organized groups to counter the various forms of harassment meted on them by their male opponents.

Text 4.47 M2 INT

In most communities in Kenya, during political campaigns and rallies, it is women who welcome the political aspirants with dances and ululations as the politicians join the gatherings. This is done just as the politician alights from his or her vehicle and before the official programme begins. Most of the time, these political aspirants are men although in a few cases they may be women. This is because the men politicians have been and still are the majority in Kenya. Although in a few cases, even men dance to welcome leaders, in most cases it is the women who sing and dance to welcome political leaders. Men join in the welcoming by whistling. Although the women also perform welcoming dances for the women politicians, these dances for women politicians are not so conspicuous since most politicians are men. This means that, most of the time, the dances are performed for men politicians. The women surround the man politician and put him at the centre as he joins them in the dance. They then dance together with the politician as they escort him to the podium.

Text 4.48 W1 INT

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

Text 4.49 W4 NAT NSP ART

"Women face both verbal and nonverbal 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).

Appendix 5: Transcripts of the Print Media Opinion Articles

Text 4.50 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 4.51 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).

Text 4.52 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).

Text 4.53 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 4.54 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).

Text 4.55 STD NSP ART

AM: 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).

Text 4.56 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).

Text 4.57 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 4.58 NTV VLS

These women are so many.

Text 4.59 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 4.60 NAT 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 DM over human rights issues, campaigned for gender equality, was vocal anti-corruption campaigns, also remembered for her scorching of the executive, asking ministers to take political responsibility for the rot in their docket. She quit her plum cabinet post because the executive was interfering in her docket (Sunday Nation, March 10, 2013 pp18).

Text 4.61 W5 NAT NSP ART

A woman politician is among five people eyeing the P10 parliamentary seat on a Kanu ticket. She will face off with seasoned names like GMM, SKM, RNM and AMM. She stands little little or no chance (Daily Nation, Wednesday, February 1 2017)

Text 4.62 NAT NSP ART

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* (old man) 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* (old man) 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* (old man) 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...
(Daily Nation 1st March 2014)

Text 4.63 NAT NSP



Figure 4.1: The Woman Politician who Could Not Be Stopped by Curses

Text 4.64 NAT NSP ART



Figure 4.2: The WR Massage Cartoon

Text 4.65 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).

Appendix 6: Transcripts of the Prevalent Ideologies Held by the Electorate

(a) Women as Caregivers and Family Persons

Text 5.1QN:

Women are good at taking care of children.

Text 5.2QN:

Women are supposed to take care of their husbands.

Text 5.3QN:

Women are responsible for taking care of the home.

(b) Women's Attributes in Relation to Politics

Text 5.4QN

Women who venture into politics become proud.

Text 5.5QN:

An upright woman will not venture into politics.

Text 5.6QN:

Mwanamke ambaye anajiheshimu hawezi ingia siasa (A woman who respects herself cannot venture into politics).

Text 5.7QN:

Mwanamke anayeingia siasa ni yule ameharibika (A woman who ventures into politics is one that is immoral).

Text 5.8QN:

Wanawake wengi wanaojitosa katika siasa, huwa wanachukuliwa kama wanawake waliokosa nidhamu (Women who enter politics are deemed undisciplined).

(c) Women as More suitable for Family Chores

Text 5.9QN

Women are suited for jobs that allow them enough time to cook and take care of the family.

Text 5.10QN

Women are responsible for keeping the home clean.

Text 5.11QN

Women, even in the Bible, are supposed to take care of the home.

(d) Women Political Leadership as Jeopardy to Family

Text 5.12QN

Women should not venture into politics.

Text 5.13QN

Women who venture into politics look down on their husbands.

Text 5.14QN

Women who join politics sit on their husbands.

Text 5.15QN

Mwanamke akiingia siasa, watu huanza kusema yeye ndiye kichwa (When a woman ventures into politics, people start saying she is the head).

Text 5.16QN

If women get highly paying jobs, they will not take their husbands seriously.

