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### A Critical Discourse Analysis of Linguistic and Discursive Strategies Used in Kenya's Citizen Television Advertisements to Display Gender Ideologies

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The present study sought to examine how linguistic devices and discursive strategies used in Kenya's Citizen TV ads which pattern men and women differently according to gender well-being. This thereby results in unconscious rationalisations of social constructions. Using observation as the main tool of data collection, a corpus of fourteen adverts sourced from one mainstream media station, Citizen TV were purposively sampled, observed by the researcher, transcribed into data, coded, then thematically analysed using techniques of content analysis. Guided by Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis theory which provided the framework for analysis, the study adopted a qualitative, case study research design. The research design provided in-depth information about the phenomenon in order to establish the discursive and linguistic strategies used in the TV ads and how they mirror society's system of values, attitudes and beliefs about men and women. The findings of this study indicated that gender ideologies that affect how meaning is made out of Kenyan TV ads were embedded in linguistic structures, social processes and manoeuvres.

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## INTRODUCTION

Kenyan TVs use language in a unique way to air various content ranging from adverts, news, documentaries, movies, music and other programs. Its main objective is to provide information to its viewers. Moreover, TV as a discourse platform contains information about the world we live in and acts as a vehicle of socialisation as its viewers develop a mutual preference for novel values they watch on reality TV. As elucidated by Bandura in his Social Learning Theory, human behaviour is a result of continuous reciprocal interaction between cognitive, behavioural and environmental influences (Bandura and Walters 1963). Influenced also by the work of Postman (1985) that TV is a curriculum, a specially constructed information system that uses language to influence, teach, train and cultivate the mind and character of the youth, inherent is that people learn behaviour by observing others' behaviour as seen in adverts which mirror social values and shape them.

Advertising messages occur in multifarious forms; billboards, posters, print media, TV and radio. TV genres have advantages over other means of advertising because they utilise both verbal and visual modes of signification that best articulate their intended messages. Curran (2002) defines advertising as "a paid, mediated form of non-personal (selected group of persons e.g. the youth and children) communication presented through the various media and designed to persuade/convince an audience to do something or to take some action about products, services or ideas. Therefore,

adverts use linguistic elements and discursive strategies to inform, persuade, influence and perhaps change opinions, emotions and attitudes (Cook, 2001). Besides, ads transmit cultural ideas about gender, influence how people think about their own genders and hence contribute to the ongoing social stratification of genders in society. Manca and Manca (1994) further argue that 'advertising is a bellwether of our cultural trends, a mirror of social values and a powerful usually malevolent force that shapes those values'.

Since advertising discourse mainly ventures into the domain of persuasion, the structure of the language used acts as a tool through which gender perceptions are subliminally constructed; it also mimics the surrounding culture, art and practices. Most viewers, however, pay less conscious attention to deeper meanings that stem out of ads due to the fact that ads are endowed with colourful language and portrayals that create lasting images because of their unquestioned repetitive nature which rationalises the values they propel and rubs them in till these values remain natural, normal and unquestioned (Kundu and Wambui, 1993). More importantly, advertisers' language is made up of codes, symbols and conventions that give meanings beneath the surface of what we see. It is highly creative comprising verbal and semiotic modes of signification like pictorials, participants' body language, colours, gaze, gestures, facial expressions and graphics that contribute in constructing the overall message in the ads.

In addition, advertisers' language is conceived as a social practice that creates beliefs and ideologies that result from people's lived experiences. Given such a view, TV adverts in Kenya reinforce the beliefs that dominant cultures support by using language and discursive practices in a way that has become socially acceptable and remain unchanged over time. As such, ads perpetuate and reinforce popular social norms which consequently reify shared cultural gender ideologies. This affirms Cook's (2001) assertion that advertising, as one of the TV genres, is a prominent discourse type in virtually all contemporary societies and it forms the most influential and ideological institution of socialisation in the modern era (Kilbourne 1999). Ads, therefore, provide a mode of popular culture discourse communication upon which power relations can be investigated.

Lastly, selection of advertisements for the present study was based on the paramount influence of studies across the globe that have explored the subject of gender studies specialising on various issues touching on women like gender-based violence (GBV), women empowerment and discrimination of women in various areas of life. Evident is that across the world, although women form a majority of the world's population, they still continue to be poorly represented in many facets of life. They are defined by patriarchal standards and in effect, they are oppressed and kept in a subordinate position. It is a common belief among scholars that the representations of gender relations actually reflect the social, cultural, political and economic values of the society (Dines & Humez, 1994; Gauntlett, 2002). Therefore, much as many scholars have done research in gender studies, the emancipation of women still looks far-fetched. What is deduced from the various assertions is that society's patriarchal standards are bare-foot of this study's dilemma. Thus, using gender as the main social paradigm of determining how people communicate in regard to gender norms, this study explored how the image of women and men in

Kenya's Citizen TV ads is essential for understanding language use, social practices and interactions(ideology). The study sought to investigate and reveal novel knowledge in regard to how ads drawn from various social interactions use language and other discursive strategies to bolster patriarchal gender ideologies.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Language is a major tool for communication but it can further be used to sustain social realities in society. This is because the choices people make when they speak or write are not randomly chosen but ideologically patterned; as such social realities can be linguistically and discursively constructed. In this view, a review of related studies profiling gender stratification using various language and discursive practices was done. The first work significant to this study is Yieke's (2002a) study. The question of how language factor alongside discursive practices ensure that women are discriminated against and never rise beyond a certain level (the glass ceiling) was looked into. Her analysis of interruptions, questions and topic organisation as interactional resources within the turn-taking process are relevant in this study to confirm or dispute whether similar use of language in Kenyan TV ads portrays men and women in terms of their hegemonic accepted norms. In another similar study, Yieke (2002b) assessed how language reflects and helps to create the social structures and systems that control us and her deductions were that women more than men are excluded from power. The current study explores how gender ideologies are linguistically and discursively constructed using other established norms of verbal and non-verbal behaviour other than questions, interruptions and topic organisations.

