

**AD-THEATRE TECHNIQUES: MOTIFS OF ORALITY AND POPULAR  
CULTURE IN KENYA'S RADIO**

**JACKSON GIKUNDA NJOGU**

**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Literature of Chuka  
University.**

**CHUKA UNIVERSITY**

**SEPTEMBER, 2019**

## DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### Declaration

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for an award of a degree or diploma in any other university or institution.

Signature.....

Date:.....

Jackson Gikunda Njogu  
AD10/17953/13

### Recommendations

This thesis has been examined, passed and submitted with our approval as University Supervisors

Signature.....

Date.....

Professor Zachary Njogu Waita  
Department of Humanities,  
Chuka University

Signature.....

Date.....

Professor Colomba K.Muriungi  
Department Humanities,  
Chuka University

## **COPYRIGHT**

©2019

All rights reserved. No part of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without written permission from the author or Chuka University.

## **DEDICATION**

To my parents whom God has instructed me to honour; Robert Njogu Ibrahim  
, Isabella Tirindi Nkanabu

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am fortunate to have been supervised by Prof. Zachary Njogu Waita and Prof. Colomba K. Muriungi. Prof Waita is the Deputy Vice Chancellor in charge of Chuka University administration, planning and development, and having gotten time to read and critique my work was simply shared passion. From my interaction with a person of such high standing in a university establishment I learnt more than I had imagined. I sincerely thank Professor Waita for supervising my work. Professor Colomba Muriungi is the Dean, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. Her senior position in university management tells a lot about her approach to academics, and am very grateful for the stinging criticism she offered. Prof.Colomba held my hand into international conferences and defences and spoke kindly of my abilities. These two professors deserve abundance of God's blessings.

I also thank Chuka University for providing part of the money to complete this work, and my research assistants for the sacrifice and dedication in the laborious task of data collection.

In none of my theses have I forgotten to adore my brothers and sisters for pushing me with expectation that I, their promising kin in academia should excel and endow them with proud stories to tell their friends and in-laws, specifically Martin, Ngugi, Tony, Faith, Makena and Grace

I am grateful to my beautiful wife Salome Kinya Gikunda and our blessed children Prudence Mukiri (Alliance Girls), Ryan Mutethia (Stella Maris) and Aimah Mwende for looking upon me to provide and model. This thesis comes only a few months after my first born daughter Prudence emerged among the top candidates nationally in KCPE, and for the pride she bestowed upon me as the father I bless her like God blessed Abraham. Aimah has been the editor-in-chief who had mastered the 'delete' key and was quick to press it hard every time I left the computer unattended. Realizing that the work was moving on slowly, she would press hard on a single key until a few pages were filled. It was great pleasure doing my doctorate in your infancy, Aimah, and I bless you to grow into greater happiness and success. Taking advantage of Prudence's absence, Ryan was the chief competitor, always picking his grade two exercise book and scribbling things every time I sat to study. The

atmosphere he created was that of 'let's get it done'. I thank God for you, Ryan and I want you to always work harder and smarter than I have. With your father's blessings and confidence may you rule the world.

Finally, and most importantly, I thank God and my ancestors for seeing me through life. Great God, thy promise to my grandfather Abraham is coming to fulfillment in my time!

## ABSTRACT

This is a study of theatre by its persuasive function in commercial contexts. Specifically the study is a critique of the influences of orality and popular culture on audiences in commercial set ups as evident in dramas of radio advertising. It begins from the awareness that the drama genre has been at the heart of Africa's rich literary heritage, and that it still finds use in contemporary spaces through mass media. Since the advent of radio in Africa drama has been a preferred technique of radio advertising in Kenya, yet scholarly research on drama as a persuasive genre through the radio medium remains scant. This is in spite of the fact that advertising communities are already aware of its marketing potential. The purpose of this study is thus to examine some of the techniques that drama uses in radio advertising, based on the assumption that because advertisements are made to woo buyers, the genre possesses strong rhetorical elements that can render for scholarly analyses. The study demonstrates the awareness that drama has been a cultural production in Kenya, and that orality has always punctuated dramatic practice at every phase of its development both in form and motif. Secondly, it demonstrates the eternal presence of oral leitmotifs in contemporary use especially in advertising discourses. The study uses a qualitative design. Data is in the form of audio records of advertisements that use the technique of drama in radio which have been transcribed, translated and analyzed to arrive at conclusions about the persuasive strategy of orality and popular culture in the radio medium. Since radio is a purely audio-acoustic media just like primary orality, Walter Ong's theorizing about transiting from primary orality to typographical forms has been employed to enable us understand the psychodynamics of audio-acoustic messages, and what makes them click so easily with audiences. His views about 'imagined audiences' have also been used. In the first chapter we have established a background to the study. The second chapter deals with the literature review and theoretical framework. In chapter three we discuss the study methods while in chapter four we analyze selected data in terms of the oral motifs used using Walter Ong's structural-functional theorizing in *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. In chapter five the thesis analyzes the use of popular culture as a marketing strategy, while chapter six deals with thesis summary, conclusions and recommendations for further study. The study finds that aspects of indigenous theatrical forms based in primary orality feature prominently in drama-mediated advertisements, and that these features illuminate on the psychology and philosophy of radio listeners, and that advertisers prefer modeling their content on trendy topics adorned in literary stylistics. These findings are important because they affirm the enduring nature of orality in modern times. They also point to practical applicability of orality in modern discourses on one hand, and on the other, awareness that adverts strongly suggest the ways in which Kenyan consumers understand their world.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b> .....	<b>ii</b>
<b>COPYRIGHT</b> .....	<b>iii</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b> .....	<b>iv</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> .....	<b>v</b>
<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b> .....	<b>xi</b>

### **CHAPTER ONE:INTRODUCTION** .....

1.1Background to the Study .....	1
1.1.1 Theatrical Practice in Traditional Africa .....	1
1.1.2 Orality in the Context of Colonization.....	2
1.1.3 Orality in Media.....	2
1.1.4 Theatre as the Advertiser’s Catchphrase.....	3
1.1.5 The Cultural Texts of Kenya.....	6
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	8
1.3 Purpose of the Study .....	8
1.4 Objectives of the Study.....	9
1.5 Research Questions.....	9
1.6 Significance of the Study.....	9
1.7 Scope of the Study .....	10
1.8 Limitations of the Study .....	11
1.9 Assumptions .....	12
1.10 Operational Definition of Terms .....	13

### **CHAPTER TWO:LITERATURE REVIEW** .....

2.1 Orality and Society in Africa.....	15
2.2 Radio in Popular Expression .....	19
2.3 Suitability of Radio in Mass Expression .....	22
2.4 Skepticism About Theatre in Radio.....	23
2.5 Drama and Rhetoric.....	24
2.6 Advertising and Artistic Execution .....	25



2.7 Cultural Influences on Advertising.....	28
2.8 Performance in Cultural Contexts .....	29
2.9 Theatre, Radio and Popular Culture in Kenya.....	30
2.10 Theoretical Framework.....	37
2.10.1 Jackson Walter Ong’s Approach .....	38
2.10.2 Orality, Intertexts and Imagined Audiences .....	41
<b>CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>45</b>
3.1 Location of the Study .....	45
3.2 Research Design .....	45
3.3 Study Population.....	45
3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size .....	45
3.5 Data Collection and Research Instruments.....	46
3.6 Data Interpretation and Analysis .....	46
3.7 Presentation of the Material.....	48
3.8 Ethical Considerations .....	48
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: ORALITY IN RADIO ADVERTISING .....</b>	<b>50</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	50
4.2. The Trickster Motif .....	50
4.3 The Riddle Strategy .....	60
4.4 The Dilemma Strategy.....	69
4.5 The Ogre Motif.....	73
4.6 The Moral tale Motif .....	78
4.7 The Mother-in-Law and the In-Law Motif.....	81
4.8 The Hyperbole Motif .....	83
4.9 The ‘Direction Giver’ Motif.....	86
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: POPULAR STRATEGIES OF RADIO ADVERTISEMENT DRAMA .....</b>	<b>98</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	98
5.2. Motifs of Hard Economic times .....	98
5.3 Hosting Relatives in Urban Areas .....	106

5.4 Technological Ignorance .....	111
5.5 Saving on Fuel .....	116
5.6 Inability to Pay Hospital Bills .....	121
5.7 Inter-Cultural Conflicts: The African-Asian Stereotype Strategy .....	126
5.8 Subverted Domestic Violence .....	130
<b>CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY.....</b>	<b>133</b>
6.1 Summary.....	133
6.2 Conclusions .....	135
6.3 Recommendations for Further Study.....	138
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>139</b>
<b>APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>148</b>
Appendix 1: Thesis Statistics .....	148
Appendix 2: Analytical Guide for Each Drama .....	149
Appendix 3: Research Authorization .....	150
Appendix 4: Structure of a typical radio advert .....	151

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

FM: Frequency Modulation

IPO: Initial Public offer

KBC: Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KDF: Kenya Defence Forces

KDHS: Kenya Demographic and Health Survey

KNT: Kenya National Theatre

TFD: Theatre for Development

UTT: University Travelling Theatre

## **CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Background to the Study**

#### **1.1.1 Theatrical Practice in Traditional Africa**

Theatrical practice in Africa pre-dates history. It has been an integral part of the African artistic expression through orality even before the discovery of storage and retrieval systems associated with literacy. The oral tradition in Africa has thrived to this date, and it has continued to influence modern artistic discourses of all kinds. As an art form, oral art, popularly known as orality has never existed in isolation, but has been carried in speech, stories, conversations and social interactions of all kinds, and it can only exist as long as these exist. Since the advent of electronic media orality has benefitted most because it is in media and person-to-person interactions that discussions, stories and conversations occur most each day.

The fact of being well known through culture makes it an obvious choice for advertisers. In advertising, every advertiser chooses the media, mode and genre that in the best if his imagination will reach and persuade as many buyers as possible. This is partly due to the fact that advertising is expensive and that audiences often find adverts interruptive and annoying, and that if the modes and media chosen work effectively is largely a question of artistry on the part of the advertiser. In most parts of Africa, theatre in its oral form often finds uses in varied contexts such as education, religion, cultural activities of communities and entertainment. (Mwangi & Chesaina, 2004; Kerr, 1995; De Graft, 1976).

Before the coming of literacy to Africa, theatre existed as ritual and play, and people delighted in ritualistic performances in their specific communities. Though a primary source of entertainment, these performances were primarily cultural, meaning they served some function of marking transition from childhood, bearing testimony to marriage or confirming demise. With cultural performances, emphasis has always been on application of art in day to day living, rather than for sheer entertainment. Cultural education is transmitted through various creative episodes dramatized mainly during rituals such as circumcision ceremonies for boys and girls, enthronement and dethronement of kings, birth rituals, funerals and children's imitative plays. Ogunjimi

and Rasheed (2005) note that what we find here today as ‘African oral literature’ is merely an ‘offspring’ of culture that serves religious, social and political functions.

### **1.1.2 Orality in the Context of Colonization**

The coming of colonization in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century greatly impacted on the ‘natural’ rhythms as practiced by African communities for millions of years. It was characterized by, among other things, suppression, indoctrination and technology. Nandwa and Bukenya (1983) note that Africans were forced to abandon ritual activities in favour of wage labour. The stereotype of art as inferior to science and capital was entrenched, and performances were seen as a waste of time. At another level, colonization brought elitist theatrical practices in the continent, mainly to rival the indigenous forms which were associated with paganism and witchcraft (Adelugba & Obafemi, 2004; Diawara, 1994; Rakodi, 1997; Kehinde, 2004; Nandwa and Bukenya, 1983, Janney, 2011).

In his analysis of Shona religious rituals, Chinyowa (2011) affirms that orality has been the medium of African cultural expression, and that it is what has enabled Shona ritual practices withstand the denigrating effects of Western cultural imperialism. By the time Kenya attained independence in 1963 both strands existed side by side because of the reluctance by the people to abandon their cultural activities. Most of the theatre emerging thereafter was a hybrid, with borrowing geared towards cultural relevance but in most cases through English expression. These researchers affirm the enduring nature of African cultural practices and art even under the powerful threat of colonization and the so-called modernization.

### **1.1.3 Orality in Media**

In modern Africa people are bombarded with all forms of adverts as businesses seek to lure masses into their products. Each day one comes into contact with billboards, radio blurbs, television commercials, newspaper and magazine adverts, film trailers, product placement in films and direct personal contact with marketers. Due to competition for attention, audiences may find adverts bothersome, and reject them especially when they interrupt their popular programmes on visual and audio media. To counter this, advertisers are using creative techniques of arresting and sustaining audience attention for the benefit of their businesses. The material for the modern

commercial is drawn from the oral tradition as well as current trends. One popular strategy adopted by media in Africa is dramatization.

#### **1.1.4 Theatre as the Advertiser's Catchphrase**

As an art form theatre equips the advertiser with various ways of executing message. As De Graft (1976) notes, drama is in most respects unique from other artistic genres because it involves people to speak to people, and it also provides many ways of saying the same thing. Advertisers are becoming more and more aware of the ability of creativity in remaining relevant with their ads even when they interrupt programmes. They use varied ways of conveying advertisements in electronic media such as plays, descriptions, songs, expositions or merely integrating advert content with shows.

Research has shown that theatre conveys messages better than arguments. (Wells, 1988; Leong, 1994). Whereas lectures and expositions are very good at conveying information, dramatization evokes references and previews feelings that the product in question can produce. As Wells notes, the logic associated with arguments does not always work, because arguments tend to invite counter-and-support-arguments. On its part, dramatization establishes verisimilitude, that quality where characters appear plausible and authentic. The action draws the audiences into the commercial by identifying with the characters and the events in it. These attributes, combined with media influence and adornment makes theatre a very special mode of mass persuasion.

In performed commercials the advertiser uses dramatic and theatrical elements such as plot, sounds, rhythm, character and conflict with a motive to recreate situations in life that evoke the most desirable effect. Instead of 'throwing' messages about products he tells stories so that the listener feels absorbed and entertained. Ordinarily, dramatic plots comprise of stable state of affairs that is threatened, and this induces a crisis that is to be redressed in the end. In this respect, dramatization is akin to story-telling, an art deeply rooted in African societies. Characters in drama represent real life situations that the imagined radio audiences are familiar with.

This probably explains why immediately after independence, theatre entrenched itself as a popular genre both in the villages and the media, reinforced by the activities of the University Travelling Theatre (UTT) in East Africa, a literary movement which sought to re-awaken African consciousness in the face of the colonial legacy which threatened to annihilate the African cultural practices and mores. UTT was started in Makerere University, Uganda, in 1966 through the Dramatic Society of Makerere University and spread quickly across other East African nations.(Kerr, 1995) In Kenya it was popular with the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University. Their performances were usually free of charge, and they were meant to rival the pro-colonial forms practiced in national theatres. The idea behind UTT was to take theatre to the villages where colonial education had allegedly uprooted it. Early African dramatists realized the effect the colonial policy of taking theatre away from villages to elite theatres in cities had, coupled with commercialization in which Africans were to pay to watch their cultural gem in towns. Various performances were done by university departments to enlighten rural populations about the dangers of capitalism (Kerr, 1995). In Kenya, the UTT spearheaded by Ngugi wa Thiong'o sought to re-awaken the consciousness of the rural populace on the dangers posed by neo-colonialist ideology.

The fact that the European spoke English and majority of Africans spoke in local languages created serious challenges of communication. Naturally, oral communication could not take place except through translation, or distorted vernaculars spoken by the white missionaries and colonialists. Whether this explains the relevance of radio is a matter of investigation in other studies, but it is during the colonial period that radio came to Africa. The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) was launched by the colonial administration in 1928 with a view to informing the colonial settler about events back in Britain and around the Kenyan colony (King'ara, 2010). From then onwards Africa encountered a major technological explosion. What appeared at first as the white man's thing was to revolutionize art in the continent to this day. However, little is known about radio theatre then since most of the content was prepared outside the country and only a handful of Africans could understand English. Even the few who probably understood the white language may not have had analytical literary interests (King'ara, 2010; Kerr, 1995; Heath, 1986). Broadcasts targeting Africans started during the Second World War to inform

families of African soldiers about happenings in the warfront. The content was meant for Africans but the language was English. Broadcasts in African languages of Kiswahili, Kikamba, Kikuyu, Kimeru, Kinandi, Kiluhya, Dholuo and Arabic were started much later in 1953, a year after the historic declaration of a State of Emergency in Kenya. These broadcasts struck quick rapport with African audiences because of their linguistic familiarity, social stereotypes and indigenous literary motifs as they commented on the various facets of the social situation (Kerr, 1995). In these broadcasts, theatre was a major item in programming.

It was not until 1982 that the serial *Radio Theatre* was first produced on KBC by the late Nzau Kalulu. This was a dramatized serial running for around thirty minutes per episode per week. The programme was produced in line with the ideals of Theatre for Development (TfD) in that it addressed developmental themes such as patriotism, morality, family planning, education and health. By this time, KBC was the only radio station operating in Kenya (Ligaga, 2006). Kalulu's programme marked an important milestone in the development of drama on radio. As Ligaga notes, Kalulu's style of articulation and thematic relevance glued his audiences to radio sets until the end. It became an important foundation for subsequent dramas on radio.

This retrospect is important because it marks the milestones not only in the development of radio, but also theatre and consequently, it informs on the relationship between media and art in Kenya. For instance, when Kenya became a democracy in 1992 many more radio stations were licensed, freeing the listeners from the political propaganda and monotony that had by this time punctuated KBC and her vernacular subsidiaries, and consequently, an opportunity arose for opening up spaces for greater variety of art. Liberal vernacular radio stations came with the licensing of *Kameme FM* in 1996 (Nderitu, 2008). Many other vernacular radio stations followed, informed by their instant popularity with mass listeners. For instance, the dramaturgy *Mucii ni Ndoogo* (Homes are smoke) and *Utuku wa Mathekania* (The night of comedy) became very popular on *Kameme FM*. These programmes focused on addressing society through humour.

The Kenyan radio post 1992 focused on acquaintance and dialogue, rather than indoctrination. Local celebrities focused on making listeners happy by playing their



requests and live telephone discussions. Audiences had greater variety of stations and content to choose from. There was a rapid demand for vernacular stations, addressing mainly the lifestyle and culture of people in a language they could understand. Each station employed the best cultural griots and entertainers. This meant diversity in terms of what people in different locations within the same country were consuming. There were fears that encouraging vernaculars would balkanize the nation, and the question of a united national identity in a country of over forty ethnicities loomed, especially among the political class. In her analysis of autobiographical narratives for children in Kenya, Muriungi, C (2011) notes that “these ethnic identities do not in any way undermine national identity. Instead they provide a template upon which national history and the broader nationalistic identities are imagined and pursued because it is out of the varied ethnic identities that the nation comes into being: (p2). Therefore, to address the Kenyan nation one has to come to terms with cultural and ethnic diversity of her people, and what defines their distinctions.

#### **1.1.5 The Cultural Texts of Kenya**

Kenya is East Africa’s largest economy popularly known as the Cradle of Mankind owing to varied fossils unearthed by paleontologists as evidence of the earliest life on earth. It is beautifully incised by The Great Rift Valley which runs from north to south, leaving behind it numerous lakes, geysers, and eye-catching geo-forms which are habitat to an assortment of wildlife species, including elephants, crocodiles, rare rhino species, antelopes, flamingoes and all kinds of flora and fauna. It is also divided right in the middle by the Equator, making it experience excellent weather all year round.

On her coast is the Indian Ocean whose coastline is laden with warm, saline beaches, swamps, ports and East African mangroves. It is home to Fort Jesus, an ancient landmark that is testament to various attempts by Oman Arabs, the Portuguese, the British and other outsiders to explore East Africa, and is Kenya’s topmost tourist hotspot. Western Kenya is characterized by mountains and several rainforests, including Kakamega and the Mau Forest, the largest forest complex in East Africa. The Abaluhya live in this part of Kenya. The Luo people of Nyanza province live around Lake Victoria, which is Africa’s largest fresh water lake and second largest in the world. The Central is home to Africa’s highest mountain, Mt. Kenya. There is not

one region in Kenya without cultural and geographic idiosyncrasies that attract hordes of tourists or film makers each year. So why is it important for us to view the country as a nirvana?

It is because living around these features are ethnic communities, each with unique cultural beliefs and practices. The nation is conglomeration of forty three ethnic, and consequently, cultural identities. To advertisers, ethnicities are stories, and stories are the catchphrases for culturally-indoctrinated peoples. It is from these cultural settings that the narratives are drawn. The traditional Agikuyu for instance are known to pray and offer sacrifices facing Mt. Kenya. For the Luo, Lake Victoria has been a fishing ground and setting for many narratives, like the famous 'Nyamgodho', a story about a wealthy mermaid who left the lake to be married to a poor fisherman. It is the story adopted by John Ruganda in his play *The Floods*. Among the Luhya of Western Kenya, the ogre resides in the forest while the genies of the Indian Ocean have been the principal actors in the oral narratives of the Swahili people since time immemorial.

These features littering the Kenyan landscape have informed performances and their content. These stories relate to peoples' lives and their environments, and constitute a significant proportion of national mythology. They form part of a rich patrimony inherited from traditional orality and passed down generations to find us here today. They have also informed radio content because the people living around these features constitute unique ethnic identities and the interaction between them and their physical environment provides exciting cultural, spiritual, social and aesthetic elements, and the emergent dramatic discourses can best be understood in these contexts.

Since the advent of 'multi-radioism' in Kenya, radio has kept close association with masses because of cultural proximity, variety in entertainment, instant transmission of issues affecting people in the villages, low purchase and maintenance costs, portability, humour and wide reach. It is possible that today a majority of Kenyans have access to a vernacular radio station, and that these stations have dramatic content. This is in addition to the mainstream radios broadcasting in the national languages of English and Kiswahili. This popularity can be contrasted with other media such as magazines, television, video and social media platforms which

combine colour, motion and sound, yet find much less attraction to advertisers compared to radio.

Today radio is a very popular medium in Kenya. According to the Communications Authority of Kenya (CAK) Second Quarter Sector Statistics Report for the year 2017/2018 there were 178 radio stations in the country by the close of 2018, and many more were waiting licensing. Research exists on radio in Kenya (Ligaga, 2006; Odhiambo, 2007; Njogu, 2009 Wa Wanjiru, 2011), focusing on TFD. On the radio space, there has been an upsurge of advertisements intended for mass appeal using the theatre mode in which a slice of life related to the product is dramatized as part of the hook to the main advert content.

### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Theatre has been an important genre in Kenya's rich literary heritage, and is currently a foremost preference among advertisers on the radio medium. However, scant scholarly attention has been directed to its persuasive strategy as a literary genre. Existing studies on theatre by function have largely focused on theatre for development (TFD) along cultural, historical, moral, didactic and social themes. Whereas theatre has been studied by its cultural and edutainment functions, its advertising power has largely been ignored because of general tendencies to confine literary practice to texts. This study attempts to address this anomaly by analyses of ad-theatre episodes to reveal how they have been fashioned to serve persuasive functions in business environments. The approach is duo-pronged: to analyze such theatre from the dimensions of indigenous literary practice within orality, and secondly, from the perspective of popular culture to demonstrate how culture, ideology and language intersect to produce an awareness of the persuasive strategy of the theatre genre. By doing this, the study brings into focus the enduring relationship between diachrony and synchrony in Africa's theatrical practice.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to interrogate the major persuasive strategies of drama used in radio advertising in Kenya. The principal aspects under investigation are orality and popular culture.

#### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

- i. To discuss the motifs of orality in contemporary radio advertisement drama.
- ii. To analyze the influences of popular culture in contemporary radio advertisement drama in Kenya.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

The study attempted to answer the following questions:

- i. How does orality function in contemporary radio advertising in terms of genres, structures, functions, audiences, modes, myth-making processes and traditions from which the text emerges?
- ii. What notions of popular culture are utilized in drama of radio advertising in terms of reference, philosophy, psychology, context, inter-text and life-world represented?

#### **1.6 Significance of the Study**

The findings are expected to be useful to literary scholars, especially those in the field of theatre and popular culture because it sheds light on the applicability of literary concepts in solving daily problems. This is a pointer for the need to link concepts in art to solving practical problems in other disciplines. In this study, drama is being used in commercial set-ups to persuade consumers.

Secondly, the findings of this study are beneficial to the business community comprising of marketers and advert makers who ordinarily seek every possible strategy to catch consumer attention. This is because the study is concerned primarily with both technique and mass appeal. It will benefit the copy write fraternity in the making of effective adverts, criticism and dissemination.

Although the influence of culture on modern thinking may not be in doubt, there are concerns that radio in Kenya and other parts of Africa has been using language codes to pass ethnic incitement. The Rwandan genocide of 1994 and Kenya's post-election violence of 2008 are cases in mind where radio presenters were charged with using symbolism to spread hate. The study reminds us that the radio medium possesses potential to use metaphorical language in the transfer of ideology under the guise of

advertising, and the need to examine commercial discourses as important conveyors of ideology.

Finally, the study is expected to excite multidisciplinary approaches to issues. Rhetoric, culture, language and theatre are distinct disciplines in their own right, but the need for multidisciplinary approaches to research is the vogue world over.

### **1.7 Scope of the Study**

The study is focused purely on the radio medium because, like the indigenous forms of primary orality, it is largely audio-acoustic. Secondly, it focuses on the theatre genre because it has a long historical relationship with culture anywhere in Kenya. The main focus is on the relationship between drama, orality and popular culture in advertising, meaning that other possible influences of the radio medium have been deliberately excluded.

Radio stations in Kenya are many and varied in terms of thematic interests, personae and competence. Most of Kenya's distinct linguistic communities have radio, and it is prudent to focus on stations exhibiting a national image such as KBC. The study therefore uses stations broadcasting in the national languages of English and Kiswahili, as well as the specific vernaculars that the researcher understands. By using vernacular stations, the researcher is able to argue for the grasp of culture and tradition on national myth-formation. Most cultural expressions carry meanings, insinuations and associations that may not be discovered through a mere linguistic analysis, bearing in mind that most African languages convey meanings through variations in tone and other paralinguistic resources.

The study excludes other media relaying adverts such as TV, newspapers, internet and video. Television for instance uses performances, but this study focuses on radio medium because it has the greatest reach to mass audiences in Kenya, and it is also an oral medium just like the indigenous form. Additionally, radio is quite affordable compared to other media, which means that there would be easier availability of data.

The study also takes deliberate exclusion of other radio stations, even within the same linguistic group. For instance, Kikuyu has variations such as *Kameme FM* and *Inooro*

*FM*; Meru has *Muuga FM*, *Meru FM*, and *Mwariama FM*. The study focuses on samples because the research is basically about adverts rather than about radio stations. This means adverts were picked randomly from selected stations without regard for the possibility of another station in the same linguistic-cultural backyard.

### **1.8 Limitations of the Study**

In the process of transcribing vernacular data, problems arose from acoustic aspects that have cultural meanings or associations such as music, clicks, grunts, coughs, tonalities and silences. This is a major impediment in all translation undertakings. These problems implied that for us to present oral data in written form there was need to appropriate meanings, and focus on the purpose of the discourse rather than the nitty gritty of acoustics.

There were problems with timing advertisements in order to record them. It was hard to know the exact time when an advert would be aired, meaning that the researcher had to sit by the radio listening to unrelated content, and sometimes recording irrelevant material and thereafter sieving. To be effective it was necessary for the researcher to adopt a recording schedule. It was assumed that most advertisers prefer the so-called ‘prime time’ which is morning, lunch time and evening. This explains why most adverts were recorded around these hours. It was discovered that new adverts played around the same time each day, on consecutive days.

It was also challenging to translate transcriptions. Attempts to translate items gliding from English to Kiswahili to ‘*Sheng*’ then to vernacular often led to distortions. The translations given provide an approximate meaning, rather than the actual. For instance, it is futile to translate a company’s logo or motto because that would amount to a new one. Despite posting adverts in both vernacular and English radio stations *Airtel* does not drop the English line “The Smartphone Network”.

Advertisements exist in different modes and forms, and it was noted that dramatized advertisements were in competition with those of exposition, and sometimes advertisers mixed both forms. This was a little confusing, and if such adverts were recorded the records had to be discarded. The speed of speech and that of transcription was a major headache. The researcher had to write a sentence, pause the

recorder and sometimes repeat the sentence to ensure it was written down accurately. It was also noted that some advertisers used the same advert in different stations and consequently, different languages, causing monotony. Where the same advert was rendered in different languages only one was taken for analysis

Furthermore, it emerged that some stations were more favourable with advertisers than others, meaning that listening to the unpopular stations waiting for advertisements was almost a waste of time. This accounts for the skewed data in terms of quantities per station. In other words, it was impractical to assume you would collect five dramas from two different stations because one would have the five before the other has a single advert.

### **1.9 Assumptions**

- i. The study assumed that radio advertisements using the technique of theatre in the Kenyan radio have a distinct structure and function that can be understood from analyses.
- ii. It also assumes that dramatized advertisements on radio borrow from cultural literary elements anchored in orality to serve rhetorical functions.
- iii. The study assumed that radio ad-theatre in Kenya exploits popular topics to catch consumer attention and sustain interest in the product being advertised.

### **1.10 Operational Definition of Terms**

The following terms have acquired meanings different from their denotative, dictionary meanings. In this study they should be understood to mean as follows:

- Ad:** This refers to any form of advertisement episode using theatre mode. It should be seen to mean the same thing as ‘advertisement’, ‘advert’ or ‘promo’.
- Advertiser:** This term is used to refer to the artist who crafts a dramatic advert.
- Ad-theatre:** This term has been coined from the words ‘advertisement’ and ‘theatre’ to refer to ‘the kind of theatre used in radio advertising’.
- Drama:** This refers to any kind of performance geared towards persuasion. It is to be understood synonymously with ‘theatre’.
- Dramatism:** This term is used by Kenneth Burke to refer to ‘Analysis of Drama’. It will be understood the same way in this analysis.
- Electro-write:** This term has been coined to refer to an element of secondary orality in radio medium. It is assumed that what is spoken in such media is not spontaneous like in ordinary speech, but goes through the typographical processes before vocalization.
- Kenyan Radio:** This term has been used to refer to any radio within Kenya relaying advertisements through dramatization.
- Mini-theatre:** This term visualizes the kind of theatrical episodes used in radio advertising as too short, and thus the term refers to ‘short dramatic advert episodes on radio’.
- Motif:** This is a keyword in this thesis. It refers to occurrence of character or plot patterns, concepts or leitmotifs similar to those known to exist in the oral tradition or popular discourse.
- Multi-radioism:** This term has been coined to refer to a situation in culture where an individual listener is exposed to multiple radio stations competing for his attention.



- Myth:** This term refers to the ‘various kinds of narratives people tell’ as conceptualized by Okpewho (1983), rather than a distinct sub-genre of orature.
- Narrative:** This term conceives theatre as stories. The term therefore refers to the dramatic episodes in terms of their plot and meaning.
- Poetics:** The term refers to literary stylistics as used in ad-theatre.
- Popular:** Literary term focusing on themes affecting mass populations as conceived by Karin Barber (1997). Popular issues should be those that a majority of people are conversant with, whether social, political or economic. They come to be known because of extensive exposure in the media, school, churches, mosques or any other public places of information and socialization.
- Rhetor:** This refers to the person seeking a persuasive advantage, the one trying to sway the listener in a radio advert. The term may be used synonymously with ‘advertiser’.
- Rhetoric:** This term refers to the various artistic strategies used in dramatized episodes aimed at persuasion.
- Structural-Functionalism:** Deriving from the varied perspectives that have informed structuralism, this study uses this term to refer to ‘literary structuralism’. It involves analysis of the structure of utterances and their persuasive angle.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Orality and Society in Africa**

Many scholars in Africa have studied and documented the history, sociology and philosophy of African folklore. The perspectives adopted are varied as the genre itself. The pioneering referents include Joe De Graft, Peter Amuka, Ruth Finnegan, Jane Nandwa, Ngugi wa Thiong'o and the Nobel laureate, Wole Soyinka. Subsequent studies have been done by the next generation and it seems there is no stopping.

As Ngugi (1986) notes, the African oral tradition is varied and many sided. It supplements, rather than substituting studies in modern African literature. The awareness of this genre is the gateway to the awareness of any subsequent literature because it forms a foundation from which the written form borrows. Conceived as a tool of communication, literature's own efficacy derives from the rapport it establishes with audiences. In Africa these audiences have greater awareness with their oral tradition because it lives with them. De Graft (1981) calls it "a living tradition" (p2).

Despite the encroachment of technology and modernization on African orality wrought by western modes of education and lifestyle, both rural and urban societies continue to experiment with various forms of orality to address social needs, and any attempts at understanding literature from this region demands this awareness as well. In fact, any modern study of theatre in Africa must visualize in retrospect the pre-literate era when all forms of communication and entertainment were orally transmitted, before moving on to see how these rich traditions have influenced any emergent forms. Kerr & Chifunyise (2004) observe that:

Any study of theatre in an African region must stumble against the conceptual boulder of indigenous performing arts because they form the bedrock of the attitudes and practices on which modern theatre is built (p.265).

Additionally, African theatrical histories have all along been defined by inter-relationships between people in their cultural milieu, aesthetics, social dynamics and technology. Lihamba (2004) notes that theatre and people in Africa have a great bearing on:

inputs brought about by technological developments, population and social movements from within and outside the African continent, as well as the creativity, dynamism and ingenuity of the people as they respond to developments and changes individually and collectively (p.233).

Modern theatre therefore carries along with it a rich discourse informed by both tradition and emerging issues of all kinds, and can thus be analyzed from divergent points. As Hogins (1984) notes, it is the oral tradition “which has carried civilization well past the time after writing became established” (1). He poses an important question which sheds light on the import of orality in modern times. He asks, “Why have humans over the centuries diverted their energies from the business of life-such as finding food, maintaining shelter and raising a family-to tell stories?(4) He then finds that the interest people have in this kind of art never seems to diminish, and that

Oral stories serve to entertain, explain, reinforce, transmit values, and create a feeling of group identity, sanction customs and rituals, attempt to pierce the veil of destiny and act as a psychological valve- an outlet of dreams and desires (5).

In African traditional societies, theatre was an integral part of culture existing in ceremonial rituals and day to day activities of the people. Before 1895 when Kenya was declared a British protectorate, and many years after, stories of all kinds have been conveyed from generation to generation through ritual performance or by word of mouth. Oral art is well developed and elaborate, and genres such as narratives, sayings, tongue-twisters, proverbs, and songs are used to inform, critique, ridicule and entertain. (Chesaina and Mwangi; 2004, Nandwa and Bukenya; 1983, Kerr; 1985, Miruka; 1999, Kabira; 1983, Finnegan, 1970)).

Performances took place within rituals and games in which impersonation, costuming and use of various props was a major characteristic. These performances could be dictated by random demands as people went on with daily activities such as digging, spinning yarn, hewing wood, threshing or even herding. Additionally, there were avenues for communal performances characterized by dramatized dances, wrestling and mock exchanges. Such performances were done across the age spectrum in age-groups and age-sets.

Oral art in its various genres played conspicuous roles in the lives of people. Stories, proverbs and songs were not confined to professional performers. It was a free activity. Nandwa and Bukenya (1983) note that:

The spoken word, especially in the form of oral performance, was at the heart of the African mental, spiritual and social activity...African religious, philosophical, legal and political concepts and precepts are expressed in it, and it contains the highest forms of creative and artistic entertainment (p.24).

Myths, legends, folktales, songs, epics, proverbs, wise sayings and tongue-twisters were known by heart, and practiced across the age spectrum. Each of these genres has specific characteristics, specific contexts and specific audiences. Proverbs for instance, are characterized by terseness, memorability and invariability, and were an important indicators of adult wisdom and experience, the reason they could only be used by the elder members of society to caution or advise the younger ones. Miruka, (1999) observes that proverbs were also used in “embellishment to speech” (p.110) Myths were attempts to explain the origin of mystical phenomena, and were concerned with projections of eternal principles as observed in nature. As the highest forms of human imagination, mythology in any community has a bearing on the cosmological orientation of many societies.