Text 5.17QN

Mwanamke akimzidi cheo mume, ndoa huathirika (If a woman is in a job of higher social standing than the husband, then the marriage is in jeopardy).

Text 5.18QN

Women who join politics are feared by men.

Text 5.19QN

Wanawake wengi wa siku hizi hudhamini hela, hivyo akipata cheo, atageuka na atakuacha (Most women of nowadays value money such that if they get high ranking jobs, they leave you).

Text 5.20QN

Wanawake wanao jitosa katika siasa wanachukuliwa na wepesi, sio na uzito kama ule mwanamke ambaye ameithibiti nyumba yake na anaendelea kushughulikia familia (When women join politics, they are not treated with similar seriousness like that of a woman who has held onto to her family and continues to take responsibility).

Text 5.21QN

If women engage in time consuming jobs such as politics, they will fail in their family chores.

Text 5.22QN

Wengi wa wanawake wanaojitosa kwenye siasa hawako kwenye ndoa ama washindwa na ndoa ama ni single mothers (Most women who enter into politics are not married or cannot keep marriage or they are single mothers).

(e) Traits and Behaviour of Women

Text 5.23 W1INT

Our societies have drawn a dichotomy between us women and men. There is a way in which they look at us and how they look at men. You hear things like women should be like this, or that, or are this or that.

Text 5.24QN

Women are indecisive.

Text 5.25QN

Women are not good at articulating issues.

Text 5.26QN

Women are not well versed with current affairs.

Text 5.27QN

Women are cowards.

Text 5.28QN

Women are weak and emotional.

Text 5.29QN

Wanawake hawajiamini (Women do not believe in themselves).

Text 5.30QN

Women are easily influenced by fellow women friends to despise their husbands.

Text 5.31QN

Wanawake hawapendani/wanawake ni maadui wa wao wenyewe. (Women do not like each other or women are enemies of themselves).

Text 5.32QN

Women are like children.

Text 5.33QN

Women do not respect one another

Text 34.5QN

Women are not supportive of one another.

Text 5.35QN

Women are easily manipulated by male politicians.

Text 5.36QN

Women are weak.

Text 5.37QN

Women are snobs and snubs.

Text 5.38QN

Women are not independent.

(f) Women and the Nature of Politics

Text 5.41 QN

Politics is too involving for women.

Text 5.42QN

Politics is a dirty game.

Text 5.43 QN

Politics is violent.

Text 5.44 QN

Siasa yahitaji pesa (Politics requires money).

Text 5.45 QN

Politics requires strong pe

(g) Women and Culture

Text 5.46QN

According to our culture women are not supposed to have more money than men.

Text 5.47 W5INT

Politics is associated with influence, high social standing and high remuneration. People relate these factors to men more than women because this is what they are used to.

Text 5.48 M5INT

Although we have wealthy women, society still, to a large extent, upholds men as the natural owners of wealth. Family wealth belongs to the man not the woman.

Text 5.49QN

Culture does not allow women to be political leaders.

Text 5.50 W5NTV

The belief of some communities is that a woman cannot be elevated to a political position. However, this belief is changing for example among the Samburu. All the stereotypes *mnaambiwangwa hapa wakenya eti* (you are usually told that here in Kenya that) oh *Wasamburu hawawezi* (The Samburu cannot) support *msichana*, *Wasamburu hawawezi chagua msichana, tunataka kuwaambia* (a lady, the Samburu cannot elect a lady, we want to tell you) there is always a first time.

(a) Women and Family

Text 5.51QN

Women are very important people in the family, without them, a family will not be organized.

Text 5.52.5QN

Wanawake ni kioo cha familia (Women are mirrors of the family)

Text 5.53QN

Behind every successful man is a woman.

(b) Women Leadership Qualities

Text 5.54QN

Mwanamke akiwa kwenye cheo, jamii nzima husaidika (When a woman has a position, the whole society benefits).

Text 5.55QN

Wanawake wana hekima, busara na moyo wa kujali jamii (Women have wisdom, understanding and are mindful of others in society).

Text 5.56QN

Mwanamkeakiwauongoziniatawakumbukawote (When a woman is in leadership, she will remember or take care of everybody).