Along similar lines, Owiti's (2005) study informed this study in that the findings of her research revealed that TV ads use special verbal and non-verbal stylistic devices like repetition, advert claim,

figurative language, facial expressions and gestures. According to her study, the verbal and non-verbal features of ads were used for various purposes like for emphasis, convincing, breeding familiarity and forcing viewers to attend to connotations; consequently, it influenced the response of teen girls to the adverts. This is a significant pointer that prevailing gender ideologies can be reinforced by societal institutions through language and discursive practices. This is what Van Dijk (1995) and Fairclough (2001) affirm that ideologies can be expressed using both verbal and non-verbal communication. Owiti's study thus relates to this study in that it helps to examine how the linguistic expressions accompanied with non-verbal discursive practices unconsciously communicate hidden beliefs about men and women consequently discriminating one group in terms of their capacity and status. It is important to note that the studies differ in that whereas Owiti was interested in investigating the language of TV ads and how it influenced teen girls in Kenyan urban schools through their responses, the current study investigates how discourse and linguistic structures in TV ads mirror gender outlooks. The theories used differ; whereas she used Austin's speech Acts theory and Gumperz's theory of interactional Sociolinguistics, the current study used CDA as its theoretical framework. The language of ads in Owiti's study informed the current study in describing the discourse strategies used in Kenyan TV ads to reveal gender ideologies.

Further, Manka's (2011) study is also important to this study. The study sought to interrogate the language of ads and how the youth interpreted them. Findings of the study indicated that ads employed both verbal and non-verbal features and viewers inferred multiple interpretations besides those intended by ad creators. The studies are similar in that both used TV ads as data for their study and they investigated the language of ads. However, the studies differ in that objectives of both studies differ. Whereas Manka sought to

evaluate the role of TV ads in disseminating HIV and AIDS information to the youth, the current study seeks to establish the gender ideologies embedded in linguistic and contingent discourse practices. Manka's study informed the current study in describing how various features of language used in a particular context result in ideologies.

Lastly, significant to this study is Khaemba's (2013) study. The intentions of her study were to identify discursive strategies employed in the construction of socially gendered roles. The findings were that Bukusu ritual discourse plays a role in the construction of hegemonic masculinities. The patterns exhibited in the discourse perpetuate masculine ideologies which subordinate the status of women. Khaemba's study is relevant to the current study as it aided to establish how linguistic and discursive strategies employed in advertising discourse justify unequal social order that reflects cultural ideas about each gender. Whereas Khaemba used Bukusu rituals to expose hegemonic tendencies and its effects on gendered roles, the current study used adverts to investigate how linguistic and discursive strategies embedded in the structure of social institutions result to ideologies that are discriminatory against the feminine gender.

From the reviewed literature, it can be deduced that there has been a considerable investigation on gender role portrayals in ads across the globe and language of TV ads whereas comparatively little attention has been paid to investigate how language use reinforced by discursive practices in adverts construct ideologies that reveal gendered power relations. It is in this regard that this current study sought to fill this gap by investigating how language (linguistic features and discursive strategies) employed in ads promote social stratification thereby propelling gendered power relations.

## METHODOLOGY

Adverts are verbal behaviours which are best analysed qualitatively. Thus, the study adopted a case study research design to provide in-depth information about a phenomenon in order to establish trends, patterns and relationships (Dornyei, 2010); that is to establish the ideological trends, patterns and relationships exhibited in Kenyan TV ads. The technique used to select both the ads and TV station from the entire population to be utilised for the study was purposive sampling because the method possesses the characteristics related to the purpose of the study (Dornyei, 2010), (gender messages embedded in linguistic and discursive strategies) and it allows researchers to use their judgment to select a sample they believe based on prior information would yield results favourable to the objectives of their study (Fraenkel, Wallen and Hyun, 2012). The target population was fourteen, commercial, Kenyan TV ads running on one mainstream Kenyan TV channel, Citizen TV during prime time (7 pm- 10 pm).

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Findings of this study revealed that advertisers used various linguistic and discursive manoeuvres to construct ideologies in ads. Adopting Van Dijk's (2008) model, analysis concentrated upon the following linguistic markers and discourse practices that vary as a function of social organisation and hence are used by the advertising industry to reify society's actions and beliefs. They include lexical style, syntactic structures, rhetorical figures, presuppositions and connotations, topic choice, turn-taking and celebrity endorsement.

### Representation of Gender Ideologies Through Lexical Styles

First, gender ideologies were indexed and perpetuated through the lexical style employed in the selected ads. One major way of analysing vocabulary was by focusing on the word choices of

the ads and critically analysing their ideological significance. Fairclough (1989) asserts that lexical choices name activities or processes, people and things associated with these activities in ways that are culturally salient. In the context of this study, the choice of lexical style implied negative and positive evaluations that revealed gender ideologies in ads as discussed further. In the *Kimbo* advert, the linguistic elements used .... *my mother used it...* and.... *at the heart of every family there is a mother* denote society's belief that the social role of mothers is to prepare meals for the family and as further seen, the roles are presumably passed over from one generation to the other. The attributes associated with her are love and caretaking as affirmed from the words *at the heart of every family, there is a mother*. The voiceover on the other hand apparently delivered by a male voice... *at the heart of every family, there is a mother* emphasises the conservative ideology that men acknowledge the value of women supporting the family physically through their distinctive duty of cooking.

