

**RHETORICAL DEVICES AND FORMS OF ORAL LITERATURE IN THE SPEECHES
OF RAILA ODINGA**

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DECLARATION

I declare that this is my original work and it has never been submitted to any other institution of higher learning for examination.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors:

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated:

To

My Brother

Tobias Odhiambo

To

My dear Wife

Beatrice Wawira

To

My daughters

Ashley and Nesity

Thank you all for your prayers, encouragement and support.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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ABBREVIATIONS

IEBC - Independent Electoral & Boundaries Commission

ODM - Orange Democratic Movement

CCM - Chama Cha Mashinani

ODM Kenya - Orange Democratic Movement of Kenya

NASA - National Super Alliance

PNU - Party of National Unity

CORD - Coalition of Reform & Democracy

CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

From ancient times politics has had an overwhelming importance in people's lives. In addition to relating with people directly and immediately politics also displays a complex language matrix on which politicians depend, for persuading, commanding, threatening, bargaining, reassuring, imposing and reasoning (Lwaitama, 1995; Habwe, 1999). There is some literature available on artistry in political discourse. Politics and literature is a wide area of study and this indicates a fertile ground for research. This study seeks to contribute more knowledge to the relationship between politics and literature. I argue that Raila Odinga exploits artistry in various forms of literature and uses rhetorical devices in his speeches. The use of these artistic sets of styles and forms helps him to convince, maintain and manipulate his audience to assent to his political ideology.

Different forms of oral literature have been used by different politicians for varying reasons. These include riddles, proverbs, narratives, songs and dances among others. The people who perform these are classified as oral artists. This research will aim at examining the impact that Raila Odinga's renditions of forms of oral literature have on his speeches. The research examined the aspect of oral literature in his speeches. It went into identifying the genres used, reasons for their use and the effects they create. The study looked at how Raila Odinga borrows popular imagery to invoke, construct and maintain a certain political momentum. In doing so, I will carry out field work and do an in-depth interview. Published, recorded and broadcasted speeches will be examined.

1.1 Background for this study

Raila Odinga is arguably the most outstanding opposition leader in Kenya. His name 'Rayila' means tickling. His speeches have attracted debates in Kenya from both his supporters and non-supporters. He has in the past attracted big crowds in his rallies even in areas where he never enjoyed much support. At one time, his audience stood in the rain and requested him to continue with his speech. That incident and the fact of pulling crowds in his rallies made me develop a passion to study what is in these speeches that attracts such responses from the audience. This was compounded with the fact that he is not as fluent as his competitors. He manifests signs of his mother-tongue interference in speaking Kiswahili. But even with this shortcoming, he still

manages to speak persuasively to the audience. Some scholars have argued that Raila Odinga is not fluent. That he breaks grammar. Okoth Okombo and Henry Indangasi share in this argument. I agree with them. I submit that Raila Odinga artistically beautifies his speeches to a level that fluency becomes a non-issue. He still manages to persuade the public.

1.1.1 Definition of Terms: Rhetoric, rhetorical devices, non-verbal communication.

Rhetoric: The famous philosopher, Plato, defined Rhetoric as “the art of ruling the minds of men.” Rhetoric and rhetorical devices are what a speaker uses to evoke an emotional response and to persuade the audience to view or consider an idea, concept or point of view from a new perspective. Rhetoric, which could also mean public speaking, was derived from the word ‘rhetor’ in Greek which means learning how to be a great speaker (Zheng Lingling, 2014). In *The Art of Rhetoric*, Aristotle describes rhetoric as “an instrument of exploring the overall feasible ways to persuade the audience whatever the subject is in relation to.” Philosophers take rhetoric to be “the science of oratory or the art of speaking elegantly and forcefully.” (Huang Ren, 1999:1). Whether spoken or written, rhetoric is that which is concerned with the employment of a strategy in a way that the audience or the reader will be motivated. It is the way of influencing people for or against ideologies, judgments or actions through symbolic approaches.

Debora F. Atwater (2007) notes that “although there are numerous definition from Aristotle’s, so let the rhetoric be defined as the faculty (power) of discovering in a particular case what are the available means of persuasion [...] as Hauser’s ‘rhetoric, then is the management of symbols to coordinate social actions’ [...] or Asante’s rhetoric is concerned with communication of ideas, values, opinions and beliefs in an effort to elicit the approval or acceptance of others [...]” She further argues that “rhetoric is an art that seeks the approval of the people in order for the speaker to chart the way towards achieving a particular goal.”

Rhetorical devices are the efforts made by authors to persuade or inform their readers. Rhetorical devices are employed by writers and refer to the different ways they can persuade the reader.

Knapp and Hall (2000) define non-verbal communication as “all communicative acts that are performed without words.” It is a way of expressing our feelings, emotions, attitude, mood and message without using words from our mouths. Thiel (1997) defines it as “a language that allows us to hear the words with our eyes.” It is a means through which a person can persuade another

to his ideologies without necessarily opening his mouth. I must however add that verbal communication and nonverbal cues reinforce each other. I will look at how Raila Odinga uses his dress, artifacts or accessories (props), gestures, mimic, eye contact, body movement and even paralanguage (the quality of the voice) to persuade his audience. I will also study his use of time (proxemics) and background in choosing and utilizing the stage. It will also look at how he uses his dancing style for the purpose of manipulating and persuading.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Political rhetoric presents complexities in the manipulation and persuasion of the audience. The rhetoric is important in maintaining the audience during the delivery of a speech. The non-verbal cues used during the presentation of the speech aids in driving the message home in a better and robust way.

This study attempted to describe, analyze and interpret some aspects of political speeches by Raila Odinga. Raila Odinga has contributed to long term political events in Kenya. His speeches have in the past persuaded people against constitutional change. He has campaigned for a constitution. He used his speeches to convince people against the Independence Electoral and Boundaries commissioners. This makes his speeches worthy of study. One of the most important domains that have greatly attracted scholars is that of politics and its language. They have been seeking to establish whether or not political language requires certain linguistic strategies unique to it. Scholars have labored to investigate the features that characterize the language of politics (Wilson, 1990; Habwe, 1999). Studying the exact nature of political language and how it functions in communication between politicians and their audiences is a worthwhile academic undertaking.

Studies have been conducted on political oratory. However, knowledge in this area of political rhetoric can still be added. One of the most important realms that require attention is that of rally speeches in Kenya. This study therefore sought to examine the role of non-verbal cues, verbal rhetorical techniques, and genres of oral literature (riddles, narratives, proverbs and songs) in political speeches by Raila Odinga in Kenya with a view to finding out how these make him manipulate and persuade his audience.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

The goal of this study is to describe and analyze the use of rhetorical devices, imagery and forms of oral literature in political speeches. To accomplish this goal, a prominent politician in Kenya is used as a case study. His political speeches will be used in the study to achieve its objectives. This study seeks to achieve three objectives. They include;

- a) To describe non-verbal cues in political speeches by Raila Odinga.
- b) To analyze rhetorical devices in political speeches by Raila Odinga.
- c) To analyze the forms of oral literature in Raila Odinga's speeches.

1.4 Hypothesis

The following are the hypothesis:

- a) Raila Odinga uses non-verbal cues to persuade his audience.
- b) Raila Odinga's use of rhetoric strategies make the audience to focus on major issues in his speeches.
- c) Oral literature genres are tools for persuasion, manipulation and maintenance of the audience in the rallies.

1.5 Justification of Research Proposal

By analyzing aspects of rhetoric used by Raila Odinga as he speaks to his audience, I looked out for literary aspects that are used in convincing, persuading and maintaining the audience during a rally. This literary aspect in the speeches. The study demonstrated that style is not meant only for embellishing but also serves an important role of delivery of the message to listeners hence helping in the art of persuasion.

Eugene Garvey (2009) in *Aristotle on The Kinds of Rhetoric* argument on rhetoric as a tool that politicians use to sell their ideology to the people is relevant in the study of Raila Odinga's speeches. Politicians use rhetoric for the purpose of winning votes. One would wonder why then study Raila Odinga yet he has lost his presidential stances four times. Garvey notes that other than getting votes, politicians use rhetoric to sell their ideologies on people. When politicians use rhetoric to get votes, the effect will be short term. Not only was the study of Raila Odinga on

how he used rhetoric to ask for votes (temporary effect), but how he also used it for persuading the public for a long-term effects. Raila Odinga used rhetoric to campaign against a constitutional referendum held on 21 November 2005. Although many government officials including Mwai Kibaki (who was the president then) had campaigned for a “Yes” vote, the proposed constitution was rejected by fifty eight percent. Raila Odinga campaigned for the constitution and on 4 August 2010, voters approved (by sixty eight point six percent) the constitution as was proposed. Despite Kibaki being declared the winner in 2007, he got to the government as a prime minister. He is worth studying because of these long-term effects. The research looked at how for example; he used speeches to organize people against the Independence Electoral and Boundaries’ Commissioners. President Uhuru and Jubilee government agreed to present a team of five Members of Parliament to dialogue on the fate of the commissioners and eventual retirement despite having disapproved of this. Raila Odinga managed to call for changes in the process of voting and pronouncement of results for transparency. He managed to persuade both the public and the government for this course. This is a great long term achievement just as the non-violent ideology of Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi. Studying his speeches therefore is a worthwhile task.

This study examines political speeches by Raila Odinga in Kenya. My choice of Raila Odinga was invoked by his manner of delivering his speeches. I see in him, what Shel Leanne saw in Obama in *Say It Like Obama: The Power of Speaking with Purpose and Vision*. He “has a presentation and style that enable him to earn the confidence of listeners, inspire them, and move them to action.”(25). Raila Odinga captivates his audience. His ability to narrate a story in his speeches, his proverbs, his riddles, his songs and football commentaries create pictures in his audience minds and call them to take action. Raila Odinga employs rhetoric strategies like allegory, allusion, analogy, anaphora, onomatopoeia and many others. This manner of delivery in his presentation of his speeches makes him to convey his message clearly to the audience and in turn persuade them to his views and ideologies. At some times, the public is provoked or encouraged to argue or on an aspect or two. For example, Biblical nouns such as Canaan, Misri, Joshua, Caleb have raised numerous comments from both his competitors and supporters.

Interestingly, Raila Odinga’s competitors have dismissed his use of riddles, football analogies and narratives. Uhuru Kenyatta for example, has in the past referred to him as *Mtu wa*

Kitandawili. William Ruto refers to him to as *Yule Jamaa wa Vitandawili*. Though Raila Odinga has explained that he uses figurative language to drive a point home, his actions show that he shys away from using riddles and narrating stories. He has not come out to defend himself on the use of such.

The research was in a political discourse because politics is fundamental to man and this can be illustrated by many political institutions that exist in every country. Politics influence man's life in many ways and therefore form part of daily life for many. Phrases referring to man as a political animal confirm the importance of politics in life. Political influence in the modern world has been experienced in every corner either directly or indirectly. Different politicians apply various approaches at their disposal to control the populace. These approaches include the police, courts, jails and coercion. Language, however, is the most powerful means of controlling the public for the politicians. A good politician can be distinguished from a bad one through effective use of language. It is through effective use of language that Martin Luther King Junior became the world's famous civil rights advocate and a leader in his own right. It is against this background that a study of a variety of political languages is imperative in an effort to derive insights of their role in the management of public affairs.

It is important to be aware of how politicians use rhetorical devices and literature and its genres in persuading and manipulating the audience. A skillful speaker can turn his audience opinion to his advantage. This will further equip us with the knowledge of how to penetrate and even criticize what politicians say and how they say them hence a better understanding of our world and realities therein. We would be better placed to make our own subjective view of what he or other politicians say.

English and Swahili are important mediums of oral and written communication in Kenya. While English is the official language in Kenya, Swahili is the national language. Formal speeches are in most cases delivered using English during public holidays by politicians and afterwards Swahili is used to expound the content of the speeches to the masses. Political rallies and other community based meetings provide platform for politicians to communicate with the masses. The political language that the politicians use in such platforms can shape political landscape based on how they use their oral skills to influence the masses.

Kenyan society is characterized by two dominant languages which are mostly used in their daily life; English and Swahili. English is however sometimes regarded as elitist. As a formal language, it is associated with the elite and members of the top echelon in the society. It is common knowledge that English in Africa has been perceived as an inherited ideology. To illustrate this, Eagleton (1997) discussed the way in which the rising of English language as an academic subject in the nineteenth century had political implications and in regard to class, it was a symbol of domination. This thesis focuses on political speeches where English and Swahili are mostly used almost interchangeably by politicians to address the public. This justifies the choice of political speeches delivered in English or Swahili or both in this analysis.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

Political discourse is extensive and refers to a variety of activities such as journalistic commentaries, parliamentary debates, political pressure groups, political conferences, labour actions, political dialogues, political science activities and political speeches. This study however, focused only on political speeches (both English and Swahili) in day to day interactions between political leaders and the public. There are different kinds of political speeches such as presidential speeches, formal and informal speeches. This study centered on the collected and recorded, published, and broadcasted speeches of Raila Odinga.

Speeches can be delivered through visual or oral media. Visual medium includes graphic or modern electronic systems like televisions which have become very popular during political campaigns. This study, however, examined speeches that are delivered orally by Raila Odinga during political rallies, campaigns and other forums. These speeches were collected by audio-visual recording during political rallies for the purpose of examining the aspects of oral literature.