Text 5.57QN

Kiongoziwa kike huaminika (A woman leader is trustworthy).

Text 5.58QN

Wanawake wakiwa uongozini, huleta maendeleo (When women are in leadership, they bring development).

Text 5.59QN

Mwanamke katika uongozi anawezawa kumbuka wote katika familia (A woman in leadership is able to mind all the family members).

Text 5.60QN

Wanawake ni wakarimu, ni wapole na wana utu (Women are hospitable, gentle and human).

Text 5.61QN

Many women are religious and honest.

Text 5.62QN

Women are good at taking care of finances.

Text 5.63QN

What a man can do a woman can do better.

Text 5.64 W7 KTN TV

Wazee kwa vijana wa kiume na wa kike na akina mama wananipa support kwa maana nimekuwa na uongozi ambao sio wakubagua rangi, sio wakubagua kabila na sio wakubagua umri. Wote nawachukua kwamba, kuwa nawawakilisha. Licha ya kwamba walisema hiki kiti kilikuwa kinasimamiwa na mama, lakini naamini nilipigigwa kura na watu wote hao – hizo group tatu. (Men, the youth and women support me because my leadership does not discriminate colour, ethnicity or age. I regard all as the people I represent. Although they said this seat was being occupied by a woman, I believe I was voted by all the people I have mentioned – those three groups).

Text 5.65 M3 KTN

Watu wanajua mwanamke anaweza ongoza, mwanamke ana maono mazuri, mwanamke ana mtazamo mzuri, lakini hapa kwa mahusiano ndio utia wanaume wasiwasi (People know that a woman can lead, she has good vision, but it is the relationship with men that worries men).

Text 5.66 W7 NTV

Siasa zetu ni za wanaume na sana sana katika mila na desturi, uongozi umekuwa na nafasi ya wanaume. Mila na desturi imehakikisha ya kwamba ujumbe ambao unapewa katika jamii ni ya kwamba uongozi na wenye ushukani ni baba. Mwanamke kazi yake ni tofauti na hafai kuwa katika uongozi. Kwanza kabisa, tukiona hata wakati tumeingia katika siasa tangu tupate uhuru, tumekuwa hatuna wanawake ndani ya siasa. (Our politics has mostly been dominated by men and especially considering our culture and traditions, leadership has always belonged to men. Culture and traditions have been responsible for ensuring that the information that is disseminated across society is that leadership belongs to men)

Appendix 7: Electorate's Gendered Beliefs about Men

(a) Cultural Beliefs

Text 5.67 QN

Men are culturally allowed to lead.

Text 5.68QN

Men are leaders.

(b) Religious Beliefs

Text 5.69QN

It is men who are leaders even in the Bible.

Text 5.70QN

We do not see any woman who is a leader in the Bible.

(c) Beliefs on the Qualities of Men in Relation to Politics

Text 5.71

Men are good at controlling emotions

Text 5.72QN

Men are more powerful speakers and possess better leadership skills

Text 5.73QN

Men are strong

Text 5.74QN

Men are articulate

Text 5.75QN

Men are decisive

Text 5.76QN

Wanaume wanapendana na wanaheshimiana (Men appreciate and respect each other)

Text 5.77QN

Men are the heads of the family

Text 5.78

Men have enough time for campaigning and politicking

(d) Negative Qualities about Men

Text 5.79QN

Men use government money for their own things.

Text 5.80QN

Men are corrupt.

Text 5.81QN

Men misuse money on women.

Appendix 8: Discursive Effects of the Campaign and Print Media Discourses

Text 4.28. STD NSP ART

While talking at a meeting held at P8, Mrs. 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 as “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).

Text 4.38 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 6.1 M4 INT

There are actually some politicians who have been voted out because their opponents used “thief” as a campaign tag. As for *mafisi*, (big hyenas) not so much so. People are not really interested in you private affairs. However, an incident like the one which was in the press last year, involving some MCAs and schoolgirls, may put your political career at stake.