Similarly, in the *Jik 101* uses, Dettol 24 hours, *Soko Ugali* and Fresh fry cooking oil adverts, a similar trend was realised. The lexical items used - *husband's shirt needs some whitening - I gave him Dettol soap nonstop protection - tangu mama akupikie - she also started cooking with Fresh Fry cooking oil* similarly denoted the ideological stance of women's preoccupation with the home cleaning, cooking and taking care of the family. These are clearly finite roles and characterisation carved from cultural customs that support the traditional gender ideology of women being homemakers. Therefore, encoded in the linguistic elements used is a polarised model of conservative ideologies.

Since CDA views language as a social activity with social factors that influence language users to use specific forms of language; in the context of the above adverts, it was deduced that a repertoire of images was painted with which we visualised a complete picture of societal reality. Women

performed tasks generally regarded as less challenging in society thus they were cleverly excluded from challenging tasks associated with status. The advertisers carefully selected lexical features that signified and reaffirmed women's culturally ascribed role and status as home keepers consequently, displaying gender ideologies in advertising. Van Dijk (1995) notes that a careful choice of words in discourse genres is for ideological expression and persuasion. Kenyan TV advertisers carefully chose words to persuasively make viewers accept the ranking of actors in the ads according to gender perceptions. For instance, in the adverts, *Guinness*, *Legend Brandy KCB home loan* and *Safeguard* ads, the linguistic expressions used- 'to make a name', 'legend', 'money to build a house-a home for us' and 'champion' are all inclined to prestigious ideological dimensions and semantic manifestations used to denote success, authority, strength and assertiveness thus manipulate or naturalise social hierarchies.

The linguistic symbolic forms were used to characterise the actors and describe the hidden concepts of power and ideology associated with the male gender. The father's ability to provide for the family is for instance associated with heroism (a legend), making a name for oneself and others are considered epic, ability to build a house is associated with economic wellbeing, winning a race is associated with the success that requires a lot of physical strength to achieve. In addition, the word 'Champion' used in reference to Rudisha; a celebrity, overtly, means someone who has surpassed his rivals and emerged the winner. In a CDA perspective, the term aggrandises the male gender by the fact that a celebrity is generally admired and has a secret appeal to viewers. He is thus considered powerful and as such is used to propel societal beliefs about the male gender in Kenyan TV ads. This communicates society's view of the societal affiliations of each gender and contributes to the structuring of gender standpoints because the language used in society mirrors gender

perspective and can influence how society paints its men and women.

Noted from the findings of this study was that cultural values were seldom brought up explicitly but were implicitly embedded in the ads. Men are ideologically considered powerful over women through the use of lexical items that make judgements on groups of society in what Lippmann (1922) refers to as stereotypes. In the adverts discussed above, it was observed that the lexical choices were stereotypically used to contribute to the structuring of gender ideologies in society. Whereas men were affiliated with heroism, toughness and sturdiness, women were affiliated with fragility, family service and trivial chores that do not require a lot of mental or physical strain. The repetitive use of this pool of vocabulary in Kenyan TV adverts allowed actors to be patterned gender-wise, be perceived as either powerful or less powerful, positioned them and also justified their ideological state in society.

### **Representation of Gender Ideologies Through Syntactic Structures**

Secondly, the relational value of how syntactic structures were manipulated to justify patriarchal ideologies in advertising text was observed. Basing on Cameron's (2006) claims that women's speech is less direct and assertive than men's, in this study women used modals constructions, tag questions, polite forms, indirect requests and subjunctive statements to indicate uncertainty, a suggestion or a wish. Whilst, men used imperatives and declaratives to indicate certainty and authority and questions as interactional power tools to place constraints on discourse options available to their co-speakers as seen in the adverts discussed herein.

In the *KCB home loan* advert, the father-in-law used questions which according to Fairclough (1989) when used in a conversation, whether they are meant to ask for information or initiate action, generally place the speaker in an elevated,

privileged position of power. This is because using questions empowers speakers to shift topic in line with what is in tune with the point of view they want to advance in the conversation. The man in the *Safaricom chattitude bundles* advert similarly used questions to not only create rapport with the lady to advance his agenda but also carve an advantaged speaker position for himself. It implied authority of the speaker requiring an appropriate answer from the respondent. The man was thus presumed to be in a dominant position whereas the lady was at a disadvantaged position since she was assumed to receive direction from the one questioning.

Questioning also characterised the roles each speaker took for instance in the above-discussed adverts, the men took the traditional role of taking the initiative to seek information from their respondents. Since dominance is closely linked to status and hierarchy, these patterning visualised a complete picture of societal reality institutionalised by the media. Therefore, in the above adverts, the addressee(s) did not exercise power because their responses were conditioned by the addresser's point of view. In their article "Discourse functions of questions", Athanasiadou and Tabakowska (2010) opine that using questions in discourse is a significant feature found in spoken interaction. A question forms the first turn of an adjacency pair and it does not merely require an answer; it also constrains what will count as a relevant or appropriate answer. The father-in-law and the masgwebembe man in the above adverts used questions which obliged the respondents to respond rather than just remaining silent. Authority in this context is linked with the distance imposed by the questioners who carry a command function that does not allow their interlocutors to ask back any question but rather respond. Men's discourse styles are therefore ideologically institutionalised as ways of speaking with authority, power and dominance while women's styles distanced them from power thus positioning men and women in the gender power relations matrix. This is clearly a gendered

ideological point of view that echoes Shuy's (1987) view that the person who controls a topic, controls the interaction and is therefore viewed as the more powerful of the two interlocutors.