1.7 Review of Literature

This section advanced some important knowledge into the research by cross-examining the works done in the area of rhetoric in persuasion. The research drew from scholars who have analyzed rhetoric and its importance to the art of persuasion in political rallies for the purpose of locating my study in the current debate on the same. Some works help to bring into the perspective the context under which my research is on. The gap was identified and the research attempted to fill.

In the review of Shel Leanne (2009) in *Say It Like Obama: The Power of speaking with Purpose and Vision* who discusses how Barack Obama uses effective body language and voice in delivery of his speeches, It was made easier to understand the significance of non-verbal cues in persuasion. She argues that Barack Obama uses body language outstandingly. She demonstrates how Obama's confidence, gait, squared shoulders and his stance reached out to the listeners and finally created a very strong first impression in his 2004 keynote address. I agree with her assertion that "The instant one person first moves into the presence of another, an opinion is formed. Even before you utter any words, you open dialogue and you have spoken volumes through image and body language." The research has borrowed greatly from this work for it to analyzed the non-verbal cues in Raila Odinga's speeches and exposed how far these cues help in influencing the audience. Of importance to state also is her demonstration of how maximizing the use of props reinforces the speech and a way of creating impressions. She shows this by allegorically comparing delivery of speech with one who wants to convince others that he is blind. She concludes that if one wants to convince others that he is blind, props such as sunglasses and a white cane would help in convincing the spectators. She argues that "if political candidates are attempting to look presidential [...] they might flank themselves with large national flags on each side of a lectern." She analyses how Obama used lectern flanked by large American flags to denounce the divisive words of Reverent Jeremia Wright. To break the barriers of race, religion and even nationality, the flags reinforced the idea of his loyalty and his being a patriotic American. This will helped in analyzing some of the accessories that Raila Odinga exploits in his endeavors to persuade the audience. the research looked at the significance of the fly whisk, the club which is commonly known as *Fimbo ya Nyayo* in Kiswahili.

Leanne's definition and examples of repetition techniques from the many famous speeches of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is of great insight in my research. She observes that "Obama uses anecdotes as powerful tools for conveying vision." Using brief narrations in his speeches, Leanne notes that this allows Obama "to go into the greater depth and illustrate points in memorable ways." She states that "Obama draws on a wide variety of repetition techniques that give power to his oration- concluplicatio, anaphora, epistrophe and mesodiplosis among them." She further how Obama uses rhetorical questions for emphasizing a point and crystallizing attention around important themes in the speeches. Leanne's work on definition and examples

these rhetorical techniques and her analysis of how they help in focusing attention on key information in the speeches of Obama is of great relevance in this study. Raila Odinga's use of some of these rhetorical devices was looked at with the view of showing how they help him arrest the attention of his audience, maintain it and persuade them into his thoughts and ideas.

Joseph G (2008) in *An Introduction in Discourse Analysis* carried out one of the significant works on political speeches. Joseph defined leadership as means of mobilizing the people for a purpose. He argued that leadership can be treated as a relationship that orients and mobilizes followers. He found out that there are two kinds of power that can be exerted by leaders: hard and soft. Hard power refers to a direct command style and coercive behaviour; while soft power is a combination of inducement and attraction or the so-called coactive style of leadership. According to Joseph (2008), hard and soft powers are related because they are both approaches to achieving one's purpose and affecting the behaviour of other. He also argued that hard and soft power in combination can reinforce a successful leadership style when done in proportion with different situations. Joseph's research differs from this study in a number of aspects. The present study is not using a leadership styles approach. It focused on artistry, verbal art performance and topic; something Joseph's work did not treat.

Eugene Garvey (2009) in *Aristotle on The Kinds of Rhetoric* argues that Aristotle identified three kinds of rhetoric: deliberative, judicial and epideictic. The three dimensions illustrate three different ways that one's argument can help in making persuasion achievable. He states, "The doctor uses rhetoric to persuade a patient to take a medicine. The physicist uses rhetoric to persuade an audience to spend money on building a missile defense system. The preacher uses rhetoric to give audience hope. The politician, then now, argues rhetorically that voters should vote for him. The contemporary politician asks citizen to support a particular ideology, that than a specific policy recommendation." Garvey's argument on rhetoric as a tool that politicians exploit in persuasion is relevant in this research. He notes that rhetoric is used for among other things, to persuade. Its main function is to influence the listener to the speaker's thoughts and ideologies. The speaker uses different techniques to achieve persuasion. The research looked at how Raila Odinga uses rhetoric to get attention from the audience and maintain this attention and achieve persuasion.

In reviewing *Artist the Ruler* by Okot P Bitek, this study attempted to demonstrate the power of artistic works in persuasion. What function will songs, narratives, riddles, dances, football commentaries have in Raila Odinga's speeches? Okot emphasizes the role of art and artist in the society. He states, "The artist proclaims laws but expresses them in the most indirect language: through metaphor and symbol, in image and fable. He sings and dances his laws. It is taught, not in the school of law, not at the Inns of Court, but around the evening fire, where elephants and hares act as men. The body movement, the painting, the sculptures are his law books. The drums, the flutes, the horns, the strumming and plucking on the strings of the musical instruments, are proclamations of his decrees. He lures his subjects by the sweetness of his song, and the beauty of his works. He punishes the culprits with laughter, and awards the good mannered with praises (39). I exposed Raila Odinga's artistry in persuasion. Raila Odinga gets the attention of the audience and manipulates them with his use of the genres of oral literature. During the interview in Friday Briefing programme on KTN on 25 August 2017, Betty Kyalo asked Raila Odinga if he plans and practices on the use his narratives in the speeches. Raila Odinga said they are spontaneous and that they come naturally. He said, "When I was growing up, I used to listen to the elders. And I know that in African traditions, people used to talk in riddles. This is one way of actually bringing point home. You look at the real life situation and depending on the subject that you are going to talk about; you liken your story to situation..."

Edward and Potter (1992) presented a discursive analysis of speeches delivered by two politicians, Bolger and Clark, in contemporary New Zealand. Their research focused on the particular use to which language was used. Through examining details of political discourse, the study presented ways in which two major political parties were formulated. Bolger formulated the National Party as business-like, forward oriented, efficient, focused and organized. In contrast, Clark formulates it as lacking support, disorganized, dictatorial, destructive, paralyzed and power-crazed. The Labour Party on the other hand was formulated by Clark as consistent, principled, responsible and caring while Bolger marginalizes Labour Party by omission. These formulations employ specific discursive resources for particular purpose. In identifying some of the discursive resources which the two speakers have used, this work contributes to understanding the manner in which political positions are justified and claims supported.

Some works have been carried out on marketing discourse. Although they are not directly on political rhetoric, they are important for reference purposes because they deal with other discourse types. One of these works is by Meister (2005). This work deals with dialogues narrations from semiotic and functional perspectives. Meister (2005) focused on creativity and innovativeness within the information industry for marketing needs in the information society. The study of narratives is linked with oral literature within the context of commercial advertisement and political discourse. Advertisements carry influential communications that are intended to influence perception; organizations; classification of products and services; they spread information bearing on knowledge acquisition, lifestyle, change of habit and empowerment amongst other functions in given domains and magnitude. The work will be referred to on matters of general intention of communication in discourse. However, it is particularly different since it deals with marketing discourse.

Li fengjie, Ren Jia and Zang Yingying did a research on rhetoric devices in Obamas public speeches. They noted that scholars had begun with certain rhetorical devices such as parallelism and metaphor. Some scholars completed their studies from aspect of story-telling, meta-function of language, pragmatics and face-saving theories. Li fengjie et al looked at phonological rhetoric, lexical rhetoric, and syntactical rhetoric in Obama political speeches. Though similar to this study, the research looked at the how these strategies evoke response from the audience and use a Kenyan politician. In addition to that, the role narratives, riddles and songs in Raila Odinga's speeches will be examined.

Wei (2001) argued on the importance and pervasiveness of metaphors used in election rhetoric to express thought and to influence ideas in Taiwan. She obtained data for her study from the newspaper and website coverage of the election in Taiwan in 1997. She interpreted the interaction among the voters, readers and campaigners. She explored the specific socio-cultural situations of the people of Taiwan. The study provided socio-cultural analysis of political metaphors and showing that the function of metaphors was more than just heuristic or cognitive devices. They were also adopted for strategic reasons. She showed too, that metaphor could be used to highlight certain aspects of political discourse practice and hide others. They could also the voters to make sense of different political issues and to express their general attitudes towards politics. I study looked at metaphor and other rhetoric strategies in Raila Odinga's speeches.

Mark Pancer et al argue in *Political Roles and the Complexity of Political Rhetoric* that opposition leaders are more likely to achieve persuasion of the public on their ideology than those who run the government. They state, “Leaders of a government became significantly more complex in their rhetoric [since] leaders of [the] government in power are accountable to the public in a way that aspiring government leaders are not. Accountability—the need to be able to offer a plausible justification to the public for one’s policies and actions—compels the leader to demonstrate that he or she has considered different alternatives or perspectives in deciding upon a course of action. In discussing such alternatives, the leader’s speeches become substantially more complex.” (32) This argument demonstrates one of the reasons why Raila Odinga has had rhetoric advantages over the president(s).

After the review on different literatures, I identified the study of Raila Odinga’s speeches as an artist in persuading, manipulating and maintaining audience through rhetorical devices and the genres of oral literature, as a gap in knowledge which should be studied. Speeches are literary texts that write the histories of a nation. By analyzing Raila Odinga’s speeches, new insights in regard to artistry in political persuasion would emerge. This will help in adding to the growth of literatures on rhetoric in literature as a discipline.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Neo-Aristotelian criticism helped in this research. The effects of using rhetoric and as a means of manipulation and persuasion in evoking intended response from the audience is going to be evaluated. In doing this, the five canons of this theory: invention (logos, ethos and pathos), organization of the speeches, style, delivery and memory was studied. The central feature of this criticism is as suggested by Hebert A. Wilchens in *The Literary Criticism of Oratory* which is on analyzing the methodology behind the speech’s ability to convey an idea to its audience.

The research also exploited the use the formalist literary theory in this research. The proponents of this theory include I.A. Richards, Cleanth Brooks, and Northrop Frye. The formalists argue that content and form are one and the same thing. They argue that texts exist in and for themselves. The emphasis is placed on the fact that a text contains all the information required by the reader and that they are autonomous. In this research, I selected speeches of Raila Odinga was analysed with the understanding that they can provide all the required information. Formalists task include categorizing, classifying, and describing any universal truth that literary

works might hold concerning the human condition. In analyzing the structure of the speeches and their content, the position to ascertain the literary aspects employed in the delivery of the speeches was ascertained.

1.9 Methodology

The information necessary to conduct the study will be derived and collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data sources will be field based where filmed data will be used. This data will be recorded by audio-visual equipment. It will then be transcribed and analyzed focusing on specific aims. Secondary data sources will concentrate heavily on printed materials, books, articles, magazines, the internet and periodicals. Interviews will be conducted to ascertain the impacts of the devices used on the audience.

1.10 Organization of the Study

This project was organized into four chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter which have introductory elements of study. The elements included introduction, statement of the problem, objectives, justification of the study, hypotheses, scope and limitations, literature review and methodology.

The second chapter focuses on the non-verbal cues that Raila Odinga uses in persuasion. It looks into the artifacts, grooming, and the choice of rally places, his posture and other non-verbal cues. The third chapter deals with verbal strategies for emphasizing through repetition like use of anaphora, epiphora among others. Strategies of connecting to the audience and use of strategies that appeal to reasoning and emotions are explored. Chapter four deals with the use of genres of oral literature in Raila Odinga's speeches. These include riddles, songs, proverbs and narratives. The chapter shows how the uses of these genres help in making it possible for Raila Odinga to persuade his audience. The fourth chapter covers conclusion and summary of the study. It will also offer suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 2

USE OF NON-VERBAL CUES AND VOICE

This chapter is focusing on how Raila Odinga uses non-verbal cues in persuading his audience. As Argyle (1972) notes, “Speech is accompanied by an intricate set of gestural signals which affect meaning, emphasis and other aspects of utterance.” Further, Rosenberg et al (1986) argues that non-verbal cues are at least as influential as the verbal content of the message in determining how an individual is perceived. Kopacz (2006) holds the opinion that non-verbal behaviors play an immense role in forming people’s judgment and may be used in political persuasion to elicit positive reactions from the voters. Bloch, (1975) also argues that successful and influential speeches must not only be gestures, facial expressions and props but also includes the artifacts that the speaker carries with him when giving a speech. All these, he argues, are persuasion factors. I agree with these scholars. Even without the words, these elements are important in a persuasive communication. The elements constitute what the famous thinker Aristotle said of a communication. The best communication is that which is rhetorically and aesthetically valuable. A proper manner of delivery is strongly insisted on by the listeners. Physical appearance and artifacts or the props used can so much have great effects on the audience. The clothes that one wears, the smile on the face, the gestures are a tool for manipulating the audience. Non-verbal persuasion is therefore as important as the verbal one. I will look at body language, facial expression and gestures that Raila Odinga employs as he delivers his speeches. In Raila Odinga’s speeches, the non-verbal elements are easier to recall and even be re-acted by both his supporters and competitors. This is much effective and cogent.