Almost every community in Kenya has a myth about creation and being. Indeed, it is possible that every Kenyan has heard a narrative from his community. These stories exist because it is a natural characteristic of myth to ‘convey truth’. People don’t doubt myths. They reinforce communal unity, and create a sense of ethnic uniqueness that no one is ready to give away. Other than their inherent functionality, each of these genres served to bring people together. Take myth for example. As a story of a people’s origin, it bound the entire community into belief in common ancestry and consequently, common destiny. It was not about one man telling a story to another, but a man telling a story about thousands of people he believed he had kinship association with. This way, the myth is a ‘mass genre’. The same can be said of any other form because the idea of storytelling was to indoctrinate the initiate into society by way of transmitting social values, aesthetics and communal norms.

With the coming of radio to Africa, orality became part of the new development quite naturally because, just like traditional oral genres, it was an oral form. It further brought the advantages associated with wider reach and synchrony of the spoken word with music, announcement and the fact that one did not necessarily have to travel to the physical performance arena. The performance arena was transferred to the listener's imaginative world, informed by awareness of the cultural environment he shared with the broadcaster.

Across the African continent the colonial radio played a tutelary role to the development of radio in Africa, either through training, competition or playwriting apprenticeship. Kerr (1995) observes that in Francophone West Africa, *Office De Radio diffusion Television Francaise* (ORTF) (A national agency Providing public radio services in France between 1964 and 1974) encouraged African radio drama even after independence. He also notes that in Anglophone Africa, the British Broadcasting Corporation, BBC played an important role by airing programmes with Afro-content. The extent of these programmes is not evident because as we noted earlier, few Africans has the requisite skills to store or analyze such content. It is however evident that BBC aired a weekly programme *Weekly Theatre* that was produced during the 1960's and early 1970's by Gwynneth Henderson across East Africa. Nowhere in Africa have we a history of the colonial radio closing to pave way for the African one after independence.

African scholars who took over radio production and programming were not threatened by the colonial medium. They transformed the African oral form to suit the needs of mass consumption because they realized that a majority of the people in Africa's rural areas were not conversant with foreign culture and ideology. As Kerr notes, when Africans became conscious of the potentialities in radio they adapted and synchronized it into indigenous forms. He, for instance, notes that Wole Soyinka produced *Broke Time Bar*, a weekly comedy of 1960 to 1962 in the Nigerian national radio, in which he used the trickster formula for a mass media formula. In his analyses of the relationship between indigenous literary outputs and contemporary theatre in the media, he notes that the roots of modern ideological populist theatre lie in the "indigenous performing traditions" (p.196). He refers to the revival of the pre-colonial theatrical forms during the protest against imperialism in African villages, especially

the University Travelling Theatre (UTT) of the 1970's which became a popular tool of communication and consciencization in the spirit of taking theatre back to the people where it was believed to belong.

Radio transformed the ways in which orality was practiced in traditional communities. It carried with it ideals of capitalism expounded by colonization and westernization. Part of this development was competitive trade in which businesses sought to promote their products by use of the new media. In so doing, orality, which was firmly entrenched in rural communities, found its way into emergent commercial discourse. The genres that were primarily used for socialization were adopted into trade, either wholly or in part.

Campbell (2002) finds a connection between mythology and advertising. He notes that mythology is intricately interwoven with advertisement culture anywhere in the world and that "most ads are narratives with stories to tell and social conflicts to solve" (p.405). First, he defines myth as 'the stories a community constructs to bring order to the conflicts and contradictions of everyday life'. He notes that most ads incorporate myths in mini-story form, featuring characters, setting and plot. The structure of these adverts is such that they invoke some form of conflict about a set of values. The ultimate goal is to create a hero so that the product being advertised "and those who use it emerge as heroes of the story" (p.405). The advert itself is made to perform the role of a moral story. This way, the ad becomes effective by creating attitudes and reinforcing values. Campbell's observation is important because it points at the connection between oral forms and modern practice in commerce.

These studies affirm that the radio of today has merely revisited the oral popular culture to inform and entertain. As Bazin (1979) notes, the modern artist "has at his disposition a treasure, a patrimony from which he selects elements with which he re-composes a product which is at least partially new" (p.450). In his view, the history of creativity involves, to a large degree, a process of production and reproduction.

## **2.2 Radio in Popular Expression**

In Kenya and Africa today radio is a foremost medium of popular expression. By 'popular' we mean that which is accessible to a majority of people. Since the original

intention of radio technology was to reach wider audiences, it follows that its relevance lay in being attractive to these mass audiences. In other words, radio retains its relevance by speaking to as many people as possible. To effectively do this it must understand and serve audiences by telling them good stories and playing good music.

According to Barber (1997), the 'popular' has to do with the hybridity of cultures in that oral narrative, popular literatures, poetry, music and visual art all thrive. In this sense, oral tradition in popular expression could be seen as a 'neo-traditional form'. Popular culture in Africa is neither traditional nor elite; modern or westernized. (Nyairo and Ogude, 2007; Barber, 1997) Rather, it is defined by its occupation of the zone between the two poles.

In terms of 'popular' ideology and theatre in Kenya, there is no definitive canon we can call 'Kenyan theatre' because it changes with changes in social needs each day. There are no consistent or uniform modes of description for a Kenyan theatre. The controversy of determination and classification has been with us for a long time now. (Finnegan, 1975; Adelugba and Obafemi, 2004). The dominant informing aesthetic Kenyan theatre, considering the traditional origins, and which summarizes the basic taxonomic propositions in modern scholarship of Kenyan Theatre is what adelugba and Obafemi call 'total theatre', an all-encompassing theatre.

Popular culture has always been part of the media in Kenya. The radio has always attempted to reach the mass consumer through their own idiom. Nyairo and Ogude (2007) define popular art as "that which could be described as fluid circulation of practices common to and shared by various groups or strata of society, with blurring distinctions" (p4). In specific terms, they see the popular as an aesthetic category, referring to a kind of stylistic improvisation akin to mass consumption. They are opposed to seeing popular as a specific category defined by specific rules. They observe that:

the primacy of oral literature, defined as some ossified form rooted in some unchanging tradition or such other attempts to reify local oral cultural practices and by association on popular culture of the people are not acceptable because they ended up locating popular culture in the category of the traditional and the authentic and consequently relegating these cultural practices to the past or to a static model of culture. (p.2)

Ngugi in *Homecoming* (1972) defines 'popular' in as far as the masses conglomerate to assert their power of majorities to overthrow capitalism and uproot it from the African continent. He finds that majorities in Africa can rise against the imperialist ideals of exploitative economics and restore the culture, lifestyle and dignity of African peasantry.

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the idea of the popular is often contrasted to the official, privileged domain, through which the oppressed voices, the taboo, and the sensitive moral issues are raised. It involves themes such as sexuality, prostitution, linguistic transgressions such as code switching and code mixing, unwritten topics around rural poverty and such mundane issues that the state, church and school would discourage for their non-conformity. The topics are however of a universal nature, where the speaker, by theme, is able to address heterogeneous audiences as though they were homogenous.

It is also evident that the concept of 'popular' carries with it certain characteristics. First, it carries notions of 'mass' or 'multitude' or 'majorities'. Secondly, it encompasses people's myths, beliefs and practices. Thirdly, it also carries elements of moral guidance and criticism. Additionally, popular discourse has practical implications and applications and as done by Ngugi (*ibid*), it is flexible in its application to situations. Whereas Ngugi defines the popular by its Marxist function, Ogunde & Nyairo define it in general terms as that which involves masses. Barber defines popular from its histo-cultural relevance (1997) and usage. Here we define the popular by its persuasive function as 'that which affects the emotions of masses to undertake purchase actions'

In terms of mass appeal and penetration of radio and popular ideas, Ogunde and Nyairo observe that:

the power of the radio in the region where it is not unusual to find a herds boy moving around with his transistor radio in one hand and a club in the other as he tends the cattle in the bush; or a fisherman's radio blaring with music even as he mends his nets, or moving in the deep waters in search his catch, is a clear testimony of how the new institutions born of modernity have helped in forging new collectivities and in compressing the distance between groups. (p. 305)



This way, radio medium is not overtly discriminative. Every member of the social spectrum somehow becomes target for the same content, be it music, news or promo. It is in this sense that radio ad-theatre could be said to be an experimental form in that the target audience, personally unknown to the rhetor, strikes a chord of familiarity through common cultural experience.

In Kenya and other parts of Africa, theatre has a history of being used to mobilize cultural techniques to reinforce consensus on key issues, both national and local in the media. It is common to find popular radio personalities actualizing their drama during public functions, where their productions are transmitted through other media as well. The concept of TfD has been on radio space, disseminating on topics relating to family health, morality and education. (Ligaga, 2006; Kerr 1995). The popularity of the medium creates an ideal setting for advertisers to exercise salesmanship.

### **2.3 Suitability of Radio in Mass Expression**

Radio remains a dominant medium in Kenya owing to a number of factors. It has wide penetration in both public and private lives of the people. It is to be found in homes, public service vehicles popularly known as *Matatus*, computers, mobile phones and cars. It is free of charge, and meets the listener at his convenience. Arens et al (2011) describe the radio as a medium that “provides entertainment or news to listeners who are busy doing something else – driving, washing dishes, reading the newspaper or even studying” (p.395). It is therefore evident that geographical spread, cost-effectiveness and adaptability to mass audiences naturally make radio a preferred medium for popular expression (Diawara, 1994, Kerr 1995).

Radio has social-psychological relevance among the people who consume it. Diawara (1994) observes that radio is power itself in the sense that if the strength of the person in power is confirmed across territories, thanks to the voice of his griot, the ‘torch-bearer’ affirms his own allegiance and relevance to the dominant cycle. It also derives its authority from the fact that broadcasters are persons who, over some period of time, have gained the confidence of their listeners. He notes that for the average radio “it is the voice that counts” (p.43). The message is not merely valued because of the content inherent, but also for the approval of its conveyor.

Psychologically, radio establishes, through a variety of devices and techniques, a relationship between the narrator and the person being praised, and the modern griot finds it proper to be identified, implicitly and explicitly, with the person in power.

Another dominant quality with radio is its repetitiveness, especially if the broadcaster wants to drill the message into his listeners. If one does not like the message, the best he can do is switch stations. Even so, the latter is not likely because of the mixture in programming. If one hears an undesirable item, he hopes to hear a desirable one in no time. This quality is important because advertisers want their audiences to hear more and more in the belief that repetition creates concurrence.

#### **2.4 Skepticism About Theatre in Radio**

Despite the gains theatre has derived from radio, there are dissenting voices especially by cultural conservationists coming from within Africa and beyond (Kerr, 1995; Golding, 1977; De Graft, 1976). Kerr cautions against the idea of substituting indigenous orality with technology. The possibility of radio transmitting foreign ideology in any African culture is real, bearing in mind that radio is a technological invention of the West. He sees the substitution African scholars are using as counterproductive in the sense that the media itself has been hijacked by new forces to propagate imperial ideology, capitalism, corruption and government propaganda. He further accuses the media of using sophisticated technology and foreign expertise in their 'futile' attempts to manipulate rural folks.

Golding (1977) too has a skeptical view of radio as a means of cultural expression. He looks at it as a dangerous imperial tool 'disguised' as an oral medium. He finds possibilities of cultural emasculation through what he calls 'media imperialism'. He observes that due to its origins in colonial cultures, radio can enhance blatant cultural emasculation by allowing foreign values to seep into indigenous cultures, considering that most African cultures are today expressed in European languages in the media. Consequently, there arises the possibility of ideological transfer through what he calls 'electronic neo-imperialism'. His observation points to the awareness of material in the media that may not quite reflect the spirit of specific African cultures.

De Graft (1976) too doubts that modern electronic drama can serve its traditional purposes. First, he finds the modern dramatist as too individualistic. He accuses him

of exhibiting pride in ‘his unique creations and achievements’, noting that unlike in the past, drama is no longer created for the social event. He also finds problems with the tendency towards commercialization of theatre, noting that the modern-day theatre lacks “the convincing actor, the impersonator who comes to his art with singleness of purpose, concentration and discipline” (p.8). What we find instead is a desperate scramble for dollars rather than the scramble for the startling social truth.

## **2.5 Drama and Rhetoric**

Any literary production molded towards persuasion can best be understood in the broader concepts of rhetoric as developed from early philosophy. In the light of this, theatre geared towards marketing and mass appeal must, to a very large degree, conform to rhetorical practices deriving from these traditions

Rhetoric traces its origins to classical oratory. It was an art of mass persuasion in courts and public places in ancient Greece. Aristotle defines rhetoric as ‘the faculty of observing in any given situation the available means of persuasion’. During his time, rhetoric was an art of the state. It was used in courts or in ceremonial occasions to showcase ones art of speech and logic (Mugubi, 2004)

Rhetors were highly regarded people, and Aristotle identifies three persuasive appeals which an effective rhetor ought to have: *Ethos*, *Logos* and *Pathos*. *Ethos* is the ethical component of public speech. Cothran, M (2003) notes that the speaker was expected to exhibit credibility, honesty and trustworthiness. *Logos* was concerned with logic and rational development of an argument, while *Pathos* was concerned with emotional quality of arguments. In *Pathos* the speaker was expected to powerfully appeal to the basic senses of his audience in order to effect the change he was seeking. As a discipline, rhetoric has been concerned with language effect as a means of reinforcing one’s argument to enforce consensus on an important public affair. Similarly, these principles would serve an advertiser who seeks ‘attracting’ people towards a commodity by use of the spoken word.

In order to construct a persuasive item Cothran (2003) discusses five techniques advanced by Aristotle a rhetor can use collectively to sway his listener: Invention, Arrangement, Language, Memory and Delivery. He noted that the rhetor needed a

high degree of creativity because he was working against some strong, opposing belief. Without the negativity of the audience, persuasion would not be necessary.

Secondly, the speaker needed to organize his points in a clear, logical pattern to avoid losing his listener. Without this orderliness, the discourse would be sheer noise. On Language, one needed to choose words that would make the presentation forceful. Clarity, correctness, propriety and ornamentation were instrumental in this respect. The speaker had also to hold his argument in memory throughout the presentation. Similarly, he had to make the presentation memorable. Memory lapses and unnecessary repetitions were seen as weaknesses on the part of the presenter.

Finally, the speaker had to focus his skill on the most important aspect: delivery. He had to ensure that his presentation was compelling and spirited, and the audience was left with no doubt about the need to support his case. As a skill of language use, rhetoric relied on both logic and heuristic techniques to move popular thought and action. It involved a purposeful and strategic manipulation of symbols.

The ideas of Aristotle were challenged by Plato who sees the Aristotelian notion of rhetoric, like all arts, as destructive and immoral in the sense that its enterprise is on manipulation of the ignorant masses rather than on facts. He finds rhetoric as a form of flattery that functions the same way as cookery in which a skillful chef masks unhealthy food by making it taste good by use of spices.

In literature, the principles of rhetoric have been incorporated in literary stylistics and speech. Literary texts, poetic composition and recital, popular expressions as well as indigenous oratorical forms such as proverbs and folktales aim at influencing human behaviour. Like rhetoric, literary stylistics involves manipulation of language to produce certain impressions on the reader or hearer.

## **2.6 Advertising and Artistic Execution**

In a literary perspective, advertising is stylistics in practice because it draws from the parameters defined by Leech and Short (2007) of purpose, context, language, audience, monism, pluralism and dualism. The advertiser is in most respects a practical artist.

The relationship between advertising and artistic execution has been a subject of intense interest to marketers, going by the amount of literature in marketing books and journals. Their big question has always been “What makes a great ad?” Arens et al (2011) theorizes that great adverts possess two commonalities: audience resonance and strategic relevance. An ad has audience resonance if it has a “surprise element” (p.340) which not only captures audience attention, but also their imagination. This, they note, is what brings the ad to the league of great art.

An ad has strategic relevance if it has a careful selection of tone, words and ideas focused on the advert ‘content’. It implies combining the linguistic embellishments and the ad message. The authors observe that beyond the language, “great advertising has a strategic mission to fulfill” (p.341). The creative component makes advertising more vivid, and many researchers believe vividness attracts attention, maintains interest and stimulates consumers’ thinking. As such Arens et al note that “to be persuasive, an ad’s verbal message must be reinforced by the creative use of non-verbal message elements to increase vividness” (p.345). Their research attempts to relate advert vividness to orality noting that literary form has a bearing on advert effect. They observe that;

...the ancients created legends and myths about gods and heroes-symbols for humankind’s instinctive, primordial longings and fears-to effect human behaviour and thought. To motivate people to some action or attitude, advertising copy writers have created new myths and heroes. (p.345).

Their study points to the intricate relationship between myth and advertising. It points to the important relationship between an effective ad and artistic effect. It feeds our curiosity to locate these two qualities within specific cultural productions.

Rybacki (1991) examines, among other things, the nature of rhetorical acts. He argues that for one to understand a rhetorical act, one must understand “the rhetor’s purpose, structure of the utterances, and development of ideas, the audiences and the symbolic nature of persuasive language” (p.19). Since the rhetor’s goal is to cause change, he has to imagine audiences. The speaker must present facts in a logical order, present adequate evidence and the logic linking conclusions to evidence. The speaker must

also draw from some ‘virtual experience’, the body of experiences, beliefs and attitudes shared with his audience.

Like other forms of literary stylistics, persuasive art hinges on linguistic deviation, and artistic language in rhetoric often applies provisions of poetic license. The consequence of this is that poetic license can affect ‘truth’ relayed in advertising. This can be either good or bad for the product. The ambiguities arising from literary fluidity and non-conformity may contravene the requirement for truth telling, an ethical principle in product promotion. The law does not allow advertisers to exploit their audiences’ ignorance to fool them about a commodity.

It was the French philosopher Jacques Derrida (1930-2004) who, in his Deconstruction theories, noted that texts have a literary and a philosophical aspect. Whereas the literary was concerned with textual hermeneutics where invention is crucial in uncovering meanings, the philosophical was concerned with the metaphysics of presence, popularly known as hierarchies. (Silverman, H(1989); Norris, C (1987); Howells, C (1999)). However, Derrida’s view that language is non-referential (refers to an infinite play of signifiers) implies that the concept of accurate representation of an ad’s subject is equally fluid, and advertisers have a leeway in art to make the notions of ‘truth’ remain subjective.

Rhetoricians of the antiquity were actually aware that a skillful speaker could use his oratorical prowess against truth. It was therefore held that a good orator must also be a good citizen of the state who should strive for truth and virtuosity at all times.

In his analysis of advert objectivity in the face of literary license, Carr (1968) notes that truth is not always conveyed in advertisements. He argues that advertising is analogous to the game of poker where the ‘opponent’ must not know the cards in your hands if you want to win the game. Similarly, the opponent must be kept in false belief that you have cards that you actually don’t have. He calls this ‘bluffing’. In the context of commercial rhetoric, the advertiser remains ‘virtuous’ despite concealing information, if he so does, because he is able to stimulate a move from the other end. In the end, concealment, exaggeration and bluffing somehow become legitimate ways to maximize self interest in the context of commerce.

Carr's observation leads to our awareness that what we usually hear from adverts may not be the *absolute* truth, and language license removes the burden of truth necessity on the part of the advertiser. It is in this sense that art becomes a shrewd marketer's hiding place against the legal demands for 'truth'. In artistic selling, the ambiguities and contradictions of language tend to work for the rhetor.

## **2.7 Cultural Influences on Advertising**

Culture influences advert consumption because it is a cultural byproduct. This explains why rhetorical discourses have always created meaning problems when they cross cultural boundaries. Lewicki et al (2001), note that people from different cultures negotiate differently and that they interpret fundamental processes of negotiation differently. Culture influences emotions displayed during negotiation because it encompasses shared values and beliefs held by members of a group which they are not willing to bend. When ads cross cultural borders they usually bring out varied and sometimes strange interpretations.

Kamau (2012) provides an example of how adverts have ended up meaning one thing in one culture and completely another in a different culture. In his article, he provides insights into cross-cultural mis-interpretation of adverts. He observes that copywriters "end up with a roller-coaster ride of unintended results when adverts meant one thing in one market and completely another in a different market" (p2 col. 1).

The article relates to an advert by Korean Air in June, 2012 on launch of flights to Nairobi that ended up exciting a tirade of negative sentiments in the social media for labeling Kenyans a people 'bubbling with primitive energy'. The tag elicited bitter responses from across the cultural divide. The public relations handlers for the airline later apologized and regretted that the offending promo was as a result of translating Korean to English. For the airline, the idea was to portray Kenya as a place of great cultures that the world needs to come and experience. The phrase about 'primitive energy' was translated to mean that Kenyans were technologically and culturally backward.

## **2.8 Performance in Cultural Contexts**

Finnegan (1970) addresses the question of ‘who should perform?’ which I find relevant in the context of modern rhetoric. First, she notes that an actual performance in the presence of a defined audience is an imperative in African theatre. Secondly, she notes that the performer not only requires certain artistic skills, but also some moral authority to stand before the audience. She observes that “theatre is by definition dependent on a performer who formulates it in words on a specific occasion-there is no other way it can be actualized as a literary product”(p.2). Finnegan adds that the nature of a performance can contribute immensely to the way it is received and consumed. The performance, she notes, involves an ‘emotional situation’ since the performer’s beauty of voice, facial expressions and vocal expressiveness contribute to the overall quality of the product.

Her argument dispels the notion that all performances in Africa are impromptu where anyone can rise and begin to tell a story. To her, the acceptance of a performer by the audience is crucial. She brings into focus the notion of the performer’s ‘social and moral standing’. These notions help us to characterize the performer in the radio episodes, especially in relation to understanding the role of celebrities in advert execution.

McLeish (1999) also addresses the relationship between radio and culture. He observes that one of the reasons why radio remains a popular medium is because it builds on culture and the indigenous traditions. He says that radio has “a long and distinguished history of turning thoughts, words and actions into satisfying pictures within the listeners mind by using the technique of drama” (p.238). Being an oral medium, radio is capable of utilizing special phonic features such as grunts, music and silence.

Unlike primary orality, the modern performer must be aware of the electronic environment in which he’s operating. He needs special skills to manipulate his gadgets and come out authentic. McLeish (1999) and McDaniel (2004) analyze, among other things, the various executional techniques that the advert personae may use in radio. McLeish notes that the ad voice must reinforce the style chosen, and identify the very specific qualities that make the product attractive. Mc Daniel on his



part notes that the style used to execute the message is one of the most creative elements of an advertisement. He analyses the various executional styles that have become common, including celebrity testimonials, use of humour, scientific evidences, slices-of-life and fantasy, among others. These styles are largely dictated by the media chosen to convey the ad message.

Joe De Graft (1976) observes that African drama “derives from everyday life” (p.3). It not only draws its theme from life but also uses real human bodies to express the foibles of everyday living. He notes that impersonation used in drama is psychologically related to man’s compulsive needs in a search for sanity in a world threatened by annihilation and extinction from all sides. The decision to impersonate, he notes, is a conscious one, and that it requires some kind of physical and psychological preparation. The process of acting is most electrifying when it threatens to go as close as possible to the psychological safety point of the audience, the point of possession. Graft’s view collaborates with Finnegan’s in the sense that the performer must possess some level of intelligence and persona acceptable by those who see and listen to him. De Graft acknowledges that the “embryonic dramatic art had close links with the community’s body of beliefs and ritual practices, which, in the view of the particular community ensured their moral sanity and survival” (p.4). The community was ready to accept the impersonators in their new identities, to enter into suspension of disbelief, that mood of make-belief.

Although these analyses enrich the perspectives adopted by this study, the critics fail to make specific scholarly analyses that may provide insights into those aspects that make theatre click with advertisers in Kenya. These are the concerns this study seeks to address.

## **2.9 Theatre, Radio and Popular Culture in Kenya**

Kenyan theatre spaces are a hybrid of traditional and modern heritages, architecturally and in terms of content, styles genres and forms. There are stand-up comedy theatres on TV, ritual performances, open air performances, musical dramas, acrobatic displays and puppet theatres, so that Kenyan theatre is essentially a complex integration of form and function. There are no specific criteria we can use to compartmentalize Kenyan theatre, and the issue of canonization remains a mirage.

Drama is by nature an interactive genre because no single person can actualize it without the support of technical assistance and the audience. (Kerr; 1995). Consequently, in advertising it is a reflector of popular or mass thought because the advertiser, relying on attractive sounds and imagery, predicts audience behavior and seeks to influence it. As such, it is both a reflector of popular thought, as well as a major way to learn and interpret other kinds of popular culture.

It is a mode of socialization that can inform us how we should think and react to situations, as well as informing us about which problems we may need to worry about. For instance, an advert can, directly or otherwise, rebuke one for not having the latest mobile gadget. It is also possible that by viewing older adverts we can learn something about the prevalent ideology of an historical period. Its conduit is mass media.

The principal function of radio is to entertain listeners, aid commerce through product promotion, disseminate news and information, connecting people across communities and transmitting cultures and customs. (Gross, 2010). It is also a medium that is awash with commercials, and most might end up offending. This is because the people involved in marketing often create stereotypes and exaggerations which the audiences are too often aware of. Advertisers have thus to strategize in ways that gain the attention and confidence of consumers. As Gross notes, “the clutter of commercials on radio means that any one commercial can get lost in the crowd” (p.15) and this calls for unique, popular and interesting approaches.

The purpose of advertising is to spread beautiful messages about a product to as many people as possible so that they may know a product, like it and buy it. Weaver (1922) refers to the idea of advertising as “beauty in relation to salesmanship” (p.1). He notes that advertising does not merely focus on truth, but also the beauty of the product. The beauty of language and modes of presentation echo the beauty of the product itself. The advertiser is therefore not called upon to serve a class. He speaks to whoever cares to listen. He comes as the alchemist who brings distinction and standards to commerce, touching with persuasive beauty the many things relating to common life so that the hearer may make necessary connections and relationships. As Weaver

explains, human beings, irrespective of class, race or colour almost instinctively select the beautiful instead of the ugly when both are presented.

The concept of 'popular' has been a subject of discussion by various scholars with a view to identifying standpoints upon which analyses may begin. (Barber, 1987, Ogunde and Nyairo, 2007). The term has the connotation of 'general public' or 'masses' in the sense of what a majority of people in a given society, irrespective of formal learning, imagine the world should be.

It is therefore a form of tyranny in which ideology is shaped by the multitude. In most societies such multitudes are composed of the poor, semi-literate and low class segment. It is here that the moral code for all is crafted and enforced with near-perfect austerity. Notable in this segment is the courage to provoke and threaten the middle and upper crusts of society with their code. Their material could be derived from sheer imagination, experiences in public and private lives, ideas about government, common rumours or common historical knowledge that is shared by a body of citizens. The bourgeoisie often become the subject of criticism and mock, and their speeches are analyzed, joked about and sung. (Ogunde and Nyairo, 2007). Humour and rumour become the major devices of rendition. This explains why popular discourses appear artistic in many ways.

Its opposition to 'affluence' makes elitist critics dismiss it as backstreet wisdom. One of the pioneering and insightful works on popular literary culture in Africa and which we examine in detail is *Readings in African Popular Culture* edited by Karin Barber. This work examines general views in the field of popular culture, the relationship between the oral tradition and popular expression in Africa, social history, criticism and interpretation, women in popular culture, the bigger picture of a genre otherwise perceived small, and the global character of popular culture.

Barber finds that in many ways, it is an expression by the 'poor', embodying what they believe love, money, family and prosperity entails. That is probably why she defines 'popular' by drawing distinction with the 'high'. She refers to popular culture as "the little, genres of everyday life" (1) that is both local and global. Barber notes that it has always been difficult in identifying the 'popular' because it is neither

traditional, elite, modern, nor westernized. It is defined by “occupation of the zone between these two poles” (1).

She regrets that the study of African literatures has naturally fallen into duodichotomies of ‘traditional’ and ‘western’ as though there was no today. She criticizes the notions prevalent since the 60’s that, the traditional is always a place of origin, providing the roots, for emergent ‘modern’ forms. Barber observes that

With the coming of westernization, African pieces that were ‘most highly prized were those that could be seen as authentic representatives of ‘tribal’ cultures, ancient, unchanging, hieratic, austere, and the product of traditions of skilled craftsmanship.” (1).

This binary paradigm tends to overlook the fact that humans are naturally artistic, and that it is practically impossible to classify every production. One can only hive off an item from the avalanche of cultural richness for analysis. As Barber notes, “There is a vast domain of cultural production which cannot be classified as either ‘traditional’, ‘elite’, oral’ ‘literate’, indigenous or western’ because it straddles and dissolves these distinctions (2).

The concept of ‘popular’ thus embodies to a large extent the works of local cultural-modernist producers speaking to local audiences about pressing concerns, experiences and struggles that they share. Coplan (1982) notes that among African miners in South Africa, there arose a ‘discrete social world with its own ethos, forms of cultural expression and patterns of affiliation and opposition (P.360)

Priebe (1997) distinguishes between ‘popular’ and ‘elite’ literature not just in terms of accessibility to the majority (distribution, cost) but also in terms of stylistic features common to these genres. He provides the example of how Ghanaian popular novelettes address themselves to the same serious, moral and political issues as elite literature, but they do so in a complimentary and indeed diametrically opposed fictional mode. (5).

Ngugi sees ‘popular’ as that which functions in the interests of the masses (farmers, workers and unemployed) by opening their eyes to their own objective historical situation, the actual conditions of their existence and thus enabling them to empower

themselves (5). If a form occupies the high status of 'popular', then it must name and revolve around common suffering, then provide hope for a better life. It should be focused towards self-betterment in the face of some serious challenges in society. (6)

The study of popular culture in Africa has always involved identifying and isolating a single element and contextualizing it in terms of purpose and aesthetics. For instance, Coplan (1987) has studied the Basotho migrant songs to capture the complexities and anxieties of their new world. In *Eloquent Knowledge: Lesotho Migrant Songs and the Anthropology of Experience* and *In the time of the Cannibals, 1994*. Anne Fugich's *Playing the Market: The Market Theatre of Johannesburg* (1976) examines the integration of art into the social history and the role of culture in political struggle. David Kerr's *African Popular Theatre* (1995) examines the various ways in which art has been used for mass awareness across Africa. Fabian Johannes analyzes popular songs in Shaba where he concludes that the popular song has a context defined by: the historical-political situation, social referent and setting.

Popular discourse should be viewed as an education system for the rural man. The artist does not merely mention what is happening in his society, but rather invokes what should happen. All popular discourses have an advisory component, either in the form of social criticism or comment. Like all literatures, it is both amusing and didactic. It is also loaded with the wisdom prevalent in a community at that point in time. By virtue of its entertainment component popular literature pulls the people towards itself. It utilizes the topics each person in a community has imagined or heard and as such, it can only be understood in the context of a specific society, the same way jokes are understood in context.

The people consuming popular literature understand that it is merely literature, and there is the real possibility of passing the message as a joke. The artist is thus called upon to strike equilibrium between the 'joke' component and the 'message' component of his creation. Assuming that the popular is the serious is suicidal for the modern artist who wishes to utilize popular cultural resources for modern purposes. The audience is willing to suspend disbelief and consume whatever culturally relevant content is relayed as long as social and cultural harmony is maintained.

Shortly after independence, theatre was aligned to the models of cultural nationalism, political servitude and Theatre for Development (TfD). School performances were encouraged, and the Kenya National Theatre (KNT) was born. There was also a rise in elite drama groups in urban and peri-urban settings. These pieces addresses pan-nationalist themes, as well as those around health, family, political propaganda etc. in line with the ideals of TfD. In terms of thematic orientation, post-colonial theatre focused more on didacticism, fostering nationalism, morality, national development, entertainment and in political propaganda. (Kerr, 1995; Ligaga. 2006).

Research exists on radio as a medium of popular discourse in Kenya. Singhal and Rogers (2003) studied some radio dramas in East Africa with a view to seeing their concern with developmental issues, especially in relation to their response to the threat posed by HIV/Aids. Specifically, they examine the various developmental aspects of soap operas combining both the radio and television media. Their study is important because it points to both the evolution and relevance of the East African soap opera, initially perceived as a Western genre. Their study focuses on multiple media and concentrates purely on areas addressed by TfD. The proposed study examines the mini-drama of advertisements with a view to seeing how theatre functions as a rhetorical form.

Njogu (2005) has edited a book whose general concern is the role of the soap opera in enhancing health and shaping behaviours among Kenyans. His study, like Singhals, is developmental in nature. Secondly, it focuses on the soap opera. It clearly addresses an important region in the evolution of theatre in Africa which can enrich our understanding of such theatre. His concern is however different from that of the current study in that none of the contributions in his edition attempt to locate the role of radio in the context of commercial persuasion.

Ligaga (2006) has done extensive research on radio theatre in Kenya. She attempts to locate radio drama in the context of its production, especially the serial by the title *Radio Theatre* produced by the late Nzau Kalulu on KBC. Ligaga notes that the programme was first aired in 1982, which is coincidentally the year a military *coup de tat* was first attempted in post-colonial Kenya. Her thesis examines various radio plays against this background in terms of moral, educational, nationalistic and

developmental themes, and proceeds to argue that the lack of political content in the plays could be attributed to state censorship. Her thesis is important because it is function-oriented, just like the proposed study. However, it is not concerned the rhetoric of marketing which form the backbone of this study.

Concerning popular culture scholarship in Kenya, the research material available is inexhaustible. (Wa Mungai, 2004; Ogola, 2003, 2007; Nyairo and Ogude, 2003; Musila, 2007). Musila, for instance, examines the comic vision in Gado's editorial cartoons. She observes that the cartoons employ satirical techniques such as distortion of prominent personalities for effect. She notes that humour is a clear path the cartoonist has beaten to address serious issues in the Kenyan society.

Mbugua Wa Mungai (2004) examines the kind of lore in Matatu graffiti and how it reflects on life in Nairobi, Kenya's capital. He looks at Nairobi as a Cosmo polis of cultural hybrids attempting to formulate a pseudo-urbanite culture through expressions on the stickers in public transport vehicles. He argues for the need to take into account views and contexts about the tensions and anxieties born of the contradictions and pleasures of city living. He concludes that although each Matatu ride has its unique aura, an experience on any Matatu falls within a range of practices common to all such rides.

Elizabeth (1992) examines the popular messages printed in *Kanga*, a kind of cloth tied around the waist by many women in Kenya. In her analysis, she concludes that such messages have both moral and literary relevance, especially among the Swahili women of the Kenyan coast.

Mutonya (2003); Ogude and Nyairo (2007) examine the different facets of popular music in Kenya, while Muriungi, A (2007) examine popular fiction in Kenya. Their studies, like those examined earlier, point to the importance role played by popular discourses in understanding emerging creative forms which reflect how people entertain themselves and conceive existence.

In a nutshell, this section has interrogated existing literature in the area of theatrical practice in the African continent. Specifically we have examined literature and

concepts around drama and orality in traditional societies, the relationship between drama and radio in Africa, drama, culture and advertising as well as drama and popular culture. In the next section we shall interrogate the theoretical framework used in data analysis.

## **2.10 Theoretical Framework**

The framework used in this thesis is a strand derived from the structural-functional approach used by Jackson Walter Ong, an American theoretician and critic in the analysis of the relationship between orality and literacy. Drawing from the structural functional approaches of Bronislaw Malinowski in myth analyses, and the communication theories advanced by his teacher Marshall McLuhan, Ong attempts to rationalize oral discourses in terms of their structure and function in order to explain their working patterns. Before him, structural functionalists focused on the structures of discourse that produce functions for the attainment of specific goals. For instance, Malinowski analyzed the structure of myths to explain their role in social stability. Available literature (Doris, 1949; Radcliffe-Brown, 1958; Parsons, 1964; Malinowski, 1969; Mulkay, 1971) shows that the sociological approach adopted then views society as a superstructure in terms of the functions of its constituent elements.