Men also exhibited assertiveness in the sense that they directed their interaction through the use of declarative syntactic structures as seen in the *Guinness* and KCB home-loan adverts. *He believes a man's NAME finds its meaning, -Every man must find it within himself to-Yes, I bought a plot and now KCB is also lending me the money to build a house on it, a home for us!* More assertive and aggressive communication strategies were used by male actors to manifest their assertiveness, authority and certainty as seen in the adverts discussed above. The assertions above indicate men's speech as being direct, forceful and confident. An aspect of authority is insinuated by the use of the declarative that states 'every man must, believes' just as opined by Holmes (2005) that their communication styles are not mere cultural differences between sexes but a manifestation of male dominance over females. Therefore, questions were analysed in terms of what cultural meaning they accomplished through discourse (how they were used) and not merely what they said.

### **Portrayal of Gender Ideologies through Presuppositions and Connotative Devices**

Further analysed were presuppositions and connotative devices which are crucial linguistic features of advertising. In the backdrop of this study, females were defined in terms of culturally defined behavioural attributes like love, care and nurturing associated with domestic products whereas aggressiveness, physical strength and authority were pronounced in men. Further, traditional identities associated with the role of head of the family as well as significant breadwinners and occupants of positions of power were presupposed in male actors, thereby creating and perpetuating the connotation that the behaviour of men taking risks and being aggressive is part of

our culture. Connotations and presuppositions in the adverts were hinted at subliminally and they were not explicitly offensive. In their use, cultural aspects, product divisions, values, roles and traditions were expressed. For instance, cultural role portrayals were displayed in *Kimbo*, *Jik 101* uses, *Dettol 24 hours*, *Soko Ugali* and *Fresh fry* adverts where women were given domestic chores of being mothers and caretakers; associations which have culturally connotative meanings.

The categorisation of products was also presupposed, associating a particular gender with specific products, attributes and roles. For instance, cooking products, cosmetics and toiletries were primarily associated with female gender whereas male gender was associated with alcohol, banking, medicine technology and machines as seen in the *Guinness*, *Go TV* decoder, *Faiba* new episode and *Radio Ramogi*. The voiceover emphasising the quality of the product being advertised in *Dettol 24 hours* ad is male, a male doctor (Dr. Juma) for that matter assessing from his white overcoat adornment in the advert. This also justifies the patriarchal ideology that considers the male gender as supreme thereby stereotypically assigning him a remunerative work considered of better status and power. In addition, in the *KCB home loan*, *Guinness* and *Safeguard* adverts, men were given outdoor chores. *Guinness* advert, for instance, men are displayed erecting a billboard. *Safeguard* advert, a man is displayed winning a race while in *KCB home loan* a man acquires credit to construct a home. The patriarchal ideology hinged on the cultural expectation of men and not women as family financial providers, owners of material possession and achievers of success is brought out. All the activities require the energy of some sort; physical, cognitive or financial. Thus, men were displayed to possess a great physique which presupposed that the men were responsible for providing for the women. Thus, words and expressions used in ads suggested an additional meaning apart from their explicit meanings and

both negative and positive connotations were revealed.

A similar pattern of presupposition and connotation was observed where women took either passive or shorter turns as seen in the *Radio Ramogi*, *Ilara Fresh Milk*, *KCB home loan*, *Safaricom* chattitude bundle, *Faiba* new episode and *Go TV* adverts. The female actor in *Radio Ramogi* ad is presupposed to take a passive role due to the fact that she is featured after the man who dominates in the events of the ad. Further depictions of her taking the passenger seat after the man takes the driver's seat is a blatant display of a stereotypical ideology in Kenyan TV ads based on what society considers appropriate behaviour for both men and women. In the same advert, a direct gaze interpreted as a salient social cue that plays an important role in social interaction and communication presupposes a demand from the actor who stares directly expecting a response. It is also a significant social cue of exuding confidence. Analysing the man's facial expressions, it is concluded that he exudes confidence, communicates his ideas and feelings of being attracted to the lady thus is perceived to wield power over the woman without necessarily saying it in words. Again, a gendered ideology embedded in connotative messages reinforced by dominant and passive actors is sustained.

In the *Ilara Fresh Milk* advert, it is the man who is assumed knowledgeable and thus seen able to provide answers to the daughter's question as to what Vitamin B2 is. The mother who is present all along before the husband gets into the sitting room is suppressed by being presented passively only serving the husband with a glass of milk, bringing school bags for the children then joins the husband in the last bit to say mawowowo as if in consent but all along is presented quietly. This heterogeneous presentation professes a biased ideology of men being in superior positions than women thus contributes to discursive structuring of ideologies in Kenyan TV ads. In addition, in the same advert, the concept of drinking milk to get the energy to do

'anything' is displayed by the man and not the woman. What this presupposes is that the male is perceived to be stronger than the female, hence given the position of power in the advert.

In the *KCB home loan* ad, the mother is not involved in negotiating with the son-in-law about how he has prepared to take care of their daughter. The mother only informs the husband of the visitors' arrival and afterwards is excluded in the conversation only to join after the conclusion by complimenting the son-in-law. Noted is that women are cleverly backgrounded and excluded from family decision making. From the son-in-law's explanation, it is also evident that women are also excluded from financial matters like acquiring a loan to build a home. Apart from the time of arrival, and perhaps after departure, the mother and her daughter are not featured in the discussions at all. What this portrayal presupposes is that it is the prerogative of men and not women to provide family decisions and financial support to the family. This is a stark conservative ideology linguistically and discursively constructed and, in most cases, it goes unquestioned in most of our societies.