Raila Odinga’s non-verbal elements like dress, colour, word accent, dancing style, walking style, slow pace of talking, and voice constitute what Aristotle called “all proper meaning of persuasion. The non-verbal elements in the speeches shall be divided in into three: one, objective non-verbal communication which includes the dresses, accessories (artifacts), dancing style and use of space and time. Two, non-verbal silent communication, which is the body language (includes the head, hands, mimicry) and lastly, non-verbal vocal communication which comprises the speed of utterance, the tone of the voice, the intonation, accent and rhythm.

2.1 Dressing

The first objective non-verbal that plays an important role in arresting the attention of the audience is the dress. A proper choice of clothes strengthens the effects of the verbal messages and influences the assessment of the performer and informs about the speaker's status and viewpoints. There is a saying that "one is welcomed by his dress and is sent off with his ideas." This emphasizes the importance of dressing meticulously before an audience. Raila Odinga creates a positive first impression and prepares his audience for his speeches by dressing up. He creates an edge above others by looking just a little more dressed up. He leaves a charm effect on his listeners.

On 1 June 2016, Raila Odinga gave a speech at Uhuru Park, Nairobi. For this paper, I shall call it the *Madaraka Day Speech*. Raila Odinga drew the attention of the audience by dressing in white. That first impression of a meticulously dressed Raila Odinga leaves a halo effect on the audience. White is an easier colour to detect in a crowd. On his head was a black Nigerian-fashioned headgear with golden stripes. It left a label of a king. No wonder after five and a half minutes of his speech, the audience sings praises to him and shouts "Igwe! Igwe! Igwe..." This is a title of respect and honour for a leader in Nigeria Igbo land. The choice of the word is appropriate with the style of dress. Madaraka Day, being a day that Kenyans celebrate their freedom, dressing African speaks of patriotism. White is one of the colours in the national flag and it symbolizes peace. In the weeks that had proceeded that day, Raila Odinga had led a demonstration in the streets and had been accused of causing chaos. In the speech, he calls for a peaceful engagement with the government as regards the dismissal of the commissioners of the electoral body. He says, "*Tunataka mazungumzo ya amani.*" He says that they want a peaceful dialogue. Other sentences in his speech that suggest peace are "*Hatutaki fujo, Hakuna matusi leo.*" Putting on the white attire foregrounded the call and will for a peaceful dialogue with the government on the issue of the members of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission.

Still on the dress is the cap as an objective non-verbal cue. The cap Raila Odinga had while delivering the *Madaraka Day Speech* communicates patriotism and sense of freedom. African leaders have used caps as their trade mark. Mobutu Sese Seko who was the president of Zaire was known for his leopard skin cap. On Raila Odinga's head was a black African-styled cap. I

argue that this is a symbol of honour. It emphasized the freedom. It signifies black man rule in Kenya. Some golden embroidery lines break the monotony of blackness at the front. Black is a colour that symbolizes black people in the Kenyan flag. Golden colour is associated with value. He values the day Kenyans got independent. By putting on the African cap, he affirms that independence was the first liberation that Kenya got. He says in his speech “*Mubeberu alikua ananyanyasa Waafrica hapa. Alikua anakalia juu ya mwafrika, alikua anamwita mwafrika ni bladi Afrikan. Mahali zingine ulikua ukienda, unaambiwa Africans and dogs are not allowed here.*” This statement informs and reminds the audience of importance of self-rule. Both the clothes and the cap make him be looked at as a liberator and a link between the current generation and the freedom fighters. He gains the respect of a freedom fighter by way of dressing before he speaks to the gathering.

In most of the rallies, Raila Odinga wears a blue cap with the word NASA printed on it. This foregrounds the image of him being a candidate for a coalition of parties and not only a candidate of his own party ODM. But on 5 August 2017, at Uhuru Park rally (the rally that ended the period of campaign and which I will call *Uhuru Park Last Rally 2017*) he receives a cap from a lady. He is seen consulting Mudavadi on changing of the caps from the blue NASA-printed cap to an orange one. He changes the caps publicly. Though his aides try to block the audience from seeing the change, a keen eye can see. The back of the cap is written RAO which is an abbreviation of Raila Amolo Odinga. At this time, it should be clear that there was no party or coalition in the ballot by the name NASA. So, Raila Odinga simply uses the cap to clearly tell the audience to look for the name Raila Odinga Amolo Odinga in the ballot and not NASA. In the front of the cap, number eight (8) is written above the words NANE NANE NANE. Then in his speech he says, “*Nilisema tsunami itakuja. Imeanza leo kuelekea tarehe nane. Nane, nane, nane. Ni nane mara tatu. Namba yetu katika kura ni nane. Na itapigwa tarehe nane. Mwezi wa nane. Kwa hivyo, ni nane mara tatu. Ukienda kule, kwa kituo ya kupiga kura, sema nataka namba nane. Ni namba ya bahati. Kura itapigwa tarehe nane, mwezi wa nane na Raila Odinga ni namba nane. Ni nane mara tatu.*” This is an important rhetorical device. His competitors had told the people of Ukambani and Bomet that ODM and not NASA was the party at the ballot. NASA was a bigger and largely accepted outfit compared to ODM. He downplays this reality and persuades the audience to look at number eight in the ballot paper or Raila Odinga Amolo Odinga instead of ODM or NASA.

On 27 April 2017 during the unveiling of NASA presidential candidate in Uhuru Park Nairobi, Raila Odinga wore a green scarf around his neck. The scarf had the word 'Kenya' written on it. He appeared in an orange African-tailored shirt. Orange is the colour of Raila Odinga led party (ODM). ODM was amongst the parties that form NASA. Raila Odinga, as candidate of ODM party gives prominence to the party. The scuff on the other hand communicates that although Raila Odinga's name was to appear at the ballot paper as an ODM candidate, a bigger coalition had been formed and leaders from different regions had backed him. He presented himself as a national figure whose candidacy had approval of the entire nation of Kenya.

2.2 Stage Accessories

The second objective non-verbal cues I will analyze are the accessories or the artifacts. I will divide accessories into two: stage artifacts and off-stage props. Stage artifacts are those props of persuasion carried by the speaker in his hand or just placed on stage. Examples of these include lectern, club (commonly known in Kiswahili as Fimbo ya Nyayo), oranges, and fly whisk. Off-stage accessories are those artifacts that are used away from the stage. They are used to pull the crowd to a rally. The off-stage artifacts attract attention of the audience. Raila Odinga has used a type of a vehicle known as Hammer for attention and persuasion. He also used personalized car number plates. I will also look at how he uses human props as totems for some uplifting and calculated political rhetoric. I shall tackle the stage accessories then look at the off-stage accessories.

In the *Madaraka Day speech*, Raila Odinga carries in his hand, a flywhisk. In Africa, a fly whisk has great significance and freedom fighters used it for persuasive reasons. As Lwanda (1993) asserts, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi used it as "a symbol of some African medicine men and women and therefore a symbol of traditional medical authority." He argues that Banda's medical and healing powers were extended to the way "he liberated the country from colonial rule with words only." I agree with *Sunday Times* (24 May 1970) assertion that "Banda influenced the course of political events by the timely and judicious administration of appropriate medicine, in the form of his words, the fly whisk and the slogan *kwacha*" In Kenya too, a fly whisk was commonly used by the founders of the nation. Jomo Kenyatta and Oginga Odinga are example of those leaders who carried a flywhisk. In remembering these men, and those others he mentions in his speech, Raila Odinga carries the same tool. He persuades his audience into believing that

Madaraka Day is a day to honour those who fought for the country's self-rule. A fly whisk is a trademark of authority and power. Raila Odinga portrays himself to his audience as yet another liberator and persuades the people to accept him as standing for what the freedom fighters stood for at Independence. The fly whisk enhances his words. It makes the audience see in him a patriot. He sets them on the path to the future and still remain a link to the past years.

Oranges or toys that look like oranges formed a great tool of persuasion in the delivery of speeches. In his autobiography, *The Flame of Freedom*, there is a picture of Raila addressing residence of Kisumu. He is in orange African attire. The attire is written *Maisha Bora*. The party that he preferred at that time was Orange Democratic Movement. The party had wrangles then. He intends to tell the voters to remain in ODM. His style of dressing communicates to the public. It enhances his verbal persuasions on voters sticking to the ODM party. The words written on the attire were his slogan then and thus by seeing, one is left with his memory even long after the rally. His image as a leader creates the image of the party. When one sees him, he sees the party and the mention of the party triggers his image. This way of dressing was important bearing in mind that the opposition had failed to unite and each leader was keen on selling his party. The confusion of two parties with almost a similar name was to be dealt with then. The Kalonzo Musyoka led ODM-K and the Raila led ODM party.

Another stage accessory is the lectern. In the *Madaraka Day Speech*, microphones are seen placed on it. It is interesting to note that Raila Odinga stands behind it for some time, dances behind it before it is moved aside. He picks the microphones and moves towards the audience. For the rest of the time during his delivery of the speech, he does not use the lectern. It therefore means its purpose is to serve another role other than that of holding the microphone. Before he starts giving his speech, he momentarily stands behind the lectern. It has the logo of CORD written in blue against white. This reminds people of the efforts that the opposition coalition is making to achieve the dreams of our forefathers. Moving away from the lectern is symbolic. Talks about the formation of a major political movement that would unite the opposition and welcome those in the parties that formed the ruling alliance had begun. Talks of movements like Okoa Kenya Movement whose inception was a result of an attempt to have a referendum that would increase the allocation of devolved government funds were ongoing. Standing behind the CORD lectern for long would send a wrong signal. Musalia Mudavadi, who had been Raila

Odinga's running mate, was also at the time of the speech calling for a united opposition under an umbrella body National Super Alliance (NASA). At the same time, it was the CORD coalition which had organized the rally and so, the lectern had to be there. CORD (through its leader Raila Odinga) was thus inviting parties and individual to join it. By Raila Odinga moving away from the lectern, he sends a message that CORD is ready to join another political party or coalition.

Raila Odinga delivered many speeches in his rallies in the Rift Valley region while carrying a club: On Thursday 15 June 2017 in Kajiado; on 29 June in Narok; on 26 July 2017 in Eldoret. The club, *Fimbo ya Nyayo*, is of great significance in Kenyan politics. To understand its symbolic role in relation to persuasion acts of Raila Odinga, a little discussion on who used it and how it was used will help in this research. Kenya's second president Moi had a gold-tipped ivory club. Although the club was more of a Kalenjin cultural artifact, it got its significance in the country's politics. It signifies power in Kenya's political symbolism. Songs were composed about this artifact. An example of such songs is *Fimbo ya Nyayo yatuongoza kwenda mbele* (the club leads us forward.) To accentuate on the club's significance in Kenya politics is the Nyayo Monument. It is said that it was made to celebrate Moi's reign. The monument has an arm clutching a traditional club. George Ogola (2017) in *Popular Media in Kenyan History: Fiction and Media as Political Actors* discusses the club as symbolic accessory in the power performance. He makes a connection between this artifact and the myths that surrounded it. Moi used the club, as argued by Godfrey K. Sang in The Star (31 July 2017) in his article "The Very Real Value of Political Symbolism" as "a symbol of power and authority particularly from his native Kalenjin community." In the Maasai community, morans use the club for hunting and warfare. It is a tourism souvenir which is normally sold to the foreigners. Raila Odinga thus uses the club to endear himself to the people of Rift valley. From Kenneth Burke's perspective in *The Rhetoric of Motives* (1950), persuasion is achieved through identification with the audience, that is, by demonstrating points of commonality with them. The people of Rift Valley have both cultural and political significance of the club. President Moi had much influence in the Rift Valley and by using *Fimbo ya Nyayo*, most people in the rally will feel culturally connected to Raila Odinga. This makes them more susceptible to persuasion. In Kajiado, the club is a tourism souvenir. Local women are widely employed in sewing decorative beads onto the handles for the tourist trade. In persuading the people of Kajiado to vote for him, Raila Odinga carries an item used in the tourism industry and tells them, "*Wakati wa ukame, hakuna nyasi. Hakuna mbuga,*

wanyama wanakufa. Maji hakuna. Wanyama si wanakufa.” The main tourism attraction in Kajiado is wild life. In this case, the club is used to enhance the focus of the audience in the major issue of tourism. The beads sewn on the club he carried are in the colours of the national flag. The colours of the national flag on the club show his patriotism and loyalty to the nation. The audience sees that Raila loves his country Kenya. Leadership of a country should be given to a patriot. By carrying the club, Raila Odinga gains the audience's approval and support rather than opposition.

2.3 Human Props

Raila Odinga uses human beings as his props. Human beings can stand or be shown to the audience by a politician and be used as a prop. Obama used human beings as props in some of his speeches. This can be seen especially in situations when he wants to persuade. During the time he wanted to express his ideas on aggressive gun control, he had letters from four young children. After addressing the audience and just before signing executive orders, he hugged the four children one after the other. The children acted as his totems. He again used police officers who stood as his backdrop and at various stages, he referred to them as he made his speech on gun violence. Raila Odinga displays his political gamesmanship by exploiting the human prop to persuade. It is important to note that being used as a human prop is in itself an honour as opposed to taking advantage of someone. As Michele Obama acknowledges, it is a good thing to be used like a prop. She said, “It is an honour to be used as a political prop by my husband’s campaign.” She said that if using her as a wife, a daughter, a sister and a proud American in a way that her presence would engineer softening of her husband’s image and gives his poll a quick boost, then that would make her proud. In 2007 and in 2017, Raila Odinga created a team of five and called it the Pentagon. Each member of the Pentagon had a role to play. In 2007, the Pentagon included Musalia Mudavadi, William Ruto, Joseph Nyagah, Najib Balala and Raila Odinga himself. Ruto was a totem of the Kalenjin community and a person who would be seen as the representative of the Rift valley region. Apart from the role Musalia Mudavadi would play as a vice president, he was a totem of the Luhya community and a representative of Western region. Nyagah was a prop emphasizing that the would-be government appreciated the Kikuyu tribe despite Raila Odinga having expressed dissatisfaction on the tribalism and exclusivity shown by the then president. Balala represented Coast region. This created an image of the party ODM being a national party and hence was widely accepted unlike PNU which looked to many as a party of only few tribes.