Text 6.2 W2 STAR NSP ART

Men like MM have no place or role to play in our empowerment. He is part of the problem. Let’s be even more determined to take our place at the table. I encourage women not to shy away from leadership for fear of victimisation, character assassination and prejudices of patriarchy (The Star, November 18, 2016)

Text 6.3 W4 NAT NSP ART

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).

Text 6.4 W1INT

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

Text 6.5 W6 NAT NSP ART

“As a youth and a woman, I am greatly disadvantaged through harassment, blackmail from my male counterparts... but am determined to win the seat”.

Text 6.6 W1 STAR NSP ART

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 (*The Star* May 22, 2015).

Text 6.7 W2 INT

These questions are not asked because the men political aspirants and their supporters do not know where the woman aspirant is married. The questions are asked with the full knowledge of the men political aspirants and their supporters. These questions are simply meant to reduce the support of the woman aspirant among the electorate by portraying her as an outsider.

Text 4.23 M2 NAT NSP ART

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 6.8 NAT NSP ART

“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).

Text 6.9 NAT NSP ART

“...seeking an elective post is not easy, especially in a constituency where women have traditionally not asked for votes”. Ms W3NP listed among the challenges the fact that she is the first woman to go for the parliamentary seat.

Text 6.10 W1 STAR NSP ART

... 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 6.11 STD NSP ART

AM: 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).

Text 6.12 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).

Text 6.13 NAT NSP ART

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 of Nairobi). *Manzi wa Naii* (girl 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* (babe of Nairobi) and *Msupa na Works* (beautiful lady and 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*' (gentleman of Nairobi) or '*Mjamaa na works*' (gentleman and 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 Martha Karua, 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* (beautiful). 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 Naitii* (girl of Nairobi), 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* (okey babe)? Thanks, *Msupa* (beautiful). Have a blessed Easter, *Manzi wa Naitii* (girl of Nairobi).(Saturday Nation, April 15, 2017).

Text 6.14 M2 INT

We live in a society where men are expected to play up their masculinity traits in public without the same consequences that the women face when they play up their femininity.

TEXT 6.15 W1 INT

While being smart elevates one's confidence, it is unfortunate that the popular and social media prioritize women's looks over their policies, and put a lot of pressure on women aspirants to be seen as likable. A woman is expected to have both beauty and brains.

Text 6.16 W3 INT

She is tough! (said with a fall-rise intonation)

Text 6.17 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).

Text 6.18 M2INT

CN especially cut a niche for herself as the first woman to vie for presidency and later she earned the title *mama rainbow* (mother of rainbow) when she joined the opposition's Rainbow Party. These boosted her public image. MK is a polished politician who has displayed a level of politics that only equals a few other politicians in Kenya who are dedicated to their course.

Text 6.19 W1 INT

...sexual objectification of female political candidates trivializes what women can bring to the table. Many articles look at new female aspirants from a sexual lens. If we allow that narrative to build and grow, we will lose what we are trying to do on bringing and normalizing women leadership (NTV, Victoria's Lounge November 10th 2016).

Text 6.20 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).

Text 6.21 NAT NSP

“...seeking an elective post is not easy, especially in a constituency where women have traditionally not asked for votes”. Ms 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 6.22 W4INT

The relatively recent creation of the position of Woman Rep, coupled with the existing beliefs that highly powerful positions are for men has been used by people as a campaign strategy meant to create the impression that the only elective political position women are supposed to vie for is that of Woman Rep.

Appendix 9: The Reconstruction of Agency by the Women Politicians

Text 6.23 W2 STAR NSP

Men like MM have no place or role to play in our empowerment. He is part of the problem. Let's be even more determined to take our place at the table. I **encourage women not to shy away** from leadership for fear of victimisation, character assassination and prejudices of patriarchy (The Star, November 18, 2016)

Text 6.24 W5 NAT NSP ART

It is very wrong to ask a woman about her marital status when nobody bothers to pose similar questions to men" (Daily Nation, Tuesday 28th February, 2017).