Earlier sociologists sought to explain why and how society functions, focusing on the various social institutions such as government, religion, art and family. For instance, Radcliffe brown, a British anthropological structuralist attempted to show the connection between the concept of social structure and function, and is believed to have developed the theory of structural functionalism and coadaptation. (Hogbin, I; 1988) He sought to demonstrate that social institutions survive for the service and benefit of the communities in which they exist. Claude Levi-Strauss looked at the unconscious aspects of the human communication to determine social conduct. He observed that human behavior was determined to an underlying structure, and that this structure could generate social and cultural behavior which is a reflection of the basic aspects of the human mind.

Levi-Strauss also distinguished between surface and deep structures. (Downey, 2008). The deep structures, such as language, grammar and the human mind are not visible, but are discernible from intensive interpretive analysis of discourse, myths, language



and texts. From the interpretation obtained, one can then explain the traits of the particular custom or social institution. There have been many perspectives to structural-functionalism, and so the theory is not viewed as a single, coherent theoretical approach. It has given rise to, among others, Marxist structural-functionalism, anthropological structural functionalism, literary structuralism and so on. This study uses literary structuralism which views texts in terms of their plots, size, character types and inferences to see how these contribute to meaning

### **2.10.1 Jackson Walter Ong's Approach**

Jackson Walter Ong was an American scholar and analyst who used structural functionalism in the analyses of oral literary productions. In *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* Ong examines the relationship between primary orality on one hand, and secondary orality on the other by both structure and function. He attempts to draw distinctions between chirographically based thought (primary orality) on one hand, and secondary orality and other forms of typographically based thought on the other.

His approach is relevant to this study because we are interested in examining how the characteristics of primary orality he outlines may be used to understand secondary orality as practiced in radio advertising. Secondly, this study examines how oratory through electronic media employs the notions of 'imagined audiences' associated with the works of both Ong and Karin Barber.

Ong defines primary orality as "oral cultures untouched by writing" (31). He then isolates elements which describe the nature and workings of primary oral cultures which provide insights into how spoken discourses in mass media may be understood.

First he notes that oral discourses are characterized by inbuilt mnemonic devices. After examining the psychodynamics of sound devices in orality he noticed that they are carefully loaded with memory devices and formulae. These are the structures within utterances that enable hearers to recall them with ease. Once words leave the mouth of the speaker they cannot be recalled, and therefore they require frames of memory built within the utterances themselves. He says that such mnemonic patterns are reinforced by:

heavily rhythmic, balanced patterns, in repetitions or anti-thesis, in alliterations and assonances, in epithetic and other formulaic expressions, in standard thematic settings, in proverbs which are constantly heard by everyone so that they come to mind readily and which themselves are patterns for retention and readily recall, or in any other mnemonic form (P.34)

Considering that adverts take a short span of time it is probable that the advertiser will utilize speech patterns which will aid recall. A study of these discourses is thus a study of the patrimony of memory devices available to speakers in persuasive environments.

Secondly, Ong noticed that oral expressions are message-centered rather than syntax centered. The utterances in orality are concerned more with the convenience of their speech rather than the grammatical organization or correctness of the discourse. The utterance is focused more on its purpose and comfort with which the particular speaker utters it. Ong argues that such expressions are least concerned with their own redundancy, and they may carry a load of epithets and adjectives and other formulaic baggage which literacy rejects as redundancy. In actual sense the adjectives acquire repetitive referencing. He notes that this does not only enhance their memorability, but also imbibe them within 'normal' discourse such that age is marked by repetitive speech and 'wisdom' where artistic speech becomes the marker for such wisdom.

Advertisers will find themselves using language in unconventional ways quite unconsciously merely to pass the information about products. Such transgressions will be characterized by code mixing, code switching, reference and inference.

Thirdly, Ong notes that oral cultures are conservative rather than experimental, and speakers invest over and over again in what has been learned arduously over the ages. Every narrative therefore has special links with ancestral knowledge, and society highly regards those who specialize in conserving it. He notes that narrative originality lodges not in making up new stories but in managing a particular interaction with this audience at the present moment. In the context of radio the advertiser will fall back to myths, virtual knowledge he shares with audiences and cultural beliefs to strike quick rapport.

Further, Ong says that in primary oral cultures knowledge is conceptualized and verbalized with close reference to human world, and that few statistics or facts are divorced from human or quasi-human activities. The expressions do not address abstractions. Ong notes that “names of places and persons occur as involved in doings” (p.42). The cultures are not concerned with preserving knowledge of skills as an abstract, self-subsistent corpus. Speech refers to what the hearers can perceive and appreciate as their own. There are no abstractions of any kind. He observes that:

In practical matters no one operates in formally stated syllogisms. Oral culture does not deal in such items as geometrical figures, abstract categorization, formally logically reasoning processes, definitions or even comprehensive descriptions, or articulated self-analysis, all of which derive from thought itself but from text-formed thought” (p.54).

In analyses of oral discourses the speaker draws from life as people know it, rather than trying to bring new information within the short span of time he has on air. Prudence is in engaging people in what they are doing, rather than disengaging them from life to imagination.

Ong also explains that oral material is closely tied to the beliefs and practices of the community producing it. The material is participatory and emphatic rather than being objectively distanced. Its expression is ‘final’ and ‘true’, the same way myths operate in societies. The creations are taken as ideal accounts and guidelines for living. He notes that “the objectivity of orature material is enforced by formulaic expression, by what is encased in communal reaction, the communal soul” (p.44).

He also notes that oral societies live in a present which keeps itself in equilibrium or homeostasis by sloughing off memories which no longer have present relevance. The material at hand need not reflect related material uttered in the past. If an oral item loses grounds for applicability, it loses itself. The oral mind gives meanings to words under prevailing contexts, in actual habitat so that gestures, vocal inflections, facial expression, and the entire, human, existential setting occur in the real world in which the spoken word occurs. Ong notes that oral traditions reflect society’s present cultural values rather than idle curiosity about the past.

Finally, Ong notes that orality situates knowledge within a context of struggle. He observes that “proverbs and riddles are not used simply to store knowledge but to engage others in verbal and intellectual combat” (p.43). Such ‘flyting’ is characterized by both attractions and antagonisms. He notes that the other side of agonistic name-calling or vituperation is the fulsome expression of praise, but such praise goes with the highly polarized, agonistic, oral world of good and evil, virtue and vice, villains and heroes. When advertisers utilize resources from among the oral genres they engage the listener in some form of struggle so that the side of the struggle that wins affirms its place in the world of commercial competition.

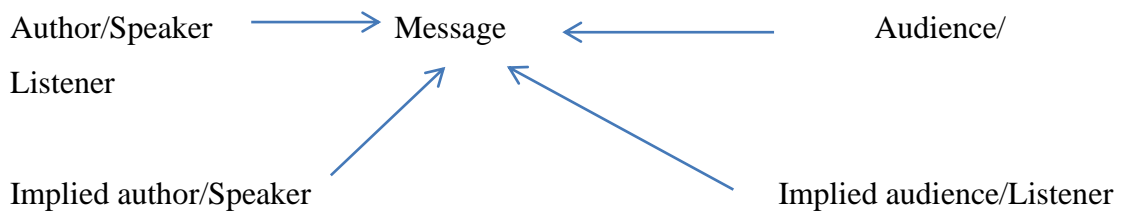
### **2.10.2 Orality, Intertexts and Imagined Audiences**

In “Media and Human Communication” (pp.171-173), Ong conceives the human mind as a ‘box’ taking in units of information, encoding them, putting them through a ‘pipeline’ called medium, and on the extreme end another mind encodes and ‘fits’ the message in his own box. The difference between the encoded and the decoded messages is the medium which “massages the message” (p.171). Drawing from Marshal McLuhan’s (1964) communication theories which had great influence on him Ong, discusses the relationship between the speaker, the medium, the message and the audiences. He, like McLuhan, notes that meaning in a communication environment largely derives from the medium used, and the intertexts between interlocutors. In his comparison of McLuhan and Ong in terms of their approach to communication, Pierce (2016) notes that “While Ong studied under McLuhan, he believed in communication technology as an evolutionary benefit:” (p2) He notes that linguistic manipulation and adornment are at the pedestal of any effective persuasive discourse. For the communicative process to be effective the speaker must also put himself in the receiver position because he expects a feedback. As he speaks, he also listens to his own voice. Ong says that “to speak you have to address another or others...what I say depend on what possible responses I might anticipate” (p.172).

In this respect, the speaker must have established some virtual understanding with his listener prior to the interlocutionary encounter. This could be through shared beliefs, past relationships or by an understanding negotiated by a third party who brings the interlocutors together. The speaker does not therefore fictionalize his audience since the social and cultural intertext has been established and as Leech and Short (2007)

note, “ Although the author of a novel is in the dark about his readers from many points of view, he can of course assume that he shares a common fund of knowledge and experience” (207).

The communication process of this nature creates two types of authors, and two types of audiences. There will be an author, and a listener in the first instance. These will share a message. At the second level, there will be an implied author, and an implied audience. These too will share a message. This may be illustrated as follows:



For oral communication to be effective, some recipient must be present (physically or psychologically), and that the interlocutors should be aware of the social and cultural contexts in which they operate, and as Ong notes, a person to person encounter of such engagements become performances.

In the analysis of the notions of ‘popular’ culture discussed earlier, it is evident that the concept of popular culture continues to attract perspectives but there are common things that come out. The concepts of masses, cultural tyranny, low-class segment of society and comical nature stand out. These are the same concepts we shall use to interrogate the popular aspects of our data.

This chapter establishes two areas under which dramatized adverts in radio may be understood; the oral and the popular. It is assumed that contemporary discourses of an oral nature can best be understood if we underpin them on a theoretical framework. This approach is important because orality has been adopted into various applications such as hip hop, internet, writing and so on, and the distinct genres of the pre-writing era rarely occur now as they were practiced then. A theoretical framework specifies the criteria the modern researcher of orality in modern contexts can use to identify and discuss orality. In this chapter we have identified Walter Ong's principles of orality which are used to discuss both primary and secondary orality.

Ong's approach has demonstrated five aspects of primary orality: the mnemonic structures within utterances, the focus on purpose of utterance rather than its grammatical piety and addressing issues close to the real world rather than abstractions. It has also established that utterances are closely linked to social beliefs and practices and that oral discourse operates within the context of a struggle or conflict.

Ong has further demonstrated that when items of primary orality are subjected to the mass media such as radio, the media functions to beautify and reshape the message. This either gives it force or derails it. He has shown that in media the speaker always anticipates the listener through shared knowledge, experience and beliefs. These are the principles we shall use to attempt understanding how culture, language and popular thought work together for persuasive effect in radio advertising.

The purpose of the study is to establish a continuum between primary orality and secondary orality. By examining primary oral devices on a modern advertisement we are attempting to show that orality lives within culture, and that orality lives within some media such as stories, conversations and other forms of human interaction. For this reason, the principles discussed by Ong are applied under 'popular culture'. This is the kind of discourse characterized by connotation of 'masses' or 'public', connotations of tyranny because it does not regard facts or scientific evidence but majorities, a discourse that belongs to the low income segment or what Barber (*ibid*) calls the 'poor'. Popular discourse is also characterized by light in the sense of

imbibing humour, dealing with current topics, addressing contemporary issues and based on communal beliefs.

## **CHAPTER THREE METHODOLOGY**

### **3.1 Location of the Study**

The study was carried out among selected radio stations broadcasting around the Mt. Kenya region in the Republic of Kenya. Specifically, the frequencies used were those within the counties of Nairobi, Tharaka Nithi and Meru. These regions are important because they strongly reflect both the rural and urban lifestyles important in understanding how both populations in rural and urban settings are targeted by marketers through dramatization.

### **3.2 Research Design**

The study uses qualitative study techniques. These involve description and analysis of radio audio texts. This approach is appropriate because data sources are rich in descriptions and explanation of processes identifiable within local contexts. (Mugenda & Mugenda 1999; Creswel, 1994; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). Data obtained from dramatic adverts are discussed, meanings inferred in contexts and arguments presented in discussions.

### **3.3 Study Population**

The study population was advertisements using the technique of theatre in the selected study area. The major stations of interest were KBC radio taifa, Radio Citizen, *Meru* FM, *Muuga* FM, *Kameme* FM and *Inooro* FM. These stations were selected to represent both cultural and regional diversity. KBC is the national broadcaster using English and Kiswahili on their two stations, KBC English service and Radio Jambo. Classic 105 uses urban dialects of *Sheng*, while *Kameme* FM and *Inooro* FM use Kikuyu language which is widely spoken in the area. *Meru* FM and *Muuga* FM are popular stations in Meru and Tharaka Nithi counties broadcasting in the local dialect of *Kimeru*.

### **3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size**

Twenty dramatized adverts were sampled purposively. Purposive sampling was preferred because as Patton (2002) notes, the logic and power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases and studying them in depth. The twenty were drawn from seven radio stations based on the following criteria: Two stations



broadcasting nationally (KBC's *Radio Jambo* and *Citizen FM*); one using urban slang (Classic 105), two in Kikuyu language (*Inooro* and *Kameme*) and two in Kimeru (*Muuga FM* and *Meru FM*). The idea was to have at least some stations broadcasting nationally, and others in vernacular. Both KBC radio, now known as *Radio Jambo* and *Radio Citizen* broadcast nationally and have chequered histories in the evolution of radio in Kenya. Classic 105 and Kiss 100 target urban and elite audiences going by their use of a slang known as *Sheng*. *Kameme Fm* is a popular vernacular station broadcasting in Kikuyu, Kenya's most populous ethnic group and is also the oldest vernacular radio stations in democratic Kenya. *Inooro* was also used because there was a perceived preference of the station by advertisers. *Meru FM* and *Muuga FM* are famous vernacular stations in Kimeru language.

### **3.5 Data Collection and Research Instruments**

A reconnaissance to media houses was done to familiarize with the way data submitted by advertisers is handled to avoid frustration and loss of confidence. It was discovered that media houses are not necessarily responsible for advert content and production, but dissemination. Advertisements are produced outside media houses and then submitted by individual companies for broadcast. This means that using copywriters from media houses was impractical, and the researcher has to listen to radio itself.

The ads were collected through electronic recording. This involved live recording in which timing was done shortly before and after news bulletins or around popular programmes to capture live data. Such times were noted down, and the station wavelength for purposes of credibility. Stationery such as notebooks, pens and foolscaps were used in transcription. Flash disks, memory cards and compact disks were also used in recording.

### **3.6 Data Interpretation and Analysis**

The data collected was classified into two according to the study objectives. The first classification focused on those adverts using orality motifs. The second focused on those drawing from popular beliefs, trends and social topics. In each of these classifications analyses were guided by Walter Ong's views in *Orality and Literacy: The technologizing of the Word* discussed in chapter two.

The researcher was interested in the identification of persuasive episodes of ad-theatre, aspects of indigenous oral traditions serving rhetorical roles, elements of popular topics inherent in the ads as well as the idioms of aesthetics used to convey persuasive messages for analysis.

The recorded episodes were transcribed and then translated into English. Both translated and translated data could not be used in analyses because of the threat of losing the sub-text or what Barber (1997) calls ‘virtual experience’ between the speaker and the hearer. As Mutahi, K (1994) notes in *Understanding Oral Literature* (ed), “something” gets lost in every translation undertaking, and the loss is occasioned by the differences between the two languages. As a vehicle of culture and ideology, language that gets translated loses something about that same thing it was describing in the first place.

Major challenges were encountered in the process of translating the adverts, and these are the same every researcher working with translated material faces. As Busweti (1992) notes, “each word in one language cannot be easily represented by another word from another language” (26-27), and that every translator may possess English competence but the translator works to bring the words to the nearest equivalence. There is the risk of ending up with an interpretation rather than a translation if the words to be translated are too many, and the translator may end up with a message different from what the speaker intended. Important images, meanings and allusions often get lost in translations, and the translator is faced with the test of accuracy.

Translating a language is different from translating cultural and literary productions because with language one focuses on grammatical equivalents between the languages under investigation. The grammarist may simply ask, what the Italian word for ‘gourd’ is, but the same cannot be asked of a gourd in a narrative unless one understands it as a culturally relevant and mutually recognizable metaphor within the community in which it exists.

In this study it was challenging to translate transcriptions especially when items glide freely and fast from English to Kiswahili, to ‘Sheng’ and then to vernacular within the same advert and most attempts have led to distortions. The purpose of the translations

given is to provide an approximate meaning, rather than the actual. For instance, it is futile to translate a company's logo or motto because that would amount to a new one. For instance despite posting adverts in different languages in different radio stations *Airtel* does not drop the English line "The Smartphone Network".

### **3.7 Presentation of the Material**

The material has been analyzed alongside study objectives. Specifically, each advert has been examined in line with its narrative structure, orature material and motifs present and their rhetorical strategy, aspects of popular culture and ideology. The analyses involved the domains of syllogisms, analyses, synthesis and conclusion. From the analyses, conclusions have been made about the workings of persuasion within the kind of theatre used in radio advertising in Kenya.

### **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

The researcher observed ethical and legal requirements for the protection of human subjects. The thesis began with proposal development at the departmental level, defended at both department and Faculty and forwarded to the Ethics committee of the graduate school for approval.

The researcher then sought permission from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI), located at Upper Kabete, off Waiyaki way, Nairobi. The commission issued a research permit number NACOSTI/P/18/44391/22484 dated 25<sup>th</sup> May, 2018. (see in appendices). The permit was valid for one year. This cleared the way for data collection.

Certain ethical issues were observed in the research process to ensure integrity of the findings. The research was approved by the Board of Postgraduate Studies and Research, Chuka University, through the Ethics Review Committee, which was done expeditiously. In the application to the board, it was reaffirmed that all sources would be acknowledged to avoid plagiarism, and that informed consent would be sought from informants where direct contact was to be involved. Confidentiality was to guide research, and that permission was to be sought from relevant authorities to access communities where it was necessary.

The next chapter analyzes the collected data using Walter Ong's suggested criteria in the analyses of both primary and secondary oral material. The idea is to establish how contemporary advertisers draw from the oral tradition. As mentioned earlier, the study is not about identification of oral aspects as traditionally used, but identification and analysis of aspects that draw from the oral tradition for persuasive purposes.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: ORALITY IN RADIO ADVERTISING**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter responds to the first objective of the study. It presents data and discussions concerning how ad-theatre is influenced by indigenous literary practices anchored in primary orality to serve persuasive functions. Analyses are guided by awareness of African indigenous literary cum ritualistic practices and the indigenous form is seen as a foundation upon which modern discourses borrow. Orality is not merely seen in the prism of tradition, but a form that metamorphoses and catalyzes contemporary cultural productions. It is interrogated to see how it continues to influence how Kenyans perceive and creatively respond to their world. The idea is not to merely identify elements of oral tradition and argue for their occurrence in modern persuasion, but rather to explore the applications, meanings and themes they relate to in the broader context of commerce, society and theatrical practice.

Gemeda (2012) notes that in the analysis of oral products in modern contexts, there is need to examine the various ways in which cultural, historical and contemporary situations intersect. In attempting to study contemporary discourse using traditional orality the best approach would be attempting to understand how the oral form was conceived in the past, and then seek to develop concrete opinions about that tradition, and thereafter locate representative forms that are of contemporary relevance rather than examining orality as a purely traditional form, and the modern researcher as merely a literary historian.

The following analyses are based on the oral genre of indigenous literature. This genre exists in the form of myths, legends, tricksters, riddles, proverbs, ogre stories and aetiology, among other sub-forms.

### **4.2. The Trickster Motif**

The trickster motif has been used in ‘Diamond Property Merchants’, an advert that aims at selling land in Nairobi. The advert is replicated in both the language of its rendition and a translation is provided. It is approached, along with all subsequent ones, first in terms of its narrative structure so as to understand the tale it tells, and secondly, in terms of the ways in which the advertiser has imagined audiences drawing from shared knowledge and experience of culture.

The advert draws from cultural stereotypes among two of Kenya's antagonistic communities using a trickster motif. A trickster is characterized by contest between ideas, and has traditionally been used with a small, intelligent animal such as the hare, monkey or the squirrel on one hand, and a huge, stupid animal like the elephant, crocodile or the hyena on the other. The small animal uses wit to survive the threat posed by the huge animal, and tricksters have a comical element because they leave the audience laughing at the stupid giants. Just like classical English tragedies, tricksters have elements of conflict and peripeteia so that the narrator leaves the audience on the side of the intelligent animal at the end of the story. In the scene enacted in this advert we don't have major distinctions in terms of physical strength, but the intellectual contest is there for the audience to see. The Kikuyu man represents the wise, small animal, while the Maasai man represents the gigantic but foolish animal of the trickster tale. Here intellect is measured by one's ability to understand the priority of real estate, and in this case to know who deals with it around the capital, Nairobi.

#### **DIAMOND PROPERTY MERCHANTS**

*(Musical beats...)*

Maasai: *Hallo Mzee,  
Umenitafutia ile kitu  
Kikuyu: iini wega  
muno kwanja kuria kwa  
Diamond Property  
Merchants Limited  
Maasai: Ule bibi ni ya  
wabi?  
Kikuyu: iigwa uyu  
nake...  
Turaria uhoru wa  
mutumia kana wa  
migunda?  
Ningi ona  
wamuguraari,  
ariikaraga rieraini ta  
hungu?*

#### **VOICE**

*Diamond Property  
Merchants Limited  
meena migunda kuria  
Ruai, Kangundo road  
Kwambiriria ciringi  
ngiri Magana mathatu  
ma mirongo itanthatu  
na ithano*

*Ruiru East Juja Farm  
kwanjiria ciringi ngiri  
Magana mairi ma  
mirongo inaana  
Ningi ri,  
Wina Ciringi ngiri  
ithano no kwanjia kuria  
munda wo pole pole.  
Maasai: Hello friend  
Have you searched for  
me that thing?  
Kikuyu: Oh yes, very  
well, with Diamond  
Property Merchants Ltd.  
Maasai: Where does  
that woman come from?  
Kikuyu: Hear this one,  
what is wrong with  
him?  
Are we talking about a  
woman or land?  
And so if you marry  
her,  
Will she be living in the  
air like a hawk?*

*Ririkana ati plot icio ni  
thiini wa gated  
community*

*Tununue shamba alafu  
tutafute bibi.Uguo  
niguo tugwika*

*Na tukuuma kuria  
Nairobi ofisi ciao,  
Hands Plaza, Biashara  
Street, 5th floor*

*No ghorofa ya gatano  
Namba cia thimu ni ici*

**VOICE**

Diamond Property Merchants Ltd have  
pieces of land in Ruai, Kangundo  
Road.

From 335,000 shillings

Ruiru East Juja Farm from 250,000

And again,

With 5,000 shillings you can begin  
paying for your land slowly.

Remember these plots are in gated  
communities.

Let's buy land then look for wives.

That's what we shall do!

And we begin at their Nairobi offices,  
Hands Plaza, Biashara street, 5<sup>th</sup> floor.

The telephone numbers are these:

0721441\*\*\*

That is the place

(Melodies)

07214411\*\*

*Ni hau*

(*Melodies*)

Before delving into the analysis of this performance we need to understand the cultural background which informs its persuasive strength. Such retrospect is important because the advertiser, using limited time, uses more of the subconscious material than what is evident in the text.

This advert airs on *Kameme FM*, a vernacular Kikuyu radio station. The Agikuyu are Kenya's largest community, making up to 22% of Kenya's population according to the 2009 national census. This community lives mainly around the capital Nairobi, Mount Kenya and the Rift Valley. The major Kikuyu dialects are *Kirinyaga*, *Nyeri*, *Murang'a* and *Kiambu*, but they continue to assert their influence in the neighbouring communities of Embu and Meru through business, intermarriage and media. During the pre-colonial era the Agikuyu largely lived a peasant lifestyle, with clear-cut roles for each gender. The women were supposed to take care of children and crops, as the men took care of livestock. (Muriuki, 1975). The community has remained closely-knit in terms of customs, and there has always been suspicion and competition with other Kenyan communities dating back to the early days. With the coming of colonization, they were in the forefront of embracing western education, and by 2018 they had produced three of Kenya's presidents since independence in 1963.

The popular stereotype among Kenyans about a Kikuyu is that of a money-minded egocentric and trickster. It is hyperbolized in day-to-day conversation that if you want to know if a Kikuyu is truly dead, drop some coins beside his torso and if he doesn't turn you can be sure he's dead!

In her analysis of the Kikuyu folktale, Mwangi (1982) notes that the Kikuyu is a believer in hard work and that

The kikuyu society praised communal unity, hard work and honesty. Their tales evidence this by the portrayal of the stereotyped men and women whose devotion to work and the welfare of society is exemplary and praiseworthy. Implicit in this attitude to the hard and humane worker was an admission of the existence, in the same society, of elements of disunity as well as that of idle people who needed to be reminded constantly of the fact that laziness was not a virtue. (3)



Mwangi further notes that those who ignored the call to work hard was chastised in tales as hyenas, and the conmen as childish, careless and unreliable just like the Hare of the tales. The typical Kikuyu is thus a believer in hard work and material success. Whereas the typical Kikuyu is stereotyped as money loving and astute in business, he too stereotypes the Maasai as rural, unenlightened pastoralists, and whose source of livelihood is beadwork, pastoralist and hunting. To him, the Maasai is the perfect remnant of the hunting and gathering era of pre-history. As Mwangi observes, “social unity was particularly important because the Kikuyu were constantly at war with the Maasai” (4). The pairing and contrasting of a Kikuyu and a Maasai in this advert therefore invokes serious historical and social substance.

It is common belief that a traditional Maasai Moran would kill a lion to exhibit bravely before getting a bride to marry. This draws from the fact that the *Maa* people are mainly pastoralists. In her analysis of Maasai oral literature, Kipury N (1983) notes that the Maasai were not traditionally hunters, save for lions which attacked their livestock. She notes that “the lion (*olamayio*) was the only form of hunting that was permitted, mainly to eliminate predators when they posed dangers to livestock, and as a sporting activity” (3). It is no surprise then that the Maasai in this advertisement is concerned with the idea of courtship.

Since this is audio theatre, the only way we know the ethnic orientations of the interlocutors is by accent. Each linguistic community has tonal ideosyncracies borrowed from the specific mothertongues, and these come out clearly when people of different communities speak. These differences not only mark out the characters, but also the stereotypes they embody. In this context accent is used purposively by the advertiser as the only way for audiences to identify characters by their ethnic groups.

When the advert opens it occurs that earlier, the Maasai man had asked his Kikuyu friend to help him get a Kikuyu girl to marry. This becomes the advertiser’s magnet for his audience’s attention because it is ‘unusual’ for any ‘beautiful’ Kikuyu girl to be married by a ‘pastoralist’ Maasai. The Maasai enquires if the girl has been found when he asks,

*Hello Mzee,  
Umenitafutia ile kitu?*

Have you found that thing for  
me?

(Hello friend,

The Kikuyu man reveals that the ‘thing’ has been found with ‘Diamond Property Merchants. At first it is not evident that ‘Diamond Property Agents’ is a real estate company. The use of ‘thing’ denotes a secret, in that matters sexual are spoken in euphemisms, and it also recalls the inter-ethnic suspicion already in the minds of the audiences. An euphemism is a literary strategy of circumlocution in which a taboo word is substituted with a softer term. It also marks the discourse as ‘adult’, in that the advertiser, by using seduction, implies that the interlocutors are aware of the subject. The use of ‘thing’ further serves to create suspense in the audience because the only thing a Maasai would be looking for is his beads or herd.

Curious like the listener, the Maasai wants to know where the ‘girl’ comes from. This is the first time we encounter the mention of a girl, and it comes as a surprise that the thing was a person. This is the turning point of the drama, and the Kikuyu man answers a question with a question that reveals the ‘girl’. He asks,

*Turaria uhoru wa mutumia kana wa  
migunda? Ningi mutumia ona  
wamuguraari, Ariikaraga rieraini ta  
hungu?*

Are we talking about a woman or land?  
Even when you marry her,  
Will she be living in the air like a  
hawk?)

The simile ‘*ta hungu*’ and the rhetorical question is, to a Kikuyu listener, a mockery of the pastoralist-like Kikuyu who has not discovered the worth of investing in land. By extension, it is a metaphor for that Kikuyu who has not discovered that he needs to buy himself a piece of land, instead of spending life’s sortunes on women, rent and luxury rather than buying a plot upon which he can settle a family. This notion promoted by the advertiser reinforces the idea that investment in land is the vogue for any Kikuyu who wants to get rich quickly.

The setting reflects a dichotomy between ‘enlightenment’ and ‘barbarism’, represented here by the Kikuyu and the Maasai respectively. The Maasai confuses the

term ‘Diamond Property Merchants’ with his presumptive father – in – law, because the most important thing to him is a woman. On the other hand, the Kikuyu holds capitalist ideas that one should not get a wife before he has put up a house for her. This is reinforced by the ad’s ending that ‘Tununue shamba, alafu tutafute bibi’ (*Let’s first buy land, and later look for a wife*).

By using *Kameme FM*, the target audience is mainly Kikuyu, Embu and Meru because the advert language is Kikuyu. It is also evident that the intention of the advertiser is to draw literary contrast between two ethnic groups to sell. The awareness of the advertiser that the Kikuyu naturally believes in his own superiority calls for this approach, and the ‘tribe’ becomes the ad’s magnet. The advertiser thus draws on the trickster motif to deliver his message within the limited time that the advert takes. The enticement of a girl throws mockery to the Maasai, and a listener wonders whether the Maasai will be interested in the land deal after getting conned by the allure of a beautiful Kikuyu girl. In effect this creates a source of humour and cultural pride in investment tact among the Kikuyu audiences.

The subtext of the advert is reinforced by the stories in the Kikuyu worldview about foolish men who ask other men to help them hook a girl, only for the emissary to have the girl for himself. This, though not stated in the ad, creates a comic relief to the Kikuyu audience who have within the patrimony of their folklore or popular music such stories. Taken this way, it could actually mean that the Kikuyu man is tricking the Maasai man with the idea of land so as to have the girl himself. The question of buying land in the city, which is obviously exorbitant, could be seen as a diversionary strategy from the duplicity of the Kikuyu man.

The ad utilizes cross-cultural stereotyping to tell the Kikuyu audience, ‘don’t be foolish like a Maasai’, or in the commonly used Kikuyu mock, *Niki uretua Maathai* (Why are you pretending to be a Maasai). If the audience buys these notions, then they will probably take action and buy land from the advertiser. The simile ‘*ta hungu*’ points to ignorance on the part of the herdsman on what comes first in life’s priority list.

The story told by this advert calls upon the analyst to imagine the extent to which this advert has utilized cultural resources built within the Kikuyu traditions. First, the advert makes use of a cultural stereotype. This is an imaginary construction of others. The advertiser is aware that Kenyans, by their difference in cultures, languages and dialects, are full of suspicion about each other. These suspicions have been utilized by the political class in the past to solidify support for political capital, and many a times causing election violence. It is quite probable that any Kenyan, drawing from experience, will easily understand the orientation of the advertiser. It is also obvious that this advertisement will not go down well if it were to be aired for Maasai audiences.

Few Kenyans in rural areas have travelled outside their communities, and any story about the world they don't know defines that world. These stereotypes are then replicated when people move into the cities, affirming the maxim that 'you can take a Kenyan out of the bush but you cannot take the bush out of a Kenyan'.

Secondly, the duel between the Kikuyu and the Maasai is done in euphemisms as mentioned earlier. Sexual topics are taboo in the public domain (radio), but peers have distinct jargon to describe things. This explains why the Kikuyu man understands the meaning of '*ile kitu*'. His decision to subvert the topic from women to lands is not indicative of misunderstanding at all. His tone of voice betrays him as a friend who has acted holy in the eyes of his friend by bringing in a serious topic of land in a quixotic chit chat.

The advertiser focuses more on speaking to his audience rather than creating a syntactic impression. The first thing he does is to introduce a character who speaks a Maasai dialect. The dialect is distinct, and it is assumed that audiences have encountered those dialects from people of Cushitic communities hawking beads, bracelets and belts in towns around places where Kikuyus live. It is only through his dialect that we identify him as a Maasai. On his part, the Kikuyu man shifts quickly to Kikuyu language, so that the conversation does not proceed in the Kiswahili of the Maasai moran. When the Maasai asks "*Umenitafutia ile Kitu*"(Have you found for me that thing?) the Kikuyu man responds "*iini wega muno kwanja kuria kwa Diamond Property merchants*"(Oh yes, very much with Diamond Property

Merchants). This localization of dialect connects the advertiser rather quickly with audiences.

The tone of the Kikuyu man reveals his shock that the Maasai should really ‘disturb’ him with ‘women issues’ instead of talking serious business. The listener is made to feel that the Maasai has been left behind in trivial talk when serious people have already focused on buying a piece of land in Nairobi.

It is also evident that the advert relies on repetition for effect and emphasis. Only those statements that are core to the business get repeated. This repetition does not create monotony, but rhythm. Further, the voice is carefully moderated every time the words ‘Diamond Property Merchants’ are pronounced. The repetition takes place in two ways: either by speaking them, or referring to them. When the Kikuyu man says that the ‘thing’ has been found with Diamond property merchants and the Maasai asks “*Hiyo bibi ni ya wapi?*”(Where does that woman come from?)the Kikuyu man wonders “*Turaria uhoru wa atumia kana ni wa migunda?*”(Are we talking about women or lands?) The word ‘*migunda*’ refers to lands, which is the core business done by the advertiser, and is an indirect reference to the company dealing with selling lands. The words are repeated again in “Let us first buy land...”and in the closing statements, which refer again to ‘Diamond property merchants’.

The listener almost rarely recognizes this syntactic baggage because it is packaged to appeal rather than repel. This failure to recognize verbosity is influenced by the fact that the cultural debate in question masks linguistic anomalies. It is possible that once a good cultural conflict has been established in the beginning, linguistic principles tend to dissolve, and they are very unlikely to affect message. The advertiser reaffirms Ong’s assertion that the effectiveness of oral discourse lies in message rather than grammar.

The choice of the simile ‘*ta hungu*’ (like a hawk) is purposed, in that ‘*hungu*’ is almost a derogatory statement among the native speakers of the language. It points to greed and carelessness, as depicted in Kikuyu oral narratives. The strategy is to ‘mock’ the audience, silence divergent views under the guise of mocking the Maasai.

In attempting to show audiences the need buy land with Diamond Property Merchants, a real estate firm in Nairobi, the advertiser uses a dramatized episode which is enriched by both aspects of oral tradition, cultural stereotypes and beauty of voice. The advertiser keenly selects literary devices such as metaphor, repetition and contrast to achieve effect, and reinforce the widely held view that those who indulge in worldly luxury before buying land and settling their families are foolish.

In the analysis of the advert we find that Ong's views on orality strongly come into play. His view that primary oral discourse is defined by redundancies, focus on content rather than grammar and mnemonics is well illustrated in this modern form. The next advert promotes banking services offered by Equity Bank and happens on *Meru FM*, a vernacular radio station popular in Meru, Embu and Tharaka Nithi counties.

#### 4.3 The Riddle Strategy

The advert *Equity Agent* is meant to market the various services rendered by the various agents of Equity Bank across the country. The dramatized riddle goes as follows:

**Poser:** *Penye Equity Bank*

*Agent pana...*

**Respondent:** *Penye Equity bank Agent pana huduma za Equity bank kama vile kufungua account, kuweka au kutoa pesa kwa account yako, kulipa bills, huduma za M-Kesho, Eazzy 24/7, kujisajili kupata card ya ATM au kufufua account yako".*

**Poser:** *Correct*

**VOICE**

*Vituo vya Equity Agent vimeidhinishwa na Equity Bank kukutolea huduma za Benki uipendayo karibu nawe Equity Bank, tuko area kukuhudumia.*

**Poser:** What do you find in Equity Bank Agents?

**Respondent:** Where there is Equity Bank Agent there are services of Equity Bank like account opening, deposits and withdrawals, paying bills, M-Kesho services, Eazzy 24/7, ATM card registration and account activation.