After elections, ODM was the biggest party with 102 out of 210 Members of Parliament. In 2017, the term Pentagon was not widely used. Raila Odinga still created a team of five: Isack Ruto, emblem for Rift Valley Region, Musalia Mudavadi emblem for a joint opposition, Moses Wetangula for Western Region and Kalonzo Musyoka for Eastern Region. While unveiling the NASA presidential candidate in Uhuru Park, Raila Odinga reminded his audience of the pentagon team. He said;

Sisi tuko kama team. Team ya pembe tano. The pentagon. Wamenipatia mimi ile armband ile ya captain. Mimi ndio wamenipatia mimi ile armband ya captain. Hiyo armband inaunganisha mimi na wao, na wakenya wote. Tutatembea sambamba. Bega kwa bega. I am the first among equals.

Apart from the Pentagon team, Raila Odinga has used different people as props. During his campaigns in Kiambu on 4 July 2017, he was accompanied by Koigi Wamwere and Mike Rubia (a son of Charles Rubia). Raila Odinga, Charles Rubia and Koigi Wamwere are remembered for the Saba Saba day and their struggle for multiparty democracy. He used Koigi to tell the people of Kiambu whose inhabitant is majorly those of the Kikuyu tribe that he is not an enemy of the Kikuyu people as his opponents have claimed. He says, *“Ilipofika 1990, wakati ambao utawala wa dhulima wa chama moja ilikua imezidi zaidi, watu walikua wakishikwa ukisema n’gwe, ndani. Ng’we... huyu Koigi Wamwere ndio huyu, aliwekwa ndani. Professor Mkangi, aliwekwa ndani. Na Raila Odinga, aliwekwa ndani. Tulipotoka, tuliungana na Kenneth Matiba na Charles Rubia. Tulisema twende Kamkunji tuulize. Hiyo ndio chanzo ya Saba Saba”* In making his speech more appealing to the emotions, Raila Odinga goes to Kiambu with one of the Kikuyu’s who he struggled with and effectively gives an image of him as a liberator and a friend to the Kikuyu. He tells the people that Matiba, Rubia and himself were arrested and detained. Rubia lost his voice and Matiba got a stroke. He then refers to Rubia’s son. *“Mtoto wa Rubia ndiye huyu ako hapa.* From his own vehicle, Raila Odinga stood with a Kiambu ODM MCA aspirant in Limuru Central ward: Mary Mungai. She had been sacked from a restaurant she was working at in Limuru town for campaigning for Raila Odinga. She is a totem of the few Kikuyu’s who suffer because of associating with Raila Odinga. Mary Mungai’s story aids in creating a positive image on Raila Odinga amongst the Kikuyu. Image that however bad Raila Odinga. Her story creates an image that some individual from the Kikuyus community adore Raila Odinga. She is a

totem of the youth who are ready to sacrifice even their work for the love and respect they have for Raila Odinga. This in turn makes the others to be tolerant to him and even listen to Raila Odinga.

In Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga introduces a Member of Parliament from Rift Valley region to tell people that rift has shifted. *Kabla sijaita Joho, kabla, nataka kwanza nilete kijana moja hapa. Kule kutoka upande ule wa Bonde la Ufa. Lang'at njoo hapa. Lang'at njoo hapa. Huyu mheshimiwa, huyu alikua mkimbiaji, marathona, alikua champion. Sasa amekua mbunge. Tulikua naye bunge, ata sasa yeye ni mbunge. Mimi nataka aongee na ninyi msikie kile ambacho kinatendeka Bonde la Ufa.* This creates confidence in the people that even the region that is being considered pro-jubilee has people who support NASA.

2.4 Off Stage Accessories

The first off-stage accessory that this research identifies is the Hummer SUV (Sports Utility Vehicle). Raila Odinga arrested the attention of the public. He appeared with it in parliament on 20 March 2007. The president had reconvened the last parliamentary sessions before 2007 elections. Miguna Miguna argues in his article “Jukwa: Kenyan Discussion Platform” that “...Raila Odinga has style and political muscle. The Humvee represents strength, power and versatility.” He further argues that Raila Odinga “... stole thunder from under the president’s feet -literally. No amount of military music, guards of honour, stretch limousine, outside riders, brass and hardware that accompanied the president’s arrival at the departure of parliament could prevent *The Agwambo* from firmly laying claim on that special day.” I agree with him. The Hummer symbolized power and authority. In later days, the Hummer was changed to hammer. Hammer (from hummer) became a stage objective non-verbal cue which worked for Raila Odinga in many ways. Musalia Mudavadi, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Kalonzo Musyoka were all jostling for the Orange Democratic Movement presidential ticket. The common stage accessory they all had was an orange. In most rallies after the Hummer SUV appearance, slogans of hammer and *nyundo* (Kiswahili word for hammer) rented the air in the joint rallies of the five mentioned politicians. Raila Odinga had set himself above the other politicians and could persuade more people than the others. The person who rated better than Raila Odinga among the five was Kalonzo. On Sunday 8 July 2007 in a Khadija Primary school in Mombasa, ODM-K the audience responded with shouts of *nyundo* to fill the pauses within Raila Odinga’s speech. After

he spoke, Raila Odinga invited Kalonzo to speak and he received resounding shouts of nyundo. Kalonzo later cited this incident as one of the things that made him to part ways with Raila Odinga. The hammer (and the sickle) has a revolutionary historic political significance in the world. It was used in the flag of Union of Soviet Socialist Republic. Aristotle described two types of political revolution. One was concerned with a complete change from one constitution to another. The second one was a modification of an existing constitution. Raila Odinga is seen by his supporters as a revolutionary leader and the hammer a great artifact that represents change. His political speeches are founded on the rhetoric of change within a short time.

The last off-stage artifact is the autobiography. The use of textual cues like (auto) biographies and other books by Raila Odinga in rhetorical persuasion is of great significance in this research. Scholars have cast doubt on the fidelity of political (auto)biographies to truth. Reading Raila Odinga's autobiography leaves a reader with a feeling that some sentiments in the books are not authentic. For an example, Henry Indangasi argues that Raila Odinga's story of his father and mother during their courting is not authentic. The story would have been believed had he told his source. He was not present then. Raila Odinga therefore lacks firsthand information on the same. I agree with him. Political autobiography presents politicians with an opportunity to express complex ideologies in terms of values that the audience takes as its own. *The Flames of Freedom* exposes Raila Odinga's life. Autobiography is an epideictic rhetoric that can influence the perception of the audience. Robert John Stephen Gray (1993) argues in his thesis "More Than a Story: An Exploration of Political Autobiography as a Persuasive Discourse" that "political autobiographies can help to shape the attitude of an audience and that, by so doing, it can be a powerful persuasion." He further argues that "political autobiography deserves of theoretical and critical examination as a rhetoric genre." I argue that by reading Raila Odinga's autobiography *The Flame of Freedom* and Babafemi Adesina Badejo's *Raila Odinga: An Enigma in Kenyan Politics*, many of the readers may feel that they know and can trust Raila Odinga. The audience is therefore likely to be persuaded in believing the positions Raila Odinga takes, even if the issues are not clear. Aristotle argues that when "exact certainty is impossible and opinions are divided, the audience's perception of the speaker's character becomes especially important in influencing their decisions." Thus political autobiography enhances the effectiveness of political decision-making processes from his audience. Through these books, Raila Odinga makes himself so familiar to the public. His life as a child, studies, marriage, political work, detention, story

about the attempted coup and many more influence the audience subconsciously. One notable aspect in the *Flame of Freedom* is Raila Odinga's genealogy. He traces his roots to one of the Luhya tribes causing excitement. This endears him to the Luhya community. By belonging to the Luhya and the Luo communities, he enjoys the advantages of tribal politics. To be specific, Raila Odinga traces his roots to the Wanga Kingdom. He argues that the Wanga is the present Mumias/Matungu. He argues that "Luo traditional oral history tells that the Wanga were of Luo origin." The form of political autobiography is extended narrative. Raila Odinga is skilled in rhetorical narrative technique and thus he is more likely to reveal the persuasive potential of the form than someone who is not.

It would be more effective for Raila Odinga to personalize his speeches with the stories he tells the readers in his auto(biographies). Barak Obama does this. He tells the audience about himself and connects his experiences and life to address concerns of the American people. Raila Odinga does not. He tells us more about himself only in his books but not in the speeches. This is to me, a manifestation of the not being able to personalize his speeches.

2.5 Space and Time

The next objective non-verbal cue that Raila Odinga uses in persuasion is space and time. Raila Odinga often deploys space and time rhetorically in persuading the audience. Space includes place (which refers to the geographical location of the venue) and space (something beyond a specific place). Place is not a dormant element during the delivery of a speech but an interactive aspect that helps the speaker to persuade the audience. Endres and Senda-Cook argue in "Location Matters: The Rhetoric of Place in Protest" that "Place is a rhetorical phenomenon. Instead of merely arguing that people make meaning from places through discourse, we argue that places, imbued with meaning, and consequence, are rhetoric performance." I agree with them. Raila Odinga picks some of the places that evoke memories of powerful historical occurrences that the audience hold dear. These in turn make the audience experience the ideologies being presented. In some cases, Raila Odinga gives a historical background of the place and acknowledges such past events informed his choice of the venue. On 3 June 2017 during the NASA coalition 2017 campaigns at Bukhungu Stadium, Raila Odinga said the following:

“Tulisema hatuendi Mombasa, hatuendi Kisumu, hatuendi Nairobi, tunaenda Kakamega. Kwa bahati nzuri, wameleta hapa hapa Bukhungu stadium. Hapa Bukhungu stadium kuna historia kubwa zaidi. Kwanza zamani nilipokua mtoto mdogo, tulikua tunakuja hapa hapa Bukhungu stadium kwa mpira. Mjomba wangu alikua anacheza mpira kwa team ya Central Nyanza. Team ya Central Nyanza ilikua inacheza na team ya North Nyanza. Na ilikua inachezwa hapa hapa Bukhungu stadium. Wakati huo North Nyanza ilikua na team kali sana. Elijah Lidondi. Shem Shimoto. Okumu Omari. Joe Kadenge. Hao wote walikua ni team ya North Nyanza. Central Nyanza kulikua na Bobby Oronge. Odiwuor Apuoyo. Odhiambo sambusa Mkate wa kaloleni. Goal-keeper Onyun. Sasa tulikua tukikuja hapa tulikua tunakuja na basi hapa ndani.”

The above sentiments explain to the audience the historical significance of Bukhungu as a sports ground. The sentences also prepare the audience for the football allegory that will be tackled later in this research. By mentioning the players, he endears himself to the audience. The cultural and social memories of the stadium are evoked and Bukhungu becomes a tangible artifact that contributes to helping Raila Odinga to persuade the audience. The attention of the people in the rally is arrested by description of the past events so vividly. The description of what used to happen in the stadium affects how the venue is perceived and consequently how the people receive the NASA message. Added to the fact that the NASA campaign is launched in this town and not Mombasa, not Kisumu, not Nairobi, but in Kakamega, makes the people of Kakamega feel inclusively engaged in the formation of the NASA. Bukhungu communicates to the people of Western Kenya that they are treasured.

The *Madaraka Day* speech was given in Uhuru Park stadium. It would be interesting to note that on the same day, Jubilee Government had moved to Nakuru for Madaraka Day celebration on 1 June 2016. It is by plan that the opposition and the government went to the same venues for their final 2017 presidential rallies on 5 August 2017. Raila Odinga and his team organized many events at Uhuru Park stadium. This includes the unveiling of the NASA presidential candidate. I argue that the park is used as a rhetorical space which aid in persuasion. The park has a great history and its existence is associated with protest. The park was opened to the general public by the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta on 23 May 1969. In 1989, the Moi regime attempted to construct a sixty-storey Kenya times Media Trust Business complex. Waangari Maathai and other protestors

stopped the construction of the complex. This great history added to the fact that people can easily access it makes the park a place for competition by political parties.

Time is an important factor in persuasion. Time perception has a great role in non-verbal rhetorical process. Time perception includes being punctual, ones willingness to wait, and even interruption of a programme. Thomas J. Bruneau coined the term “chronemics” to help define the function of time in human interactions. Chronemics is a non-verbal expression that signifies power, dominance and status. In NASA rallies, Raila Odinga got more time to speak to the audience more than the other four principals. In most rallies, Moses Wetangula would speak first then invite Raila Odinga. Raila Odinga would invite Mudavadi who in turn invited Kalonzo. Kalonzo would then invite Raila Odinga for the second time. Giving him much time to talk elevates his status above other principals, making him have longer time with the audience. In places that Raila Odinga finds the programme on course upon his arrival, then the programme is interrupted. That communicates power and hence provides him with the opportunity of easily persuading the public. His audience attention is arrested. In Kisii, at Gusii stadium, the programme was interrupted due to the fear of the rain falling. Time was hurriedly created for him to speak to the masses.