Text 6.25 W6 NAT NSP ART

Such people would do well to tell us which clause in the Elections Act considers marital status, sex or tribe, as a prerequisite for admissibility into political contest (Daily Nation, Wednesday February 1, 2017)

Text 6.26 W1 INT

We are usually engaged in personalized politics by our opponents instead of being measured in terms of issue articulation and matters development.
(Daily Nation, Wednesday, February 1, 2017)

Text 6.27 NAT NSP ART

I won the ODM ticket in 2013 but unfortunately I did not get the certificate despite being a woman. ... It is the duty of political parties to nurture women leadership. (Daily Nation, Tuesday 28th February, 2017 pg 19-20).

Text 6.28 W2 STD NSP ART

While talking at a meeting held at P6, Mrs W2NSP 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 Representative 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).

Text 6.29 W1 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).

Text 6.30 W2 CTN TV

Media houses are psyching Kenyans to reject a female president by dwelling on whether Kenya is ready for a female president. Questions like these perpetuate or emphasize that we are not ready. We should build a different narrative (Citizen Television, Wednesday, July 22, 2015).

Text 6.31 WI STAR NSP ART

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 (*Capital News*, May 22, 2013)

Text 6.32 W3 INT

We cannot deny that leadership positions are presented in society as though they were men's positions. So when a woman is vying, you're sort of being questioned, how come? I remember once in 1992, a professional colleague of mine asked me, since when did you become a politician? Yet I had been active in law society politics and in national politics. The same question was not going to my male colleagues. And I said I will vie and see who can stop me other than the electorate and I vied and the rest is history.

So, we have many barriers, including the stereotypes that this is not a woman's job. We've got to overcome that as women, and just like any other job, even engineering was never seen as a woman's job, yet now we are having many women engineers, as we are having accountants. You know, the job that was traditionally seen as a woman's is teaching and nursing. You know I remember when I said I was doing law being told that teaching is a good job because I will have a three months' holiday every year which I can look after children. So as a woman, you are being weighed with your productive role. After all even when you are a stay home mom, most moms are not doing the chores of bringing up children, you know. If there is a farm, you will be the farm manager. If there is a business, you are the business manager; you will be multitasking. So, let's step out. Nature has prepared us for multi-tasking. Whatever job you are in, yes, you can go into politics.

Text 6.33 W2 INT

The notion that politics is a dirty game; it is the players who make it dirty and even the workplace can become dirty depending on who your workmates are. So, let get over being afraid. The money handles will be there but having been in politics for a long time, I tell you that even the average male does not have money. They have money issues just like women. They will be flocking to various political parties searching for people who can sponsor them. So there is nothing peculiar about women without money wanting to vie. Over ninety percent of the males vying won't have money too. So, you are just one of them. You just have to find a way of mobilizing both human and financial resources so as to support your campaign.

Text 6.34 W3 INT

And we also have to come out and be change agents so that we change our politics. It is now too much monetized. When I vied for the first time and up to the third time, we didn't have to use money. You just go to people. The money you needed was strictly for logistics. But now, the electorate assumes the moment you say you are vying, it is like you are offered money by the government or by some other person. So, if you are not dishing out money, you are not seen as a serious candidate. You might even be suspected you are withholding money and which otherwise should go to the electorate.

So, to increase our numbers we have to be change agents, so that we talk and engage the people, so that we take our politics away from the money and return to issue based politics. I remember they never elected me because I had money. It is because I had ideas and ability to do the job which is, one, representation in parliament, mobilizing them to do things for themselves including development and helping them prioritise their projects.

Text 6.35 W4 INT

We need both quantity and quality for women. But even if we were to start at quantity, are we having quality by having a large quantity of men as leaders? So why are we talking of quality because women have asked to have their space? These are diversionally tactics. We have men from 1963 and even traditionally before then. Have we had quality leadership? Have we ever addressed the issue of quality? Why does quality come in when women come in? I don't want to talk about quality, let us first get quantity and let us move together. But it is our duty to ensure that we sensitise women and men together.