**Poser:** Correct!

## **VOICE**

Equity Bank Agents are authorized by Equity Bank to give you banking services of the bank you love near you.

Equity Bank, we are around to serve you.

*(Drums)*

As expected with most advertisements this episode is quite short. This may be explained first by the cost factor, and secondly by the choice of genre. The advertiser uses the riddle technique which is a short genre. This form has been used in traditional societies to test the wit of children, and to teach about one's immediate environment. Lusweti, B.M (1992) notes that unlike proverbs, riddles do not involve play on words; rather they are plays on imagery and symbolism and that the simple form of a riddle refers to some well-known object in veiled language which the audience should be able to identify and give the answer. He says that "It only requires the audience to recognize the similarity of situation, character or behavior in the statement and its answer" (31). There is probably similar intention with this advertiser who seeks to inform his audience about the various products offered by Equity Bank agents.

A subtext is imperative. Before the coming of Equity Bank into the scene there was a real challenge of banking for the low income sector. Most of the banks then were multinationals with very strict banking rules, to a point of rejecting lowly paid government workers such as teachers. It is known for instance, that Barclays Bank had put notices on the entrances that they did not serve teachers. Opening bank accounts was a pipedream, and those who owned them were regarded with prestige. It is against this set up that Equity Bank, then known as Equity Building Society comes with free bank accounts and a pro-poor approach, attracting large crowds into their banking halls. Within a very short span the bank had diversified from hall banking to agent banking to enable customers access services right in their villages and shopping centres around them. As their executive officer James Mwangi once put it, Equity had come to solve the banking riddle in Kenya.

The advertiser goes straight to the riddle question: "What do you find where there is an Equity Bank agent?". The unnamed respondent proceeds to list the various services given by the agents. The idea here is first to make the bank customer aware of the services offered by the agents of the bank. The advertiser probably expects the

listener to figure himself in the riddling session. Failure to answer the riddle question is an indication of intellectual weakness that no one would like to be associated with. A riddle is a challenge on one's intellect, and many people would not want to be intellectually weak, the reason riddles attract immediate attention.

The speed with which he responds to the question points to its 'simplicity'. But if the audience puts themselves in the shoes of the respondent they discover that they may not enumerate the agency services as quickly as the respondent does. The response is also loaded with poetic wording for ease of memory. The nature of the riddle is such that the respondent needs to think fast and respond as an indication of social awareness. The use of litote in this advert is an indirect challenge to the listener who, the ad implies, does not know the 'new riddle'. Here the respondent gets the answer right on first attempt, ending the session. The advertiser is aware that dragging the message by presenting a respondent who has no idea of the riddle will work against him because listeners do not have to be fatigued. The brevity, accompanied by rhythm and sounds creates the ambience he aspires for. In normal situations the riddle is a pack of a four-tier complimentary statements beginning with the challenger calling his audiences to attention, acceptance of the challenge by the audience, the question and guesses to the correct response and finally the answer.

The advertiser chooses a strategy that the audience is well acquainted. Being an old form, the riddle situates a contemporary problem within cultural relevance. The question of audience acquaintance with the form is not expected to arise. The riddle genre gets introduced to Africans in childhood, and this is a very appropriate time for cultural indoctrination through play. Lusweti reminds us that through riddles, "children not only learn language skill but also come to know the names of various things within their culture" (43). In this advert, the use of riddle seeks to make the complex concept of agency banking indigenous and 'acceptable' to those hearing it. The technique can therefore be seen as an attempt to 'localize' the banking concept to the lower cadre of the economic ladder for which Equity bank is anchored.

The advertiser attempts to make the idea of agency banking, which is dependent on digital technology, 'traditional' amongst a population that is largely ignorant and skeptical of technology. This way, he hopes that his idea will be acceptable by



association. The use of the riddle also points to attempts at anchoring the idea in rural areas where riddling sessions are well known and entrenched.

It is evident from its content that the ad attempts to allay all fears and suspicion that the various agents in the villages are not recognized by the main banks. There is awareness that rural populations are susceptible to conmen and counterfeits. The voice affirms that the agents “have been permitted by Equity bank”. By reiterating that “*tuko area kukuhudumia*”(we are around to serve you), the bank reassures the people of the agents’ legitimacy as well as their commitment to alleviate the troubles of queues.

The advertiser consciously uses the literary strategy of alliteration for rhythmical effect. The sound /K/ stands out in each sentence, such as in “*Kuweka au kutoa*”, or “*Kujisajili kupata kadi...*” This device functions as the mnemonic that orders the flow in the minds of the audience.

Traditionally, riddles involve cryptic mind games. They had both a didactic component and a socialization purpose. Among children where riddles were mostly practiced, they were conveyed in social contexts that sermonized harmony and togetherness, and the African riddle turns out to be the genre one learns in childhood innocence. It was through riddles that the basic aspects of kinship and socialization were learnt.

This however may not be the case when used with adults, as is the case in this advert. The ‘innocence’ of riddles has been used to convey serious adult content. In the old days disputes were solved by use of riddles. If one has tricky habits, he can be told riddles. It is common to hear warnings such as ‘If you tell me your house has no door I will tell you it is an egg’, meaning that the speaker does not expect to be fooled. He wants to be told the truth. The nexus of these examples is to demonstrate that the genre was used by both old and young to serve specific purposes.

Structurally they would involve two parties, with one posing a question and the other applying his reasoning, intellect and his environmental or cultural awareness to crack the question for an imaginary reward. Since they were focused on testing one’s wit,

they were the intelligence quotient (IQ) tests of the traditional child. The riddling session ended up enlightening the person to which they are posed. For this reason, a riddle becomes a communicative strategy in the modern day world of business. Modifications to the traditional riddling schema would be expected as people interact with life each day. For instance, whereas traditional riddlers used gifts such as popular rivers, trees and wild animals as rewards, the modern riddle forms provide gifts of money, happiness, prestigious universities or modern gadgets such as cars and mobile phones.

Agency banking being a relatively new model means education is needed. The audience needs to know where they can access their bank savings or salary right from the shops near them, instead of having to travel to major towns. Before the introduction of agency banking in Kenya, large queues were popular in banking halls and ATM machines, especially around end-month. The purpose of the *Equity Agent* ad is to enlighten Equity bank's customers to embrace the agency concept rather than wasting time and avoid the crowding in banking halls.

Equity is a mass bank and the advertiser reassures the customers that the message is coming from "*Benki uipendayo*" (The bank you love). This emotional appeal is relevant because it contrasts the bank with others that the customer 'hates'. The 'love' he refers to is an attempt to create endearment and happiness on the part of the listener. It is also an attempt to remind the listener that the kind of love he has experienced at the main bank is now closer, and that the bank still thinks about their welfare.

As Ong says, primary orality is punctuated by conflicts, and it is these conflicts that make oral items memorable. Riddling involves a person confronting another with a question that is not easy to answer. The respondent has up to three attempts. If on first attempt he doesn't get it right he's given another opportunity but if the puzzle gets hard to crack he surrenders an imaginary gift to the poser for the response to be revealed. A friendly atmosphere is created by use of calm tunes, and subsequently, laughter. However, the advertiser implies that life itself has posed a difficult riddle in which citizens have been denied friendly banking services. The conflict of the situation is compared to that of the riddle itself.

When the poser asks, “*Penye Equity Agent Pana?*”(“What do you find where there is an Equity Bank agent?”)the respondent quickly enumerates a number of services available at Equity agents: Account opening, application for ATM services, Deposits and withdrawals, M-Shwari services and so on. First, we notice that this riddle is based on some conflict that needs to be resolved. Here the conflict is inherent in the form itself because all riddles ‘challenge’ another person into some duel of wit. Secondly, this riddle challenges a particular respondent on one hand, and the distant member of the audience on the other. By posing the riddle question, the poser expects his respondent to take up the challenge or get ashamed of his intellectual paucity.

Secondly, the advertiser is keen not to engage in the riddle at the expense of the message. As soon as the question is posed, the respondent goes straight into enumerating the services found at Equity bank agents. Any kind of diversion would work against the message. For instance, the advertiser is aware that a wrong answer may stick into the mind of the listener as a correct one would. Similarly, the poser is quick to confirm that the response given is “correct!” This way, the riddle posed in the beginning merely serves as an artistic hook to the ad message, and this shows that the poser was interested more in content than in riddles.

The ad, though short, uses several memory devices. The brevity of the dramatic question enhances memorization and recall. Secondly, the use of ‘known’ form clothes the advert with pretence of familiarity. The ad leaves the listener wondering if he really did not know the answer to the riddle.

The advert also uses the repetition strategy. The device causes a kind of linguistic redundancy that is stylistically relevant. As Ong notes, repetitive referencing are a norm in primary orality, and the strategy enhances memory and rhythm. After the dramatic riddle a voice insists the notions already referred to by repeating the phrases ‘Equity agent’ and ‘Equity bank’, which are the key words in the advert. Look at how tactfully the respondent repeats the riddle question, such that in the first two sentences the key words have been mentioned thrice. He says,

*Poser: Penye **Equity Bank** pana...*

*Respondent: Penye **Equity Bank** pana huduma za **Equity Bank**kama...*

The voice reinforces the key words with the assertion that “*Vituo vya Equity Agent vimeidhinishwa na Equity Bank kukutolea huduma za Benki uipendayo karibu nawe. Equity Bank, tuko area kukuhudumia.*”(See translation in the main drama) Within this short discourse the keyword ‘Equity’ is repeated six times. Such repetition is rarely noticed as grammatical verbosity, but a rhythm device. The words alone on page may look unnecessary but the narrative voice serves to dissolve the verbosity and sweeten the message.

The advertiser is not bothered by grammar at the expense of message, and this is evident from the code switching and code mixing. Although the bulk of the discourse is in Kiswahili there is the insistence on the English form of the bank rather than ‘Benki ya Utosheleshaji’ which would be a Kiswahili equivalent. Words such as ‘account’, ‘bills’ and ‘correct’ are used freely alongside Kiswahili.

This advert clearly uses the riddle motif to catch audience attention. There is evidence that aspects of primary orality as analyzed by Ong are at play, and our purpose is to interrogate their implication. For instance, the use of alliteration and the very choice of the genre itself serve mnemonic purposes. The ad is loaded with artistic redundancy as it attempts to relate to the life the people in the villages live. As already noted, the riddle is a genre within which a contest is implied since one is always searching for the correct answer. The choice of riddle drama is a unique way the advertiser uses to drive his point home, and it is a pointer to the variety of form and genre that artists are ready to experiment with.

Another advert that uses the riddle strategy is the *Lotto* advert which comes at a time when the Kenya has been grasped by a wave of gambling. The mobile telephony technology brings with it wide and varied interactive platforms other than merely calling and texting, and the most popular is gambling. The popularity of these betting platforms should be contrasted with the low awareness of technological productions and how the arithmetic of probability works among a majority of rural folks.

In this advert, a lay woman consults a professor to inquire what this ‘*Lotto*’ thing is all about. The professor explains that it is a simple procedure where “you join numbers and win instant money”. The woman, now perplexed, seeks to know how one joins numbers. It is here she’s explained that she will have to select any six numbers between one and forty nine, plus another single bonus number between zero and nine, and she wins millions in the jackpot if the selected numbers match those selected randomly by a computer.

Excitedly, she seeks to know when the jackpot for the draw is done. Upon learning that it will be twice each week, she proclaims that “this is the greatest game here in Kenya”. She then undertakes to educate the listener on the betting process, and urges all to play and change their lives instantly.

This ad comes at a time when stories of people becoming instant millionaires through gambling litter the Kenyan sociospace. According to Achuka (2015), at no time in Kenya’s history has gambling so gripped the people since the establishment of the Kenya Charity Sweepstake (KCS) in 1965.

Like the *Polio* ad above, *Lotto* is based on a conflict from self-proclaimed ignorance on the part of the woman. On two occasions she poses, *Ntiukuria Profesa?*( May I ask you professor?) This statement occurs first when she wants to understand what ‘lotto’ is, and on the second she wants to understand the regularity of jackpot draws.

The woman uses the professor because society thinks professors have answers to every situation. The gamble is thus seen as something to be understood in order to strike the jackpot. The professor is the gambler’s guarantee of winning. The mnemonics of the ad lie in repetition of the question.

A number of dramatized adverts have been produced to show the conflicts and contradictions of life in the domestic sphere. The assumption is that a majority of advert consumers come from homes from which they experience universal family challenges. Domestic issues are varied, and so a representative selection enables us to understand the outstanding issues in the domestic structure.

#### 4.4 The Dilemma Strategy

A dilemma is a complex riddle form. Dilemmas involve cryptic and mystery in a more elaborate form than one would find in riddles. In dilemmas, one is faced with a challenging situation where he's unable to make judgment. The form is characterized by three things: a desire to advance, danger, and lack of strategy to make the desired progress. One is ignorant of some aspect of life, which serves to enhance the feelings of impending annihilation. The strength of dilemmas largely lie in ignorance on the part of the protagonist. Additionally, all dilemmas have a solution that leaves both the actor and the audience enlightened. Lusweti (1992) defines a dilemma as "narratives which leave the listeners with a choice between two or more alternatives" (113). Let us examine how this strategy has been appropriated in the creation of polio vaccination awareness on KBC.

*(Background noises create a hospital environment, children crying in the background)*

**Woman:** *Daktari, nimesikia kuna campaign ya chanjo dhidi ya Polio*

**Doctor:** *Ni Kweli. Tunawapa chanjo watoto wote walio na umri chini ya miaka mitano.*

**Woman:** *Tena? Kwa nini tena?*

**Doctor:** *Kwa sababu, kuna baadhi ya Kaunti ambazo kiwango cha chanjo ya polio kiko Chini. Hivyo basi kuwafanya watoto kuwa kwenye hatari ya kupooza. Unajua Polio haina tiba. Hivi maajuzi kumekuwa na visa kumi na nne na vifo viwili kwa sababu ya Polio. Ili kuzuia Polio tunahitaji kuwapa watoto chanjo kila wakati.*

**Woman:** *Lakini watoto wangu wamepewa chanjo hapo mbeleni. Hii haitawaadhiri ki afya?*

**Doctor:** *Hakuna madhara ukiwapa chanjo mara nyingi. Chanjo hii imefanyiwa utafiti, ni salama na inafanya kazi vizuri. Vilevile, kila chanjo huongezea ulinzi kwa mwili a mtoto. Isitoshe, chanjo hii ni kama ile ile iliyotumika kwenye kampeni za hapo awali, na inapatikana kwenye vituo vyote vya matibabu.*

**Woman:** *Haya basi, mpee mtoto (Beats) wangu chanjo.*

**Doctor:** *Asante kwa kuwa mama mzuri Fatuma. Wakinge watoto wako dhidi na ugonjwa huu sugu ambao unaweza kuzuiwa kwa chanjo. Waambie pia marafiki na familia yako wafanye hivyo. Chanjo inaokoa maisha.*

*(Baby cries...)*

#### **VOICE:**

*Kuanzia jumamosi tarehe ishirini na tisa mwezi Agosti hadi jumatano tarehe mbili Septemba, wizara ya Afya na washika dau wengine watafanya kampeni dhidi ya polio kwenye Kaunti kumi na moja ambazo ni: Garissa, ikujumuisha Daadab refugee camp, Homabay, Lamu, Mandera, Marsabit, Migori, Narok, Siaya, Tana River, Turkana, ikijumuisha Kakuma Refugee camp, na Wajir County. Wahudumu wa afya watatembea nyumba hadi nyumba wakipeana chanjo kwa mtoto yeyote aliye chini ya miaka mitano. Wazazi wanaombwa kuhakikisha watoto wote wako nyumbani wakati huu. Usiachwe nyuma. Kinga mtoto wako sasa. Mpe chanjo ya polio. Ungana nasi kwa kufanya Kenya huru dhidi ya Polio. Ujumbe kutoka wizara ya Afya, UNICEF, WHO na washikadau wengine.*

*(Background noises to create a hospital environment, children crying in the background)*

**Woman:** Doctor, I have heard there is a campaign for vaccination against polio.

**Doctor:** It is true. We are vaccinating all children under five years.

**Woman:** Again? Why again?

**Doctor:** Because there are some counties where polio vaccination is low. This is putting children at risk of deformity. You know polio has no cure. Recently there have been fourteen cases and two deaths from polio. To stop polio we need to vaccinate children often.

**Woman:** But my children have been vaccinated before. Won't this harm their health?

**Doctor:** There is no harm in getting vaccinated many times. This vaccine has been researched on, it is safe and works well. Additionally, every vaccine improves a child's immunity. Above all, this vaccine is the same as the ones used previously, and it is available in all health centres.

**Woman:** Okay, fine. Give my child the vaccine.

(Beats)

**Doctor:** Thank you for being a good mother, Fatuma. Protect your children from this dangerous disease which can be prevented by vaccination. Tell your friends and family to do the same. Vaccination saves lives.

*(Baby cries...)*

**VOICE:**

Starting Saturday 29<sup>th</sup> August until Wednesday 2<sup>nd</sup> September the Ministry of Health and other stakeholders will do a campaign against polio in eleven counties which are: Garissa, including Daadab refugee camp, Homabay, Lamu, Mandera, Marsabit, Migori, Narok, Siaya, Tana River, Turkana, including Kakuma Refugee camp, and Wajir County. Health workers will visit each home to give vaccination to all children under five years. Parents are asked to ensure all children are at home during this period. Don't be left behind. Protect your child from polio. Give them a polio vaccine. Join us in making Kenya polio-free. This message is brought to you by the Ministry of Health, UNICEF, WHO and other stakeholders.

The choice of KBC is evidence that the ad content is intended for a national audience. This is confirmed by the advertiser listing the various counties where the vaccination drive is directed. KBC has always been Kenya's national broadcaster and the oldest radio station in Kenya and so the intention of the advertiser is to create awareness about an issue of cross-ethnic importance.

In this episode, a young mother consults a doctor over a rumour that all children under the age of five must receive 'another' dose of the polio vaccine. The repetition of the vaccination drive is key here. Her attitude is that of defiance since her child had been vaccinated not long before. She expresses fear that more jabs would affect the health of her child when she asks, "*Hii haitawahadhiri ki afya?*(Won't this harm their health?)

The doctor, citing professional reasons, assures that the jab will increase protection, and that the vaccine is the same as the one given earlier. With the doctor's assurance, the mother agrees to have her child vaccinated. Appreciation of the conflict at hand can best be enhanced if one heard the voices. The voice of the mother is that of despair and resistance, and one can almost feel the motherly instinct as the woman interrogates the doctor.

This particular vaccine comes at a time when there is resistance to conventional medicine by the church, especially *Kabonokia* sect and the Catholic Church. Concerns had been raised over the safety of these vaccinations, with claims that they are intended for population control and those who get vaccinated will become sterile in adulthood. The audience will recall one or two instances where the church has asked people to disregard the inoculation call. The Catholic Health Commission of Kenya which is mandated by the church to provide leadership on emerging health issues to the Catholic church had raised concerns over safety and quality of the vaccines. The church noted that there was reason to worry because the vaccine was targeted at children under five years and women of reproductive age, which in their opinion was a risk in case the vaccine went heyway.

The director of Medical Services Dr. Jack Kioko had to reassure the church that the vaccine is tested, safe and effective. The ministry had identified and mapped out high risk counties such as Isiolo, Turkana, West Pokot and Uasin Gishu among others.(Kilonzo, E 2016). The voice of the advertiser is therefore the voice of the Ministry of Health, adorned in drama and art.

As a cultural production, the dramatic question here addresses the cultural questions in the minds of a majority of the people: that of whether contemporary medicine is harmful or not. The advertiser shows that if the previous dose was not harmful, this will not because "it is the same". The ad also anticipates that most people treat illnesses when they notice symptoms, and preventive measures could only be resisted on the fallacy that the illness cannot appear.

The mother imagines that the safety of her child is in avoiding the vaccine. That is, protection is by avoidance. She asks, '*Kwa nini tena*'? (Why again?) Despite the



many odds, the advertiser does not shy away from presenting advert content. All the eleven counties targeted in the campaign are outlined, the dangers of polio mentioned and the assurance that sufficient scientific research has been done over the safety of the vaccine is given.

A close analysis of this advert reveals a deliberate attempt by the advertiser to use as correct Kiswahili as possible. This has always been the identity that KBC has sought to maintain, that of entertainment in grammatical precision. However, the dramatic question is presented as a conflict between a mother who represents medical ignorance on one hand and religious perspectives on the other. The question of another vaccine comes as a shocker to her as evidenced by instant resistance.

This advert uses the strategy of repetition for effect. This is a common strategy in advert making and we need to examine the place of this strategy in the world of persuasion. Repetition has been extensively used as a way of increasing persuasive abilities since the classical era, especially in Ancient Rome and Greece where professional rhetoric was first practiced. According to Cacioppo and Petty (1980), psychological studies have shown that repetition can have a positive effect of someone's reception and agreement with a persuasive argument and it is known to aid recall.

If properly handled, repetition can be amusing, thoughtful and forceful as a persuasive strategy. However if mishandled it can become battology. Too much repetition within a short span may lead to increased aversion to the argument being advanced, and consequently backfire.

Repetition does not necessarily mean saying the same word or phrase again and again. As a persuasive strategy, it involves finding more than one way of making the same argument. Listeners do not necessarily take words but message in adverts, and it is important to see how the message can be hammered again and again in a variety of ways.

Rhetoricians of the antiquity used a variety of strategies, such as anaphora, where the same word was repeated poetically at the beginning of the lines; '*commoratio*', which

implied repeating the same idea but using different words to keep away boredom and retain the message, or *epimone*, which involved repeating the same words to emphasize a point.

### **Repetition in *Polio* and Iron Sheet adverts**

In dramatizing the national anti-polio campaign the advertiser uses various repetition strategies to ensure familiarity and acceptance. A young mother is unwilling to have a child vaccinated for fear that the jab would harm her child. Considering that the child had a jab earlier, the dramatic question here is about a ‘repetition’ of the vaccination programme. This justifies the use of the repetition technique.

The key words ‘*polio*’, and ‘*chanjo*’ (vaccine) have been repeated seven and fifteen times respectively. The advertiser uses diascope (strategy of repetition where the repeated words are broken up by some other intervening words) to reinforce his message and show the urgency with which all children under the age of five years need to respond to the call.

The repetition here serves to emphasize what the advertiser re-emphasizes with the voice. Additionally the rhyme it creates and the subsequent rhythm serve mnemonic functions for the advert.

### **4.5 The Ogre Motif**

The advert “*Pegasus*” plays on *Kameme FM*. The choice of audience is obvious, and the cultural angle is expected to come into play because the discourse has already been localized by the choice of media. The advert is aimed at popularizing an insecticide known as *Pegasus*. The advertiser clearly borrows from the structural motif of ogre stories which have been part of Africa’s oral literature. In the traditional mythology ogres are gigantic, human-like and vicious creatures whose purpose is to overwhelm humanity. They are known by various names as *Kirimu* (Tharaka), *Jitu* (Swahili), *Amanani* (Luhya), *Irimu* (Kikuyu) *Chimisit* (Kalenjin) and *Kirimarimu* (Meru). They eat human beings, sometimes wiping out entire villages and clans. The catharsis of such stories is brought about by some small, young, intelligent and courageous boy who, upon seeking the counsel of some distant medicine man, or from his own discovery about the weaknesses of the ogre, finally slays it.

Lusweti (1992) notes that African ogre stories serve various purposes depending on the intention of the narrator, but mainly they are characterized by one or more moral lessons intended for the listener, “and quite often the narrator makes it his duty to ensure the lesson is felt and appreciated by the audience” (114). The drama in this advert is set in the background of a farmer’s home as evidenced by sounds of cows mooing and goats bleating. It goes on as follows;

### **PEGASUS**

**Station: Kameme FM (106.7Fm)**

*(Sounds of cows mooing)*

**Maasai accent:** *Nkt, Mmh! Kuanzia leo mimi na kilimo kwisha. Haiwezekani nalima napanda napalilia na sipati mavuno.*

**Kikuyu accent:** *Sasa mbona unajiongelesha na kujikuna kichwa?*

**Maasai:** *Ona iyo shamba langu sasa. Whiteflies, tutor, aphids, caterpillar, mites na wadudu wengine hata siwajui wamenivamia kama KDF.*

**Kikuyu:** *Eh...Jamani, yaani wewe bado umelemewa na wadudu? Hujafikiwa na umaarufu wa hii dawa mpya inaitwa ‘Pegasus’?*

**Maasai:** *Eti Pegasus?*

### **VOICE**

*Pegasus mpya, inatumika kukinga mimea kuepukana na wadudu. Dawa ya Pegasus hutokomeza wadudu wote na makali yake, hudumu kwa muda mrefu zaidi. Hivyo ni ya gharama nafuu kuliko dawa nyingine zote. Tuma SMS bila malipo kwa 22432 ujue mengi kuhusu matumizi ya Pegasus. Pegasus mpya kutoka Syngentahuangamiza wadudu wote bila shaka.*

### **ENGLISH VERSION**

Sounds of cows mooing...

**Maasai Accent:** Nkt, Mmh! From today I will not do farming any more. It is not possible that every time I Cultivate, I plant, I weed but I don’t get any harvest!

**KikuyuAccent:** Why are you talking to yourself and scratching your head?

**Maasai Accent:** Now look at my farm. Whiteflies, Tutor, aphids, caterpillars, mites and some other insects which I don’t even know have attacked my farm like KDF!

**Kikuyu accent:** Ehe e!(Mockingly) Guys...Are you still overwhelmed by insects? Havent you heard the fame of this new insecticide called Pegasus?

**Maasai Accent:** You mean Pegasus?

### **VOICE**

The new Pegasus is used to protect crops from insects. Pegasus insecticide kills all insects with its strength and lasts for a very long time. It is also cheaper than other insecticides. Send a free SMS to 22432 to know more about the uses of Pegasus.

New Pegasus from Syngenta destroys all insects without a doubt.

The advert is set within an agricultural background, and the awareness that Kenya is largely an agricultural economy is a necessity. First of all, pestilence has been a problem in the past. It has caused disaster like other natural calamities such as floods, pestilences, earthquakes and landslides. For instance, Kelly, K.J (2018) reported in the *Daily Nation* that Kenya and other maize growing countries in Africa were already

facing a severe Fall Armyworm invasion in which it was approximated that half of the crop in the farms would succumb.

Each year there are reports of locust invasion which wipe away hectares and hectares of vegetation. In July 2018 for instance, locusts wiped out over half a million acres of land in Merti sub county of Isiolo (Astariko, 2018). The idea of insect invasion is therefore considered a plague. It is clear that the ravaging effects not only threaten the farms, but also the livelihoods which depend on those farms. The drama played out here is thus a metaphor to the threat posed on humanity itself.

Like in *Diamond Property Merchants* discussed earlier, the advertiser again chooses ethnic accents to achieve his persuasive ends. Once more we encounter the accent of a Maasai man on one hand, and that of a Kikuyu on the other. The Maasai man voices his frustrations over his failed agricultural venture. The use of a Maasai as a farmer is a deliberate contrast sought by the artistic advertiser to reinforce the cultural stereotype that Maasais are mainly herdsman, and in the Kikuyu worldview they represent the Stone Age. From the voice, the hearer expects a failure. The advertiser goes ahead to entrench this notion with the incessant scratching of head that accompanies the Maasai's lamentation. The Kikuyu voice asks, "*Sasa mbona unajiongelesha na kujikuna kichwa?* (And now why are you talking to yourself and scratching your head?) The antagonist of this episode laments about the various kinds of insects that have invaded his farm, destroying all crops season after season.

The magnitude of his disillusionment is hyperbolized in order to enable the advertiser provide relief by way of introducing his product. The hyperbole technique is reinforced by the many insects which have attacked his crop: armyworms, aphids, whiteflies, caterpillars and "other insects which I don't know". Through the strategy of pity and fear, the advertiser strikes instant rapport with millions of farmers who watch over their crop each day. As the ogre is the villain of communities, so does the pestilence come to eat crops. As the hero of the ogre narrative slays the giant, so does *Pegasus* exterminate the hordes of insects, some known, some unknown.

In literature, ogres and ogresses are used metaphorically to depict the evils facing man, and the courage required to finish them. In this action however, the insects are

referred to directly and named. The advertiser is keen to mention them by names: the aphids, whiteflies, *tutaabsoluta* and so on. This is because the message is urgent, and circumlocution will only serve as a deterrent to the message.

The advertiser draws allegories with associated fears among the listeners. He says that the insects invade his farm 'like KDF'. This allegorical simile is the advertiser's catchphrase. It recalls the anti-terrorism war between the Kenyan Defence Forces (KDF) and the Somali *Al Shabaab* terrorist group at the time of the ad. In the general populace it shocks that someone is discussing the military under the guise of selling an insecticide. Not long before, there were massive losses of Kenyan troops at the El-Adde military camp inside Somali, death of a hundred and forty eight students in a terrorist attack at Garissa University College in Kenya, and earlier the slaying of several civilians at the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi by the terror group. Despite this drama in life itself, there is still that spirit of patriotism that re-assures the people that KDF will finish the enemy. The KDF is the sting that will wipe away terrorists from the Horn of Africa.

Reference to the war is a 'real life' reference at the time of the advert, as well as a mnemonic device. The question of the ad's morality does not arise here because the KDF is praised rather than demonized even after the loss of students and civilians during the series of terror attacks. Such criticism is not explicit in the ad

Similarly, for this farmer nothing seems to work. It is at this point that his friend emerges to 'wonder' why he is still dragged down by insects, when it is obvious that the remedy has already been found. This statement affirms the advertiser's intention of using ethnic stereotyping to show that it is only backward people who do not know the existence of *Pegasus*. His tone of voice reveals this bias.

An examination of this drama against Ong's theory shows that the advert recalls a sub-text that Kenya is mainly an agricultural economy where vast majorities of the people depend on farming. The mention of insects that invade farms 'like KDF' is bound to attract quick attention from listeners at such a time when Kenya is at war. The referent magnifies the situation at hand due to its association with terrorism, and its effectiveness is largely in the choice of both context and genre. Only a few months

before this advert, CNN had described Kenya as a ‘hotbed of terror’ prior to a visit in Kenya by US president Barack Obama in June, 2015. The advertiser has therefore attempted to catch attention by making reference to real life situations for persuasive effects. The drama is pervaded by melancholy because livelihoods are being threatened, as has happened in the past across the country. Reference to the terror war is itself a mnemonic device. The advertiser is aware that citizens have been treated to live television action every time terrorists attack a public space in the country. The topic of KDF versus terrorists is also in the mind and lips of every citizen.

The advertiser has also used a series of alliterating sounds to enhance rhythm and memorability of his piece. The farmer says, “*Kuanzia leo mimi na kilimo kwisha. Haiwezekani nalima napanda napalilia na sipati mavuno*. Notable is the alliteration of /k/ in the first line and /a/ in the second sentence. These voice features may not be notable in the written text, but their effect is clearly evident in speech.

The performance is also set in a context of a struggle. The farmer is struggling with farming, the same way the Kenyan military is struggling with terrorism. This struggle is loaded with cultural stereotypes as indicated earlier, and the advertiser himself is probably facing low sales which he hopes to reverse by the dramatization of the efficacy of *Pegasus*.

#### 4.6 The Moral tale Motif

The advert *Ng'ombemix Maziwa*, plays on *InooroFM*, a vernacular Kikuyu station popular all around Mt. Kenya. The drama revolves around the whole issue of productive livestock farming, and the question is a salt lick for livestock presented in an interesting way by the advertiser. The setting is rural, and the theme is increased livestock productivity. This is how the action goes;

**Date:** 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 2016

**Station:** *Inooro 95.1Fm*

*Background music...*

**1<sup>st</sup> man:** *Ngarana*

**2<sup>nd</sup> man:** *UUii (Answering the call)*

**1<sup>st</sup> man:** *Kai niki uheaga Ng'ombe ici ciaku tondu nikwagira iragira na ciakwa no kuhinyara?*

**2<sup>nd</sup> man:** *Reke ngwire. Wenda kugacirithia ng'ombe ciaku, Cie Cumbi wa Ngombemix maziwa.*

**1<sup>st</sup> man:** *Ngombemix maziwa?*

**2<sup>nd</sup> man:** *iini!. Ngombemix maziwa ni cuumbi wa muthikania wa calcium na phosphorous na itethagia ngombe yaku kurita iria ringi mwanka riria igaciara, gutethagia thutha wa guciara na kuhe ng'ombe ugima wega wa mwiri. Ona kwina cumbi wa Ng'ombemix joto uria utethagia ng'ombe yaku kugea na mwaki naihenya, na gutigiira ati niiraciara oo mwaka. Ng'ombemix nyama, mauma maku ma nyama, kumiteithia kugea na urito mwega na nyama nyingi. Macumbi maya ni umoone kuri Agrovat iria iri akui nawe.*

**VOICE:**

*Ng'ombemix kuma Ng'ombefeed Industries. Tondu wa kwongerera faida urithiine waku.*

#### ENGLISH VERSION

*Beats...*

**1<sup>st</sup>Man:** *Ngarana (Calling)*

**2<sup>nd</sup>man:** *Yiiii (Responding proudly)*

**1<sup>st</sup>Man:** What is it that you give to these cows of yours because they continue to look good and my own cows continue to emaciate? I have even tried giving them herbal medicine but it is all useless!

**2<sup>nd</sup>man:** Let me tell you. If you want healthy cows give them Ng'ombemix Maziwa salt lick.

**1<sup>st</sup>man:** Ng'ombemix Maziwa?

**2<sup>nd</sup>man:** Oh yes! Ngombemix Maziwa is a salt mixture of calcium and phosphorous, and it helps your cow to produce more milk until the next calving. It helps after delivery, and gives cows good health. And there is also the saltlick called Ngombemix Joto which helps your cow to get on heat faster, and to ensure that it gives birth each year. There is Ng'ombemix nyama, the source of your meat, helps the cow to have greater weight and more meat. All these salts can be found in the agrovat near you.

**VOICE**

Ngombemix from Ng'ombe Feed Industries

Because of increasing profits in your livestock farming.

A successful dairy farmer has been visited by a friend who on seeing his cows, gets perplexed at their excellent state of health. He recalls that his own flock is emaciated and lacks production despite having tried every trick, including '*Miti Shamba*' or herbal medicine with little success. The issue of herbal treatment relates to how farmers in rural areas live, where the veterinary officer is in competition with the traditional herbalist.

The farmer is bubbling with laughter and satisfaction. He explains that he gives his beef herd '*Ngombemix Nyama*' and for his dairy herd, '*Ngombemix Maziwa*'. To make sure his heifers sire each year, he gives them '*Ngombemix joto*'. The advertiser imagines that most livestock farmers do not enjoy production as they should because they are ignorant of these products. The predicament of most farmers serves as catchphrase because the advertiser is aware that farmers have ever experienced frustration in dairy farming. It is comical that the disillusioned farmer has given his flock herbal treatment because in common practice these kinds of treatment are popular with 'traditional fellows' who have listened to the rhetoric against conventional medicine. By using the wrong formula, the farmer has suffered the predicament which he describes here. His friend says that if he shifts to *Ng'ombemix Maziwa* his production will rise immediately.

This advert is set in the rural areas as evidenced by sounds of livestock. This setting is important because it sets the ground for the kind of interaction the listener experiences. There is a deliberate attempt to make the setting as friendly as possible to the rural listener by the advertiser's use of a clown's inflection of voice. On this radio this is a popular voice and most people in these areas already know it. Secondly, the visitor refers to the farmer as '*Ngarana*', which means 'man of my circumcision season'. The word actually indicates that the two were circumcised the same season. Circumcision, known in Kikuyu as *Kurua* is an important rite of passage among the communities in the central and Eastern Kenya regions, complete with its own practices, education and lore. (Mbiti, 2011) The use of the term *Ngarana* therefore carries lots of cultural connotations associated with the experience of growing up and brotherhood among the Gikuyu males.