2.6 Dances and Music

Raila Odinga’s dancing steps and music used during his rallies is the last objective non-verbal cue that I want to talk about. Before he speaks, just as he walks to the podium, he dances in many of his rallies. Relaxed, and with his hands raised slightly above the waist, arms folded or clutching either an artifact or microphone, he makes moves closer to jogging but with a slight sway. The attention of the audience is focused on him. He sets the mood of jubilation- a sign of acceptance by the crowd. Before he delivers *Madaraka Day Speech*, he stands behind a lectern and waits for the disk jockey to play the tune by Onyi Papa Jay. The song is composed in his praise. He hands over the microphone, clutches the flywhisk on his right hand. Bonny Khalwale joins him and both dance ‘*chini kwa chini*’ a popular dance style associated with the youth. He raises one of his legs into the air to show that despite his age, he is fit and flexible. His target audience is the youth. That is why he restricts his greetings to “*Vijana hoyee! Vijana hoyee! Vijana hoyee!*” By dancing their style, he connects to them. He endears himself to the youth and the age difference is made a non-issue. In Bukhungu stadium in Kakamega, the tune is played by

Suzanna Owino. The song is *Tuko NASA*. The musician is popular with the youths. She takes charge of the dance steps and shows Raila Odinga how to dance. As she calls, the response *Tuko NASA* is sang by all while Raila Odinga points to the audience with his index fingers but the right arm is a little stretched (Usain Bolt pose). This dance style is called “To Di World” (To the World). Martin Rogers says, the dance came in 2008 during the Olympic scene where Bolt won. It is an up-tempo dancehall musical style closer to reggae and most popular in Jamaica. Energy and flexibility are needed to dance up-tempo music. By managing to dance, Raila Odinga communicates to the youths and the other members of the audience that he is still fit and energetic and can manage the country if they elect him. By trying to dance as Suzanna Owino shows him to do, he manifests humility. People tend to trust those who are humble and this makes it easier for him to convince the audience to vote for him. In the rally again, he dances the tune of Amos Barasa of ‘*Bindu Bichenjanga*’ literary translated as things change. He shakes his shoulders in the way the traditional Isikuti dance is performed. It takes the form of a fast-paced, energetic and passionate dance. Both the song and the dance are in celebratory mood. The dance signifies victory and builds hope in the people. The cultural aspect in the dance and the song endears Raila Odinga to the people of the western region and, more specifically, those of Luhya origin.

In *Uhuru Park Last Rally 2017* speech, Raila Odinga allows for a dance in between his speech. Ali Kiba, a popular artist with the youth plays his song *Aje* after Raila Odinga invites Uhuru and Ruto to a contest. He says he has offered himself, together with his friends and invites Uhuru and their friends too for the contest. The song sets a celebratory mood. The lyric of the song is modified to suggest Raila Odinga’s confidence in winning the presidential elections and insinuates that his competitors, the jubilee government is fearful. “*Waambie wasiogope, Raila Odinga ni Kipenzi cha watu. Tafanya party nyumbani, hiyo yote ni kwa ajili yake. Tena asije pekee yake, aje na wenzake...*” As Ali Kiba sings, he holds Raila Odinga’s hands and they dance together. The youth are once again shown that Raila Odinga knows their way and style of dances. He understands their songs. This is meant to persuade the youths that the gap between his age and theirs is a non-issue when it comes to leadership. To show that he intended to persuade the youths, he says, “*Nataka kutoa shukurani kwa Vijana wa Kenya-the youth of Kenya who have led this revolution. This is the youth revolution for change in our country. And the change will come on the 8th Tuesday next week.*” As he concludes his speech, he goes back to the

theme in Ali Kiba's Aje and invites people to a party in state house. "*Sasa nawaambia ninyi leo hii ni mtego wa mwisho hapa, Jumamosi wiki ijao, nitafanya karamu kwenyu kule kataka ikulu. Ninyi wote mmealikwa kuja kwa ikulu kwa karamu. Usiogope. Usitishwe,*" Confidence and hope is restored.

On 7th of July 2017, in Kamukunji grounds rally in commemorating the Saba Saba day, (I will refer to this speech as *Kamukunji Saba Saba Rally* speech) Raila Odinga comes to talk to the audience while dancing the Navy Kenzo's song *Kamata Chini, Kamatia Chini*. Just as the other songs above, the tempo is fast and dancing style energy consuming. The song and the dance style (folding the knee to the ground as one dances) is popular among the youths and serves as a connection between Raila Odinga and the youth. On 14th October 2016 in Kisii stadium, Raila Odinga even borrowed the words of Navy Kenzo, as reported in The Standard Newspaper on 15th, when he said, "We want to tell the Jubilee party that Abagusii are not on sale. They should forget Kisii because we will not allow them to take it. *Tutawakamatia chini.*" As he finished his statement, the music was played and he danced the style.

On 25th of July 2017 in Runyenjes, and on 1st August 2017 in Kisii stadium, Bob Marley's Iron Lion Zion reggae tune welcomed Raila Odinga to the audience. He danced jumping up and down like a young man. Raila Odinga spoke of his love for reggae and Bob Marley during the interview in Friday Briefing programme on KTN on 25th of August 2017, Betty Kyalo asked Raila Odinga him about Jamaica and honeymoon. He said his son, the late Fidel, was a friend to Bob Marley. This statement and the fact that he dances reggae music makes him be seen by the youths as understanding their ways. Bob Marley's stories and the life of the Caribbean people at that time resembled the life of the citizens of Kenya and many other African countries. After Jamaica got independence from U.K in 1962, there was a strong national pride and a growing sense of national identity. But that time was marred by poverty, economic inequality and even violence. Iron Lion Zion is of great significance in Raila Odinga's rallies. The Rastafarians believe that Zion is the Promised Land. Caribbean's roots can be traced back to Africa. Some people have referred to the Promised Land as Ethiopia while others take it to be the African continent as a whole. Raila Odinga promises people of a Canaan. Canaan is his rhetorical promised land where Kenyans ought to move to. The song therefore creates the mood of a

journey from the land of poverty, hunger, and diseases to that of employment, good health and many good things.

I will now look at the Raila Odinga's non-verbal silent communication- eye contact, posture in sitting, hand gesture, facial expression, head movement and body language.

2.7 Eye-Contact

Raila Odinga maintains direct eye-contact with his audience as he speaks to them. This is a show of confidence. Dale and Wolf (2000) argue that public figures who look their audiences straight into the eyes are said to be more effective and persuasive. I agree with them. Raila Odinga shifts his gazes to sections of the crowd depending on the response they give. Kopacz (2006) argues that avoiding eye contact often manifests negative feelings and emotions. To some extent, I agree with that. But in the case of Raila Odinga, looking away from the audience communicates concern, care and togetherness and understanding. When a section is disturbed by either the police, or themselves, Raila Odinga looks at their direction and talks to them directly. This shows his concern for the troubles of the audience. As he waits for the disk jockey to play music in *Madaraka Day speech*, he looks at the crowd before he starts speaking. The crowd demands music and he shifts his eyes to the disk jockey and asks him to play the song that the audience want. He says, "Okay. Okay. *Sawa sawa, weka hiyo ngoma...*" A feeling of concern and care is ignited in the audience. Direct eye contact is perceived as a signal of honesty and sincerity. As he speaks to the audience, his message is taken as the truth and makes the listeners to be persuaded. As he avoids looking at the audience and face the disk jockey, he manifests his disturbance just as the crowd. The audience feels that he is also not happy that the music has not been played before he speaks to his people. This connects him to them even before the delivery of the speech. It creates rapport and arrests the attention of the audience. As he speaks, the police helicopter hovers around. The crowd shows displeasure and he moves his look from the audience to the chopper. He places his fly whisk down and communicates to the audience that he understands their anxiety. A week before this speech was delivered, Raila Odinga had organized a demonstration and the police had used tear gas and steam to dispel the protesters. A few cases of fatalities had been reported. By looking at the police chopper and urging the audience to "*wacheni na hao. Wacheni na hao mradi hawatupi tear gas hapa.*" The listeners feel protected and their anxiety eased. They are removed from destructors (the police) and their listening is

improved. In Bukhungu stadium speech, just about a minute into his speech, the crowd shouts. He stops speaking and shifts his eyes to where some movements are experienced. The audience gaze is directed to look at that place and focus is all given to the arrival Hassan Joho. Everyone in the stadium, even those who did not know who Joho was have the opportunity to see him. He then says, “*Si mlikua munauliza Joho? Si mmeona amefika? Sasa team NASA iko complete hapa Kakamega.*” It should be noted that in the Kisii rally, the youths had demanded to see Joho. Joho was thus to be given prominence to communicate to the youth that as had been requested, NASA team had listened to them.

2.7 Hand Gesture

Hand gestures in Raila Odinga’s speeches forms a major non-verbal communication in persuasion. Borrowing from Knapp and Hall (2000), I shall divide the hand movement into those that are related to the speech and the unrelated ones. The related ones refer to the ones that direct verbal meaning as emblems and can be translated into words and phrases. The unrelated ones are referred to as illustrators and they depend totally on the verbal messages.

As Raila Odinga speaks, he directs his palm downwards towards pauses. As Marta Rominiecka notes in “Non-Verbal Cues in Politics: An Analysis of Gestural Signals Sent by American and European Politicians”, “Palms directed downwards show decisiveness. Raila Odinga leaves no doubt in the audience on his plans. This is much expressed when he talks of issues that call for retraction especially when his opponents or the authorities disapprove of what he has decided to do. This is what he does when talking of ‘adopt a polling station’ strategy. The president and the acting Minister of Internal security had disapproved of that. To show that he had made that decision and that nothing can change this, he communicates with his palm directed downwards. In other cases, he directs his hands towards the audience. Rominiecka (2008) argues that that is a sign of taking control. He does in his speeches. In the end, Raila Odinga leaves the audience with the image of a charismatic leader who can be trusted to be the president.

While emphasizing on the importance of a place, to accompany his demonstrative words, Raila Odinga uses his hands to enhance his verbal communication. In *Madaraka Day speech*, he tells the government to form a team of five, which will meet five members from the opposition to dialogue on the IEBC. If the government fails to allow for dialogue, then they will still go and demonstrate in the street. Demonstrations and street are not mentioned in the speech but replaced

with demonstrative pronouns which are emphasized with hand gestures. He says, “*Mazungumzo ikianza, mazungumzo ikianza, hakuna pale (pointing to the street) lakini kama hakuna mazungumzo, Jumatatu, Jumatatu, Jumatatu, Jumatatu, Jumatatu, Kule. (Pointing to the streets.)*” Pale and kule are Kiswahili demonstratives to mean ‘there’. So, demonstration and streets are summarized in the word there. Later in the speech, when the police chopper hovers, as he says “wachaneni na hao” he points to the sky. He has replaced the police and their chopper with a single demonstrative and enhanced it with the use of his hand gesture hence created clarity of who ‘hao’ are. In Bukhungu stadium speech, he again uses his hands to enhance the demonstratives. “*Zamani nilipokua mtoto mdogo, tulikua tunakuja hapa hapa (as he points to the ground with his index finger, arms folded) Bukhungu stadium.*” As mentions before, this emphasizes the importance of the stadium. To make his story of the past real and convincing enough, he says, “... *nimeona Elija Lidonde akipiga penalty pale. (Points towards the field)Ilienda ikapiga, kule nyuma kulikua na goal kwa upande ile...*” The story would not have fully been believed had the gestures not been made. His sentiments about a kicked ball getting torn after getting to the goal post would merely have been taken as exaggerated.

Apart from enhancing demonstratives, Raila Odinga’s hand gestures are used to underline and explain verbal messages. In some cases, they have created a picture in the mind of the audience and left a long term effect in their memory. In the Kericho Rally on 6 June 2017, Raila Odinga raises his hands up and moves his fingers as he tells the people of Kericho that he will help them realize the ‘raining’ of devolved government funds should he be elected the president. His host, the leader of CCM Isack Ruto changes this hand gesture to greetings and the latter uses it more than he does his party symbol which is a horn. He invites Ruto and says, “*Huyu ndiye atakua anasimamia mambo ya ugatuzi. Yeye atahakikisha kwamba pesa inatoka pale juu inakuja hapa chini inanyesha kama mvua. Inanyesha namna hii.* (Using his hands to demonstrate the falling of the rain and shifting his gauze to the sky).In fact, Chama Cha Mashinani uses this gesture as a party symbol yet its original symbol was a horn. This gesture was well received by the audience and they are persuaded into believing that devolution money will ‘fall’ from the national to the devolved county government like rain drops from a heavy down pour.

In Bukhungu stadium speech, while addressing the issue of Eurobond, Raila Odinga says he has looked at the issue very keenly and has realized that money was lost. “*Nimepiga darubini, (he*

puts his folded fingers on his eyes to emphasize on *nimepiga darubini) nimeangalia kwa macho, ile ya mwewe...*” This makes the audience get attracted to his next word. When he finally says he has not seen or smelt the money, people are persuaded to believe that money was indeed lost through corrupt deals by the government officers.