In yet another set of adverts, passiveness continued to ideologically construct hegemonic social norms whereby the male actor in *Faiba* new episode ad starts by spraying love words to the lady who equally is passively presented. The male actor further promises to undertake herculean tasks- *I will cross the deepest ocean, travel to the ends of the earth, to the moon and back.* to prove his love for her, but then proceeds to online gaming as his prowess is clearly displayed. Given that CDA aims to unravel hidden power relations, underneath the love message are hidden patriarchal ideologies presented in a fragrant way to show men and not women as able to undertake daunting tasks that require physical and cognitive smartness to achieve.

Passive versus active presentation of characters was also evident in the *Go TV* advert. The male

participant is presented as an active participant interested with technology whereas the female participant is displayed as unconcerned and is comfortable on a couch reading something. When the man fails to get the slot for a digital card in the analogue TV, he thinks of an upgrade, and finally slots the card to the back of the TV. The facial expressions on the female participant show marvel, surprise meaning she is unknowledgeable in digital matters whereas the male, on the other hand, is expressive and assertive considering he takes the lead to adapt to changes. Such depictions show that men are creative geniuses than women who are presumed to be dependent on men and as Chand and Chaudhary (2012), assert, semiotics leads to the creation of social relationships systems of knowledge and thus cultural identity. Thompson (1990) further affirms that such images presuppose a patriarchal ideological position of men's superiority over women.

Discrimination in remunerative work was also a form of presupposition evident in the ads. While the males worked outside the home (*Guinness, Safeguard* and *Legend Brandy* adverts), the females were confined in the home particularly in the kitchen (*Kimbo, Jik 101* uses, *Dettol 24 hours, Soko Ugali* and *Fresh fry* adverts). The home and outdoor settings in the above adverts acted as hidden narratives which formed part of the presuppositions in advertising discourse. The home setting, especially in the kitchen, discriminated women to be stationed in workplaces that are culturally considered inferior thus excluding them from intellectual and significant works. Outdoor settings, on the other hand, presupposed that men were to work harder, achieve and be great. Connotatively, this was a negative portrayal of women that however harmless it seemed on the surface; was hegemonic in form and it relegated them to a subordinate position.

Since CDA is a powerful tool that goes beyond the surface-level examination of discourse, deeper relations of inequality were unravelled by engaging

the text critically. In *Guinness* advert, the wordings- *a man's name finds its meaning not in what he says but in what he does*- presupposed that men were great as there was something great about men creating names for themselves. When these meanings are not intended by the communicators, they result in ideologies and it is these ideologies that this study aims to explain. In addition, gendered patterns were also replicated by associating some interlocutors with modern technology while dissociating others as seen in the *Faiba* new episode and *Go TV* ads. Men and not women were tacitly presumed as superior in their technological prowess and personality as noted in the above adverts. Proficiency with modern technology was regarded as a preserve of the male and not the female gender as the women were presented as passive participants who marvelled at the knowledge of their partners.

In *Faiba's* new episode, for instance, the man is implicitly portrayed as an expert in internet gaming. Underneath the lovey-dovey feelings expressed, is the interlocutor's manliness of being an expert in performing the activity that requires skill. In *Go TV* ad, the man takes the lead role to catch up with changes in technology. He is conversant with the upgrade, whereas his lady is painted as oblivious to the upgrading. Clearly, evident was a demarcation between the powerful and the less powerful actors as socially constructed. Presuppositions allow us not to make everything explicit in our communication (Finch, 2003), thus, are crucial discursive strategies used in several ads to implicitly demarcate between the powerful and the less powerful in society thereby resulting to gendered ideologies.

### **Rhetorical Tools and Representation of Gender Ideologies**

Apart from connotations and presuppositions; rhetorical tools like hyperboles, anaphora and songs were also powerful devices used in the adverts to affirm that social forms and practices are

discursively produced and understood. The techniques are directed to the unconscious region of the human mind; hence they deepen the viewers' subliminal understanding of the adverts they are describing. The features influence the viewer's perception; stimulate curiosity in order to maintain interest at the expense of unravelling underlying meaning. The following analysed ads utilised songs, but underneath were gender messages embedded in them.

In the *Radio Ramogi* advert, a song is rendered as the participant's role play dancing along. The man is assigned the role of actor and he is the first to make direct eye contact with his goal. He is also assigned the pivotal traditional identity of taking the driver's seat and proposing to the girl. Note the words in the background are supposedly being uttered by the man, are romantic meant to act as an emotional arousal cue and seduce his goal into accepting him -*jaber in e magenie ngimana, (beauty, I value you in my life, honey, yoo tamiyo ngimana tee (honey I have given you all my life)*. From a CDA perspective, the meaning of a direct gaze or eye contact heavily depends on the surrounding context; for instance, in our context, the one supposed to be the powerful one (man) dominates in the actions that elicit power. He takes roles (a driver and proposer) that conform to the underlying societal beliefs of how a typical African family ought to be. Viewers enjoy the music at the expense of the message which is ideologically loaded.