The advert uses the literary device of contrast for effect. The first thing the visitor notes is that the cows of his *Ngarana* are too healthy compared to his. He says the cows *nikwaagira iragira* (Are getting better and better) while his own flock *no kuhinyara* (continues to emaciate) The contrast brings to mind images of healthy, joyful and productive flock on one hand, and an emaciated, sickly and unsightly flock on the other.

The question *kai niki uheaga Ng'ombe ici ciaku tondu nikwagira iragira na ciakwa no kuhinyara?* (What do you give to your cows yet mine are emaciating) is quite unconventional, in that normal practice is to convey greetings and other forms of chit-chat before posing an important question. This immediacy on the part of the visitor is the advertiser's own urgency in relaying the name of his product before other ideas cross the mind of his audience.

There is also purposed use of literary hyperbole in the voice over. The advertiser says that his product *Ngombemix Maziwa* "*itethagia ngombe yaku kurita iria ringi mwanka riria igaciara* (helps your cow produce lots of milk until the next carving). He consciously disregards the biological truth that milk production diminishes as a cow approaches carving, and that all cows have a dry period. This truth can only work against his product because no farmer wants to hear that milk production will decrease. This is a case of telling the customer what he wants to hear.

He also says that "*Ona kwina cumbi wa Ng'ombemix joto uria utethagia ng'ombe yaku kugea na mwaki naihenya, na gutigiira ati niiraciara oo mwaka*. (There is also the salt called *Ngombemix joto* which helps your cow to gain heat fast, and to ensure she calves each year). This is weird because the gestation period of a heifer is nine months, and it is impractical for a cow to give birth twice in twelve months. This is a case of the advertiser confronting the truth test as discussed by Carr (1968).

Since this advert is intended for specific people in the villages, the advertiser is clearly focused on bringing on action that appropriates life as people live it, situating it squarely in Ong's framework. His awareness of the cultural connection among the rural Agikuyu is evident in the choice of their lore. There is no linguistic attempt of any kind to dialogue with the urbanite. He focuses on the lifestyles of people as

practically as possible, considering their cultural myths as encompassed in the circumcision rite.

In this performance, he uses the mnemonic of peer influence. One farmer is the voice of the other. It is not the advertiser talking about the salt-lick, but an age-mate and friend telling another. This ensures that the discussion is thrown to the customers to deliberate and realize the usefulness of the product in question.

The advertiser also knows that it is in culture that folk wisdom is passionately guarded, the reason he invokes an important cultural referent by the use of the term *Ngarana*. This is what Ong calls the 'conservative' nature of primary oral discourse.

It is evident from the voice that the advertiser is interested in conveying information and logic about his product, regardless of the grammaticality of his sentences. There is no attempt at all for instance, to explain in the mother tongue that *joto* means heat. The discussion is filled with repetition of the keywords '*Ngombe* and *Ngombemix* such that each single sentence carries these words.

The strength of this advert lay in the way it connects easily with the rural farmer for whom it is intended. It creates an atmosphere of joy and brotherhood as one farmer educates the other on the best ways to maximize production. The listener is left with the feeling that all his problems have been solved by the serial of *Ngombemix Maziwa*, *Ngombemix Nyama* and *Ngombemix Joto*.

#### **4.7 The Mother-in-Law and the In-Law Motif**

*Monarch Rice* was aired from Radio Citizen. It is based on a conflict between a newly-wed and her mother-in-law, and does not necessarily relate to a literary genre, but a cultural belief. As noted earlier orality carries with it not only the genres but the practices and beliefs of communities.

The mother in law suffers from diabetes, and doctors have advised that she should avoid starchy foods that will add weight.

### **MONARCH RICE**

**Station: Radio Citizen (94.3Fm)**

*Melodies...*

**PETER'S MOTHER:** *Hey, huyu bibi yako anataka kunimaliza!*

**PETER:** *Ha! Mama, mbona wasema ivo?*

**PETER'S MOTHER:** *Anajua vizuri mimi nina ugonjwa wa kisukari, alafu muone ananipikia mchele mweuupe! Na vile nilidhani nataka nipunguze kilo kidogo*

*(Steps as Peter's bride enter)*

**PETER'S BRIDE:** *Mama, huu si mchele mweupe wa kawaida. Ni mchele wa Monarch Lalk Healer Rice. Huu ndio mchele mweupe wa kwanza hapa Kenya, unasheheni afya kwa sababu kiwango chake cha njia kiko chini, mchele huu ni bora kutumika na wanaougua ugonjwa wa kisukari, na pia kulingawale walio na afya wasipatwe na ugonjwa huo, Monarch Healer pia hukinga magonjwa ya moyo, kudhibiti uzani na kupunguza uzani miongoni mwa faida nyingine.*

**PETER'S MOTHER:** *Ooooh! Kumba wanijali hivi? Aaah! Peter, kweli ulioa bibi mzuri saaana!*

### **VOICE**

*Mchele uliojaa afya wa Monarch Lalk Healer Rice ni mtamu, huiva kwa haraka na kufura mara nne zaidi ya*

*mchele wakawaida. Monarch! My health, my rice!*

### **ENGLISH VERSION**

*Melodies...*

**Peter's Mother:** This wife of yours wants to finish me!

**Peter:** Why do you say this, mother?

**Peter's Mother:** She knows very well that I suffer from diabetes. Then see how she cooks for me white rice. And the way I thought I should lose some weight!

**Peter's wife:** (Walks in) Mama, this is not the usual white rice. This is Monarch rice. This is the first white rice of its kind here in Kenya which takes care of your health because it has low sugars, and this rice is good for those who suffer from diabetes, and it protects healthy people from getting diabetes. Monarch rice also prevents heart disease, maintains weight and reduces weight among other benefits.

**Peter's Mother:** Ooh! So you care for me this much? Ah, Peter, honestly you married a very good wife!

**Peter:** The rice packed with health called Monarch Rice is sweet, cooks fast and swells four times more than ordinary rice.

### **VOICE**

Monarch! My health, my life.

From the discussion it emerges that Peter's mother has noticed that her daughter-in-law is feeding her on white rice despite her diabetic condition, and so she decides to complain privately to her son. Oblivious to her, the daughter in law is eavesdropping. She says, "*Huyu bibi yako anataka kunimaliza*" (Your wife wants to finish me). The son, shocked, wants to know the reason for her mother's lamentation. She complains;

*Anajua vizuri naugua ugonjwa wa  
kisukari  
Alafu muone  
Anipikia Mchele Mweuuupe!  
Na vile nilidhani nitapunguza uzito  
kidogo.*

She knows very well that I have  
diabetes  
But now see her  
She cooks me very white rice  
Even when I thought I would lose  
some weight)

The daughter-in-law who has been eavesdropping interrupts the conversation to explain that ‘Monarch rice’ is different from other types of rice, that it is the only of its kind in Kenya, and that it is actually recommended for people suffering from diabetes. She notes that the rice can actually protect those at risk, and helps one to lose weight as well as protecting people from heart diseases. This knowledge makes the mother-in-law relaxed and grateful. She tells the son, “*Peter, Ulioa bibi mzuri sana*” (Peter, you married a very good wife).

This ad is based on the view that mothers-in-law are often unappreciative, quarrelsome and domineering. The use of a complaining mother creates the emotional appeal sought by the advertiser and thus becomes the catchphrase for this advertisement. The question of whether married men should listen to their mothers first or their wives has dominated family debates for a very long time, and the advertiser rekindles them in this drama.

Inherent is the cultural notion that ‘to make a man happy, make his mother happy’. It is common in most African cultures for a good wife to often cook, clean clothes and mind the general health of her husband’s parents. If one does not do this she is seen as a bad woman who deserves to be ‘chased’ away. This is the dimension represented by the use of Peter’s mother.

The complication of this action lay in the fact of the sickness of the mother-in-law. She suffers from diabetes, for which she requires good care. The disease is a threat to her life. The mention of diabetes calls to attention the listener’s own knowledge or experience back in the villages where, due to widespread prevalence, one is either taking care of a diabetes patient, has lost a loved one or is sending money back home for the same reason.

The advertiser uses the emotional appeal of personal fear of losing the treasure of a parent. By the use of threat, the advertiser is not only attempting to link the narrative to life, but also as an attention grabber for this ad. The story is a call to society to judge if Peter has married a good wife or not. There is also the use of empathy appeal in which the advertiser wants the listener to show understanding for those who need their care. The audience is expected to picture the conflict at hand in a personal way and figure out the consequences of bad cooking to a diabetic.

The conflict generated, and the fact that Peter's wife is getting reported in secrecy is intended to create dramatic irony. This is a literary strategy in which the audience understands some aspect of the conflict which is not understood by some characters. The classical example is that of King Oedipus who is destined to kill his father and marry his mother. Society is aware of this prophecy but the king is not. In this drama the dramatic irony is created through eavesdropping. The listener expects Peter's mother will succeed in sowing discord, which the advertiser frustrates. The quick emergence of Peter's wife marks the falling action that brings dramatic catharsis to the conflict established earlier.

The mnemonics of the ad is reinforced through the repetition of 'Mchele' and reference to the many dangers posed by eating foods that aggravate diabetes. Notice how the daughter in law repeats the keyword *Mchele* (bolded) in these words:

*Mama, huu si **mchele** mweupe wa kawaida. Ni **mchele**wa Monarch Lalk Healer **Rice**. Huu ndio **mchele** mweupe wa kwanza hapa Kenya, unasheheni afya kwa sababu kiwango chake cha njia kiko chini, **mchele**...*

The repetition constitutes grammatical redundancy, but the advertiser uses it so well that the listener likes their emphatic effect, rather than loathe. There is deliberate effort to use the Swahili word *mchele* alongside the English version of 'rice' to achieve emphasis. Such mixing shows that the advertiser is interested more in the message, rather than grammatical perfection. As Ong says of primary orality the speaker does not mind the linguistic laws if the message is understood by the interlocutors.

The ad also hinges on hyperbole for effect. Although we all know that rice is food, here it is presented as medicine. The advertiser claims that *Monarch rice* protects healthy people from getting disease, is specifically for diabetics, and that it prevents heart disease! The daughter-in-law says,

*Monarch rice pia hukinga  
magonjwa ya moyo,  
Kuthibiti uzani  
Na kupunguza uzani miongoni  
mwa faida nyingine.*

Monarch rice also prevents  
heart diseases  
Controls weight  
And reduces weight among  
other benefits.

Such exaggeration sets the brand apart from what we know as rice. Peter's mother's accusations against her daughter-in-law quickly turn into accolades, and it appears that she has gotten the medicine for her ailment. She asks, "*Kumbe unanijali hivi?*" (So you care about me this much?) This is her own approval of her son's wife. In culture such approval is important for the survival of the new bride in the family. This way the advertiser is able to tactfully overturn the attitudes and ideological contrasts established in the beginning of the drama. The stereotype of a mother-in-law as a nuisance is transformed into a mother-in-law as a blessing to those who take good care of them. It turns out that the advertiser's use of the mother image is a trick to draw attention and create good emotions towards the product on sale.

Another advert, *Vital 90 Maziwa* on *Muga Fm* uses a traditional wedding scene to catch attention. *MugaFm* is a Kimeru radio station, and so the advertiser leans on cultural boulders to sell. The setting is on an important day when in-laws are visiting. Action opens at the point where they have actually arrived, and the host is not prepared. This is how the drama goes:

**Vital 90 Maziwa**

Station: *Muga Fm*

Date: 13/3/2016

Time: 4:16 PM

*Melodies...*

*Song: Welokaamuu na wakiinya guku mucii siit dauni...*

**Ngino Kendi:** *Hey! (Expressing surprise)*

*Antu bai riikoni  
(Calling). Ageni bagukinya. Chai ii tayari?*

**Woman:** *Ari Ngino kendi*

*Ngugi iingiire tworirua inya kugura iria.*

*Indi tukugura iria ririeru ria Vital 90 kioskine oo thaa ii.*

**NginoKendi:** *Mbagiti iji ithatu aki (in shock) Riting'ana!*

*Woman: Ha!. Ukamaka Ngino Kendi. Iria ririeru ria Vital 90 irio iria riina kirimo gikingi Kenya yonthe. Na rikuejaga ikombe bibingi bia chai. Rikaang'ana!*

**VOICE**

*Iria ria Vital 90 riina wega bunthe bwa iria kiri afya yaku na nja yaku. Na*

*utikubatara kuriikira fridgine. Iria ririeru ria Vital 90 riina kirimo gikiingi muno,chai iimatu na rikaraa fresh ntuku 90 ritikiri fridgine.*

*Gura riaku naarua!*

*Song: Welokaamu na wakinya guku mucii siit dauni...*

**Vital 90 Maziwa**

Station: *Muga Fm*

Date: 13/3/2016

Time: 4:16 PM

*Melodies...*

*Song: welcome and when you get in the homestead sit down ...*

**Ngino Kendi:** Hey! (Expressing surprise)

People in the Kitchen (Calling).The visitors have arrived. Is tea ready?

**Woman:** Not yet Mother of Kendi.

We got overwhelmed with work and forgot to buy milk.

But we have bought the new *Vital 90* milk from the kiosk just now

**NginoKendi:** Only these three packets?(*in shock*) It won't be enough!

**Woman:** Ha!.(*Reassuringly*)Don't worry Mother of Kendi. The new *Vital 90* milk is the one with high cream in the whole of Kenya. And it gives you more cups of tea. It will be enough!

**VOICE**

*Vital 90* milk has all the goodness of milk for your health and that of your family. And you don't need to refrigerate it. The new *Vital 90* milk has a lot of cream, thick tea and it stays fresh for 90 days without refrigeration.

Buy yours today!

*Song: Welcome and when you get into the homestead sit down...*

In the Meru culture where this ad is aired, the in-law is treated with utmost respect. There are sayings and proverbs to reinforce the respect expected between in laws. One such proverb is “*Kwa athoni gutiraaragwa*” which loosely translates into ‘one cannot spend a night in the in-laws home’. Another is ‘*Muthoni ii nthoni* (An inlaw is respect). Yet another is ‘*Muthoni atirumagwa*’ which means ‘an in law in never insulted’. Many others exist. It is well known that in laws are never kept waiting. In weddings they are served first, and in some cases they are served special food such as milk and fried meat. This is the background that informs this advert.

In this drama we know inlaws are around from the popular wedding song, *siit dauni* (sit down). The song is basically asking the in-law to feel welcome, and sit down. The strange bit is that the tea they are supposed to be served is not ready because the people who were supposed to prepare the tea forgot to buy milk. At this point the listener knows that this is catastrophic because milk is usually sold in the morning and evening when farmers do the milking. This is no doubt the breaking point of this drama.

The conflict is resolved with one woman's revelation that they already bought some three packets of the new *Vital90* milk from the kiosk. Ngino Kendi, the opposing

voice, thinks that kind of milk will not be enough to cater for the many guests. It is here she is brought into knowledge of the new brand of milk.

This drama too uses the scare strategy. The listener is presented with a solution to a biting problem. In a community where people obtain milk directly from cows rather than processed products from supermarkets, the listener is brought to the world on which he lives. He is educated that the new product has sufficient fat content so that one uses little milk and makes tea for very many people. In many ways the advertiser tries to imagine the way his listener lives each day.

The interlocutors are engaged in a free exchange. Reference to one of the characters as 'Ngino Kendi' which simply means 'Mother of Kendi' is testament to this fact. The woman also reassures with the words *Ukaamaka Ngino Kendi* (Don't worry Mother of Kendi). The effect of the tranquil mood is to create the harmony that the advertiser seeks in the content of his product.

The advertiser uses both English and Kimeru because he is interested in being understood fast rather than teaching language. He uses the word 'fridgine' to mean 'in the refrigerator'. The words 'welcome' and 'sit down' are corrupted to '*welokamu*' and '*siiti dauni*'

The advertiser uses repetition of the key words both in the drama and in the call to action. The words *Vital 90*, *fridgine*, and *kirimo* (cream) are repeated more than twice in both parts of the advert. The song is also repeated, but for different reasons. The first time the song is supposed to signal the arrival of guests. From the situation at the host's home it is supposed to cause panic because tea is not ready. In the second instance the song is used to celebrate success and signal the discovery of the new solution which comes with added benefits of richer, creamier tea for the most important guest in the culture.

The advertiser draws from principles of orality defined by Ong for effect. The advert is situated within a cultural activity, and the language is focused on message. The advertiser strikes quick rapport with listeners because of relating his product to life.



#### 4.8 The Hyperbole Motif

*Whitestar* is an exciting soap advert on *Kameme* FM. It is set within the domestic sphere, where the product is mostly used. The advertiser uses the strategy of exaggeration to create impression about soap. Agyekum (2000) identifies hyperbole as one of the major performance techniques used by orality when used in urban environments and mass media alongside ideophones, proverbs, idioms and euphemisms. The study of hyperbole confirms that orality is never confinable in formalized genres, and that what one community considers a genre may be considered an aspect of style in another.

##### **WHITESTAR BAR SOAP**

**Station:** *Kameme Fm (106.7)*

*Music...*

**Mama J:** *Wa Robin! Wathii au dukaini aa Karanja ri, ndukindehere thafuni wa kuhura nguo, wa kuthambia indo orudu umwe na gwithamba!*

**Wa Robin:** *kai utangigura thafuni umwe wa kuruta mawira macio moothe?*

**MamaJ:** *Eeeh! Onawe gutakiri kwagia!*

**Wa Robin:** *Ni Kuri! Whitestar ni thafuni wa kifande kuuma Bidco na ni multipurpose. Yaani no uhure nguo naguo, uthambie indo na withambe na mangi maingi. Whitestar nayo ii muguuyu muingi, ii na wakaa gathafuni kanini tu! Na tamenya nimenyagiira mwoko maku, na makiria Whitestar ndiri goro.*

**Mama J:** *Iiii Wa Robin au niwanjanura. Aya kindehere whitestar!*

**Wa Robin:** *Ayaaah!*

**VOICE**

*Whitestar kuuma Bidco Africa Limited.*

##### **ENGLISH VERSION**

*Melodies...*

**Mama J:** Wee! (calling) WaRobin

When you get to Karanja's shop bring me a soap to wash clothes, a soap for cleaning utensils and another soap for bathing.

**Wa Robin:** Why don't you buy one soap which can do all those tasks?

**Mama J:** Eeeh! Oh my, there has never been!

**Wa Robin:** There is!

Whitestar is a multipurpose bar soap from Bidco. You can wash clothes with it, wash utensils and bathe and many other uses. And you smear very little soap. And know that it takes care of your hands, and more to that, Whitestar is not expensive.

**Mama J:** Yees, Wa Robin you have enlightened me there. Fine then bring me Whitestar.

**Wa Robin:** Aiyaah!

**VOICE**

Whitestar from Bidco Africa Limited!

(melodies)

In this performance, a woman named Mama J wants to buy three different kinds of bar soap: one for washing, one for bathing and another for cleaning utensils. The work in her house is too much, and in this episode she is asking her neighbor and friend called Wa Robin, to buy her the three soaps on her way back from the shopping centre. Wa Robin does not understand why Mama J cannot buy a single bar soap and use it for the three purposes. She asks;

**Wa Robin:** *Kai utangigura thafuni umwe kuruta mawira macio monthe?*

(Can't you buy one bar soap for all those purposes?)

This question generates the dramatic conflict. According to Mama J there is no such soap. She says emphatically that *gutakiri kwagia* which means 'there has never been!' It is through this statement that the advertiser identifies the gap which his product is coming to serve. He knows that many people usually buy soap with differentiation between bathing and washing. Bathing soap is usually laden with scent, and so is soap for washing clothes. But this cannot be the case with soap for utensils lest they smell the perfumes. The task at hand is thus clear for the advertiser, and his use of the assertion that 'there has never been' seems plausible to a majority of his listeners. He therefore uses this conflict as the attention puller into the product on sale.

The insistence by Wa Robin that *Ni kuri* (There is) marks the climax of the performance. It is the point at which revelation comes to both Mama J and the curious listener that there is indeed a product called *Whitestar* Bar soap from *Bidco*.

Notable here is the insistence on 'Bidco'. This is a foremost company in Kenya specializing in the manufacture of cooking oil and soap, and is a near-monopoly. Here the advertiser uses what marketers call 'direct gaze induction technique' in which an established brand seems to confront the buyer with the fact of good historical record, either of this product or related products by the same seller. The mention of *Bidco* is intended to leave the listener with no trace of doubt about the

quality of the product because he has probably used products from the same company before with satisfaction.

In the episode, Wa Robin goes on to educate Mama J that with *Whitestar Multipurpose Bar Soap* one can wash clothes, clean utensils and use for bathing. It emerges that one also uses very little soap compared to other brands, takes care of one's hands and is not expensive. The drama ends with Mama J appreciating the new knowledge by asking to be bought the soap.

It is important to note the interlocutor's tone of voice in order to understand the mood created by the advertiser, and how it imparts on the general atmosphere of the ad. The listener can easily draw an atmosphere of friendship from the way the two women exchange. The advertiser uses this to bring in trust among these two peers so that when finally Mama J agrees to buy the soap the listener is not left feeling that she was probably being tricked.

This ad is constructed on the belief that information is spread among women in rural areas by socialization, and to a large extent, imitation. Women know of latest fashion and trends from others. The advertiser, drawing from knowledge of society, imagines a scene where women converse and confide in each other. He uses this belief as a way to reaching them in their rural households. Imagining audiences largely determines the success of the promo.

The idea of an affordable, effective multipurpose bar soap is an instant allure especially considering that soap is a daily household expense in almost all homes. The fallacy that there exists no soap that can bathe, wash clothes and clean utensils is dispelled, and '*Whitestar*' positions itself as the only such brand in the market.

The advert positions itself in the context of a dramatic conflict worth of resolution. On the subject of a multipurpose soap, one party (Mama J) says there is no such soap. The other (Wa Robin) says there is. Such difference of opinion equally divides the audiences who have not thought of a bathing soap cleaning utensils. It is by its very magnitude that the conflict becomes not only a source of new information, but a

memory device as established by Ong in his view that primary orality lasted for hundreds of years without writing due to the conflicts it embodied.

Secondly, the advert draws from observed nature of rural women in Kenya. Due to lack of scientific and factual knowledge about a number of things as a result of limited literacy and specialty, it is known that information is passed from household to household by word of mouth through womenfolk. The image of a rural woman as a rumour monger is not uncommon. The economic lifeline of women in the villages is supported by coming together as a single gender in what is popularly known as *Chamas*. The men are rarely incorporated in these groupings

The advertiser, knowing this fact from virtual experience, begins a debate that will most likely reach every other woman through discussions in villages and *Chamas*. This is not mentioned anywhere, but the advertiser and the analyst is aware of this technique. As Ong says, in primary oral cultures information retains a conservative, rather than an openly elitist nature which helps them survive the tides and turns of time.

#### **4.9 The ‘Direction Giver’ Motif**

This is an approach based on beliefs and practices of people in cultural environments. The advert under analysis is constructed on a cultural stereotype which holds that some Kenyan communities, especially in the drier areas, will always mislead a traveller every time he asks them for directions. Traditionally the navigation technology we find in cars and mobile phones did not exist, and people relied on asking others for direction. It is held that if you asked for direction from a person who was used to walking for long distances he would simplify a journey of several miles by telling you ‘it’s just here’. There is this myth that if you ask a Kamba for direction he will tell you ‘*Nwa Baa*’ (It’s just here), only to end up walking and walking. This is the motif borrowed by the advertiser in selling roofing iron sheets under the brand name *New Dumu Zas*. The action goes on as follows:

## **NEW DUMU ZAS**

**Station: Radio Citizen (94.3Fm)**

*Melodies...*

**ASKER:** Buda

**BUDA:** Eeh!

**SPEAKER 1:** Kwako ni wapi by the way?

**BUDA:** Kwangu?

**SPEAKER 1:** Eh!

**BUDA:** Teremka na hii njia

**SPEAKER 1:** Ehe!

**BUDA:** Uendeee, ukifika kwa ile junction

**SPEAKER 1:** Ehe!

**SPEAKER 2:** Nyonga left.

**SPEAKER 1:** Nyonga?

**SPEAKER 2:** Ehe. Ukishanyonga, ugonge hii kabarabara hadi kwa mlima.

**SPEAKER 1:** Ehe

**SPEAKER 2:** Then, utapiga rright hivi.

**SPEAKER 1:** Ehe!

**SPEAKER 2:** Uendeee, utaona ka garage

**SPEAKER 1:** Ehe

**SPEAKER 2:** Jua umepotea...

**SPEAKER 1:** Aaai!

**SPEAKER 2:** Rudi nyuma kiasi, nyuma tu kiasi, hadi uone mahali kuna kiosk,

**SPEAKER 1:** Ehe

**SPEAKER 2:** Achana nayo

**SPEAKER 1:** Aai!

**SPEAKER 2:** Ukishanyonga, Wee tulia, ukishanyonga, unyoroshe nah ii njia hadi uone mama mboga

**SPEAKER 1:** Ehe...

**SPEAKER**

**2:** Usimwongeleshe. Vuka. Then...

**SPEAKER 1:** Maan, hujui nijui kwako au nini? Kunipoteza nayo!

**SPEAKER 2:** Ah! Eeh! Aaa!

**SPEAKER 1:** Ama ni ile maskan mpya watu wanadhani ni ya Governor!

**SPEAKER 2:** (Shyly) Ndi... Ndio... Ndio hiyo.

**SPEAKER 1:** Aaah! Acha za ovyo! Ha ha!

## **VOICE**

*Unapojenga nyumba akikisha unatumia mabati ya New Dumu Zas, iliyo na borderline TOC, ambayo yana uhakika wa kudumu milele. Mabati ya New Dumu Zas yana Alzinc na yanaweza kudumu hadi miaka hamsini bila kupata kutu. Angalia alama mpya ya Dumu Zas na ile ya usawa ya Diamond mark of quality kwenye mabati, usije ukauziwa mabati bushi. Mabati ni New Dumu Zas yaliyo na Borderline TOC kutoka Mabati Rolling Mills. New Dumu Zas. Guaranteed to last.*

## **ENGLISH VERSION**

### **NEW DUMU ZAS**

**Station: Radio Citizen (94.3Fm)**

*Melodies...*

**Speaker 1:** Friend (calling)

**Speaker 2:** Eeh! (Responding)

**Speaker 1:** Where do you live by the way?

**Speaker 2:** My residence?

**Speaker 1:** Eh!

**Speaker 2:** Go down this road...

**Speaker 1:** Ehe!

**Speaker 2:** The gooo, when you get to that junction

**Speaker 1:** Ehe!

**Speaker 2:** turn left.

**Speaker 1:** turn?

**Speaker 2:** Ehe. Once you turn, hit this road up to the mountain.

**Speaker 1:** Ehe

**Speaker 2:** Then, you will turn rrrright (the /r/ sound is emphasized in articulation) like this.

**Speaker 1:** Ehe!

**Speaker 2:** then goooo( go is lengthened in speech), you will see a small garage

**Speaker 1:** Ehe

**Speaker 2:** Know you are lost...

**Speaker 1:** Aaai! (In disappointment)

**Speaker 2:** Go back a bit, back a bit, till you see a place with a kiosk,

**Speaker 1:** Ehe

**Speaker 2:** Disregard it

**Speaker 1:** Aai! (*Begins to realize his Speaker 2 is getting difficult*)

**Speaker 2:** Once you turn... Be patient... Once you turn, go by this road until you meet a mama mboga

**Speaker 1:** Ehe... (*Getting hopeful again*)

**Speaker 2:** Don't speak to her. Move on. Then...

**Speaker 1:** Maan, Don't you want me to know your place or what? Why mislead me!

**Speaker 2:** Ah! Eeh! Aaa! (*Noticing that he has been discovered*)

**Speaker 1:** Or is it the new house everyone thinks belongs to the Governor!

**Speaker 2:** (*Shyly*) It ...it ...it is the one.

**Speaker 1:** Aaah! Don't be fake! Ha ha! (*Laughs*)

#### **VOICE**

When you construct a house ensure you use *New Dumu Zas*, which has borderline TOC, which has a guarantee of lasting forever. *New Dumu Zas* iron sheets have Alzinc and can last up to fifty years without getting rust. Look for the new logo of *Dumu Zas* and that of quality of Diamond mark of quality on the sheets, so that you don't buy fake sheets. The iron sheet is *New Dumu Zas* with Borderline TOC from Mabati Rolling Mills.

*New Dumu Zas*. Guaranteed to last.

This performance involves two friends working together in the city. Although they have been friends for some time, it emerges that one of them does not know where the other lives. So this day he decides to ask where Speaker 2 lives. The target audience for this advert is clearly the urban middleclass from the sheng language they use, and the fact that they are putting up new homes.

It is clear that when the owner of the new house is confronted with the question '*Buda, kwako ni wapi by the way?*' (Speaker 2, Where is your home by the way?), he's not ready to reveal. So he quickly gets into giving his friend cryptic instructions that will make sure Speaker 2 does not know the proper location of his new house. The question is unwelcome, and therefore sets the dramatic conflict in motion.

The man asks his friend to go down a road, turn left at the junction, go all the way to the mountain, turn right, and walk up to the garage. When he sees the garage he should know he has lost direction! This is the semantic absurdity of his discourse whose purpose is to draw instant excitement and humour on the part of the listener. As such, this absurdity becomes the attention puller of the advert.

The instructions get more funny and confusing, and the traveler discovers that his Speaker 2 does not want to reveal the direction to the new house. But since he's familiar with the landscape, he figures out that there is a new house that everyone

thinks belongs to the Governor, and upon further inquiry, the friend admits that the house is actually his. It then emerges that when one is putting up a house he should choose the '*New Dumu Zas*' iron sheets because they make the house exquisite, and are durable.

The sub-text of this advert is in the listener's awareness of Kenya's political landscape after the promulgation of a new constitution in 2010. This constitution adopted a devolved (*Majimbo*) system of governance where resources were devolved across the country through forty seven counties headed by Governors. This is a relatively new dispensation, and the citizens are struggling to come to terms with the new order.

The Governors emerged as very powerful personalities, as 'presidents' of the county governments. This is against a backdrop of a nation infected by the maladies of ethnicity, nepotism and corruption. It is not strange then that a Governor, with all power and money, and situated right in the middle of rural villages, is an instant centre of attraction. He is the only person who can afford the extravagance of a posh mansion recently planted in the middle of nowhere.

The advertiser makes the house 'great' by comparing it to that of a Governor. By literary comparison, he draws our attention to the secret that the governor's mansion is admirable just because he uses *Dumu Zas*. Notable still, is the fact that the advert comes at a time when the media is awash with reports about the extravagant behaviour of most Governors. For instance, a few months earlier, it had been reported that the Governor of Kakamega County had purchased wheelbarrows at over a hundred thousand shillings each, yet the street value of a wheelbarrow is three thousand Kenyan shillings. Shortly afterwards there were media reports that the Governor of Meru had bought curtains for county hospitals at seven million shillings, yet the ordinary person knows curtains are cheap clothing one can find in a second-hand stand. The news were not taken kindly as many thought the Governors had misplaced priorities so as to get an opportunity to steal public finances.

The 'Governor' is thus used as a symbol of expense and class in a society engulfed by consumerism and hedonism, where expense is a symbol of social status, and more

often than not those who steal public resources and become instant millionaires are celebrated and rewarded with election to higher offices and media attention. Therefore, whoever owns an expensive house belongs to the high class. The beauty of the advert is in the realization that the owner has not looted, but has discovered the secret to class by using *'New Dumu Zas'* roofing sheets, which give houses an exclusive, high-class finish.

The conflict in the ad also borders on peer competition. This is seen in the owner of the house's refusal to identify the location of his new house, probably because he does not want his small trick to be imitated. When he's finally discovered he has no option but to admit his 'sin', as captured through his tone of voice. The complicated directions and references point to a peri-urban setting, with references to *'Mama Mboga'*, *'Garage'* and *'Governor'*. The language is also a mixture of codes, from English to Kiswahili and Sheng.

The advertiser is aware of the capitalist thinking of a majority of Kenya's middle class that his audience harbor dreams of owning a home, preferably an expensive villa or an ocean-side mansion. He also imagines that most people do not know how to give their bricks and mortar a beautiful finish, despite having invested huge capital in architectural work and labour costs. The advert is thus focusing criticism on those who make beautiful plans but fail to realize that the beauty of a house is in its roofing. The advertiser hopes that his audience, just like the man asking for directions, would seek to discover the beauty of *'New Dumu Zas'*.

There is little concern for the grammaticality of utterances, as long as the audience grasps the message. In fact, the grammaticality is in ensuring easy access to message by the listener. The owner tells his Speaker 2 that when he gets to the corner, he should "*nyonga left*". This could be transcribed as 'murder left', and has no meaning to an English speaker. He only means 'turn left'. The words are reinforced by emphasis of voice, which gives the advert an amazing aesthetic quality.

English Words such as *'Borderline TOC'* may not have much sense even to a literate hearer, but they have been used to indicate the sophistication of the technology used in making the sheets. Others like *'Alzinc'*, 'guaranteed', 'Diamond Mark of quality'



and so on merely serve to persuade the enlightened listener of the quality processes, and not to deter communication. The speaker is therefore aware that the most important thing in his locution is the message, not the language rules.

His style of speech points to both action and movement. He says,

<i>Teremka na hii njia,</i>	Then goooo
<i>Uendeeeee,</i>	When you get to the
<i>Ukifika kwa ile junction,</i>	junction,
<i>Nyonga left.</i>	Turn left
Go down this road,	

From the use of the onomatopoeic words such as ‘*uendee*’ the listener can literary visualize movement down the road. This strategy is what advertisers call ‘Visualization technique’ of spoken discourses in which the audience is made to ‘see’, ‘hear’ and ‘smell’ things as described by the speaker’s voice. Through this strategy, the advertiser is able to draw mental images and visual metaphors, and engage the attention of his hearer.

The dramatic struggle envisioned by the advertiser adds to the adverts mnemonics and overall aesthetics. Instead of saying ‘No’ to the request by Speaker 2, the owner of the house decides to take the challenge and circumlocute in a comical way. This acts as the attention magnet for this ad. He actually ‘forces’ the message on the ‘traveller’ because at some point, the Speaker 1 feels that the owner of the house is avoiding giving a direct answer. This is evident in the progression of exclamations to lamentations as the dialogue moves along.

The advertiser uses contrast of attitude as the drama progresses. For instance, when the owner of the house begins to give directions, his peer uses the exclamations ‘eh!’ and ‘Ehe’ to show anticipation and approval. These turn into ‘Aaai!’ ‘Ai!’ ‘Maaan!’, suggesting the distrust and the insincerity of Speaker 2. Notice that on realizing the torment he’s giving Speaker 1, the owner persists with ‘*Wee tulia!*’(Be patient).

The advertiser is keen to present his product in romantic praise. First, he conceals the fact that *New Dumu Zas* is not a coloured sheet as the fashion for modern builders. Those who know the sheet will therefore find the irony of silvery sheets which make the house look like that of a governor. He also says that the sheets “*yanadumu milele*” (lasts forever), but on another line he says that the sheets “*yanaweza kudumu hadi*

*miaka hamsini*(can last for up to fifty years). This puts his alleged sincerity to test for a keen ear. But he knows that, as Ong says, oral discourses are ephemeral, and once they leave the mouth they do not get back. In essence, they circumvent the truth test by their irretrievability.

This advert has been carefully constructed to achieve its effect. The audiences are clearly identifiable by tone of voice, and the social referents are within reach. The emotional appeals are equally tactful, in that the scare of “*kuuziwa mabati bushi*” (Getting duped into buying fake sheets) rings loud in the mind of a prospective buyer who does not want to imagine a leaking roof, or an ugly finish.