Raila Odinga uses his hand gesture to persuade people to vote for those he considers to be better leaders, loyalists to his party, trusted friends or those that believe in his political ideologies. Sometimes, as in the case of Mombasa and Homabay, he contradicts what he says by use of hand gestures. His supporters in areas where he has a strong following believe that whoever he points or carries his hands up is his choice irrespective of what he tells them. In NASA rally in Mombasa, he says, “*Sasa, niruhusini mbele yenu hapa. Nataka kuwaita Hassan mbili hapa. Hassan Omari and Hassan Joho.*” He hold Hassan Omar’s left hand with his right hand and with his left, he holds Hassan Joho’s right hand. He slips Hassan Omar’s hand off and remains with Joho’s. Omar looks at him with some displeasure, a sure sign that he has understood the meaning of leaving his hand and still retaining Joho’s. When he latter leaves Joho’s hands, the crowd is shouting and to calm them, he says, “*Vijana, kimya... Ninataka make kimya Vijana. Kaeni kimya. Kaeni kimya. Kaeni kimya. Kaeni kimya. Sawa sawa.*” Music is played then he raises his fly whisk and points towards the direction of Joho without saying a word. His wish is already communicated. So the utterances that follow this act is a public relations exercise. “*Nataka tuwe na mkutano wa Kitaifa. Vijana, huu ni mkutano wa Kitaifa. Hii ni presidential campaign rally. Hiyo mambo ni mambo ya debe. Jumanne wiki ijayo, utaweza kupiga kura kwa Hassan Joho, au Sarai. Ukitaka Sarai mwekee Sarai, wa Joho umweke Joho.*” The speech is not related to the gesture. The hand has shown that he prefers Joho. In Homabay stadium on 17th July 2017, the youth warned that should Raila Odinga support a gubernatorial nominee of the party, then they were to walk out of the rally in protest. The youth had protested against the shambolic party nomination which had resulted to the party ticket being given to the first governor. Just before he invites the ODM party nominees to the stage, he talks of not supporting any candidate. As the youths shout in his praise for not telling them who to vote for, he holds the ODM party gubernatorial candidate’s hand and lifts it up. He does the same to the party’s nominee for senatorial, women member of assembly and the rest of the seats. The audience is persuaded to vote ODM candidates in all the posts.

2.8 Posture

Posture is another form of non-verbal communication that I studied. I shall look at the posture he adopts while standing to address the audience and the way he sits. As argued by Argyle (1975) in *Bodily Communication* that “the way we stand or sit determines our involvement in the discussion and gives away the level of our self-confidence. To start with, Raila Odinga stands with his legs slightly apart. This communicates confidence. Dale and Wolf (2000) argue that when one stand in this way, then it communicates confidence. I agree with them. In all his speeches, Raila Odinga maintains this posture. That radiates confidence. When the audience develop a feeling that the speaker is confident, what is said is likely to be believed. The posture is closer to what is known as ‘the posture of the boss’ only that the hands are not in the pockets. His face is plain. Little emotion is expressed through his face. He looks friendly and someone believes he is telling the truth.

Besides his way of standing, his sitting posture too communicates confidence. As he awaits the other dignitaries to arrive, Raila Odinga’s leg arrangement attracts the attention of the audience. He places his left ankle on his right knee and letting his arms rest on the chair. This way of crossing the legs does not only radiate confidence but it also shows how fit he is. Those who might have thought that he was too old to be president are made to rethink. He communicate that he is relaxed. It is the last rally for 2017 campaigns and tension has risen. This posture calms his supporters.

Raila Odinga’s head stands erect as he speaks. Towards the end of his sentences, he moves his head emphatically forward. This aspect has made so many politicians, including the president to mockingly imitate him. Most comedians find it easier to imitate Raila Odinga. Interestingly, even the audience tries to imitate him. This is a strong element for if one can remember how one speaks, it would be easier to remember what was said.

2.9 Facial Expression

Raila Odinga’s feeling and emotions are not so much expressed in his face. He wears a plain face for the better part of his speech. This makes him be seen as friendly but firm. He is aware of his social position as a leader. But when acknowledging reactions from the audience, he smiles a little. As he dances with Ali Kiba in *Uhuru Park Last Rally speech*, he smiles. This is appreciating the musician and the crowd.

The next type of non-verbal communication is the vocal communication. As earlier indicated, I shall look at speed of utterance, the intonation and the pauses. Raila Odinga speaks relatively slowly. His words are said one after another. The rhythm is slow. This makes the audience to clearly get him.

Raila Odinga gives his speech with pauses that come after raised voice which glides in a pitch in a way that would make one feel that each sentence is said in a rising intonation. He sounds in his speeches as asking audiences questions. Though Ken Broda-Bahm argues in his essay “Persuasive Litigator: Avoid Rising Intonation” that this renders the communication ‘powerless’, I disagree. May be in law courts, that effect could be felt but in public rally speeches, it improves on the power of speech. Rising intonation is functional in that the audience feel invited to fully participate in the speech, not as passive listeners but as active audience who normally fill the pauses with a phrase ‘ndio baba’ which means yes father. It improves on his assertiveness and certainty. When he does not use the rising intonation in sentences, then he asks questions directly. *Miaka hamsini na tatu iliyopita, ndiyo Kenya ilipata uhuru wa ndani, kutoka kwa mubeberu. Wakati hiyo ndo mubeberu alipewa notisi, ya kwamba wakati wako umefika. Wakaambiwa siku ya Mwizi ni ngapi?* The commas in the sentences indicate pauses and the words coming before them a little glided up. Then finally, he asks a question.

I submit that in the delivery of his speeches, Raila Odinga exhibits an exceptional use of non-verbal cues. His youthful dances, raised head, and commanding posture reach out to the audience. Raila Odinga creates a very strong first impression by the way of his dressing, the artifacts he carries to the stage. The way he moves his head, eyes and hands give power to his words and helps him in highlighting his key issues. Raila Odinga’s gestures are very effective. His choice for places to hold his rallies is tactful. The venues of his rallies are associated with memories that the audience hold dear. His duration of speaking to the audience make him have ample time. He gets a conducive environment to persuade. Raila Odinga comes across as authentic. His non-verbal cues serve as masterful fundamentals of his speech delivery.

CHAPTER 3

Verbal Rhetorical Techniques in persuasion.

This chapter focuses on the verbal rhetorical techniques. In addition to non-verbal cues, when voters are evaluating political leaders, they are persuaded and affected in the style of delivery and the strategies used to send the message. Rhetorical techniques help Raila Odinga to structure his main ideas and themes and drive key points home.

3.1 Creating Rapport by attempting to use local language

Burke (1995) argues in *The Rhetoric of Motives*, “You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with them.” Raila Odinga connects and builds rapport with the audience by trying to speak in their language. In most cases, he starts his speeches by greeting his audience in their own language. When Barack Obama came to Kenya, he tried to speak in Kiswahili. While at Kogelo, he used Luo to greet the natives. On 3rd of June 2017 in Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga says, “Abandu ba ingo mirembee? Mrembe andii? Muli mwoyo?” In the middle of his speech, he says, “*Nataka kuambia nyinyi abandu ba ingo.*” He establishes a common ground. In Nandi, Raila Odinga says, “*Nandi chamgei tugul? Chamgei tokei.*” In Kajiado West, he greets the Maasai people in their language. He says, “*Kainashobeng? (Ebaa) ashobeng.*” He gives identifies a name in the community and uses it. In Kericho, he tells the audience that he is Arap Mibeyi. In Murang’a, Odinga reminds the listeners of the name he was given in 2003 when he campaigned for Kibaki: “*Njamba*”. *Njamba* means hero warrior.

A remarkable trademark of Raila Odinga’s communication style is his use of unique variations of repetition. This is a major rhetorical strategy for producing emphasis, clarity, amplification or emotional effects. Raila Odinga draws on a wide variety of repetition techniques that give power to his oration. Repetitions of words or phrases include anaphora, epistrophe, commoratio, epizeuxis or palilogia among others. There are instances where there are repetitions of sounds. These include use of alliteration, assonance, consonance among others.

3.2 Anaphora

Anaphora is a deliberate repetition of the first part of a sentence in order to achieve an artistic effect or emphasize on what is being expressed. Emphasis is built upon the idea being conveyed. Raila Odinga uses this strategy in his speeches. Leanne (2009) defines anaphora as

“the recurrence of the same word, words or phrases at the start of successive sentences, phrases, and clauses.” She argues that anaphora is a tremendous way of concentrating our attention on key words and ideas, because “those words or ideas are emphasized at the start of a successive sentence, phrase, or clause.”

During the unveiling of NASA presidential flag bearer in Uhuru park, Raila Odinga emphasizes on the dream of the forefather. He says that at independence, there were three things that the freedom fighters wanted to be eradicated: poverty, illiteracy and disease. He says, “**Tupigane** na umaskini. **Tupigane** na ugonjwa. **Tupigane** na ujinga.”

In Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga creates a rapport with the audience by emphasizing the choice of Bukhungu stadium in launching of the 2017 presidential campaigns. He says, “*Tulisema hatuendi Mombasa. **Hatuendi** Kisumu. **Hatuendi** Nairobi. Tunaenda Kakamega.*”

In Madaraka Day speech, Raila Odinga says the following;

*“**Wakati kama huu**, tunakumbuka wanajeshi wetu, ambao wamelinda taifa letu mpaka wa leo. **Wakati kama huu**, tunakumbuka wale sportsmen wetu, wale wanariadha, wale wachezaji mpira, wale wa mereka, wale wakimbiaji wote, ambao wameleta sifa kwa taifa letu. Pia wale Professors, wale walimu, wale wafanyi kazi ambao wameleta Kenya mpaka kwenye Kenya iko.”*

The phrase **wakati kama huu** is repeated. It is interesting to note that the word **wale** has also recurred at the start of the noun phrases. He says;

*“**Wakati kama huu**, tunakumbuka wanajeshi wetu, ambao wamelinda taifa letu mpaka wa leo. **Wakati kama huu**, tunakumbuka wale sportsmen wetu, **wale** wanariadha. **Wale** wachezaji mpira. **Wale** wa mereka. **Wale** wakimbiaji wote, ambao wameleta sifa kwa taifa letu. Pia wale Professors. **wale** walimu. **Wale** wafanyi kazi ambao wameleta Kenya mpaka kwenye Kenya iko.”*

In trying to focus on the negative effects of ethnicity, Raila Odinga emphasizes on the need for a united nation just as the one left to Kenyans by their forefathers at independence. At that time, and in the period before independence, there was no much tribalism. He says, “*Mwaka huo wakenya wote wakiungana pamoja. Kulikua hakuna ati huyu ni mkamba. **Huyu ni** mhindi. **Huyu ni** mkale. **Huyu ni** mjaluo. **Huyu ni** mkikuyu. **Huyu ni** mjikenda. Wakenya wote walikua kitu kimoja.*”

While in Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga defends himself over constant criticism of the government. He says his work as opposition leader is to keep the government in check. He says, “**Wakifanya** vizuri tunawasifu. **Wakifanya** mbaya tunawakosoa. He is concerned about the corruption in the government and he says, *Ile pesa ya hospitali ya matibabu, ya wagonjwa, ya watu wa TB, ya wale ya akina mama, imeenda*”. He goes ahead to say that power should not be left in the hands of the two Kenyans- president and his deputy but should be shared amongst many so that its impact could be felt. He says,

“We want to share power. We want to divide power. We want to diffuse power. We want to use power for the benefit of the people of Kenya. Raila Odinga gets the audience to focus on the sectors as is envisioned in Western region blue print. He talks of the changes that he plans to affect. He says, *Upande hii, kwa upande ya elimu, upande ya matibabu, upande ya kilimo, kwa upande ya kunyunyiza maji kwa mashamba, upande ya mashamba, kwa upande ya biashara, kwa upande ya ali ya afya, yooote iko hapo ndani.*”

This is to emphasize that the NASA will initiate development in all the sectors. He picks on the Jubilee manifesto and reminds the audience of the unfulfilled promises the president had made to the people. He says, “**Walisema, ati** wakishika namna hii, *gharama ya maisha itarudi chini... Walisema ati* wataengeneza lami kilomita elfu kumi, *mmeziona hizo? Mmeziona hizo lami? Mmeziona? Hamjaziona. Walisema* ugatuzi itafanya kazi. This appeals to the emotions of the audience and make them feel cheated by the government. They are persuaded into feeling that NASA administration will fulfill its promises should the opportunity be given.

In the Bomet rally, Raila Odinga explores anaphora in the delivery of his speech. He says Bomet is a land of great farming. “**Hapa** ni nyumbani ya chai. **Hapa** kuna mahindi. **Hapa** kuna kahawa. **Hapa** kuna maziwa. **Hapa** kuna ngano, sikia sikia Mursik.” This emphasizes that Bomet major economic activity is farming.

3.3 Epistrophe

Another rhetorical device that explores repetition and which Raila Odinga uses in his speeches is epistrophe, which like anaphora is the recurrence of words or phrases. The difference between the two is that in the case of epistrophe, the recurrence of the same word, words, or phrases

happens at the end of successive sentences, phrases, or clauses. This is also an effective way of focusing attention and adding emphasis to the way ideas are communicated.