Similarly, the *Soko Ugali* advert had gender patterns presupposed underneath a song rendered in the advert. The advertiser uses a song that is meant to make the advert entertaining, thus capturing the attention of the viewers and hindering them from noticing or questioning the reified implicatures. Viewers are lulled by the popular 'Malaika' borrowed tune and the jig from the man. From his song, the ugali has been cooked by the wife, meaning the role solely rests upon the female gender. The song creates a lasting image and subtly

implants the idea of a mother cooking to be socially acceptable; a sexist division of labour favouring men. Lastly, in the *Jik 101* uses through song unequal distribution of power was equally hidden beneath rhetorical figures. The lady actors dance and sing beautifully, thus the ad remains implanted in the viewers' mind longer because of its pictorials, rhythm and dance. The repertoire of language elements utilised in the song enable a discourse analyst to visualise the power relations encoded in the ad. The chore listings, *does your husband's shirt need some whitening-a dirty floor stain that is frightening- your stove no longer so shiny...* practically indicate domestic cleaning activities that maintain status quo in the family thus revealing gender ideologies beautifully cushioned in the song.

Anaphora was used for manipulation; it involved the repetition of successive clauses. Van Dijk (1995) calls the use of stylistic devices like repetition, anaphora, metaphors and similes 'semantic rhetoric'. He notes that semantic rhetoric is used to make information which is negative or positive about a particular group more prominent. In reference to this study, the notion of success, strength and power in men was repeated in various portrayals thereby reproducing the dominant ideology of male superiority whereas female subordination was made prominent by repeating women's socially constructed traits, roles and this no doubt translates to patriarchal ideology as seen in the following ads. For instance, it served to emphasise the notion of success in men as seen in the *Safeguard*, *Legend Brandy* and *Guinness* adverts. The words '*perfection*, *legend*, *to make a name* and *champion*' were repeated and they emphasised qualities associated with power. '*Perfection*' for instance refers to a quality of being without blemish; precisely meaning accurate whereas '*a legend*' is a person who is famous and admired by many people. '*A champion*' on the other hand is one who has surpassed all rivals in a contest; a conqueror. Lastly to '*make a name for oneself*'

means to achieve; succeed. In the context of the above adverts, deduced was that the recurring lexical items were used metaphorically creating a gender-biased reality that reproduced gender ideologies in Kenyan TV ads.

### **Gender Ideologies Links with other Discursive Strategies**

Further, discursive strategies like turn-taking, topic choices, non-verbal cues and celebrity endorsement which affect how meaning is made out of ads were used to construct gender ideologies in ads. Unbalanced turn-taking was witnessed in ads with more than two participants of mixed gender. The turn-taking system provided a basic framework for the organisation of talk-in-interaction in adverts since it allowed participants to interact rather than to act individually. Realised was that longer turns, dominant and lead roles were taken by men as seen in *Ilara Fresh Milk*, *KCB home loan*, *Safaricom chattitude bundles*, *Faiba* new episode and *Go TV* adverts. A notable observation in the above ads was that the male participants took dominant and longer turns. Their female co-actors took passive, subordinate and shorter turns. Cameron (2001) notes that lead speakers are obliged to state their opinion on the topic under discussion, whereas the second or passive speakers in most cases are forced to develop the topic in line to what the first speaker had said. Therefore, the fact that the male actors in the above adverts happened to be the lead participants took longer turns and as such excluded the female interlocutors from the self-image of financial muscle instantiated and reproduced power dominance in the male gender.

Consequently, the male participants are perceived to have wielded more power compared to their female co-actors and this results in gender stratification that is ideologically shaped. Similarly, just like in the previously analysed advert the male actor in *Ilara Fresh Milk* ad also took an active role and a longer turn while his female co-actors (daughter and mother) took shorter turns and

passively participated in the ad respectively. A longer turn and active role placed him and not his wife at an advantaged position to display his cognitive prowess in explaining the power of the milk by practically displaying his physical strength. The passive role of the wife places her at a subordinate position and she dances uttering only one word 'mawowowo'. This portrayal is integrated with an ideology of presenting women in limited soft tasks an indication of suppression on their part and domination of the male actors in the conversation as an implicit tool of manipulating patriarchal power.

In yet another ad with two actors of different genders, the same pattern of turn-taking was evident in *Go TV* advert. The lead actor declares himself as an expert in the technological field use of a mini slim card *Go TV* decoder. He is typically characterised as knowledgeable, in charge of giving leadership and direction to the wife and holds the floor longer compared to the wife who keeps quiet and just nods. This characterisation reiterates O' Donnell and O' Donnell's (1990) view that floor holding and topic control are closely related to power. Thus, though not blatantly asserted, implicit meanings associated with underlying societal beliefs of men being presented as more powerful than women are portrayed through such discursive strategies.

The star power was another discursive strategy used by advertisers to link a product with a person. When a product takes characteristics of these celebrity associations, image transfer occurs affecting the viewers' beliefs, attitudes that reinforce gender ideologies. Cute, cool or powerful celebrities were used to promote products and services they were likely to be plausible consumers. Since they are presented in a world of glamour, viewers are conditioned into believing that it is possible for them to live like them when they use the advertised products. Since Rudisha is associated with power due to his 800 champion celebrity appeal notion; viewers rarely notice or question any power

relations aspects in such ads. All that matters is image transfer where viewers associate the product with the character. Since Rudisha is regarded as a champion winning nothing other than gold, he is linked to power and as such patriarchal ideologies are reified using celebrity endorsement. The word 'Champion' in the *Safeguard* advert was used in reference to Rudisha; a celebrity. Overtly, the word champion means someone who has surpassed his rivals and emerged the winner. However, using a CDA framework, the term aggrandises the male gender by the fact that a celebrity is generally admired and has a secret appeal to viewers. He is thus considered powerful and as such was used to propel the prevailing gender ideologies in Kenyan TV ads.