I do not want to talk about quality, let us first get quantity and let us move together. But it is also our duty to ensure that we sensitize women and men. If women are elected on that women's quota, when they come, they should articulate women's issues and make things better because they are standing on women's shoulders. They should help others to get where they are. If not, then we will start a conversation in the villages so that next time we elect people with a proven track record.

Text 6.36 W3 INT

A woman can win, with thick skin and with clear focus of what you want to achieve and knowing that you should never be distracted by your distracters. And because the electorate is not so used to women vying like men, knowing you have to cover more ground than them. So start early and do not fear your male competitors. If you are cash trapped they are probably more trapped. Occasionally you will be competing against rich people. Like my first election; I was competing against a tycoon. I flowered them with my mouth only without money, not for anything. Just go and convince the people. Take it wherever you are before people, you are before an interviewing panel. Put on your best.

Every explicit word was used on me and the voters still elected me. My duty is to say that you count your insults, I'll count the votes. And it is not my duty to get diverted so that when you go to the podium, you are answering critics instead of giving your manifesto. You must never lose focus and if you ever answer anything, it must be a by the way at the end when you have finished.

Text 6.37 W3INT

I think in the education curriculum, we need to check what examples we are giving. If you look even in the set books, you will see more examples of men in certain roles. We have to make our curriculum gender neutral so that it is accommodating to both men and women. We have to resocialise ourselves. Even as mothers we are brought up in patriarchy. So you will still catch yourself telling your girl what she can't do and what is for a boy. It will take a generation or more so that attitudes can change and able women leaders shall not be discriminated upon. I believe that even with my experience, I was discriminated upon by the Kenya voter, both male and female. I still believe I was the most qualified candidate. Qualified in terms of all the things the constitution puts in Chapter Six and all the other leadership qualities. I believe I had qualifications which I could have demonstrated. Even the manifesto articulation, everything. I campaigned harder than all of them. I went to every part of Kenya. I literally slept in every county in Kenya including Mandera, you see, and Wajir. And I know the country so well, interacted with people. It did not translate to votes. The only thing I did not do and the males were doing, there was no money to give. But I had enough money to get me round the country.

Text 6.38 W3 INT

From day one as an MP, we advocated for having more numbers and very successfully. If you remember in 1997, that was my first term in parliament, we had the IPPG and I was a core member of that IPPG. And as the only woman in the constitutional committee of 20, I was able, working with women outside, to propose amendments to the then constitution Article 80. We commended it to outlaw discrimination on basis of sex. That was the way it was worded, ...on the basis of gender. We also created a new section, 33(a), to decree that all nominated seats whether in parliament or local assemblies, parties must observe gender parity when nominating. And though it was not practiced strictly, it was fulfilled over 80 percent.

Out of that single amendment to the constitution, and a new clause, after the 1997 general elections in 1998, for the first time, we nominated women councilors throughout the republic. Even if their numbers were not tallying, we were introducing the women's leadership. And in parliament for the first time, instead of the single woman being nominated, we have five nominated women out of twelve. KANU robbed as one seat and we went to court. The case was never heard until the next term, and dismissed on funny grounds. But we got five for the first time and out of the four elected plus the five we became nine in parliament.

Thereafter, I was a member of the drafting committee, when people came together in 1998 to start the formal journey of the constitution. The drafting committee was chaired by Bishop Philip Sulumanti. They called it the Sulumanti Committee. I and Professor Wanjiku Kabiru were the joint secretaries and we had other ladies and men as members. For the first time, we were able to put it in legislation in the Constitution of Kenya Review Act 1998, that one third of all the organs of review must be women, you see. We started the quota system then, you know.

The 1997 amendment introduced gender by parity legislation for constitutional review and even when the Act kept on being amended, they never removed that one third. That is the one third that has now been realized in the 2010 constitution. Unfortunately, we were not able to convince our male colleagues in Naivasha that we should put a formula for parliament. They only accepted a formula for county assemblies. And that is why we are still having the problem. But you can see, it has altered the face of parliament.