In the Uhuru Park, during the unveiling of NASA presidential candidate, Raila Odinga emphasizes on the commitment that his government would have in reducing the high cost of living. He says;

*“Bei ya bidhaa ziweze **kurudi chini**. Bei ya unga **irudi chini**. Kodi za manyumba **zirudi chini**. Gharama ya elimu **irudi chini**. Matibabu iweze kupatikana. Walimu walipwe mshahara sawa sawa. Madaktari walipwe mshahara.”*

In the Tononoka Rally, he says, *“Ati bei ya unga **iko juu**. Bei ya mkate **iko juu**. Bei ya sukari **iko juu**. Bei ya soda **iko juu**. Kodi ya nyumba **iko juu**. Nauli ya kusafiri **iko juu**.”* He calls for a national dialogue to discuss the high cost of living. He had given a threat that should the government fail to honour it, then Saba Saba Day would be a national holiday. He was criticized by the government of lacking powers to call for a national holiday. In his response, he says,

*“Katiba ya Kenya inasema, ati uwezo katika jamuhuri ya Kenya, ni ya **wananchi wa Kenya**. The sovereignty of the republic of Kenya, is vested in the people of Kenya. Sawa sawa? Sasa wananchi, wanaweza kutumia hiyo uwezo wao wenyewe, au wanaweza kutumia mtu mwingine, wampatie nguvu, atumie. Sivyo? Ile nguvu ya raisi, is donated sovereignty of the people of Kenya. Ile ya bunge, **wamepewa na wananchi wa Kenya**. Ile ya mahakama, **wamepewa na wananchi wa Kenya**.”*

In the Bukhungu stadium, to emphasize on the promise of creation of more jobs, Raila Odinga says, *“Sisi tunataka kuzalisha **kazi**. Vijana wanapata **kazi**, wamama wanapata **kazi**, ata wazee, wanapata **kazi**.”* This is an effective way in delivery of the speech for it also helps in creating a rhythm. He promises that in ninety days of his administration, the high cost of living would have been solved. He says, *“Gharama ya maisha itarudi **chini**. Hiyo bei ya unga itarudi **chini**.”* He tells the audience that as things are, the cost of living is too high. He says, *“Gharama ya maisha imepanda. Bei ya mbegu **imepanda**. Ata bei ya mbolea **imepanda**.”* The word “imepanda” is repeated at the end of the sentences. He feels the police have the role to play in ensuring that the citizens are safe. Security is a concern and Raila Odinga suggests that the police should be friendly to the people and protect them instead of exploiting them. He says that it is the tax

payers who are the bosses of the police officers hence service and respect should be accorded because, as he says, “*Polisi ni mtumishi wako. Maanake, hiyo bunduki amebeba, juu yako. Risasi ndani yake, juu yako. Mshahara yake, juu yako. Uniform amevaa, juu yako. Nyumba yake, juu yako.*” This emphasizes the fact that tax payers are the employers of the police and should thus be respected. In expressing his views on the ineffectiveness of the government to handle insecurity and corruption, Raila Odinga says, “*Kuleta usalama wameshindwa. Kupigana na ufisadi wameshindwa.*” In Kajaiido West, he used the same style to highlight the high cost of living. He says, “*Sasa gharama imepanda. Bei ya mafuta taa imepanda. Nauli ya matatu imepanda.*” Still in Kajaiido, Raila Odinga responds to the Nkaiseri (the then cabinet secretary) who had warned that those who will remain at the polling station after voting as Raila Odinga had instructed his agents, he says, “*Nilimwambia bwana wacha kutisha raia. Huwezi kutisha raia. Wewe ni mtumishi wa raia.*” This fixes the attention of the audience on the final word or words in a sentence, phrase, or paragraph. They are persuaded to see and believe that the cost of life is high. The voters see their contribution to the economy in paying taxes which are used among other things, to pay the police but are not properly served. Sometimes, Raila Odinga leaves the repetition of these words to the audience to fill in the gaps. In Mathare for instance, he says, “*Kwa upande ya kilimo, wakulima wa majani chai wanalia. wakulima wa kahawa wanalia. Wakulima wa mahindi wanalia. Wakulima wa ngano wanalia. Wavuvi wa samaki wanalia.*” This creates musicality and improves on the power of the speech.

3.4 Commoratio

Commoratio as another rhetorical device under repetition is effectively used in Raila Odinga’s speeches. Commoratio is dwelling on a point. It is the repetition of the same idea but using different words. The recurrence of the idea hammers the point home forcefully. Raila Odinga ensures that he remains on a point but at the same time creating a feel of a speech that has moved from the idea which had already been expressed. In Kajaiido, Raila Odinga says, “*Niliambia nyinyi kumepambauka. Ati kumekucha. Jogoo shawika mara tatu.*” The words “*kumepambauka*”, “*kumekucha*” and the phrase “*jogoo shawika mara tatu*” all mean dawning. It would mean starting to happen or become obvious. If taken to mean time of a day, then all the three words mean the time when the first appearance of daylight is experienced in the very early hours of the morning. Raila Odinga dwells on the aspect of dawn by the use of the words “*kumepambauka*”, “*kumekucha*” and “*jogoo shawika mara tatu.*”

In *Madaraka Day Speech*, Raila Odinga simply wants to tell the audience that the day is celebrated as a mark of the day Kenyan got independence and a reflection of the events that have shaped the country. He dwells on the journey from 1963 and says, “...*Ndio sababu ikifika leo namna hii tunakumbuka kule tumetoka. Ile ziara ambayo tumetembea sixty three mpaka twenty sixteen. Yale mawimbi ambayo imepiga taifa la Kenya. Yale milima na mabonde ambayo tumepitia, mpaka tumefika hapa.*” “*Kule tumetoka*” suggest a journey. “*Ziara ambayo tumetembea*” also suggest a journey. “*Yale mawimbi ambayo imepiga Kenya*” and “*milima na mabonde*” met on the journey to where the country has reached all suggest the journey. He dwells on the journey but using other phrases and words.

In response to the question of why he would want Isack Hassan and the other commissioners of the IEBC to be retired yet he was involved in choosing them, he dwells on the corruption that took place on the commissioners watch and says that by the time of their employment, he never knew they were corrupt. He says, “...*Hatukujua mambo ya Chicken Gate, hatukujua yeye alikua alikula kuku. Sivyoy? Yale maovu yote ambayo yamefukuliwa kule kwa IEBC, hatukujua wakati ile.*” The phrases chicken gate, “*alikua alikula kuku*” and “*maovu yote*” are all referring to the corruption in the IEBC and a very effective use of commoratio. His idea on calling for the removal of the commissioners from the office before the 2017 general election is accepted by the audience and the public.

3.5 Epizeuxis

Another form of repetition that Raila Odinga uses in persuading the audience is the epizeuxis. This is defined as the repetition of words or phrases in succession within the same sentence. In the *Madaraka day speech*, Raila Odinga creates an appeal to the emotions of the audience. the audience had witnessed the protest of the youths. Raila appeals to the audience emotion by saying, “*Tunawaambia vile vile, hakuna matusi leo, hakuna matusi leo.*” Repeating the phrase *hakuna matusi leo* calms the audience and prepare them for a rest from demonstrations as the alternative of dialogue is used. The phrase “*hakuna matusi*” is made memorable in the minds of the audience by repeating it.

Epizeuxis is again employed in the *Madaraka Day Speech* when Raila Odinga creates the impression that Kenya has problems which should be solved. He says, “*Miaka hamsini na tatu, Kenya iko kwa shida, Kenya iko kwa shida.*” This creates an emotional appeal and prepares the

audience to be told of where, and from whom the solution sought will be got. In the same speech, Raila Odinga says, *Hii shirika ambalo linaitwa IEBC, IEBC, IEBC, IEBC*. Repetition of IEBC improves on vehemence. The audience experience freshness in calling for the removal of the commissioners. Rhythm is created and audience motivated and encouraged to help in calling for a change in the commission. They are ready to still go to the streets and demonstrate against the commissioners. Raila Odinga reaffirm to the audience that he would call off the demonstrations only when dialogue is explored. He says, “*Mazungumzo ikianza, mazungumzo ikianza, hakuna pale. Lakini kama hakuna mazungumzo, Jumatatu, Jumatatu, Jumatatu, Jumatatu, Jumatatu, kule.*” Repeating Jumatatu four times in a sentence inspires the audience.

In Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga inspires the audience and encourage them to believe in the NASA manifesto. He gives the audience hope in NASA and dissuades the audience from Jubilee manifesto by saying, “*Sisi tunasema na tunatenda. Sio ile tenda ya Ruto, anasema tumetenga, tumetenga, tumetenga, yote ni ahadi ya bure ambao hauna chochote.*”

3.6 Alliteration

Alliteration has been employed by Raila Odinga in delivery of his speeches. Alliteration is the repetition of the same sound at the beginning of words in a sentence. Raila Odinga uses alliteration to add power to his words, making them sound more eloquent and confident and reassuring supporters to remain enthused.

In *Madaraka Day speech*, Raila Odinga says, “*Wananchi walitoka wakaanza kuunga Jaramogi mkono.*” The repetition of the initial sound in *wananchi, walitoka, wakaanza* makes the speech rhythmic and powerful. He again uses alliteration in “*Tulialikwa tuende ikulu.*” This emphasizes that the president invited Raila Odinga and his team to the statehouse. But, they turned down the invitation. He says “*Tukamwambia tiyari tulikua tumeandaa karamu hapa Uhuru Park.*” So, they would not have attended. They told the president that they would wait till their function in Nakuru is over. He says, “*Lakini tukawaambia tutangoja.*” He continues exploiting alliteration further when calling for a united country. He says, “*Tunataka muungano ya Kenya kama kitu kimoja.* For this unity to happen, he says, *Watu waliketi chini kwanza walikubaliana, wakateua wabunge wakuenda kuwawakilisha.*”

In the Bukhungu stadium speech, he says, “*Nimepiga darubini, nimeangalia na macho, ile ya mwewe, nikaangalia, sioni pesa imeenda wapi.*” Ni means ‘I’. Use of repetitive ‘NI’ in the sentence signifies authority and certainty. Musicality and power is enhanced hence making the speech powerful. In emphasizing on the free secondary education as pledged by him and NASA, he says, “*Watoto watakua wanasoma bure katika shule zote za sekondari.*” This highlights on the manifesto. Talking on the tribulations of the farmers while still in the same rally, he says, “*Mwaka jana mpaka mwaka huu, wakulima walikua wanalia.*” The government had promised to give the farmers subsidized farm input and on failing to fulfill this promise, Raila Odinga says, “*Wanafkiri wakenya ni wajinga sana.*” He suggests to people that they must vote and protect their votes for change to happen. Raila Odinga says, “*Vijana wanatumwa wanaenda nyumbani kuchukua wale watu waletwe wakuje wafanye nini?*” He adds, “*Ata wagonjwa, wagonjwa kwa hospitali wanachukuliwa, wanaletwa wapige.*” In all these examples, Alliteration draws attention to key sounds and adds a musical eloquence to speech. This makes the speeches more persuasive. Persuasion is achieved as a result of speech being powerful.

3.7 Eutrepismus

In a persuasive speech, the order of ideas being expressed is of importance. Raila Odinga exhibit artful ordering of concepts. He employs eutrepismus and enumeratio among others.

Eutrepismus is defined as numbering and ordering the parts under consideration. The ideas in a series are numbered in order to create clarity in argument hence making the speech easier for the audience to take in. The audience is made to follow a train of thought. In Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga numbers the reasons why the government should be voted out. He gives six reasons and says;

“*Sababu ya kupeleka Jubilee nyumbani ni mingi zaidi. Lakini ya muhimu zaidi, namba one, gharama ya maisha. Sawa? Pili, ujisadi. Tatu, ukosefu wa kazi kwa vijana. Sawa? Na nne ni kutoheshimu ugatuzi. Sawa? Kutoheshimu ugatuzi. Sasa ya tano ni ukabila. Ukabila. Alafu ya sita ni usalama.*”

This makes the audience to follow him well on the failures of the government and get a justification for why they should vote for Raila Odinga. He gives a strategy on how NASA is planning to win in the elections. He says, “*Get the votes. Pili, get out the votes. Tatu, protect the*

votes. Sawa sawa?" They are persuaded to NASA and discouraged from the Jubilee. Raila Odinga tells the audience that because of these reasons, Kenyans have the will and the ability to vote out the government. In Kajiado, he employs eutrepismus as follows; *"Nimeambia wakenya wengi ati Wakenya wana sababu, **pili** Wakenya wana nia na **tatu** Wakenya wana uwezo wa kupeleka Uhuru na Ruto nyumbani."* Even in telling the people of Kajiado on what he would do for them if elected, he says, *"**Pili** ni kutengeneza hay ambayo ngombe inaeza kutumia wakati wa ukame. **Tatu** kuchimba zile mabwawa ya maji."* He builds reasons for his team and against the government hence persuading the audience through reasoning. He makes his speech be more reasonable and hence appeal to the logos. It is worth noting that in some cases, the numbering of ideas comes after so many words are said. In the Bomet rally for example, he takes long just dwelling on a reason before giving the next. He says the NASA government if elected will create a positive impact on tea farmers, pastoralists and improve on the infrastructure. As he numbers his pledges, for example, he says;

"...Pili vile vile, najua ile bonus inalipwa...", *"**Tatu** ni mambo ya miundo msingi. Mambo ya barabara"*. He dwells on one before he introduces another. In Kapsabet, Nandi county, he does the same. He says, *"Sababu ni chungu mzima ya kupeleka Jubilee nyumbani. **Sababu ya kwanza**, gharama ya maisha. Bei ya unga imepanda juu juu juu zaidi ama sivyo? Haya, bei ya sukari? Imepanda. Bei ya mafuta? Si imepanda? Nauli ya matatu? Si imepanda? Kwa hivyo wananchi wengi wanahangaishwa.**Pili** ni mambo ya ufisadi"*.