Topic choice was another discursive aspect of propagating patriarchal ideologies in Kenyan TV ads. Guiding this were themes utilised in presenting men and women in ads. In the selected ads, themes ranged from domesticity, assertiveness and material success, good times and fun. Men talked about or took up reputable and arduous occupations like banking, building and construction, repairing cars, playing sports, and leisure. They promoted alcoholic beverages, banking services, technology and cars. On the contrary, female characters took up roles like housewives, caretakers which are deemed less challenging by society. They mostly promoted household commodities like cooking oil, detergents and beauty products. Qualities associated with female actors were like an endearment, care and parenting. On the other hand, men's predominant attributes were the ability to act aptly and authoritatively, the power to protect and provide for the family. This characterisation is a powerful means of defining women's place in society and it legitimises the subordination of women at text level. Implicitly, these media representations were loaded with the cultural meaning of men as providers and women caretakers in the home thereby suggesting that since men occupied positions of power, they ought to take risks and be

aggressive while women need to be submissive and gentle. Evidently, there was a power difference and this trend of topic choice in ads perpetuated the popular societal myths of female subordination that results in gender ideologies in Kenyan TV ads. Power is not exercised in obviously abusive acts of dominant group members but may be enacted in a myriad of often taken for granted actions of everyday life as is typically the case in the many forms of everyday sexism and racism (Essed 1991). In relation to this, advertisers used the theme of good times and fun to appeal to the viewers but subtly ended up constructing a dominant model of ideologies. Visual aids like attractive pictorials, song, rhythm and dance were effects used to present good times and fun. The men in *Guinness* advert were shown erecting a billboard and taking alcohol. Portrayed was that even in the process of having fun (taking alcohol), men needed to be strong and economically empowered by ensuring they 'made names for themselves'. The assigned theme, occupation, alongside the linguistic choices used in the above ad, presupposed men as hardy, certain, tough and aggressive. This image portrayal presented a picture of the conservative patriarchal ideology in terms of a world with the sexist division of labour which is smartly coated by the theme of good times and fun.

In another advert *Radio Ramogi*, a patriarchal ideology embedded in the theme of good times and fun was enacted as the man and woman enjoyed and danced to the music while preparing to go to work. Evidently, there is obscure power on the part of the male actor analysing from the man's action of taking up the driver's seat opposed to the lady who took the passenger's seat. Implied is that, the man and not the woman has the prerogative of owning a car and the portrayal shows what a typical African family ought to be. Ordinarily, most viewers would concentrate on the romantic message in the song, rather than the deeper message implied by the actions of the actors. This means that potentially

harmful hidden gender messages can be revealed using other factors other than language.

In yet other ads *Soko Ugali* and *Fresh Fri*, power relations were disguised using the theme of good times and fun. The main actors in the ads were men. Both enjoyed good food courtesy of their wives' cooking. Much as the men advertised domestic products, they were portrayed as spouses while their women were portrayed as users of the domestic products through their role of cooking. Just as is in the earlier adverts, the words utilised and patterns displayed in the ads implied a structured inequality of power relations embedded in the good times and fun theme displayed above. Lastly, *Ilara Fresh Milk* ad also revealed the same trend as discussed above. In this advert, an image of men possessing physical strength is embedded in the dancing and use of linguistic item 'mawowowo' that generally translates to energy. The passiveness of the lady communicates society's unmitigated truth about the image of women's subordination. Men are subtly elevated to a commanding and authoritative position by means of their characterisation that is aligned to their cultural associations.

Further, in the selected ads, men and not women took part in ads associated with authority, assertiveness and material success. These media presentations contributed to a mindset of masculinity which encouraged men to take risks and be aggressive. Consequently, power and dominance in mind control were effected and as asserted by Nesler et al. (1993), recipients tend to accept beliefs, knowledge and opinions from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy or credible sources like scholars, professionals or reliable media. The ads perpetuating this pattern are *Guinness*, *Safeguard* and *Legend Brandy*. In *Guinness* advert, the men are associated with physical strength, power and achievement by successfully erecting a billboard and use of words like .... *believes, must...* indicated an obligation that they are compelled to fulfil, in *Safeguard*

advert the use of a male celebrity asserted power by associating him with being a *champion*.

In *Radio Ramogi*, there were two actors, a male and female and the lady co-actor was quiet, just gazed at the man (spouse) who took the leading role. Though both were silent, the man was the first to take the dancing floor then he took the driver's seat and made a direct gaze to the lady who said nothing, danced with the man then later took the passenger's seat. In *Legend Brandy* advert, the narrator associated his father with a legend by his power to provide and protect his family. All the above portrayals painted a picture of the societal expectations of each gender that is how each actor acted was in tandem with what was socially accepted; every action revealed their social relations, social identities and cultural values. The image of men as institutional leaders and protectors of the family is emphasised, carving out a patriarchal ideology that conforms to society's view of what a typical family ought to be. Men featuring in the above-discussed adverts took pivotal roles displaying superiority as far as power possession was concerned.

In the *KCB home loan* advert, a similar theme of assertiveness and material success was used to assert social norms and relationships in ads. Inferred from the advert was that initially, the father-in-law condescendingly regards his son-in-law because he thinks he cannot manage to take care of his daughter. When the son-in-law hints his economic prosperity, the father-in-law lightens up. The shift in the father-in-law's attitude towards the son-in-law is implicitly loaded with cultural meaning that men and not women are privileged to access to valued social resources. This makes the son-in-law the institutional financial provider hence more powerful compared to the woman who occupies the subservient position as to wait to be shown direction and be provided for. This stereotypical representation reproduces a male dominance and female subordination ideology that distances the women from attaining financial

success consequently, relegating them to a position of dependence over men for such material respects. Such implied meanings contribute to existing patriarchal ideologies that are related to underlying societal beliefs which legitimise the subordination of women. Courtney and Whipple (1974) assert that women are rarely depicted as authority figures; in advertising, they are usually presented as weak, subordinate and compressive.