The ‘*Mabati Rolling Mills*’ company runs another advert for their sister product, *Dumu Zas*. This one runs on the Kimeru radio station, *MeruFm*.

In ‘*Dumu Zas*’, a situation is dramatized where a woman has contracted a carpenter to roof her house. When the action begins the woman is in a monologue, lamenting that her house is leaking even before it is completed. This is a hyperbolic approach, and the cause of the leakage is not faulty workmanship but the quality of sheets used. Soon after the contractor arrives, and when asked, he says that he merely walked into some hardware shop and bought whatever iron sheets were on display. He did not think about interrogating the quality of the sheets.

In anger and loss, the woman rebukes him, wondering what kind of a builder he is not to know that *Dumu Zas* is the best roofing sheet. It is then revealed that ‘*Dumu Zas*’ lasts up to fifty years rust-free, is shiny, resistant to scratch and is ‘shameless’.

The conflict between the woman and the builder is based on the woman’s awareness and the builder’s ignorance, the reason it is resolved with the builder’s admission of ‘sin’ at the end of the advert. He says, “*Pole! Pole pole mama itu ntamenyaa*” (Sorry! Sorry sorry mama, I didn’t know). The epimonic ‘pole’ by the builder is repeated three times in a single phrase and is reinforced by the admission that he was actually ‘given’ the sheets at the hardware shop, and as he says, he didn’t know a thing about roofing sheets. He says, “*Ntimenya ijaiku jaa ni*” (I don’t know what these are).

It is not lost to the patriarchal Meru audience for whom the advert is focused, that women are not part of the construction tradition. They are also not leaders or

partakers of authority, and the builder in this drama is seen as ‘weaker than a woman’. Nothing can be more humiliating, and the advert implies that he’s indeed a quackin that any serious builder knows ‘*Dumu Zas*’. The woman asks him, “*Korwonaa gwe utiiji maati ti jangi kethirwa ti Dumu Zas?*” (Where on hell do you come from that you don’t know that there is no other sheet like Dumu Zas?)

The main strategy used here is artistic repetition a literary strategy which has been extensively used as a way of increasing persuasive abilities since the classical era in Rome and Greece where professional rhetoric was first practiced. According to Cachiappo and Petty (1980), psychological studies have shown that repetition can have a positive effect of someone’s reception and agreement with a persuasive argument. It also aids recall.

If properly handled, repetition can be amusing, thoughtful and forceful as a persuasive strategy. However if mishandled it can become battology. Too much repetition within a short span may lead to increased aversion to the argument being advanced, and consequently backfire.

Repetition does not necessarily mean saying the same word or phrase again and again. As a persuasive strategy, it involves finding more than one way of making the same argument. Listeners do not necessarily take words but messages in adverts, and it is important to see how the message can be hammered again and again in a variety of ways.

Rhetoricians of the antiquity used a variety of strategies, such as anaphora, where the same word was repeated poetically at the beginning of the lines; ‘*commoratio*’, which implied repeating the same idea but using different words to keep away boredom and retain the message, or *epimone*, which involved repeating the same words to emphasize a point.

The keyword ‘*Mabati*’ (iron sheet) has been repeated diascopically sixteen times. The effect of this repetition is to reinforce the subject, bearing in mind that the advert is concerned with popularizing ‘*Mabati*’. It also creates a kind of rhythm that is definitely perceived by the listener. In effect, the rhythm enhances memory.

The *Galsheet Resincot* advert is also focused on roofing sheets. In the advert, a woman tells her husband that their neighbor named M'Makinya has married a new wife. The man's question "*Uungi?*"(Another one?)implies that the neighbor is a popular polygamist. The ad runs in a society that is already submerged in Western ideas about marriage, and the polygamy issue is the ad's magnet. The fear that M'Makinya may not be able to take care of multiple wives is implied by tone of voice.

The woman shocks her husband when she says that the neighbor is taking care of his wives "like angels". She reveals that each wife has a house, and each house has a roof of a different colour. She notes for instance, that the roof of the first wife is sky-blue, the second wife's is red and so on.

The man then realizes that his roof has no colour. He then notices the mockery in the voice of his wife when she says that that is probably why she is his only wife! It is finally revealed that *Galsheet Resincot* has a wide range of coloured sheets, and that colour adds life to iron sheets.

The conflict here revolves around marriage. The man's wife is threatening, though indirectly, to get married to serious men who take care of their wives like angels. The information she gives to her husband haunts him, especially when she implies that as her only wife, she's probably living a colourless life when other women who have refused to be tied to monogamy are living in opulence.

In this ad, the keywords centre around 'colour' and 'house'. These have been repeated six and four times respectively. In addition, the phrase 'Galsheet Resincot from Mabati Rolling Mills' has been emphasized. The voice says,

*Riikana gukinyiiria wenderue*  
*Galsheet Resincot*  
*Galsheet Resincot'*  
*More colour, more life.*

Remember to insist on  
buying Galsheet  
Resincot  
Galsheet Resincot'  
More colour, more life

The repetition here serves to emphasize what the advertiser re-emphasizes with the voice. Additionally the rhyme it creates and the subsequent rhythm serve mnemonic functions for the advert.

In each advert analyzed here the focus has been on dramatic structure in terms of plot, subtext, dramatic conflict, resolution and the advertiser's persuasive angle. The discussion has attempted to situate orality in the context of persuasion through radio advertising.

It is evident that for orality to find contemporary relevance it should be approached broadly, in the whole corpus of cultural production in the pattern of diachronic and synchronic approaches, rather than in the oldschool of 'genres'. The diachronic approach implies examining folklore material from a historical dimension while the synchronic approach would imply looking at the material in terms of its development and present usage.

This analysis of specific radio advertisements using the technique of drama has looked at how Jackson Ong's theorizing about the transition from orality to writing can help situate the modern persuasive discourse within social-cultural contexts. The modern form, namely 'advert', is seen in the broader sense of maintaining collective consciousness, identity, social order, literary aesthetics and morality as well as purpose.

We have analyzed and discussed various advertisements using the technique of dramatization to see how they have been influenced by indigenous literary forms. We have identified and analysed adverts using leitmotifs of trickster stories, dilemma stories, ogre stories, moral tales and riddles. We have also discussed dramas based on social beliefs and practices. The analyses has focused on the whole corpus of African folklore, encompassing the genres and the cultural beliefs and practices, or what is popularly known as folklore. It has emerged that the modern advertiser borrows, adapts and aligns persuasive content to cultural realities both in genre and formulae.

The analyses suggest that African orality is the repository upon which subsequent cultural production within the continent is built. As Lindfors (1977) observes, African

folklore is no different from the vast uncultivated, unexplored, undiscovered mystical terrain of Africa, with huge quantities of minerals like gold and diamonds. Our folklore, by implication, has not, and cannot be exhausted, and all that is required is greater energies to be directed at its exploration, documentation, application in diverse situations of modern day and enjoyment.

In his article “New Trends in Modern African Poetry”, Tanure Ojaide (2002) notes that the poetry from Africa has distinguished itself in the world scene due to “some aesthetic strength deriving from the oral poetry technique”. He notes that African literary forms carry the African sensibility, culture, worldview, as well as the rhythms, structures and techniques of oral tradition. Such oral features include genres as songs, myths, riddles, ceremonial chants, folktales, tonal lyricism, drum and flute, the anti-phonal call-response motifs as well as the rhythmic, repetitive, digressive and formulaic modes of expression.

Various writers from East Africa have used elements of the oral tradition across all the major genres reflecting on the regional cultural landscape, as well as to embellish their works. It is obvious that any writer from Africa who ignores cultural substance risks relevance. In fact, the most respected writers in the continent are cultural crusaders. For instance, Okot P’Bitek uses Acoli songs and proverbs in his classic poem, *Song of Lawino*. Ngugi wa Thiong’o uses Gikuyu mythology in *Weep Not Child*, *A Grain of Wheat*, and *The River Between*. John Ruganda borrows from a popular oral narrative in the ‘Third Wave’ of *The Floods*, while the Nobel laureate Wole Soyinka operates within the African cultural worldview in *Death and the King’s Horseman*, *The Lion and the Jewel* and *The Trials of Brother Jero* just to name but a few.

These writers do not merely re-tell the narratives, rather they integrate them with life to address contemporary social phenomena. They interweave various cultural, geographic, personal and peculiar oral features to produce relevant discourse for the societies in which they live. The modern artist is thus analogous to the traditional sculptor, making curves and producing expressions on his wood to mould new sensibilities, and carving out a new form.

Since the 1970's when folklore studies experienced robust resurgence in formalized scholarship in Africa, it has on the other hand suffered from what Toelken refers to as 'reductionism' from tendencies to see orality as 'traditional' and one that represents naïve thinking. The tendencies to see orality as 'old' ought to be discarded because in reality, orality is ever changing, adapting to emerging needs. Waugh (2006) notices that instead of seeing orality in terms of specific, fixed and concrete entities, we should see it as a dynamic process of differentiation.

Definitions of orality since the 1970's have always been in static frameworks rooted in tradition. (Finnegan, 1970; Miruka, 1999; Nandwa and Bukenya, 1983). Pio Zirimu, and by extension his generation's ambivalences in conceptualizing 'orality' is what led to the coinage of the term 'orature' in an attempt to address the contradictions arising from the 'literariness of orality', and it clearly confirms the extent to which oral literature scholarship has ignored the synchronic aspect.

In the next chapter we shall analyze and discuss some dramatized advertisements drawing from popular culture.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### POPULAR STRATEGIES OF RADIO ADVERTISEMENT DRAMA

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses ad theatre under objective two, which is to establish the relationship between drama used in advertising and the popular culture that influences its production and consumption. The analyses examine the way adtheatre uses popular topics, emerging trends and common beliefs as a persuasive strategy. The adverts are analyzed in terms of narrative pattern, social-popular material and implicature. Modern popular expressions on radio are in many ways similar to traditional orality, the reason they are analyzed together under the same framework. As mentioned earlier, radio is an oral medium just like primary orality and this justifies Ong's approach in the study of modern discourses. In this chapter we reaffirm the principle that orality today must be conscious of the diachronic-synchronic reality in that story telling sessions that took place in the grandmother's hearth are now taking place more vigorously in the media spaces. The adverts analyzed here are thus seen as oral productions in modern contexts. As discussed in the literature review section, popular literature is characterized by the loweconomic segment of the population that is critical of the habits of the middle class, trending stories and emerging habits, domestic conflicts, mass acceptance and jocular in nature. These features play out in the popular adverts below.

#### 5.2. Motifs of Hard Economic times

*Twenty Bob ni Mob*, which loosely translates into 'Twenty shillings is a lot of money' is Airtel's way of trying to sell low-cost airtime and attract masses into their struggling mobile network. It airs on KBC. The advert is set against a background where Kenyan currency is quickly getting devalued by inflation, and the shilling is nearly losing status as legal tender.

##### **20 BOB NI MOB**

**Station:** KBC

**HAWKER:** Sukari, Unga, Steelwool  
mkate na juice

Ahya! Shika bidhaa zako.

**CUSTOMER:** Ei! Na change?

**HAWKER:** he he he heee!

Change ni shinda

*Si nikupatie peremende uende  
ukimumunya mumunya mdogo mdogo?*

**CUSTOMER:** Mzae, usinipige kiraka!  
Lete change yangu ya 20 bob.

**HAWKER:** Mbao haiwezi nunua kitu  
kijana!

Fanya hivi...

Mumunya Mumunya sweet kama meno  
bado iko.



**CUSTOMER:** (*Furious*) *Ati sweet!*  
*Mbao ni mob!*

**VOICE**

*Twenty bob ni mob!*  
*With Unliminet twenty,*  
*Unapata 8 minutes across networks,*  
*Twenty SMS na twenty MB data*  
*Na free whatsapp, Facebook and*  
*twitter.*

*Twenty bob ni mob.*

**HAWKER:** *Speaker 2a,*  
*Niwachie hiyo twenty bob bwana,*  
*Pia mimi nionje utamu.*

**VOICE**

*Bonyeza \*544# to smartika with Airtel*  
*unliminet twenty for just twenty bob.*  
*Airtel, the smartphone network!*

**ENGLISH VERSION**

**20 BOB NI MOB**

**Station: Kameme Fm (106.73)**

**Hawker:** (*Calling out to*  
*customers*) Sugar, flour, Steelwool,  
bread and juice

Ahya! Have your goods. (*Hands over*  
*the goods to a buyer*)

**Customer:** Ei! What about my  
change?

**Hawker:** he he he hee! (*Laughs*)  
Change isa problem

Si nikupatie peremende uende  
ukimumunya mumunya mdogo  
mdogo?

**Customer:** Maan,, don't take me in  
circles!

Bring my change of 20 bob.

**Hawker:** Twenty shillings cannot buy  
anything, young man!

Do this...

Mumunya Mumunya sweets when you  
got teeth.

**Customer:** (*Furious*) sweets!

Twenty shillings is a lot!

**VOICE**

Twenty bob is mob!

With Unliminet twenty,

You get 8 minutes across networks,

Twenty SMS and twenty MB data  
and free whatsapp, Facebook and  
twitter.

Twenty bob is mob. (*'Mob' is slang*  
*for 'a lot'*)

**Hawker:** Maan,

Let me have that twenty bob sir,

So that I too can taste the sweetness.

**VOICE**

Dial \*544# to smartika (*Besmart*) with  
Airtel unliminet twenty for just twenty  
bob.

Airtel, the smartphone network!

This episode presents to us a hawker in a busy town calling attention to his goods. He is selling foodstuff and steelwool, and he is glad to get a customer who buys some unidentified goods, but the hawker refuses to give him his twenty shillings change on the pretence that coins are no longer available in the economy. Instead, he offers to give him sweets in the place of coins.

The buyer refuses, saying that twenty shillings is a lot of money. Through the advertiser's voice, we learn that with twenty shillings one can buy several things on the *Equitel* network.

This advert comes at a time when there are reports about supermarkets giving sweets and other small items as change in place of coins. Most of the people listening to this

advert are aware of this situation in the economy because in one way or the other they have encountered it. There is a deficiency of coins in circulation giving rise to the new state of affairs. The advert therefore draws from a common trend in the economy.

Guguyu,O (2015) notes that the central bank had to intervene in October, 2015, warning that sweets, matchboxes and airtime were not currency and anybody receiving them as change should report to the Central Bank of Kenya immediately. Despite the crisis in supermarkets and malls, , the Central Bank held that it had enough coin stocks to facilitate transactions, alongside calling for churches, mosques and individuals to exchange their coins for notes instead of keeping them at home.

At the time of the coin crisis, *Equitel's* main rival in the telecommunications segment *Safaricom* has been making phantom profits. Among the rural majorities, attitudes abound that the huge profits by Safaricom are a result of consumer exploitation. This is informed partly by the company's elusive promise of making a return to masses during their Initial public Offer (IPO) of shares in the Nairobi Securities Exchange back in 2005.

Many ordinary citizens lost their investment after the shares went bearish on the first day of trading, with members of parliament angrily calling for the sacking of the then Minister of Finance Amos Kimunya. The IPO was largely perceived as state thuggery. The levels of disillusionment then were high, and the company must have lost speculator trust. On the other hand, complaints about expensive calls and data charges are also common. It is these gaps that Airtel seeks to exploit in order to resurge from her bad balance sheets.

In *Twenty Bob ni Mob* the character 'hawker' is identified merely by his street slang. He is trying to persuade his customer to take sweets in place of coins. The customer is hesitant, and he seems aware of the hawker's trick when he responds to him, "*Usinipige kiraka*" (Don't fool me). On his part the hawker is not ready to give back the twenty shilling coin. This reluctance sets the ground for a dramatic conflict. The refusal is a metaphor for the larger problem in the economy, and those who give small items in place of coins are presented as thieves. From the hawker's tone we learn that he is out to sell sweets in the pretence that coins are useless currency. His insistence

that “*Mbao haiwezi nunua kitu*” (Twenty shillings cannot buy anything) marks him as the villain of the drama because it interferes with the customer’s right to get his coins back. He insultingly says that the customer should take sweets “*Kama meno bado iko*” (As long as he has got teeth).

The customer insists that twenty shillings is a lot of money because it can buy *Airtel* airtime, from which one can talk for as long as eight minutes, get twenty short messages (SMS), twenty MB data plus lots of other internet based social media goodies like ‘*facebook*’ and ‘*whatsapp*’. This hyperbolic revelation comes as a shocker to the listener who, like the hawker, all along thought it is right to take things one did not need simply because it was not possible for businesspeople to give coins. The listing of what twenty shillings can do sounds unbelievable.

The drama gets to denouement when the hawker, on realizing that he has been discovered, pleads with the customer to let him keep the twenty shilling coin so that he too, can enjoy the *Airtel* sweetness. Here the *Airtel* product is compared to the sweetness of candy melting in the mouth. The pleading by extension points to a dramatic revelation that supermarkets, hawkers and those selling small items are consciously conning the public that is ignorant of the economic potential of coins. It emerges that the sweetness of the *Airtel* offer surpasses that of the hawker’s sweets, and that the listener should consider melting this new sweetness in his mouth while he got the opportunity to do so. Having teeth is not a permanent situation, and that one should take advantage of them while they are in the mouth. In *Mumunya Mumunya sweet kama meno bado iko* (onomatopoeic for melting candy in the mouth as long as one has teeth ) the advertiser draws from a proverb in popular use that one should break bones when he has strong teeth, because they eventually fall off with age. This is the advertiser’s way of calling for the urgency to take up the offer.

On the other hand we know sweets have lots of sugar, and sugar destroys enamel. The call by the hawker to take sweets is a call to lose teeth. If the young buyer loses teeth he gets ugly, the reason he should take *Airtel* airtime that is loaded with goodies instead of taking destructive sweets.

The advert's conflict revolves around the young hero, coming into contact with a crafty villain, namely the hawker. The villain is endowed with persuasive lore and courage. He almost refuses to give the young man his change, insisting that it is valueless. The advertiser thus re-creates the Biblical contest of David and Goliath. This allusion may escape a lay listener, but the courage exhibited by the buyer leaves the listener with admiration of him. The dramatic irony however is that despite the hawker insisting that twenty shillings cannot buy anything, he wants to keep it.

The fact that the encounter almost degenerates is the advertiser's way of ballooning the value of twenty shillings if it gets spent on *Airtel* airtime. This conflict is an appropriation of real life as imagined by the advertiser, and the resolution is the panacea to the problem bedeviling the Central Bank itself. The advertiser seems to suggest that instead of being 'forced' to take small items in shops they should be given the freedom to make the *Airtel* choice. The advert is a challenge to buyers to compare the value of sweets against that of *Airtel* airtime. He suggests that the many options available in his network are not comparable to candy.

The protagonist in this contest is presented as a brave and enlightened character. He is used to teach everyone that twenty shillings can do more. These traits save him from the trickery of the hawker. The advert seeks to show that what her rival company as well as the supermarkets consider 'useless' currency is in fact lots of value.

The question of whether *Airtel* is flouting Central Bank's directive against exchanging change for sweets comes to the fore. But the advertiser cleverly navigates, in that the purchase of airtime is not directly linked to another item as happens if one is shopping at a supermarket. The resistance by the customer in this advert to take sweets does not lead to taking *Airtime* from the same seller. It is a call to take the coins and buy airtime elsewhere.

The action situates the ad in the low income bracket so as to present the rival company as 'high' and detached. The hooting of vehicles in the background and the noises indicate that the ad is set in a bus-stop where hawkers are known to operate. These businesspeople run on small items, and those who do such businesses are perceived to be struggling to survive in urban areas. The hawker strategy does for the

advertiser because listeners can quickly identify with the characters and the action. It is the evidence that he accurately imagined his audiences. As a matter of fact, hawkers are common in bus stops, and it is possible that a majority of Kenyans have encountered them. Usually, they profess to sell things at lower, negotiable prices, the reason for their resilience.

The advertiser is also aware the low earners would hate to 'lose' their money to sweets, and the widespread behavior in supermarkets leave them disillusioned. He is aware that while the 'high' end thinks little can be done with twenty shillings, the low can do much more than melting sweets in the mouth. That is the kind of currency they would use to buy vegetables, give as donations, pay debts or use in merry go rounds. The advert therefore sets apart the 'high' of society from the 'low', which is a distinguishing trait of popular thought.

The mnemonics of the ad lie in the popularity of its theme among listeners. It is evident that the masses are restive about loss of coins to sweets, and the reaction of CBK is timely. The dramatic conflict pitying a young hawker, trying to eke a life by increasing sales with sweets and persuasive language versus another young, enlightened customer trying to save his little earnings, prompts the listener to take a stand about the dramatic question. The advertiser thus uses an important conflict as a mnemonic device. Secondly, he uses rhythm and ideophone. The hawker synchronizes his own rhythmical tone and the ideophonic '*Mumunya Mumunya*' (To indicate jaw movements as one melts sweets in the mouth) for effect. One can literally feel saliva fill up the mouth as he speaks the words.

The mnemonics of this advert are further reinforced through the alliteration of the sound /b/ in 'bob' and 'mob' in the statement '*Twenty bob ni mob*' and the sound /m/ in the ideophonic *mumunya mumunya*. These devices also help in supporting the message that consumers should change their shopping habits and in so doing, the company hopes to make sales.

Other than selling airtime this advert tells a lot about the current economic situation in the country, but the question that lingers is whether *Airtel* will succeed in reversing the trend of inflation. One wonders whether the micro-economic sector they have

targeted will make them resurge and compete with *Safaricom*, or whether theirs are the proverbial kicks of a dying horse.

In this performance, the advertiser uses plain folks to speak to plain folks. Focus is shifted from the upper and middle crust of society to those who spend as little as twenty shillings on airtime. It also uses the name-calling strategy in which it seeks to demean its rival by presenting itself as pro-poor. Notable also is the glittering speech of the actors. The tone of the customer refusing to be duped with sweets leaves the listener persuaded that he has rights. The tone alone draws the sympathies of the listener. From tone alone, it is evident that plain words require appropriate tonal support in order to achieve persuasive effect.

Secondly, the use of 'hawker' is symbolic of the struggle for economic survival for a majority of ordinary citizens. The advertiser arms the struggling businessman with excellent oral display of his wares, as well as a stock of the basics of living. His statement that "*Change ni shinda*" (Change is a problem) is a pointer to the challenge of getting money, considering that he is selling low priced items like steel wool and bread. He definitely imagines that his strategy of exchanging the coins with candy would probably raise his sales. His voice, lowered and measured, indicates, as he says, that "*mbao haiwezi nunua kitu kijana*" (Twenty shillings cannot buy anything young man). The buyer's assertion that twenty shillings is a lot of money is the attention puller because the hearer, from own experience, is in agreement with the hawker this far.

Using Ong's idea of language as functional, we find that in this advert the interlocutors use a mixture of English, Kiswahili and *Sheng*. Words such as *friend*, *mbao*, *kiraka* and *unliminet* are used alongside *mimi*, *nionje*, *utamu* and so on. This shows that advertising on radio is not grammar conscious, but message centred.

The advertiser succeeds in communicating his message because we finally laugh at the hawkers's pleading at the end. He says, "*Niwachie hiyo 20 bob bwana, hata mimi nionje utamu*" (Just leave me with that twenty shillings so that I too can feel the sweetness). This indicates the advertiser's intention of comparing two sweetnesses: that of the hawker's sweets, and that of *Equitel's* goodies. Like the listener, the

hawkwer has also realized there is something he can do with little money. This is the advertiser's call to action, especially among the low income segment of the economy for which the message is directed.

The advertiser takes the same message to another audience, in a new performance. In the episode below, the advertiser uses *Meru Fm*, and the action moves from the street to the supermarket. This is what goes on:

**Date:** 16<sup>th</sup> February, 2016 **Time:** 11:57Am

**Station:** Meru Fm (88.9)

*Melodies...*

**KINYA:** *Ithe wa Naomi,*

*Ukumbikiira into biakwa bionthe guku gikabune?*

**ITHE WA NAOMI:** *Iii, ngugwikiira bionthe buru,*

*Ta raithe kinya kwina maguta ja kuruga, kibiriti, cuumbi, na kinya cukaari*

*Ndeekira bionthe pee!*

**KINYA:** *Gii change iuu iratigara ya kibau nenkera biscuit na nteremente.*

**ITHEWA NAOMI:** *(Surprised) Aaai! Kinya.*

*Nderemende?*

*Tiga nkwee airtime ya twenty bob ya Airtel*

*Ukaaringa thimu nayo kiri tucoore tuu twaku mbonaa bukianga natu.*

*Bantu aa guflashaa rionthe.*

**KINYA:** *Aaaah! Credit ya kibau niinkai muno!*

*Gwe mpa nteremente ciakwa mbite!*

**ITHE WA NAOMI:** *(Persuasively) Kinya,*

*Ntuku ino kibau ii mbeba imbingi mono.*

*Na Airtel Unliminet 20.*

*Weekira credit ya kibau thimune yaaku,*

*Uriewa ndarika inyanya kiri kila network*

*SMS mirongo iiri, na 20MB data bundles,*

*Free Whatsap, Facebook na kinya twitter.*

**VOICE**

*Mirongo iiri ii mbeba imbingi muno.*

*Iinya \*544# usmatike na Airtel unliminet 20,*

*Iiri ciringi mirongo iiri aki.*

*20 bob ni mob.*

*Airtel, the Smartphone network!*

**ENGLISH VERSION**

*Melodies...*

**KINYA:** *(Calling) Father of Naomi,*

*Have you put all my things in this basket?*

**ITHE WA NAOMI:** *Yes, I have put everything for you,*

*Check and see there is cooking oil, matchbox, salt and sugar. I have put everything!*

**KINYA:** *From my balance of twenty shillings give me biscuits and candy.*

**ITHEWA NAOMI:** *(Surprised) Aaai! Kinya!*

*Candy?*

*Let me give you airtime of twenty shillings from Airtel*

*You will use it to call those Speaker 2s of yours I find you roaming about with, instead of flashing all the time*

**KINYA:** *Aaaah! Credit of twenty shillings is very little!*

*Just give me my candy I need to get going!*

**ITHE WA NAOMI:** *(Persuasively) Kinya,*

*These days twenty shillings is a lot of money.*

*with Airtel Unliminet 20.*

*If you put twenty shillings airtime on your phone*

*You will be given eight minutes in any network*

Twenty SMSs and 20MB data bundles,  
Free Whatsap, Facebook and twitter.  
**VOICE**  
Twenty shillings is a lot of money.

Dial \*544# usmatike na Airtel  
unliminet 20,  
Twenty shillings only.  
20 bob ni mob.  
Airtel, the Smartphone network!

In this episode the source of enlightenment about the value of twenty shillings is the shopkeeper. The character Kinya has been conditioned by life to think that twenty shillings has completely lost value, and she resists the shopkeeper's advice, thinking it probably can't be true. The economic predicament of citizens forced to take sweets for change is expressed by the shopkeeper when she asks, *Aai! Kinya! Nderemende?* (*Aai Kinya! Candy?*). He finds that while candy is enjoyed more by children, no adult should be taken back to childhood by the hard economic times.

In conclusion, the analysis of *Airtel's* 'Twenty bob ni mob' reveals that it reflects the social-economic aspects of life as presently lived. It also points to the fact that the advertiser achieves persuasive ends from some virtual experience he shares with the listener. Finally, the advert fits into our analytical model because the drama generates significant conflict, it is more message-centred than it is language centred, it is loaded with mnemonic devices and it focusses on mass appeal. Let us examine another advert to see how it confirms or negates these principles.

### **5.3 Hosting Relatives in Urban Areas**

The *Mkopa Solar*, on *Meru Fm* is intended to promote solar use. The advert comes at a time when ordinary citizens are hard pressed by huge, arbitrary electricity bills from Kenya's monopolistic hydroelectric power distributor, the Kenya Power and Lightning company (KPLC). The new government had promised massive connectivity of rural areas to the national grid in what was popularly known as 'last mile connectivity'. The excitement of electricity in the rural areas was received with a lot of optimism, but little was said about the bills. The citizens soon realize that the power is not free, and that the billing system is arbitrary in that one has to pay what the company asks for. It is against this background that Safaricom creates the following drama to promote solar use.



This is how the action goes:

**M-KOPA SOLAR**

**Date: 8<sup>th</sup> February, 2016**

**Time: 10.09Am**

**Station: Muga Fm (88.9)**

*Tunes...*

**Baba Jimmy:** *Wee,eh.. nisongee kidogo*

**Munyaka:** *Aii! Baba Jimmy umezidi.*

*Ulikuwa hapa tukiwa ma Bachelor, Ukaanza kukatia Mama Jimmy hapa hapa tu.*

*Mkaoana, evening party mkafanyia hapa kwangu*

*Mkapata Jimmy, first birthday ya Jimmy mkafanyia hapa ,*

*Now you want nikusongee kwa kiti yangu na bibi yangu?*

*Ha!*

*Uta upgrade lini wewe?*

*(Children laughing in the background)*

**CALL TO ACTION**

*Upgrade maisha yako na Mkopa Four Solar Home System.*

*Inayo solar panel, bulb mbili, inayo cable na switch, charger ya simu, radio na torch.*

*Lipa shilingi elfu tatu mia tano kama thamana na shilingi hamsini kila siku kwa mwaka mmoja tu. Tuma SMS kwa nambari 22201 kwa maelezo zaidi.*

*Mkopa Solar,*

*Maendeleo ni leo.*

**ENGLISH VERSION**

**M-KOPA SOLAR**

**Date: 8<sup>th</sup> February, 2016**

**Time: 10.09Am**

**Station: Muga Fm (88.9)**

*Tunes...*

**Baba Jimmy:** *Wee,eh (Begging)* Squeeze a bit for me

**Munyaka:** *Aii! (Lamenting)*

Baba Jimmy you are becoming too much.

You came here when we were bachelors,

Started seducing Mama Jimmy right here.

You got married, did the evening party at my place

You got Jimmy, and did his first first birthday here.,

Now you want to squeeze me in the same seat am sharing with my wife?

Ha! When will you ever upgrade?

*(Children laughing in the background)*

**CALL TO ACTION**

Upgrade your life with Mkopa Four Solar Home System.

It has a solar panel, two bulbs, cable and switch, phone charger, radio and torch. Paythree thousand five hundred shillings as deposit, and only fifty shillings daily for a year. Send an SMS to 22201 for more details

Mkopa Solar, progress

is today.

Here, a character identified as Baba Jimmy is asking his Speaker 2 called Munyaka, to allow him space in the living room because his own cube is dark and he cannot afford to pay electricity bills. The Speaker 2 is not happy with Baba Jimmy's regular intrusions, and on this day he's decided on mocking him.

Munyaka, the owner of the house informs the listener that Baba Jimmy came to the city as a bachelor and he accommodated him. From his house the irresponsible Baba Jimmy seduced a girl, married her and bore children. The first birthday of his child was also held here. The Speaker 2 thinks that Baba Jimmy should think smart and upgrade his life.

In *Mkopa Solar*, Baba Jimmy is the subject of ridicule as evidenced by the children laughing in the background. This laughing creates instant appeal because it sounds ridiculous to be laughed at by children. It is the advertiser's way of catching the attention of his audience. This is one of the adverts where the advertiser uses emotions of 'shame' to drive his point home.

The audience is aware from culture that it is a shame to bear children before building a house. This has been instilled early in life. Among the Ameru who are the target of this ad, boys are separated from their parents upon circumcision as an indication of maturity and freedom, and it was expected that the young man would initiate a process of making his own home, and probably begin thinking of getting a wife who would then take care of his ageing parents. It was a process of instilling a sense of responsibility in the young adult.

This cultural norm is getting subverted here, and Baba Jimmy is the agent of cultural subversion. This attracts instant repulsion from the audience who practice and adore this tradition. He is the symbol of the modern, irresponsible youth who complete college and migrate to the capital, Nairobi or some other urban areas to escape manual, agrarian lifestyle in the villages. Others are attracted by the allure of urbanization, business or employment. At times the jobs are not there and life becomes unbearable in the towns leaving the youth in apprehension. It is common to find men as old as thirty still dependent on their parents or some relative for survival. This is a shocker to the old order and the advertiser is guaranteed to grab attention of his listeners through cultural subversion. From this awareness it is easy to tell that the target of this drama is the rural population and the 'decent' young people who are struggling to establish themselves in life.

The advertiser uses Baba Jimmy as the representative villain in his drama. Whereas Munyaka the host has been hospitable for such a long time, he has not been able to transform from the irresponsibility of youth. The dramatic conflict is thus exaggerated by refusal to grow up and take responsibility. Munyaka poses, “*Now you want nikusongee kwa kiti yangu na bibi yangu?*” (So you want me to give you space in this same place am living with my wife?) He is seen here as the bad guy for abusing the hospitality of his host. On the other hand it is ‘wrong’ in the worldview of the hearer for the host to mock Baba Jimmy. This creates the dilemma that calls for a solution to bring the hearer to dramatic catharsis.

In the mind of the audience it is right for the host to evict him, since that is how each member of the audience was ‘evicted’ by the parents from the family house. It goes well with the commonly recited adage that he who does not learn from the parents will learn from the world. Despite the hostility of the host, the audience is also left with feelings of anger towards Baba Jimmy, rather than sympathizing with his lack of a shelter to lay his wife and children.

The irresponsibility of Baba Jimmy is exaggerated. His host provides a list of what he has not been able to do since coming to his house, leaving the listener in awe. Munyaka complains that

*Ulikuja hapa tukiwa ma Bachelor,  
Ukaanza kukatia Mama Jimmy hapa  
hapa tu.  
Mkaoana, evening party mkafanyia  
hapa kwangu  
Mkapata Jimmy, first birthday ya  
Jimmy mkafanyia hapa ,*

You came here when we were bachelors,  
Started seducing Mama Jimmy right here.  
You got married, did the evening party at my place  
You got Jimmy, and did his first first birthday here.,

His care-free lifestyle justifies the annoyance the listener finds in his host, and this advert is anchored on feelings. The Ameru audience will recall a common story they heard or read in school about a camel that asked an Arab to shelter its head in his tent during a period of extreme weather but ended up pushing the Arab out of the tent. One feels that if the host is not careful this Baba Jimmy will evict him or possibly compromise his right to privacy.

The purpose of this drama is to inform people of new low-cost solar energy options. The advertiser is aware of the challenges people are facing at the moment with hydroelectric and fuel energy in both urban and rural areas. Electricity is expensive to install and the monthly bills are unaffordable. There have been reports that KPLC has been imagining bills, rather than costing per consumption. On the other hand, majority of the people do not understand electrical and technological issues, and the bills they get are obscurities. The purpose of this play therefore is to present solar as the alternative to hydroelectricity.

The masses in the villages quickly identify with the message because they are not only aware of the cultural conflict arising, but also the fact that they are used to kerosene and wood embers as source of energy because they cannot afford energy from the national grid. The fact that solar can light homes comes as indirect ridicule of the many people who are not aware of the opportunities nature has given us through the free sun. The use of ‘shame’ scene through the behavior of Baba Jimmy is thus a reflection of this ignorance.

The message is not constrained by linguistic regulations. The ad, mainly in Kimeru language, switches from word to word in a mixture of English and Kiswahili as well. For example, Baba Jimmy came to the city as a ‘bachelor’ and he ‘*katia*’ (Sheng for ‘seduce’) a girl, and in his host’s house he did an ‘Evening party’ and later a ‘Birthday party’. The voice moves from Kimeru to English, to Sheng and back to Kimeru. Despite these shifts the advertiser does not lose the message at all. In fact, the shifts enhance communication within the short time the advertiser has on air.

The rhythms of the drama are reinforced by the poetic rhythms of the words “*Oo Waa*”, which translates into ‘Just here’. Baba Jimmy has done everything ‘Just here’. The advertiser also uses repetition of the alliterative keywords ‘*Mbitaitila*’ (Move a bit for me) *Jimmy* and *Ukiriautuurobwaku* (upscale your life).