Text 6.39 WI INT

Whether you are in politics or in any other job, you will not completely shutout men or women, because also there are some women who will use derogatory terms on you, which means they do not ,even, they are not aware of themselves as women. They are not realizing they insult themselves in an attempt to insult you. I think you can't really run away from those types in society. Whatever job you are in, even in church group, you will still get somebody who will insult you. So let's learn to shut our ears to them, get on. The way to give them a heavier burden than the one they give you of an insult is to ignore them. Remain focused and keep moving forward. Some of them will eventually join you.

Appendix 10: Summary of the Linguistic Items and Expressions

1. Linguistic Items That Refer to or Describe Women Politicians

(a) Lexical Items

i. Adjectives: bossy; opinionated; naïve; yule mwanamke wazimu (that mad woman); fragile and weak; dependent; brilliant, beautiful, stylish, articulate, yet unassuming...with a dimpled smile...has beauty and brains; politically coy and seductive; rebellious, ...severe dress code, always in red or black,...tough and serious colours.

ii. Verbs: Women have crashed and burned the reputation of men; woman has shocked many for clinching a top party post

iii. Titles: mother of, *mama* (mother), madam, Miss/Mrs

iv. Nicknames: *mama yao/mama* Nai (their mother/mother of Nairobi), *mama* rainbow (mother of rainbow)

(b) Phrases and Sentences

i. Idioms: Women sending shivers down the spines of men; women left screaming themselves off in parliament;

ii. Questions: Are you married? Where are you married? Who will take care of your husband? With whom have you left your husband? Where were you born? Do you have children? How are you raising your children? Is Kenya ready for a woman president?

(c) Semantics

i. Local Coherence through Biased Reasons and Causes

She is married to an outsider; Women should vie for Woman Rep/or positions that have been set aside for women; Women don't lead people to war; women should be running mates of governors

ii. Global Coherence through Topicalisation: AM acting like a woman, thinking like a man; Is Kenya ready for a woman president? What flowergirls in Kenya can learn from MK, CN.; Women leaders taking over superpowers

iii. Semantic Rhetoric: Metaphors-flower girls, iron ladies, *rinda* (woman's dress), *kilemba* (headscarf), *soda ndogo* (small soda); similes- Diplomacy like sex...; And just like sex...; women like fire are known to be good servants, but bad leaders; She appeared like a naïve flowergirl of debutante; repetition- is Kenya ready for a woman president? ...but is Kenya really ready for a woman president? Women like fire are known to be good leaders but bad servants; Like I said, women like fire are known to be good servants but bad leaders; Kenyans are not ready to have a woman lead them; Kenya is not ready for a woman president; oxymoron- a woman cannot be the most powerful man in the country.

iv. Reference: that woman;

v. Exclusion: A woman is among five people...

(d) Pragmatics

i. Insults: You are chasing men all over. Everyone wants to rape you. You think you are beautiful. You are not. Nobody wants you

ii. Commands: *Enda kwa mzee wako.*

iii. Advice and Plain Assertions (Local coherence): No Kenyan man would ever willingly agree to be under a woman; 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; 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; 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; The race should be left for men to battle out; women should try their luck in the Woman's Rep seat; Woman should not be judged by their gender.

(e) Nonverbal Language

i. Body Language: inappropriate touches; being heckled; sexually oriented gazes, facial expressions and gestures; welcome dances

ii. Images: sexually oriented cartoons, masculinisation cartoons

2. Linguistic Items That Refer to or Describe Men Politicians**(a) Lexicalisation**

i. Noun: boss

ii. Adjectives: seasoned politicians, articulate, strong

iii. Titles: *Mheshimiwa* (honourable), *mkubwa* (boss)