Similarly, noted in this study was that women were rarely associated with wealth acquisition, power and stature. They took part in activities regarded by society as undemanding. In addition, women were depicted as being passive, dependent on men and limited in technological prowess as seen in the *Go TV* advert. In the context of the *Go TV* advert, stereotypical inferiority of women was displayed. Women were dissociated from tasks and domains requiring physical strength, technological knowledge whereas men were associated with such qualities. The women were associated with passiveness and dependence thus communicating a kind of ideology that clearly spells out what society expects of them. The analysis from the above adverts points out that whereas women were placed in a subordinate position as receivers of man's material success, men were depicted as authority figures and elevated to a powerful position of commanding, providing leadership and material success in the family. They tended to look, talk with authority and power. The trend was that they took up tasks and occupations associated with attributes such as physical strength, status, achievement, leadership, the power to provide, protect and ability to act skilfully and authoritatively.

The other theme analysed revealed that women usually advertised domestic products like cooking products and detergents, thereby underpinning their role of nurturing-caretaking. They were depicted as individuals who took service delivery as the key to mothering. The trend was that in a family, mothers were the ones responsible for choosing domestic products, preparing food for the family and

ensuring cleanliness and protection for their family. This opinion tends to shape the presentation of men and women on TV adverts. For instance, the central character who is a woman in *Kimbo* advert is being asked questions by her daughter as to why she always uses the product. *Mum, why do you use Kimbo to cook everything? - The real reason I use Kimbo is that my mother used it.* She confirms that the real reason she uses it is that her mother used it and this response presupposes that mothers are the ones responsible for cooking since time immemorial and that society expects them to pass that role to their daughters.

In *Soko Ugali* and fresh fry adverts, women were similarly perceived as cooks, responsible for their family's cleaning and feeding. In *Soko Ugali* advert, depicted is that the wife had chosen the sweetest flour- *Soko Ugali* that elated the husband to the point of praising the flour by doing a jig. Equally, the other woman in *Fresh Fri* advert is responsible for cooking sweet meals for the husband using *Fresh Fri* oil. All these are domestic themes presenting women as cooks. In *Jik 101* uses and Dettol 24 hours adverts, the same pattern of domesticity replicates itself as the central characters who are mothers are responsible for the hygiene of their houses and children respectively. Found out from the adverts was that women were denied access to occupations that depict them as strong, rather they were associated with themes that suggest triviality on their part. In Dettol 24 hours advert for instance, what is depicted is that it is the mother's role to take care of the baby and the expert doctor is 100% sure this care will protect. This conforms to CDA's view that people's ways of doing things may be analysed in relation to their cultural beliefs, assumptions and values. Ad creators construct different activities traditionally associated with men and women thus reproducing the ideology of male dominance and female subordination that translates to gendered power relations.

Lastly, paralinguistic features like gazes, gestures, posture, facial expressions and silence were utilised to propel gender ideologies in advertising discourse. Actors who wielded less power took passive roles of being respondents or accompaniments whereas those who wielded more power were active and took lead roles. In *Radio Ramogi* advert, the lady character was quiet, unlike the male character who took the lead role. The female character took the passenger seat while the man took the driver's seat. The man made a longer and more mutual gaze which according to Carney et al. (2005) is associated with individuals who wield more power. In *Go TV* advert, the man is portrayed as more facially expressive thus self-assured and has in-depth knowledge of the product he is advertising (*Go TV* decoder). He is thereby presumed to wield more interactional power compared to his passive female counterpart who followed the unfolding events with silence, marvel and surprise because she is excluded from possessing that technological know-how.

More adverts like *Faiba* new episode and *Ilara* milk adverts revealed a similar trend whereby women and men acted differently. Men's posture, visual indicators expressed through their hands as well as their expressiveness on the face had something to offer in terms of dominance. They conveyed prowess and competence in the activities they were involved in. Women characters, on the other hand, manifested silence which according to Foucault (2008), is a form of a discourse marker that can be used to impose power relations among participants. In the context of the above adverts, silence was used as a key element in the application of power relations as its presence implied passiveness. Power dominance was therefore seen through manifest behaviours of men as indicated through the non-verbal indicators outlined above.

## CONCLUSION

The study set to find out the linguistic and discursive strategies used in Kenyan TV ads to present men and women in natural institutionalised ways. In the context of this study, based on the analysis of its findings, it was deduced that TV is a major site of ideologies because actors in ads were mostly associated with traditional role signification, traits and activities. Further, to ensure that adverts are memorable and appealing, ad creators cleverly packaged characters, events using implicit and explicit modes of signification like implicatures, lexical choices, turn-taking, topic choice, connotations and presuppositions to communicate their messages. These modes of signification were crafted to subliminally model men and women in terms of their social organisations. Consequent to these social representations was a revelation and reification of underlying societal and cultural beliefs, values and norms that though not openly, directly, completely or precisely asserted, ideologically constructed the actors. Concluded, therefore, was that till now gender identities exist with Kenyan TV ads still being sexist in the ways they portray the feminine and masculine gender; as such linguistic forms interface with discursive strategies to create, evoke and reinforce dominant patriarchal ideologies.

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