The mnemonics of the episode are further reinforced by the simple, linear plot narrated by Munyaka. He says.

*You came here as a bachelor,  
And started seducing Mama Jimmy from here  
And got married from here  
Did your evening party from here*

*Got Jimmy from here  
Did his first birthday from here*

The sequence narrated by Munyaka is easy to grasp and remember. The interjection by the advertiser with a solution to Baba Jimmys problems is no doubt the advertiser's manifest content. The audience learns that they should buy the 'Mkopa Solar' kit comprising a solar panel, two bulbs, radio and torch at three thousand five hundred shillings as installment, and fifty shillings daily for a year. To do this, one only needs to send a text message to a given number for details. The ad ends with an assurance that Baba Jimmy's life will change henceforth, and save him from frequent ridicule of his Speaker 2s. This drama therefore borrows from culture and economic downturn to sell solar panels.

#### **5.4 Technological Ignorance**

*Lipa na Mpesa* by the telecommunications company Safaricom seeks to enlighten business owners of a digital platform for settling financial transactions using mobile phones. It is the company's attempt to encourage cashless transactions at all points of sale. This product is popularly known as *Lipa na M-Pesa*. Each point of sale is allotted a 'till number', similar to a bank account number so that payment for goods and services is done digitally. The advert airs on *Radio Citizen*, 94.3 FM, meaning that the target audience is national. The drama goes as follows:

**LIPA NA M-PESA TILL NUMBER**

**Date:** 26th March, 2016

**Time:** 11:57Am

**Station:** Radio Citizen Fm (94.3)

*Melodies...*

**Lady customer:** Please do,  
The bill please?

**Cashier:** Here you go.

**Lady customer:** The number?

**Cashier:** Me am married Madam,  
Maybe nikupe ya chef.

0721 3....

**Lady customer:**(Interrupting) Aaaa!  
Aaaa!

Hapana!

The M-Pesa till number!

**Cashier:** Ohhh! Ha! Ha ha ha  
(Laughter)

Oh! Pole.

Hiyo hatuna.

**Lady customer:** How now?

And the way Safaricom is giving away  
millions?

**CALL TO ACTION** (Against  
background beats)

Do you run a hotel, hardware shop,  
Salon or even a Duka?

Well...

Here is a chance to win money for  
your Biashara,

In the Kamata Kibunda na Lipa Na M-  
Pesa!

There is over forty million in cash and  
airtime to be won.

Three winners of two hundred  
thousand shillings every day,

Six hundred winners of two thousand  
airtime.

Simply register your business for Lipa  
Na M-Pesa by sending the word LIPA  
to 21366

**Cashier:** ALA! Wacha basi ni sign-up side hussle yangu,  
Before mdosi ashinde hizi chapaa!  
**CALL TO ACTION**  
Kamata Kibunda na Lipa Na M-Pesa,  
Shindano la wafanyi biashara!

### ENGLISH VERSION

#### LIPA NA M-PESA TILL NUMBER

**Date:** 26th March, 2016

**Time:** 11:57Am

**Station:** Radio Citizen Fm (94.3)

Melodies...

**Ladycustomer:** Please do,  
The bill please?

**Cashier:** Here you go(*handing her the bill*)

**Lady customer:** The number?

**Cashier:** Me am married Madam,  
Maybe I give you the chef's number  
0721 3....

**Lady customer** (Interrupting) Aaaa!  
Aaaa! (*Disappointed*) No!  
The M-Pesa till number!

**Cashier:** Ohhh! Ha! Ha ha ha  
(*Sheepishlaughter*)

Oh! Am sorry. We don't have that.

**Lady customer:** How now?

And the way Safaricom is giving away millions?

#### CALL TO ACTION

(*Against background beats*)

Do you run a hotel, hardware shop, Salon or even a Duka?

Well...

Here is a chance to win money for your business,

In the Kamata Kibunda with Lipa Na M-Pesa!

There is over forty million in cash and airtime to be won.

Three winners of two hundred thousand shillings every day,

Six hundred winners of two thousand shillingsairtime.

Simply register your business for Lipa Na M-Pesa by sending the word LIPA to 21366

**Cashier:** Alas! Let me sign-up my side hussle,

Before my boss wins this money.

#### CALL TO ACTION

Kamata Kibunda WITH Lipa Na M-Pesa,

A competition for businesspeople!

This is a tragi-comedy of sorts. Action pits a hotelier and his customer. The hotel setting provokes feelings of peace and harmony. The customer has taken a meal and is definitely happy with everything so far. The conflict arises at the time of settling the bill. Most hotels in Kenya operate on 'eat-then-pay' rather than 'pay first' as practiced in most Western countries.

There is this popular talk that if one goes to a hotel, feeds and lacks money to pay he is forced to peel a whole bag of potatoes or split firewood until the hotel owner releases him. Stories abound of girls who have been forced to leave their shoes behind or peel bags of potatoes after getting abandoned in hotels by boySpeaker 2s when they cannot settle bills. This phenomenon is commonly known as *Chonga Viazi*, which loosely translates into 'peel potatoes'. It is not explicit but implied in this advert.

It is an embarrassing situation to find oneself in, and society has a way of using the story to mock and warn girls against materialism and greed. The choice of a lady protagonist cum customer is thus very appropriate for this kind of drama.

In this scene, a lady has just had a meal in a high-end hotel, and she presents herself at the counter to settle her bill. This, to the male listener, looks modest in a world where it is natural for men to settle hotel bills for ladies. A male cashier hands her the bill. The lady then asks him for “the number”.

The cashier constructs that the lady is not ready to settle her bill, and what she wants from him is a telephone contact. This is tricky because if he agrees to the deal then he will have to settle the bill himself, and probably hook up with the lady later for his ‘reward’. He does not wish to imagine settling the lady’s huge bill, and so he replies,

*Me am married madam,  
Labda nikupe ya chef, 0721...*  
(Am married Madam,  
Unless I give you the chef’s number,0721...)

The lady, noticing the cross-purpose and the sexual connotation in the response, quickly interjects that what she needs is the hotels *Mpesa* till number, not the man’s private phone number. Laughing in shame, the cashier confesses that the hotel does not have that kind of number. The absence of this number means the bill may be settled if the lady has money in digital form, and the lady is set for *Chonga viazi*. This creates tension and uncertainty because the lady has money in electronic form but she can’t settle her bill. There is real threat of peeling potatoes. The lady, in shock, asks,

How now?  
And the way Safaricom  
Is giving away millions!

The mention of millions brings the drama to its falling action. The cashier, noticing the opportunity offered by Safaricom through the service, decides to subscribe to the service as his ‘side hussle’ before his boss wins the millions. This forms the witty resolution of the ad.

The advert is based on an emerging culture in Kenya wrought by technological advancements in the mobile telephony sector. The mobile phones jurisdiction has

expanded over a short span of time from mere calling and texting to mobile banking, money transfer, electronic commerce and internet based products. With these advances and increased awareness, more people prefer to transact electronically in supermarkets, hotels, gas stations and payment of bills of any kind such as electricity bills and school fees.

The advertiser uses shame and phobia to catch attention. Many people would not want to imagine eating in a hotel or getting into a bus and when the time to pay comes they discover that they do not have money, or that their currency is not acceptable. In this ad, we are actually left in suspense, knowing that the lady has digital money in her phone, yet the cashier does not have a way of getting paid electronically. One wonders who should be punished here.

This advertisement has a way of eliciting audience anger towards the hotel administration. Such anger is directed at the cashier who threatens the dignity of the customer because of his reluctance to adopt electronic money transfer systems. In some way, the ad serves to warn businesses that have not taken up the idea of electronic payment system that customers are now aware, and they will surely keep away from ‘embarrassing’ joints.

The cashier’s assertion that he’s married serves him well as a faithful husband, but it certainly irritates his audiences who cannot avoid imagining themselves in the hands of such a ‘foolish’ cashier. The conflict is based on the cashier’s ignorance of technology, and its enormous benefits. This ignorance leads him to think that when a lady asks for a ‘number’, then it means the lady would rather be seduced than pay! The cashier, despite his hearty laughs, emerges as the villain of this episode because he’s about to embarrass a good citizen, at least in the eyes of the listeners.

The conflict is resolved by the willingness of the cashier to adopt the *Mpesa* service, not merely for the convenience of his customers, but for the millions of shillings he’s likely to win and get away from this employer. From his desire to take up the idea as a side hustle “*before mdomosi ashinde hizi chapaa*” (Before my boss wins this money), we learn that he does not like his boss getting successful. The listener is therefore left



wondering if the reason for the lack of *Mpesa* till number could be from the reluctance of the cashier to advice his employer.

The advertiser attempts to situate life as Kenyans live it each day. The dramatic action illuminates on people in everyday living, doing business and interacting with one another. It shows that the product in question is the ideal way as seen in the cashier's acceptance of the lady's advice. The decision to grab the idea as a side hustle reflects the valor with which he has taken the idea.

The memorability of the ad is enhanced by the repetition of the keywords '*number*', '*lipa na Mpesa*', '*Safaricom*' and '*till number*'. These are the keywords of the product being sold. The aesthetics lie in the seduction scene where the cashier imagines that urban girls are always in a hunting mission for some 'enlightened' man like himself. This is the magnet which keeps the listener in suspense until the resolution.

The rhythm is enhanced by alliteration of the /m/ sound in "*me am married madam*" in the very first lines. The redundancy of the reflexives is ignored to attain the musicality desired.

The ad's language is characterized by series of code switching and code-mixing. Although it is mainly in English, the interlocutors shift though Kiswahili and Sheng. The focus of utterances is directed at the intended message and how quick his listeners will understand him, rather than the grammaticality of the words. The collocation of 'me' and 'am' in "*Me am married madam*", coupled with the shift from English to Kiswahili mid-sentence in "*labda nikupe ya chef*" (Unless I give you the Chef's number) does not obscure message or bother the listener. On the contrary, it reinforces it, bearing in mind that few in the audience speak any pure dialect in everyday locution.

This advert points to the place of technology in business and daily living. By use of a common motif such as *Chonga viazi* the advertiser maintains rapport with the millions of businesses that he addresses. From the advertisement there is a lot to learn about the product, the state of the economy and about culture and daily living.

## 5.5 Saving on Fuel

The *Shell fuelsave* ad airs on *Muga Fm*, a Kimeru vernacular radio station. However, it does not use Kimru language but a mixture of English, Kiswahili and slang to reflect the reality of life as touts operating in the public transport sector live it. This industry is popularly known as the ‘*Matatu* industry’. The drama goes as follows:

**AD: SHELL FUELSAVE**

**Date: 8<sup>th</sup> February, 2016**

**Time: 10.09 Am**

**Station: Muga Fm(88.9)**

*Tunes, cars hooting...*

**Tout 1:** *Vuta kama kawaa mzito.*

**Tout 2:** *mara hiyo hiyo Mzaee! Wacha nikudunge...*

*Sasa mwenye hii gari hutaka pesa Fulani kila siku. Lazima tuipate alafu ile ya juu ni yetu na Deree. So lazima tukuwe wajanja.*

*Tukiweka Shell Fuelshave,*

*Tunapiga squad mob, mafuta inakaa na Engine iko safi Mzaee.*

*So by jioni tuko sawa.*

*Hatuwezi enda Petrol Station Nyingine.*

**Tout1:** *(Whistling) Hayaa. Nayo nayo tukiendaga!*

**CALL TO ACTION**

*Iwapo unaendesha gari la kusafirisha abiria, mizigo, pikipiki, gari binafsi, unamiliki machine ya kazi au gari lolote linalotumia petrol au Diesel, Chaguo ni moja tu!*

*Shell Fuelsave! Shell Fuelsave inafanya engine kuwa imara, iwe na nguvu huku ukiokoa pesa kila wakati.*

*Kuanzia mwezi Januari mwaka huu kampuni ya mafuta ya Shell itafungua matawi kumi na sita nchini Kenya ili ufurahie zaidi.*

*Chagua Shell Fuelsave. Chaguo Bomba!*

**AD: SHELL FUELSAVE**

**Date: 8<sup>th</sup> February, 2016**

**Time: 10.09 Am**

**Station: Muga Fm(88.9)**

*(Tunes, cars hooting...)*

**Tout 1:** Pull aside as usual my Speaker 2.

**Tout 2:** Instantly my Speaker 2! Let me tell you...

The owner of this vehicle requires a certain amount of money each day. We must get it and then the extra is for us and the driver. We must be clever.

When we put Shell Fuelshave, We make many trips, the fuel lasts and the Engine is clean my Speaker 2.

So by evening we are okay.

We can never go to any other Petrol Station.

**Tout1:** *(Whistling excitedly)* Haiyaa!.Hurry hurry we get going!

**CALL TO ACTION**

In case you are driving a public transport vehicle, luggage, motor cycle, private vehicle, you own a machine of any work or any vehicle that uses petrol or diesel, there is only one choice! Shell Fuelsave!

Shell Fuelsave stabilizes the engine, have strength as you save money all the time.

From the month of January this year Shell fuel company will open sixteen petrol stations in Kenya so that you can be much happier.

Choose Shell Fuelsave. A great choice!

In *Shell Fuelsave* two touts are conversing. The setting is urban from the noises and the hooting as the ad begins. The tout instructs the driver to pull into a Shell Petrol Station for fuelling. The conductor, somehow excited, reveals that the owner of the

Matatu requires a specific amount of money each day, and that they must work very hard to hit the target. This way, they will be able to get the surplus of the money for themselves. It emerges that the desire of the tout is to get some surplus after the lord has taken his daily target.

The tout reveals that from his many years in the sector he has discovered that by using ‘Shell fuelsave’ fuel, he’s able to make several journeys, the fuel lasts longer and the engine remains clean. He vows that he can never fuel at any other petrol station but Shell. Happily, the conductor signals the driver to get going as the fuelling has already been done.

This advert targets Matatu owners and other players in the industry, mainly those who make decisions on how and where daily fuelling should be done. This is a huge sector because the country literally runs on *Matatus*. Majority of Kenyans use public means of transport to school, work or to access the metropole. It is estimated that up to ninety five per cent of Kenyans use *Matatu* transport each day. According to the UNEP’s Overview of the Matatu industry (2016), the number of Matatus operating in Kenya is estimated at over 100,000.

The players are perceived to be semi-literate, and the industry harbours little public confidence in the staff. The history of public transport in Kenya has thus been that of the struggle to streamline the industry. According to a poll by Geopoll conducted among Kenyans using public transport vehicles(2016), there were high incidences of traffic accidents, harassment of travellers in form of insults, drugging or physical violation.

These vehicles are ever in a rush from one point to another in search of commuters and consequently money, and are often overloaded, thanks to the largely illiterate staff drawn from the low segment of society. Strict regulations exist but they are rarely followed. It is also the industry that has ballooned corruption statistics in the police force.

The Matatu industry has its own sub-culture in Kenya. The touts are usually school drop-outs and the little they earn from their capitalist lords is spent on cheap liquor.

The language they speak is marked by a unique code that even the passengers using them everyday rarely understand. There exists a ‘Matatu discourse’ which has been isolated as a distinct lore. (Wa Mungai, 2004) As Wa Mungai notes, such discourse is characterized by certain phraseology reflecting the struggles and world view of this segment of society.

The question behind the mind of the audience as they consume this advert should probably be ‘how can a Matatu business do well?’ It is apparent that both the *Matatu* lord and his staff are struggling, one to recoup his huge investment in the motor vehicle, and the illiterate tout to eke a living from the same. These have to put up with the police on the roads who too want a share of the profits.

This is a short drama loaded with glitter. The excitement of the tout is the first indication then the confession by the second tout. The trigger of this episode is the image of a happy tout. The fuel he uses is making him happy, and any other tout or *Matatu* owner out there should discover the trick of survival in this industry. There’s concurrence on the part of the *Matatu* crew that there is no better fuel than *Shell fuelsave*.

The advertiser creates an antagonist in the name of the absent *Matatu* lord who puts his staff on casual contract, leaving them to hop from place to place to enrich him. The conflict between them is resolved by the secret discovery of a fuel that ensures they get money to take home after the many trips.

The setting of this advert indicates that the advertiser is targeting motor vehicle owners or any petroleum-based machinery. The conversation between the driver and the conductor points to some conflict arising from the wage system on which they work. They are expected to spend as little as possible and earn as much as they can. What they take home by close of day is determined by hard work. Since the vehicle lords require certain minimums as expressed by the tout, the use of ‘Shell fuelsave’ petrol is a new ‘trick’ to ensure they make lots of money by the end of the day. The tout informs us that;

*Mwenye hii gari hutaka pesa  
fulani kila siku  
Lazima tui pate,  
Alafu ile ya juu  
Ni yetu mimi na deree  
So Lazima tukuwe wajanja*

(The owner of this  
vehicle requires certain  
amounts each day  
We must get it,  
Then the surplus  
Is for me and the driver  
We must be cunning)

The tout further confirms that *Shell* fuels not only save their money, but also takes care of the engine. This ensures they remain in the job day in day out. The tout says,

*Tukiweka Shell Fuelsave  
Tunapiga squad mob  
Mafuta inakaa  
Na Engine iko safi Mzae*

(When we use Shell  
Fuelsave  
We make many rounds  
The fuel lasts  
And the Engine is clean  
my Speaker 2)

The strength of this ad lies in a popular notion that *Matatu* crew are contract workers whose return is based on what they get by close of day. They must make every saving, and fuelling at a station where fuel is one-shilling higher is waste of money. It is possible to find *Matatus* queuing at a petrol station while the adjacent is near empty because the price of fuel is a few cents higher. From the exploitative tendencies of petrol station owners, the government of Kenya through the Energy Regulatory Commission (ERC) sets prices of petroleum products each month, and the creative advertiser comes up with notions of fuel lifespan and effect on engine.

The language is tailor-made for the industry. The tout opens the discussion with '*Wacha nikudunge*' which loosely translates into 'Let me stab you' (as with a knife), but which is understood as 'Let me tell you'. The nature of dialogue points not merely to the semantics, but also to the social proximity of the interlocutors. There is a deliberate attempt to bring out the 'goon' character of *Matatu* crew in this conversation.

The beauty of the message is reinforced by the repetitive rhythm of the tout's words, '*Naya nayo tukiendaga*', (make haste we get going). This can best be understood by those schooled in the passwords of the lore, such as other touts and drivers in the industry. The same code has been used severally in the ad. On one instance the conductor asks the driver to pull into a *Shell* petrol station by saying, '*Vuta kama*

*kawa Mzito*’ (Do as usual my Speaker 2). This statement points to a happy tout, and the audience can tell that this is a good day for him. It also implies that pulling into a *shell* petrol station has become a habit for him since he made the discovery

The advertiser has merely reproduced the experience of *Matatu* players in the advert, and this is a reflection of life as people live it.. The characters are not necessarily mystical or fictional, but people at work not just in his ad, but also across the country. He seems aware of the thinking of his target audience in terms of saving money and maintaining the engine. Even those not necessarily in the *Matatu* business are assured that *Shell* fuels protect the engine, making the advert duo-pronged in terms of widening the audience spaces. The advertiser plays on the industry belief that some fuels outlast others in the assertion that

*Tunapiga squad mob*  
*Mafuta inakaa*  
*Na Engine iko safi Mzae*  
(We make more rounds

The fuel lasts  
And the Engine is clean  
my Speaker 2)

He anticipates that listeners will try ‘Shell Fuelsave’ and either confirm or deny his claims, and in so doing the company will have made a sale.

The narrative of this ad conforms to the national narrative of struggle through tough economic times. The question of the fuel’s longevity has been asserted through repetition and rhythm. The fact of the *Matatu* staff working on targets point to economic instability in the sector. One is not assured of daily earnings if the targets are not met. It is possible that the vehicle owner is also trying to hit certain targets, lets say, bank loans. The situation depicted in the episode is restive, and the fuel comes as the panacea to the economic problems at the time.

The advertiser, plays on the wishes of every tout to make savings by asserting that a solution has been found. This should come as a relief, but the facts of the pricing are cleverly hidden. The truth is that ‘Shell fuelsave’ is more expensive than ordinary fuel, and the audience will discover this after trying it out.

## 5.6 Inability to Pay Hospital Bills

The NHIF advert plays on KBC's *Radio Jambo* and *Meru FM*. It is obvious then that the audience targeted is national, and the government is keen on spreading the message far and wide in the language the population will understand. The product in question is a contributory medical insurance scheme offered by the government, known as the National Hospital Insurance Fund, NHIF.

### **NHIF ADVERT**

**Date:** 27<sup>th</sup> March, 2016

**Time:** 12:57Pm

**Station:** Meru Fm (88.9)

**ITHE WA MUKIRI:** Aaai! Mwana naajitue,

*Nani imami cibitari*

*Na ntina kinya ngugi.*

*Niatia itu Murungu?*

**WOMAN:** *Ningi ukugwata nteto naagwe?*

*Gookaraga nyuma atia?*

*Utamenya kwina mubango jwa ugima bwa mwiri jwa nthiguru jwitagwa NHIF?*

*Niingi uri mumemba wa NHIF?*

**ITHE WA MUKIRI:** Aaai! Mumemba wa NHIF?

*Ntikuuga NHIF ni ya antu baria baandiki aki?*

**WOMAN:** *Ha ha ha! Reka kundiarua nagwe ithe wa Mukiri.*

*NHIF ni ya antu bonthe baria baandiki na kinya baria batiandiki,*

*Ta mama mboga, na kinya antu ba mijengo bunka aki bethirwe bari na mianka ikumi na inana gwitia.*

**ITHE WA MUKIRI:** *Nukumbiira uuma?*

**WOMAN:** *Iii ni mma!*

*Na ikarungamiira mantu jamaingi riria nja yaaku yaajitue ta maantu ja uciari,*

*Maama uumurito, na mibango ya family planning.*

*Kinya mantu ja surgery na kinya rehabilitation ya atumiri ba dawa cia kulevya.*

*Na nandi nibakuruungamiira kinya outpatient, yaani aajie baria bakwaana.*

**ITHE WA MUKIRI:** *Nandi nontu ntiandiki nkaria mbeba ing'ana kenda mbona utethio bubu niuntu ni nkuumbwa?*

**WOMAN:** *Ukaaria Magana jatano mweri junthe na no urie na MPesa kana na Bank mbere ya tariki kenda cia mweri jwonthe.*

**ITHE WA MUKIRI:** *Nimbi ukaritie nthi au? Ukiira umbikie mbite ngaciandikithie kwaa mumemba wa NHIF mbone utethio niuntu NHIF niyo itureterete utethio!*

### **VOICE**

*NHIF, Afya yetu, bima yetu!*

### **NHIF ADVERT**

**Date:** 27<sup>th</sup> March, 2016

**Time:** 12:57Pm

**Station:** Meru Fm (88.9)

**Ithe wa mukiri:** *(Laments in a soft, painful voice)* Aaai! My child is sick, And here I am admitted in hospital, And I don't even have a job. What is it, God?

**Woman:** Haven't you gotten the information?

Why are you always behind?

Don't you know there is a health insurance plan for the whole country known as NHIF?

Aren't you a member of NHIF?

**Ithe wa Mukiri:** *(Asks surprisingly)* Aaai! A member of NHIF?

Didn't I think NHIF is only for the employed people?

**Woman:** Ha ha ha! (*Laughs mockingly*)  
Don't surprise me, Ithe wa Mukiri.

NHIF is for all people, the employed and the unemployed, like *Mama Mboga*, and even construction people, as long as they are eighteen years and above.

**Ithe wa Mukiri:** Are you telling me the truth?

**Woman:** (Emphatically) Yes it is true! And it will cover many conditions when your family is sick, like gynaecology, pregnant woman, and family planning methods.

Even surgery, rehabilitation from drug abuse, and now they are covering

outpatient, those patients who get treated and go home.

**Ithe wa Mukiri:** Now that am not employed how much will I pay to get this help because am now overwhelmed?

**Woman:** You will pay five hundred shillings for the whole month, and you can pay using Mpesa, or in the bank before the 9<sup>th</sup> of each month.

**Ithe wa Mukiri:** What are you seated there waiting for? Get up and take me to register to be a member of NHIF so that I can get help because NHIF is the one bringing us help!

**CALL TO ACTION**

NHIF, Our health, our insurance!

The mention of NHIF invokes certain attitudes among the listeners, chief being that the Kenyan government is not serious about sorting the health problems of the people through NHIF.

The sub-text is that the government wishes to increase monthly premiums for medical insurance, and the citizens are lamenting at home and in market places. The advertiser, namely the government, draws from this disquiet in the public to force policy by way of persuasion. By the time of the advert the government has already effected premium hike, and the disquiet over a mess of services provided by this insurance is widespread.

Initially NHIF had been focused on those employed in the formal sector. In the civil service it has always been statutory. However, the government decided to expand it to cover those in the informal sector, whether in private employment, business or unemployed. The initial cost of premiums was three hundred sixty shillings each month. There was a general feeling that many unemployed may not raise that kind of money for medical insurance each month, and that the government ought to waive it altogether.

The government does not waive the premiums. On the contrary, it raises them for all and then caps the sum assured for each of the patients at two thousand shillings a



night in hospital. The situation is such that if medical bills sky-rocket the citizen would be forced to look for money from elsewhere and top up to clear his hospital bill. The effect is that despite having NHIF cover, citizens are forced to take loans, beg, sell property or pull resources together to cater for terminal illnesses and diagnostic imaging in dispensaries, private clinics, district and sub-district hospitals, as well as national referral hospitals. The perception among the citizens is that NHIF is a conduit of collecting more tax, and is therefore unwelcome.

There is also widespread belief, deriving from its traditional roles, that NHIF caters only for the employed. This perception is worsened by the insurer's new decision to increase the already burdensome monthly premiums from Kshs. 320 to Kshs. 500 for the unemployed. The government rationale is that the medical insurance would cover both inpatient and outpatient cases. The new rates were to take effect in 2010 but were derailed by a court case in which the Kenya Union of Domestic, Hotels, Educational Institutions, Hospitals and Allied workers (KUDHEIHA) moved to the Industrial and Labour relations court citing non-consultative approaches (Business Daily, "*Court Dismisses Case Challenging New NHIF Rates*" Monday July 25 2016). The matter was dismissed, and the new high rates took effect.

The NHIF versus KUDHEIHA case attracted a lot of attention from politicians and civilians alike. The union's loss in the courts was a major cause of disillusionment, and the NHIF advert comes against this anger.

In this advert, a man called Ithe wa Mukiri is sick and admitted to hospital. He cries that while still in his hospital bed, he has learnt that his child has fallen sick. In desperation he wonders how he will manage the duo-tragedy yet he's not employed. He questions God for his predicament.

A woman who has come to see him in hospital is shocked that Ithe wa Mukiri is not aware of a Medicare insurance known as NHIF. The sick man confesses that all along he thought NHIF was for the employed people only. But the woman assures him that NHIF now covers a variety of medical conditions such as family planning, outpatient, rehabilitation of drug users and surgery among others.

The man, knowing that NHIF has never been free wonders how he was going to obtain help. The woman informs him that he would pay Kshs. 500 only each month, and that he can do so through mobile money transfer service M-Pesa or bank deposit before the 9<sup>th</sup> of each month. It is then that Ithe wa Mukiri asks to be guided quickly into getting the cover.

This advertisement is clearly rooted in a context of struggle. The government wants to continue giving medical insurance at amplified rates on one hand, and the public claims to have no money to procure medical insurance. The advertiser, knowing too well the unenthusiastic public mood, decides to use a desperate situation to sell insurance for the government.

The advertiser contrasts the alleged cost with the enormous benefit of the insurance cover in case sickness strikes the family. He seeks to demonstrate through drama that Kshs. 500 is not a lot of money in the context of hospital admission. He understands that his audiences have at one point in their lives found themselves donating money for someone admitted in hospital. He is aware that some citizens have had their title deeds held in hospitals as security for sick relatives, and that for some it has been a situation of discarding patients or bodies of their dead people in hospitals. The advert is therefore a call to every citizen to exercise good citizenship by taking responsibility of their families' health rather than begging every time one gets admitted in hospital. The advertiser allegorizes a typical Kenyan in the character of Ithe wa Mukiri. This man is compared to the Biblical Job. He is sick and poor, and his child too is sick. The listener imagines that he might curse God. He says;

*Aaai! Mwana naajitue,  
Nani imami cibitari  
Na ntina kinya ngugi.  
Niatia itu Murungu?*

(‘My child is sick  
Am admitted in hospital  
And I am jobless  
What’s wrong God?’)

In his situation the only thing this sick man values is the health of his family. He does not seem as worried by his own sickness as that of his child. Here the advertiser uses parental love to demonstrate that NHIF cover is not so much about the contributor but his dependants. One cannot fail to sympathize with a dying man's voice crying for the health of his child. This way, the Kshs. 500 the citizens have been complaining about is trivialized and understated in a rather logical manner.

The woman attempts to sway Ithe wa Mukiri from the ignorance associated with NHIF. First, she attempts to show that NHIF is for both the employed and the unemployed. She says;

*Ningi ukugwata nteto naagwe?*

*Gookaraga nyuma atia?*

*Utamenya kwina mubango jwa ugima*

*bwa mwiri jwa nthiguru jwitagwa*

*NHIF?*

*Niingi uri mumemba wa NHIF?*

Haven't you received the news?

Why are you always behind?

Haven't you heard about the nation-wide health insurance called NHIF?

Are'nt you a member of NHIF?

The man's sickness is therefore seen as a result of being 'behind news'. When it is explained he literary wonders if he's being told the truth. He poses, *Nukumbiira uuma?* ("Are you telling me the truth?")

The advert is message centered and does not necessarily concern itself with syntax. Rather it focuses on how people should understand the re-branded NHIF. For instance, 'NHIF' is taken as an acronym and nobody cares to explain what the individual letters represent because the story of NHIF has already caused sufficient public attention. The advertiser makes further assumption that everyone understands what M-Pesa is, despite the fact that previously premiums were presented physically at NHIF offices or banks from where one would get some receipt which he would then present to their offices. This definitely caused people lots of headache in terms of queuing in banks and travelling to major urban centres to merely present receipts to NHIF offices.

It is also apparent that the advert uses a variety of languages to serve the listener's convenience. For instance, it ends with the kiswahili phrase "*NHIF, Afya yetu, bima yetu* (NHIF, our health, our insurance).

This advert relies on emotional appeal for effect. The advertiser uses the context of sickness which we all know is life-threatening. The strategy of a sick father crying for the health of his sick son is the government's way of ensuring that the prevalent public outcry is assuaged.

This advert is a statement on the nature of the relationship between citizens and their government. Each election year citizens are promised free things: free education, free medicare, good roads and so on. It therefore comes as a surprise that the government wants to impose more taxes. The thinking of the advertiser is that citizens must own public services by agreeing to finance them. The citizenry is disillusioned, and so is the sick parent. The advertiser therefore calls upon the people to weigh both sides and agree to the new taxes.

### **5.7 Inter-Cultural Conflicts: The African-Asian Stereotype Strategy**

The Asian community in Kenya is believed to have settled in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century during the construction of the Kenya-Uganda railway between 1896 and 1901. Some indentured labourers were hired from the British India. After the completion of the railway some decided to stay and take advantage of the railway and do business. They attracted their families from India and since then they have become part of the East African history. (Makokha, 2009).

During the colonial days the Indians were allowed to settle in bourgeois estates within Nairobi, and they were therefore seen to compete with the white Europeans for the commercial control of East Africa. Attitudes abound that the Indian community is closely-knit, and that they are astute capitalists. These are the attitudes exploited by *Airtel* in this episode. The characters are identified by their accent.

**MKAMBA AND MHINDI IN '20  
BOB NI MOB' BY AIRTEL**

**Date:** 17<sup>th</sup> February, 2016

**Time:** 7:57Am

**Station:** Kameme Fm (106.7)

*Some Tunes...*

**INDIAN:** Nani Anauza hapa?

**MKAMBA:** Sema Mzee.

**INDIAN:** Hiyo electric iron unauza ya ngapi?

**MKAMBA:** Hiyo inakuwanga 500 mzee

**INDIAN:** Kutoka leo,

Uza ya 520.

Na hizo torch ni how much?

**MKAMBA:** Hiyo inakuwanga 200 Mzee.

**INDIAN:** Correct.

*Kutoka leo,*

*Uza 220.*

*Ongeza 20 kwa kila kitu kwa duka.*

**MKAMBA:** Ihi! Nikuulize,

*Kwani unapanda tu bei na Kibaa tu?*

**INDIAN:** Siku hizi twenty bob ni mob

**VOICE**

*(Joyfully) Twenty bob ni moob*

*With Unliminet 20*

*Unapata 8minutes across networks*

*20 Sms na 20 MB data na free*

*Whatsap, facebook and Twitter.*

*20 bob ni mob!*

**MKAMBA:** Si Mzee sasa si next utaniambia mshahara pia imeongeza na 20 bob?

**INDIAN:** *Hiyo Mshahara kwanza tunakata*

*No. No No jokes. No Jokes.*

*Wacha nikumbuke jina...*

**VOICE**

*Bonyeza \*544# to Smartika with Airtel*

*Unliminet 20 for just 20 bob.*

*Airtel, the smartphone network.*

**MKAMBA AND MHINDI IN '20 BOB NI MOB' BY AIRTEL**

**Date:** 17<sup>th</sup> February, 2016

**Time:** 7:57Am

**Station:** Kameme Fm (106.7)

*(Some introductory tunes...)*

**Indian:** Who is selling here?

**Kamba:** Speak, sir.

**Indian:** How much is that electric iron?

**Kamba:** That is usually five hundred shillings sir.

**Indian:** From today,  
(*Emphatically*) sell at 520.

And how much are those torches?

**Kamba:** That is usually 200 sir.

**Indian:** Correct.

(*Emphatically*)From today,

Sell at 220.

add 20 to every item in the shop.

**Kamba:** ihi! (*Surprised*)Let me ask you,

Why is it that every item is rising by twenty shillings only?

**Indian:** These days twenty bob is mob

**CALL TO ACTION**

(*Joyfully*) Twenty bob ni moob

With Unliminet 20

You get 8minutes across networks

20 Sms and 20 MB data and free

Whatsap, facebook and Twitter.

20 bob is mob!

**Kamba:** Sir, won't you tell me next that my salary has been increased by a mere twenty bob?

**Indian:** We are actually slashing that salary

No. No. No jokes. No Jokes.

Let me remember the name...

**CALL TO ACTION**

Dial \*544# to Smartika with Airtel Unliminet 20 for just 20 bob.

Airtel, the smartphone network.

In this advert on *Kameme Fm*, we learn from distinctiveness of accent that an Indian and a Kamba are involved in some retail business. The Indian is the owner and the Kamba is the employee. This is derived from the instructions emanating from the Indian to the Kamba. The Indian's voice is a connotation of exploitation on one hand, and the business environment across the nation on the other. This is because Indians are known to thrive on business, meaning that any ripple in the business world is first expressed through them. The audience, drawing from some past knowledge or past experience, does not expect cordial relationships here.

The Indian wants his employee to increase the price of each item in the shop by twenty shillings. The African decides to ask why each item is going up by twenty shillings and the Indian informs him that these days twenty shillings is a lot of money. This statement is a contradiction of reality as people know it, and so the advertiser succeeds in drawing instant attention from his hearers.

The climax comes when Kamba man asks if his salary could as well be raised by twenty shillings. To his surprise, the Indian says that the salary will actually go down by twenty shillings. This contradiction creates suspense and the question that comes to mind is: What is it in twenty shillings?

The ordinary Kenyan-African of yesteryears knows the Indian as both astute and cruel capitalist. In social circles it is said the blacks who work for Indians rarely make it in life, and most survive by stealing small items in the shops or by slightly increasing the prices of negotiable items. If a customer buys from the Indian shop the African makes some brokerage money, and if one finds the item too expensive the African will direct them to a cheaper shop owned by an African.