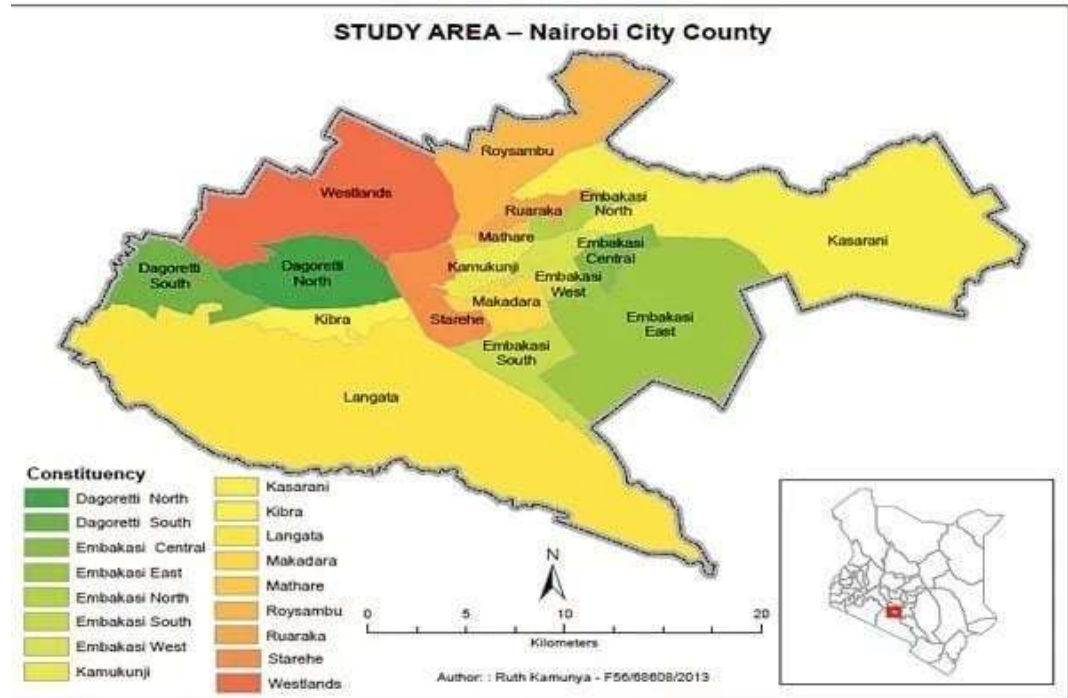
iv. Nicknames: *sonko* (affluent), *otada* (strong), *baba* (father), *baba yao* (their father)

(b) Phrases: Men going back to the drawing board; he becomes the wind beneath her wings

(c) Semantic Rhetoric

i. Metaphors: thief, *mafisi* (big hyenas), sponsors or accessories

Appendix 11: Map of Nairobi County, One of the the Study Areas



Appendix 12 Research Authorization (Kenyatta University)



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

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Our Ref: C82/28600/14

Date: 12th November, 2016

The Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation,
P.O. Box 30623-00100,
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR MS.NORAH ATAMBO - REG. NO. C82/29447/14

I write to introduce Ms. Atambo who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. She is registered for a Ph.D. degree programme in the Department of English & Linguistics in the School of Humanities & Social Sciences.

Ms. Atambo intends to conduct research for Ph.D. thesis entitled, "Language Gender and Power: The Discursive Construction of the Kenya National Assembly Politician (2012-2016)"

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

MRS. LUCY N. MBAABU
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

RM/cao

Appendix 13: Research Authorization (NACOSTI)



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

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Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/17/55478/15243** Date

18th January, 2017

Norah Bonareri Atambo
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *“Language, gender and power: The discursive construction of the Kenya National Assembly Politician (2012 – 2016),”* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **17th January, 2018.**

You are advised to report **the Clerk, National Assembly, the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.


DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The Clerk
National Assembly

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO 9001:2008 Certified

Appendix 14: Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MS. NORAH BONARERI ATAMBO
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 0-60100
Embu, has been permitted to conduct
research in Nairobi County

on the topic: LANGUAGE, GENDER AND
POWER: THE DISCURSIVE
CONSTRUCTION OF THE KENYA
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY POLITICIAN (2012
- 2016)

for the period ending:
17th January, 2018

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/17/55478/15243
Date Of issue : 18th January, 2017
Fee Received : Ksh 2000





[Signature]
Applicant's
Signature

[Signature]
Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officer will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two(2) hard copies and one (1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice.


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation

RESEACH CLEARANCE
PERMIT

Serial No. A **12518**
CONDITIONS: see back page