The Indian community, despite living in Kenya for over a century now, has not intermingled with African natives through intermarriage or religious activities, raising more suspicion. Any emergent discourse between the two races must be understood against this background.

The dramatic conflict revolves around racial subordination of the Africans by the Indian, and who are the majority listeners in this case. The advertiser therefore uses a sensitive matter of race to catch instant attention. From the onset it is expected that the Indian will try to demean the African.

The advert brings to focus the exploitative nature of Indian business-people. Despite the fact that he wants to make extra profit on each item, he does not want to raise his employee's wages by a mere twenty shillings. Secondly, his inhumane nature is captured in his admission that he does not know the name of his employee. He retorts,

<i>Hiyo mshahara kwanza</i>	(We are slashing that salary!
<i>tunakata!</i>	No jokes, no jokes
<i>No no jokes, No jokes</i>	Let me remember your name)
<i>Wacha nikumbuke jina</i>	

The fact that the Indian does not know his employee's name is supposed to reinforce the extent of social and racial distance between the two. The Indian is also shown as an opportunist who, on realizing that *Airtel* is giving so much in terms of airtime value, data bundles and other internet related offers to their customers he decides to take advantage of this to arbitrarily increase prices of items in order to recoup the

saving that his customers would have made. His justification for the increases is that “*twenty bob ni mob*” (Twenty shillings is a lot of money). The magnet of this advert is therefore in the racial stereotype. The conflict generated thus recalls the history of African-Indian relations and how they influence perceptions to date.

The approach adopted by the advertiser confirms that oral discourses are dynamic, and that speakers address issues affecting them at that point in time. He uses a quality of speech that audiences can quickly understand and draw associations and references. The beliefs of listeners are invoked by the characters used.

Secondly, this discourse is based on a conflict of grand scale, that of racism. History is revisited to draw audience into the discussion by the actors. The debate is about a conflict of many years, and the advertiser knows that by invoking racial attitudes he will drive his message home.

The ad carries linguistic redundancy for effect. The key words “twenty” has been repeated in almost each phrase. The effect of this, coupled with the artistically modified voice, creates musicality of speech which reinforces recall.

It is also evident that the advertiser is concerned more in passing message rather than in speaking perfect grammar. English and Kiswahili languages are used freely in speech to reflect the wishes of the shop owner, and to raise the disquiet of people who buy from Indian shops in that the prices of things are going up. The Indian says;

<i>Kutoka leo,</i>	(From today,
<i>Uza 220.</i>	Sell at two twenty
<i>Ongeza 20 kwa kila kitu kwa duka.</i>	Add twenty for every item in the shop)

The subject of the ad is also related to the life of people at present. The advertiser invites audiences into the world of trade. The economy is on the downturn, as symbolized by the callousness of the Indian shopkeeper. The fact that a ‘big’ businessman finds twenty shillings a lot of money is the advertiser’s way of amplifying and hyperbolizing the currency which the world knows has lost value.

## 5.8 Subverted Domestic Violence

This advertisement on *Kameme Fm* a Kikuyu vernacular radio station seeks to introduce an effective pesticide to farmers known as *Twigamectin*. The advert comes at a time when the story in every lip is about an unusual tendency of women beating their husbands in Nyeri. It is a wave, especially in Central and Western Kenya. Incident after incident is getting reported in mainstream media and discussions pervade social media platforms like facebook, whatsapp, twitter and Instagram. At this time, Nyeri county is notorious for husband battering. In most of the reported instances, the onlookers do not intervene in these ‘domestic’ fights. In one incident in Nyeri it was reported that “At one point, Robert Njogu, the husband, was overpowered by Nkirote and she was seen on top of him raining blows on his face as residents watched from a distance, some on top of buildings”(Daily Post, Sunday 5<sup>th</sup> June 2014). The matter was resolved by “a street court mounted by mechanics and touts” that re-united the couple and bought them bananas.

In the 2014 Kenya Demographic and Health Survey (KDHS) final report it was noted that men from Western Kenya, Nairobi and Nyanza experienced regular beatings from their wives, more or less the same as those from Nyeri. The survey was conducted between May and October, 2014 to provide data for monitoring the population and health situation in the country.

The reasons cited for the upsurge of this kind of violence range from marital unfaithfulness, drunkenness and laziness. In the Nyeri case above, the wife was quoted saying, “Many are the times we sleep hungry waiting for him to bring food home but he comes home vomiting on us before wetting the bed”. The wife accuses him mainly of family negligence and “sleeping with all kinds of women in the village”. In some cases it was reported that women were actually cutting off their husband’s private parts.

The husband-battering stories around the country form the recipe for this advert. In *Twigamectin*, one Ithe wa Mbugua (Father of Mbugua) is confronted by his wife who wants to know why he is not going to the farm! It has to be understood that in most rural set-ups in Africa the work of the man in the family is clearly cut-out for him in his society. He has to provide food, shelter and clothing for his family as the wife



fetches water, hews firewood and takes care of the children. When this order, established by tradition is overthrown, stage is set for action of some form. In this advert, the man insists that he is not going back to the farm, and the wife wants to know if the family is not going to perish from hunger. The audience is held in expectation of blows and kicks, and of course laughter.

Ithe wa Mbugua explains that he has been working very hard on his farm, but some insects such as leaf-miners, spider mites and *Tutor absoluta* have destroyed his entire tomato crop, and that he does not expect even a small harvest. The drama ends here, and the audience is left to fill the interstices on what is likely to transpire in the household of Ithe wa Mbugua now that he has refused to work. But a voice informs that to deal with insects that destroy farms one needs to use Twigamectin from Twiga Chemical Industries.

It is evident that the advertiser targets farmers who are familiar with the risks posed by insects of various kinds in the farms. He overthrows expectation by presenting Ithe wa Mbugua as a very hardworking husband, but always frustrated by insects, attracting the fury of his wife. He is now besieged from every side.

The advertiser here chooses a contemporary theme in social circles to attract attention, and going by the intensity of debates in mainstream media like newspapers and television, as well as social media and word of mouth, he is sure of catching timely attention. The question of whether the beatings are going on because of laziness or lack of awareness about modern methods of farming and providing for the family is brought into focus.

The choice of a family dispute at this point in time recalls the media stories about men having their genitals chopped off, though this is not explicit in the drama. If one is not aware of the social situation outside the advert he may not capture the intensity of the conflict implied. Consequently, if one is aware of the stories he is infected by feelings of fright and apprehension as the drama unfolds.

The action reflects an agricultural background where food is obtained from the farms, and here too, destabilizing this equilibrium points to endangering the livelihoods of

those dependent on it. The advertiser sticks to this background from which a majority of his audience was brought up, and this helps him string accord with a majority of the farmers for which the advert is intended.

In this chapter we have appropriated the use of popular thought in persuasion by examining several adverts. We have analyzed the adverts in terms of their dramatic structure and function in the broader perspective of their social referents and significance. The analyses have been guided by the earlier established framework of oral discourses.

The analysis has revealed that the advertisements analyzed have been strongly influenced by socio-cultural material, and that the advertiser has utilized shared knowledge with the audiences to create a persuasive appeal. In the next chapter we shall give a summary of the thesis, make conclusions and recommend areas of further study for future researchers.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY**

#### **6.1 Summary**

The purpose of this study was to explore the ways in which theatre serves rhetorical functions in Kenya's radio advertising. This concern was informed by the fact that despite a long standing awareness of the relationship between theatre and lifestyle in Kenya and Africa as a whole, existing research focused mainly on the role of theatre in development under the auspices of Tfd. It is clear that few, if any studies been undertaken to analyze theatre as a persuasive genre. The conception between theatre and commerce in Kenya, going by existing studies, has only been through performances for pay in the various theatres spread across the nation, on the streets or in the electronic media. Theatre has thus been seen as a commodity for exchange, rather than a means to trade.

This research sought to understand the ways in which the theatre used in radio advertisements function by use of literary traditions anchored in orality, as well as by usage of popular culture. Using Walter Jackson Ong's strand of the structural-functional approach on the relationship between traditional orality and modern technology, the study has examined the genres and motifs of traditional forms and their place in modern rhetorical discourse. These include oral narrative motifs drawn from legends, tricksters, ogre stories, wise sayings and proverbs, beliefs and common practices of the people, and other forms in the construction of advertisement theatre.

Under popular culture the study analyzed the trendy topics in media, ethnic stereotypes, emerging issues, domestic conflicts and related items in as far as they enrich the Ad-Theatre to serve its rhetorical function. Data was analyzed in terms of dramatic structure for each episode, the sub-text which the advertiser shares with his audience and which may not be available to theoutsider, the social and popular referents and persuasive implicature.

In chapter one, the study located the study gap. A background to the study was discussed and defined the terms. The study also identified its the purpose and objectives, and defined the scope. In the second chapter we reviewed relevant

literature from books, articles, journals and online resources in the fields of theatre, orality, indigenous literary forms and motifs, persuasion, radio in Africa and notions of popular culture.

In these discussions it emerged that indigenous oral-based forms continue to coexist with modern forms both in public discourses and in mass media. For instance, it was established that radio works quite well with the traditional form because both are by nature oral. It also emerged that marketing communities have always utilized popular thought to draw consumer attention. In this chapter we also identified the theoretical framework to guide analyses. A structural functional approach was preferred because the nature of data is geared towards the service of persuasive functions.

The third chapter established the study methods. It dealt with research design, sampling procedures and ethical issues. The study population is established as well as the study location. Chapter four discussed orality motifs used by advertisers to woo consumers, with analyses guided by Walter Ong's perspective of structures and functions of oral discourses which sets them apart from modern forms of writing. From the data analyzed it is evident that leitmotifs of riddles, ogre stories and tricksters; among others, have been used to draw attention to oral-based adverts on radio.

In chapter five we have discussed the influence of popular stories in the construction of Ad- Theatre. It has emerged that advertisers largely draw from virtual experience, and such shared knowledge constitutes the sub-text which is mandatory in the appreciation of the advert itself. The subtext is drawn largely from those social topics which draw most attention in life as people live it each day in Kenya. The analyses of popular culture emphasized on the major elements such as mass appeal, the comical nature of popular discourses, their criticism of middle-class habits and orientation towards the low economic segment of the population, among others.

Among the prominent sources of advert material are day to day conflicts among people as they socialize, as well as conflicts among citizens and government. There are also inter-racial conflicts, as well as domestic wrangles which find themselves in the national limelight through radio advertising.

## 6.2 Conclusions

The study finds that radio advertisers in Kenya today rely heavily on drama as the preferred executorial genre, and this is evidenced by the frequency, acoustic variations and intensity of usage. The popularity of drama in radio is enhanced by the surge of radio stations experienced lately by the licensing of ethnic-based stations which are compelled to adapt to life as people live it in the villages and cities, lest they risk relevance.

The reason for the choice of drama genre is, first, its cultural importance in Africa. Advertisers have been unable to do away with it because it speaks to masses more effectively than other genres, especially where the time required to communicate important information is limited. Secondly, drama is a communal genre which calls for the participation of everyone and as such it becomes a perfect vehicle for orality and popular discourses to thrive. It is expected that drama will continue to influence advertising in radio, and that strategies of orality will entrench as long as radio is an oral-electronic medium.

It is evident that the kind of drama used in radio advertising leans strongly on a heritage informed by cultural artistic productions. There is no abandonment of myths or other traditional narrative forms because they form part of the national psyche. The conflicts embodied in the dramatic action are reflective of some beliefs passed to us from the earlier generation. It is evident that the relationship between radio and tradition grows stronger despite emergent ideological movements which would otherwise be expected to annihilate Africa's literary heritage. The resilience of indigenous forms in these contexts confirms that African culture is part of universal culture.

Advertisers continue to engage with the narrative form in a dramatic mode as evidenced in the trickster in *Diamond Property Merchants*, the Dilemma motif in *Polio* advert, the ogre motif in *Pegasus* and the moral tale in *Ng'ombemix Maziwa*, among others. Here they borrow the concepts of narration in specific modes to create drama, rather than merely tell stories. In *Pegasus* for instance, the advertiser analogizes the insects that invade his farm to a destructive giant, which has the strength of KDF.

The use of popular culture continues to mark modern dramatic discourse aimed at persuasion by way of capturing and modifying existing events and narratives and enriching them with humour and persuasive relevance. The drama is constructed along a fluid referent of unpredictable emerging issues. One moment there is a domestic conflict that goes viral, the other moment there is a political occurrence that draws national attention which artists then grab and enrich for rhetorical use.

When a story draws massive attention and debate, artists, in their imitative nature give it relevance. It is therefore hard to understand the adverts without the awareness of the social situation, and it would be meaningless for the advertiser to draw from some unfamiliar references. Some stories may excite or hurt. An example of an issue burning quietly is the Safaricom's massive profits arising from perceived sale of 'air' called 'Airtime', and which invites their rival *Airtel* to respond in *Twenty Bob ni Mob*.

Classical stories of girls incurring huge bills on dates have replayed in *Lipa na Mpesa* as well as the racial stereotype of exploitative Indian businessmen in Kenya in *Airtel's* recurrent message of *Twenty bob ni mob*. Drama in these respect utilize trendy topics, racial stereotypes, classical comics and day-to-day events that a majority of people are familiar with to grasp consumer appeal into the product.

From the various adverts studied, it is evident that certain stylistic techniques are popular in these advertisements. The most outstanding is repetition, which serves to reinforce the message and rhythm. In most of the advertisements analyzed, advertisers aesthetically repeat the key words for as many as ten times. This device has been used alongside mnemonic devices and rhythms achieved through rhyme, music and alliteration.

Style, as Leech & Short (1982) note, is what sets apart the literary from the non-literary. And since literature reflects on society, it is true that a literary product is an extended metaphor, or an allegory of society. It is for this reason that we find it prudent to see the dramas analyzed in this part as allegories.

An allegorical performance is a literary item in a play that is interpretive to reveal a social meaning. It leads to our understanding of society in respect of morality,

spirituality, politics and so on, through an artist's viewpoint. Social phenomena are taken artistically to illustrate complex ideas and concepts in ways that are striking and comprehensible to the consumers of the particular art material.

Since allegory involves the use of representative or symbolic elements to create the meaning sought by the artist, as an art form theatre is an allegory of life because it communicates through symbolization, and its meaning is obtained through heuristic techniques. On their part, the audience requires some intrinsic resources acquired through virtual experience with the artist in order to appreciate the drama. This enables them to receive dramatic impersonation as 'theirs' in the sense of representing and communicating the social situation. To a large extent therefore, drama for social consumption requires the audience to be aware of the social codes inherent in order to make meaning out of the enactment.

Despite the artistic gymnastics focused towards appeal, the advertiser stays close to message. Such messages are clearly aimed at placing the ad's subject above competition, but the language used is not concerned with its own accuracy and exactitude. Rarely have we come across an advert that is grammatically pure. As Ong' notes, the purpose of communication in orature is the message rather than syntax.

The major users of the theatre technique are the blue chip companies, and this places the genre in their league. Most of the adverts are, by default, from Safaricom, Airtel, government ministries, banks and leading agro-products. This should give ideas to prospective advertisers on the effective methods.

Finally, the study notes that advertisers analyze their audiences as they create their drama. Listeners in an advertising atmosphere determine dramatic output in terms of theme, motif, setting, conflicts and style because the advertiser does not merely dramatize to tell, but to invoke action. Unlike other forms of drama where audience response is measured by the intensity of visible amusement during enactment, advertisement drama is geared toward commercial ends realized by actions called 'sales'.

### **6.3 Recommendations for Further Study**

This study has identified other areas in the field of drama, orality and popular culture that may be of interest to subsequent research. First, the study leaves out other literary genres and modes which compete with theatre in the advertising arena, such as expositions, storytelling and poetry. It is recommended that research should be focused on other literary genres as well.

Secondly, advertisers are using various other artistic techniques which need to be isolated and studied. These include Ad-theatre on TV, social media and rarely, picture stories in print media that point towards persuasion.

It is recommended that research be done on how the Kenyan advertisement landscape borrows from other parts of Africa which too, have strong oral traditions and experience great social changes.

Future researchers may also be interested in the ways in which popular culture influences daily national discourse, and the various techniques it embodies and this may be useful in formulation of policy regarding the use of artistic language in matters of development.



## REFERENCES

- Achuka, V (2015) “Kenyans gripped by new gambling craze” in *Sunday Nation* Nov 29, 2015 P35
- Agyekum, Kofi. (2000) *Aspects of Akan Oral Literature in Media*. Accra. University of Ghana.
- Anderson, K.E (1978) *Persuasion: Theory and practice*. 2<sup>nd</sup>ed. Boston. Allyn and Bacon.
- Arens W.F et al (2011) *Contemporary Advertising & Integrated marketing communications* (13<sup>th</sup>ed) New York. McGraw-Hill
- Astariko, Stephen ( 2018) “*Declare Locust invasion a National Disaster*” in The Star. June 14, 2018. P4
- Blamires, H. (1991) *A History of Literary Criticism*. Macmillan. London.
- Banham, M (1995) *The Cambridge Guide to Theatre*. New York. Cambridge University Press.
- Banham, M. (2004) ed. *A History of Theatre in Africa*. London. CUP.
- Barber, K. (1987) “Popular Arts in Africa” in *The African Studies Review* Vol. 3 pp1-78.(1997). ed. *Readings in African Popular Culture*. London. Indiana University Press.
- Bates, A. (1970) *Greek Drama*. Vol.1. AMS Press. USA.
- Bleich, D. (1975) *Readings and feelings: An Introduction to subjective criticism*. Urbana. Illinois.
- Boyd-Barrett, O. (1977) “Media Imperialism: Towards an International Framework for the Analysis of Media Systems” in *Mass Communication & Society*. Edward Arnold. London
- Braham, Mobs J, Osofisan, F. eds (1999). *African Theatre in Development*. James Curry Ltd. U.K.
- Breuer, I (2008) *Persuasive Language in Media Texts*. Australia. Insight publications.
- Burke, K. (1945) *A Grammar of Motives*. New York. Prentice Hall.(1973) *Philosophy of Literary Form*. (3<sup>rd</sup>ed) Berkeley. University of California Press.
- Business Daily (2016) *Court Dismisses Case Challenging New NHIF Rates*. Monday, July 25, 2016
- Cameron, M.K. (2007) *The Enjoyment of Theatre*. Massachusetts. Pearson Custom Publishing.

- Campbell, R. (2002) *Media and Culture*. USA. Bedford Publishers
- Carr, A.Z. (1968) 'Is Business Bluffing Ethical?' in *Harvard Business Review*. Vol. 46 (pg. 143-153). Mc Graw Hill. New York.
- Chatman, S (1978). "Story and discourse" in *Narrative Structure in Fiction and Film*. London. Cornell University Press.
- Chesaina, C and Mwangi, E. (2004). "A History of Theatre in Kenya" in *A History of Theatre in Africa*. London. Cambridge University Press.
- Chinyowa, K (2001) "The Undying Presence:Orality in Contemporary Shona Religious Ritual" in *African Oral Literature: Functions in Contemporary Contexts*. ED Russel, K. Capetown.
- Cothran, M (2003) *Classical Rhetoric with Aristotle: Traditional Principles of Speaking and Writing*. Memoria Press. UK.
- Cook, G. (1992) *The Discourse of Advertising*. London. Routledge.
- Coplan, D. (1987) "Lesotho Migrant Songs" in *Readings in African Popular Culture*. London. Indiana University press.
- Coplan, David (1982) "The Emergence of an African Working Class Culture" in *Industrialization and social change in South Africa:African Class Formation, Consciousness and Social Change. 1870-1930*, Eds S. Marks and R. Rathbone, London: Longman
- Creswel, J.W (2003) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Approaches*. Thousand Oaks.Sage Publications
- Crook, T (1999) *Radio Drama: Theory and Practice*. London. Routledge.
- De Graft, J. (1976) "Roots in African Drama and Theatre" (ed) E.D Jones in *African Literature Today: Drama in Africa*. Vol 8. London. Heinemann.
- Deighton, John, Daniel R, and Josh M (1989), "Using Drama to Persuade," in *Journal for Consumer Research*, 16 (December), 335-343.
- Dermot, R (2003) *Theatre of Sound: Radio and the Dramatic Imagination*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Caryfort Press.
- Diawara, M. (1994) "Mande oral Popular Culture Revisited by Electronic Media" in *Readings in African Popular Culture*. London. Indiana University Press.
- Downey, L (2008) *Levi-Strauss: A Short Biography*. Gotham .UK
- Fabian, Johannes (1997) "Popuar culture in Africa: Findings and Conjectures. 18-28

- Fine, E (1984) *The Folklore Text: From Performance to Print* Bloomington and Indianapolis. Indiana University Press.
- Finnegan, R. (1970). *Oral Literature in Africa*. Nairobi. Oxford University Press.
- Fontes, N & Nancy, G (1976) *Structural Functionalism: An Introduction to Literature* in "Human Communication Research" Vol.2 Issue 3 1 march 1976 pp299-310
- Fowles, J (1996) *Advertising and Popular Culture*. UK. Sage Publications.
- Frazier, A. (2004) "The ideology of the Abbey Theatre" in *The Cambridge Companion to 20<sup>th</sup> C Irish Drama* (ed). Shaun Richards. CUP.
- Freund, E. (1987) *The Return of the Reader-Response Criticism*. London. Methuen.
- Geis, M.L (1982) *The Language of Television Advertising*. New York. Academic press.
- Gemeda, E (2012) *African Egalitarian Values and Indigenous Genres*. LIT Verlag. Ethiopia.
- Gibbs, R.W, Jr. (1994) *The Poetics of Mind*. USA. Cambridge University Press.
- Giles, H and Powesland, P.F. (1975) *Speech Style and Social Influence*. London. Academic Press.
- Golding, (1977). "Media Professionalism in the Third world" in *Mass Communication & Society*. Edward Arnold. London.
- Griffiths, G. (2000). *African Literatures in English: East and West*. England. Longman
- Gross, L.S (2010). *Electronic Media: An Introduction*. New York. McGraw Hill.
- Guguyu, O (2015) "Central Bank warns Supermarkets over 'Sweets for Change' I *Daily Nation*, Friday October 2, 2015 P. 34
- Hogbin, I (1988) *Radcliffe Brown*. Australian Dictionary of Biography. Australia.
- Hogins, J.B (1984). *Literature: A Collection of Mythology & Folklore, Short Stories and Drama*. Toronto. Science Research Associates.
- Howells, C (1999) *Derrida: Deconstruction from Phenomenology to Ethics*. Cambridge. Polity Press.
- Indagasi, H. (1991). *Stylistics*. Nairobi. University of Nairobi press.
- Ileri, H.K (2015) *A Pragmatic Analysis of Persuasion and Emphasis in Kimuthambi*. Unpublished Ph.D Thesis. Chuka University.

- Iser, W. (1978). *The Act of Reading: A theory of Aesthetic response*. Bathmore. John Hopkins Up.
- Janney, M. (2011) *The Effect of Missionaries on West Africa*. Journal of Undergraduate research. Ibadan.
- Kabira, W.M. (1983) *The oral Artist* Nairobi. Heinemann.
- Kamau, M. (2012) "Hello Dear, Are You Lactating?" in *Daily Nation*, Tuesday, June 26, 2012. (DN2 p. 2)
- Kapukwe, J. (1983). "S.L Mbewe, creator and producer of Malawian Radio plays" in *Baraza* Vol. 1 Zomba.
- Karl Z. and Linda M. (1981) *Persuasive Writing: A College Reader*. California. Harcourt Brace.
- Kaschula, R (2001) *African Oral Literature: Functions in Contemporary Contexts*. Cape Town. New Africa Books.
- Kehinde, A. (2004) "Post- Independence disillusionment in Contemporary African Fiction: The Example of meja Mwangi's *Kill me Quick*" in *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 13(2) 228-241.
- Kelly, Kelvin, J (2018) *Kenya Faces Huge Losses from Armyworm, US Warns*. In <http://www.nation.co.ke/news>. April 12, 2018. Visited on 30<sup>th</sup> January, 2019
- Kerr, D and S. Chifunyise (2004) "A History of Theatre in Southern Africa" in *A History of Theatre in Africa*. Ed. United States. Cambridge University Press.
- Kerr, D. (1995) *African Popular Theatre*. Nairobi. EAEP (1997) "Theatre and social issues in Malawi: Performances Audiences Aesthetics" In *New Theatre Quarterly* 4/14 London
- Kilonzo, E (2016) "Catholic Church to meet Health Ministry over Polio vaccination" in *Daily Nation* April 10, 2014 pg 4.
- King'ara, G.N (2010) *Ethnography of Production in Kenyan Television Entertainment programmes: Imagining Audiences*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. University of KwaZulu Natal.
- Kinyanjui, P. (1980) "Africa" in *Media for People in Cities*. UNESCO. Paris. 1980
- Kipury, N (1983) *Oral Literature of the Maasai*. Nairobi. Heinemann.
- Lakoff, R.T (1982) "Persuasive Discourse and Ordinary Conversation, with Examples from Advertising" in D. Tannen (ed) *Analyzing Discourse: Text and talk*. Washington. Georgetown University Press. (25-42).

- Leech, G & Short, M (2007) *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English & Fictional Prose*. New York. Routledge.
- Leedy, P.D & Ormrod, J.E (2013) *Practical Research: Planning and Design*. Boston. Pearson.
- Leitch, V (ed) (2001) *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*. New York. Norton & Co.
- Leong, S.M et al (1994) "Using drama to persuade: The Effect of Involvement and ad form on Persuasion" in *Asia Pacific Advances in Consumer Research*. Vol. 1 Pg 261-264.
- Lewicki, R.J. et al. (2004) *Essentials of Negotiation*. 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Mc Graw Hill. New York.
- Ligaga, D.A (2006) *Radio Theatre: The Moral Play and its Mediation of Socio-Cultural Realities in Kenya*. Unpublished Thesis. University of Witwatersrand.
- Ligaga, D et al (eds). *Radio in africa: Publics, Cultures, Communities*. Johannesburg. University of Witwatersrand.
- Lihamba, A (2004) "A History of Theatre in Tanzania" in *A History of Theatre in Africa*. UK. CUP.
- Lindfors, B (1977) *Forms of Folklore in Africa: Narratives, Poetic, Gnostic, Dramatic*. London. University of Texas Press. (1991) *Popular Literatures in Africa*. Trenton. Africa World Press.
- Lusweti, B.M (1992) *The Hyena and the Rock: A Handbook of Oral Literature for Schools*. London. Macmillan.
- Makokha, JKS (2009) *Reading MG Vassanji: A Contextual Approach to Asian African Fiction*. New York.
- Mbiti, Michael (2011) *Kikuyu Circumcision Ritual (Irua ria Anake): Transition from Boyhood to Manhood Among Kikuyu Men: The Experience of the Male Circumcision Ritual in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Lambert
- McLeish, R. (1999). *Radio Production*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. London. Focal Press.
- McLuhan, M (1994) *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Cambridge. MIT Press.
- McLuhan, M. and Fiore, Q (1967) *The Medium is the Message: An Inventory of Effects*. UK. Penguin.
- McLuhan, M (1962) *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. Toronto. University of Toronto.

- Michlin, S. (2008) "Radio Ads and Theatre of the Mind" in *D Magazine*. July, 2008. www.dmagazine .com. Assessed 24<sup>th</sup> April, 2015 at 15:40 hrs.
- Miruka, O. (1999) *Studying Oral Literature*. Nairobi. Acacia Publishers.
- Mugenda, O.M & A.G Mugenda (1999) *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Acts Press. Nairobi
- Mugubi, J. (2005). *Stylistics and Literary techniques*. Kenyatta University.
- Muriuki, G.(1975) *A History of the Kikuyu*. Nairobi. Oxford University Press.
- Muriungi, A (2007) "Chira and Hiv/Aids: The (Re)construction of Sexual Moralities in Kenyan Popular Music" in *Urban Legends, Colonial Myths: Popular Culture and Literature in East Africa*. Ed. Ogude and Nyairo. Eritrea. Africa World Press.
- Musila, G.A (2007) 'Democracy: Laughter in Gado's Editorial Cartoons(1992-1999). In *Urban Legends, Colonial Myths: Popular Culture and Literature in East Africa*. P 97-124.
- Mutahi, K (1994) "Translation problems in Oral Literature" in *Understanding Oral Literature* (eds) Bukenya, A; Kabira, W; & Okombo, O. Nairobi. Nairobi University Press.
- Mutonya, M. Wa (2013) *The Politics of Everyday Life in Gikuyu Popular Music of Kenya) 1990-2000*. Twaweza Communications. Nairobi.
- Mwangi, R (1982) *Kikuyu Folktales: Their Nature and Value*. Nairobi. Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Nandwa, J. and Austin B. (1983). *African Oral Literature for Schools*. Nairobi. Longman Kenya Ltd.
- Newell, S (2002) ed. *Readings in African Popular fiction*. London. The International African Institute.
- Newmark, P (1988) *A Textbook of translation*. Newyork. Phoenix.
- Njogu, K. (2005) (ed) *Culture, Entertainment and Health Promotion in Africa*. Nairobi. Twaweza Communications.-(ed) (2008) *Getting Heard: (Re)claiming Performance Space in Kenya*. Nairobi. Twaweza Communications.
- Norris, C (1987) *Derrida*. Masschusetts. Harvard University Press
- Odhiambo, C.J (2012) "From Diffusion to Dialogic space" in *Radio in Africa: Publics, Cultures, Communities*. Johannesburg. University of Witwatersrand.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (2007) "Reading FM radio stations in Kenya: Opening a pandoras box" in *Cultural Production and Social Change in Kenya* Ed. Kimani Njogu and Oluoch Olunya, Art Culture and Society Vol. 1 pp 151-161.
- Ogola (2003) "Wahome Mutahi: A Towering Legacy" in *Sunday Standard*, July 27. P6.
- Ogude, J and Nyairo, J (2007) (eds). *Urban Legends, Colonial Myths: Popular Culture and Literature in East Africa*. Africa World Press. Eritrea.
- Ogunjimi, B & N. Rasheed (2005) *Introduction to African Oral Literature and Performance*. African World Press. University of Michigan
- Ojaire, T (2002) "New Trends in Modern African poetry" in *Orality in Writing: Its Cultural and Political Significance in Wole Soyinka's Ogun Abibiman*. Pp. 104-124
- Okpewho, I. (1983) *Myth in Africa*. Cambridge. CUP.
- Ong, W.J (1982) *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*. New York. Methuen & co.
- Opitz, L. *The difference between Drama & theatre*.  
[www.skidmore.edu/academics/lsi/arca](http://www.skidmore.edu/academics/lsi/arca)
- Pfister, M. (1988) *The Theory and Analysis of Drama*. Cambridge. Australia. 1988.
- Pierce, S (2016) *Idolatry & Evolution. A Comparison of Walter Ong & Marshal McLuhan*. UK.
- Priebe, Richard (1997) "Popular Writing in Ghana: A sociology and Rhetoric" in *Readings in African Popular Culture*. 81-90. Ed. Karin Barber. UK. The International African Institute.
- Rakodi, C. (1997). *The Urban Challenge in Africa: Growth and Management of its Large Cities*. New York. United Nations University.
- Raybacki, K and D. Rybacki (1991) *Communication Criticism: Approaches and genres*. California. Wadsworth Publishing co.
- Russell, D.A & M. Winterbottom (1972) (eds). *Ancient Literary Criticism. The Principal texts in New Translations*. Clarendon press. Oxford.
- Schmidt, R. and Kess, F.J. (1984) *Persuasive Language in Advertising and Televangelism*. USA. University of Victoria.
- Scholes, Robert (1981), "Language, Narrative, and Anti-Narrative," in *On Narrative*, W.J.T. Mitchell ed., Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- Selden, Raman (1987) *The Theory of Criticism: From Plato to the Present*. England. Longman.
- Sherman, P (1938) *Radio Drama*. Boston. Expression Company.
- Silverman, H ( 1989) *Derrida and Deconstruction*. Newyork. Routledge.
- Singhal, Arvid and Everett M. Rogers (2003).*Combating AIDS: Communication Strategies in Action*. New Delhi. Sage Publications.
- Toelken, B (1996) *The Dynamics of Folklore*. Logan. Uttah State University.
- Tyson, Lois (1999) *Critical Theory Today: A User Speaker 2ly Guide*. London. Garland Publishers.
- Vilarino, Marina L.P (1996) “Discourse of Radio Commercials and the Function of Persuasion ” in *Some Sundry Wits Gathered Together*. 197-204.
- Vincent, P.L. (1977). “Comparison of Media costs” in *Communication for Development in Africa* (ed) UNICEF. Nairobi.
- Wa Mungai, M. (2004) ‘*Identity Politics in Nairobi Matatu Folklore*’. Unpublished PhD Thesis.Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
- Wa Thiong’o, N (1986) *Decolonizing the Mind:Politics of Language in African Literature*. EAEP. Nairobi.
- (1977).*The River Between*.Henemann. London.
- (1993).*Moving the Centre: The struggle for Cultural Freedoms*.Nairobi. EAEP
- (1997) “Women in Cultural Work: The Fate of the Kamirithu People’s theatre in Kenya” in *Readings in African Popular Culture*. 131-137. Ed. Karin Barber. UK. The International African Institute.
- Wa Wanjiru, K (2011) “Remembering the Lost Art of Radio Theatre” in *Talking Culture and the Arts*. Nairobi. Wordpress.
- Wainaina, M. (2007).“Re-Appropriation of the Traditional Song Genre in Written Poetry of English Expression in East Africa” in *Chemchemi*.Vol. 4 Number 1, 2007. Nairobi. Kenyatta University Press.
- Walder D. (1990). (ed). *Literature in the Modern World*. UK. Open University.
- Waugh, P (2006) *Literary Theory & Criticism*. New York. Oxford University Press.
- Weaver, S.L (1922) “Art in Advertising” in *The Advertising Yearbook for 1924* Edited by Vy John Clyde Oswald. Uk. Doubleday Page & Co.



Wells, William D. (1988), "Lectures and Drama," in *Cognitive and Affective Responses to Advertising*, Pat Cafferata and Alice Tybout eds., Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.

Were, W. (2014) "A Traditional Ritual Ceremony as Edu-drama: A Case Study of Imbalu Ritual among the Bukusu of Western Kenya". Unpublished PhD Thesis. Nairobi. Kenyatta University.

Williamson, J. (1978). *Decoding Advertisements*. New York: Marion Boyers.

Wilson, E. (1998). *The Theatre Experience*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. USA. Mc Graw Hill.

Wright, E (1973) *The Critical Evaluation of African Literature*. Ibadan. Heinemann.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Thesis Statistics

Total Number of Words	54,178
Pages (Excluding preliminary pages and appendices)	164
Total dramas analysed	20

## **Appendix 2: Analytical Guide for Each Drama**

1. Presentation of data/ the drama
2. Analyze the dramatic plot structure in terms of Introduction, Complication, Climax, Falling action and Denouement.
3. The Subtext: Providing a virtual background shared between the advertiser and the audience.
4. Analysis: Guided by Walter Ong's approach to the structural-functional theory
5. Social, economic and literary implicature
6. Conclusion

## Appendix 3: Research Authorization



### NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,  
2241349,3310571,2219420  
Fax: +254-20-318245,318249  
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke  
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke  
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete  
Off Waiyaki Way  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/44391/22484**

Date: **25<sup>th</sup> May, 2019**

Jackson Gikunda Njogu  
Chuka University  
P.O. Box 109-60400  
**CHUKA.**

#### **RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *“Theatre and radio advertising in Kenya: Cultural, stylistic and popular strategies,”* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **selected Counties** for the period ending **25<sup>th</sup> May, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education of the selected Counties** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a **copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM  
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioners  
Selected Counties.

The County Directors of Education  
Selected Counties.

#### **Appendix 4: Structure of a typical radio advert**

1. Brief introduction by way of musical beats
2. The catchphrase
3. Content
4. Call to action
5. Closure