He dwells on corruption before he goes to his third reason. This makes his audience to follow him. It works better in improving clarity. In Mathare, Raila Odinga talks of the president's attack on the governors that support Odinga's presidency. The president had used harsh words to refer to Joho, Nanok and Kingi. Raila Odinga says that the president should *"Heshimu katiba, **pili** heshimu sheria, **tatu** heshimu magavana wote ambao wamechaguliwa na wananchi."*

Another way Raila Odinga has enhanced his persuasion is by engaging the use of both rhetorical and nonrhetorical questions. A rhetorical question is that which is asked merely for effect but no answer is expected. A rhetorical question is an effective persuasive technique which subtly influences the kind of emotional response one wants to get from the audience. Irene Koshik (2005) in *Beyond Rhetorical Questions* defines rhetorical questions as "questions that are asked, and are not understood, as ordinary information-seeking questions." Some of the rhetorical

question devices that Raila Odinga uses include epiplexis which is an interrogative figure of speech in which questions are asked to rebuke, express grief or to protest. In *Madaraka Day speech*, after assuring the youth that their right of demonstrating is protected in the constitution, he invites them for another demonstration if dialogue on IEBC is not held. He asks the youths if they fear teargas. “*Au mnaogopa teargas?*” This spurs the feeling of the youths and provokes them into participating in the demonstration.

3.8 Erotesis

Another rhetorical question device Raila Odinga uses is erotesis. Erotesis as defined by Richard Lanham (1991) in *A Hand List of Rhetorical Terms* as “a question which implies an answer but does not give or lead us to expect one.” It is intended to awaken the attention to the subject of discourse. In Kajiado, Raila Odinga asks the audience what Nkaiseri is. “*Hatuwezi kuogopa Nkaiseri. Kwani yeye ni nini? Nkaiseri ni nini? Ni nini?*” Without providing the answer, the audience ponders over what Nkaiseri is and come to the answer that he is just but a Cabinet Secretary or an ordinary human being who should not be feared. Rhetorical questions arouse curiosity and motivate the audience. More of their attention is arrested and the information which is connected to the question effectively delivered.

A nonrhetorical question is one the speaker intends to answer. This is an appreciated way to replicate a sense of two-way dialogue. The use of nonrhetorical questions, addressed at appropriate length, makes the listener feel as if the speaker is raising and addressing commonly held concerns. The types of nonrhetorical questions include hypophora, procatalepsis, polar questions, pisma, and queclarative.

3.9 Hypophora

Hypophora is a strategy in which the speaker asks a question and then immediately answers it. This enables speakers to act as if they are vetting key questions from the audience. In the Bomet Rally, he asks if the farmers are happy. He asks where their problems started from and he gives reasons why farmers are struggling. “*Wakulima wana furaha? Wakulima wana furaha? Wakulima wakati huu wanameza mate tu. He says, Sasa wakulima wakaanza kulia. Jee hii inakuaje? Gharama ya maisha imepanda, bei ya mbegu imepanda, ata bei ya mbolea imepanda, na nyinyi mnashukisha bei ya mahindi.*”

3.10 Procalepsis

Procalepsis is a technique that enables the speaker to give a response to the objection of an opponent in his speech by repeating his objection. It could also be a case in which the speaker gives a response to his own objection. This is for the purpose of making an argument strong since counterarguments are used. The speaker brings the attention of the audience to a rebuttal that seems possible then immediately discredits it. A well-developed answer demonstrates depth of knowledge and aids effective knowledge sharing. Raila Odinga uses this strategy effectively in his speeches. In the Bukhungu stadium speech, he acknowledges the fact that some people, especially the government see him as always raising issues and criticizing the government. Some had created his image as that of a trouble maker. He says,

*“Juzi, Uhuru anasema ati mtu ambaye analeta shida Kenya hii ni Raila Odinga. Ati Raila Odinga ndio adui ya maendeleo Kenya hii. Mimi nataka kumwambia yeye, kazi ya Raila Odinga kama kiongozi ya upinzani, ni kukosoa serikali. Kuangalia kama serikali inafanya vizuri au inafanya vibaya. Wakifanya vizuri tunawasifu. Wakifanya mbaya tunawakosoa. Bahati mbaya, wamekua mara mingi wakifanya mbaya tu. **Sasa utasifu kitu ambayo haiko? Kama wanaleta NYS kule Kibira, alafu wanatumia hiyo kuiba pesa. Nimsifu Uhuru ama nimkosoe? Nimsifu ama nimkosoe? Hiyo NYS peke yake, waliiba zaidi ya shilingi billion ishirini. Biloni ishirini sio billioni moja na nukta sita.**”*

By accepting that some people take him as a trouble maker, the audience sees sincerity in him. This prepares the audience for his argument against voting the government and his vehement criticism on the failure of the government without the tag of being a trouble maker. He provides a response to those who might be skeptical about his criticism of the government even before they say so. He takes the control of the discourse. In Bomet, Raila Odinga picks the issue of the maize from Mexico. Some people felt he was wrong on criticizing the way with which the government tried to solve the problem of the scarcity of maize. He raises the issue and responds to it. He says;

*“Sasa walisema ati wanaitisha mahindi kutoka Mexico. Mexico ni kaaribu kilometa elfu kumi kutoka Kenya. Sasa ndani ya siku tatu, meli imefika Mombasa. **Hiyo kweli ilikua ni ndege? Ilikua ni ndege? Ati wanasema ati, wanasema mbona tunasema imekuja kwa haraka. Tukiuliza***

tu, hii meli yenu ilikua wapi? Ati ilikua Afrika kusini ilikua nangoja. Wa Kenya wanaumia na unasema meli ilikua inangoja hapa Afrika Kusini? Mbona hiyo meli haikukuja mapema?”

3.11 Polar Questions

Polar questions are those that the expected answer is equivalent of ‘yes’ or ‘no’. This interrogative construction is meant to ascertain the ideals expressed by the speaker. It engages the audience. At a time, the speaker might choose to give two alternatives that the audience picks from. In the Kapsabet rally, as Raila Odinga moves to address the crowd, the rain starts to fall heavily. That is destructive to the listening of the audience and he chooses to address it and making the falling of the rain be seen as a blessing to the people and himself. He asks, “*Kwa hivyo mvua ni Baraka sivyo?*” This would need either a ‘no’ or ‘yes’ answer. He is assured that the audience is ready to listen despite the heavy rain after they answer in the affirmative. He continues to make the audience be in a dialogue with him. He says, “*Inaonekana Wanandi wanataka mabadiliko. Kweli ama urongo? Kweli urongo? Mabadiliko, na mabadiliko itakuja.*” He gives the audience the polar question and provides the choices *kweli* and *rongo*. His determination to have the audience answer his question by repeating the question when the audience is silent keeps the audience attention focused on his utterances. It makes the listeners to follow him. He says, “*Wakenya wana sababu, wa Kenya wana nia, wakenya wana uwezo ya kuleta mabadiliko kwenye nchi yetu. Ama sivyo? Ama Sivyo?*” Sometimes, to emphasize on a concept, he picks already expressed concept in a statement and forms a question from it. “*Wale wakulima wafugaji wa ngomba wanalia, wakulima wa mahindi... si wanalia?*” This is effective in complaining on the poor treatment of the farmers. Interestingly, almost all his paragraphs have at least two or more polar questions. The following is part of a speech delivered in Kapsabet:

“Sisi tumesikia kilio ya wakaaji wa Nandi. Wanandi ni wakulima shupavu. Wanandi wamekua wakilisha Kenya. Lakini sasa wanandi wamekua maskini. Kweli au urongo? Wakulima ya majani chai wanalia. Sivyo? Wale wakulima wafugaji wa ngomba wanalia, wakulima wa mahindi... si wanalia? Kweli au rongo? Wote wanalia kwa sababu uchumi wa kilimo umeharibika. Si uchumi ya kilimo umeharibika?

Sasa bonus, wakulima wa hapa ya majani chai, wanapata shilingi kumi na tano shilingi ngapi kwa kilo. Ataitwa West of Rift. Na upande ule wa mashariki, wanapata karibu shilingi hamsini kwa kilo. Sivyo? Na wakulima wa mahindi, wameanguka. Kwanza walipewa ile mbolea ya

mbandia. Ambaye ilichoma mahindi. Ama sivyoy? Baadaye wakashusha bei ya mahindi. Tulipokua tunakaa kwa serikali, Kibaki Raila Odinga na Kalonzo, bei ya mahindi kwa ghunia ilikua ni shilingi elfu tatu na mia mbili. Jubilee walipoingia, wakashusha wakapeleka elfu mbili na mia mbili. Sivyoy? Wakulima wakalialia, wakapandisha kidogo wakaweka elfu tatu. Lakini sasa, wanalipa wakulima wa Mexico, shilingi elfu nne na mia sita kwa ghunia. Wamekataa kulipa wakulima wa Kenya, wanalipa wakulima wa Mexico. Jee huo ni ungwana?Hiyo ni ungwana?'

This help in keeping the audience focused on the issues. Emphasize is placed on major concerns raised hence effective way of involving the audience.

3.12 Pysma

Pysma is asking a series of questions which requires complex answers. The questions come one after the other before the answer is provided. He uses this strategy at a time, to evoke pity, complain, provoke, insult, confirm, confute, and seek attention. In *Madaraka Day* speech, towards the end of his speech, Raila Odinga asks a series of three questions. “*Tunataka amani, na tumeambia polisi, hakuna sharia ambao unazuia sisi kufanya maandamano. Maandamano imehalalishwa kwa katiba. Sawa sawa? Sawa sawa? Mko tiyari vijana? Mko tiyari? Au mnaogopa teargas?*” First, he explains to the youth that demonstrations are allowed, are not outlawed. He asks a polar question to ascertain if the audience got him and then asks them if they are ready to demonstrate or if they fear teargas. In the Bukhungu stadium, he asks, “*Walisema, ati wakishika namna hii, gharama ya maisha itarudi chini. Imerudi chini? Bei ya unga iko wapi? Bei ya sukari? Bei ya mazima? Nauli ya matatu? Walisema ati watatengeneza lami kilomita elfu kumi, mmeziona hizo? Mmeziona hizo lami? Mmeziona?*” Nonrhetorical questions also attract the attention of the listeners on key issues and make the expressed ideas more appealing.

Queclarative is an utterance with the form of a question but the force of a declarative statement. It is a blend of question and declarative and was introduced to the study of rhetoric by Jerrold M. Saddock (1974) in *Toward a Linguistic Theory of Speech Acts*.

Raila Odinga uses confrontational rhetorical strategies in persuasion. To some extent, this is what makes some people perceive him in the negative. Jason Del Gandio (2013) in *Rhetoric for*

Radicals says confrontational rhetoric is “about speaking truth to power and confronting and eradicating all forms of oppression.” Richard Nordquist defines confrontational rhetoric as “a broad term for the strategies of persuasion and forms of communication that directly challenge the authority of an opponent.” In most cases, this discourse is characterized by threats, demonstrations, sit-ins and other forms of social action and disobedience. The strategies that Raila Odinga employs in confrontational rhetoric include cataplexis, perclusio, eristic and polemic.

3.13 Cataplexis

Cataplexis is defined as threatening or prophesying payback for wrong doing. By doing this, the orator improves on his reputation and is seen as being of a virtuous character and warns of catastrophic punishment for ill deeds. In Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga tells the audience that upon getting into the government, the corrupt individuals would be in trouble. He says, “*Sisi tukishika, mtaona mabadiliko makubwa. Tutatumia ile kifagio ya Maghufuli, ndio tutatumia hapa. Baada ya siku chache tu wale wezi watakua wanakimbia tu. Watakua wanakimbia hapa na pale.*” He says he will deal with the thieves who steal public money the same way the president of Tanzania dealt with them. Corruption is a vice that many Kenyans feel eats the money meant to be used for development. By prophesying trouble to the corrupt, Raila Odinga develops ethos as a virtuous, honest and earnestly committed to deal with corruption. The audience feels the depth of his commitment and trusts him. Continued attacks on corruption and threats of arresting the culprits or even forcing them to pay are widely accepted. For a good time, the government engaged in dissuading the people from believing him and even came up with instances where Raila Odinga was himself involved in corruption. Corruption became a major campaign issue due to Raila Odinga’s threat on the actions he would take if elected the president.

3.15 Polemic

Polemic is a strategy in which a speaker strongly attacks or defends a particular opinion, person, and idea or even beliefs. It is an aggressive attack or refutation of the principles of another. The art of being controversial and giving argument in opposition to what someone considers noble and workable. This gives rise to public debate. Barack Obama did it with his comment on same-sex marriage. Raila Odinga too shows aspect of radicalism. After the 2016 Kenya Certificate of Secondary Examination result was released, amidst praises on the examination body and the

Education Ministry for doing well in terms of safety of exams, Raila Odinga strongly opposed the grading system used. Later on in Bomet, he says,

“Juzi watoto walifanya mtihani. Darasa kumi na mbili. Kwa wale walifanya mtihani, asilimia themanini na tano, yaani eighty five percent walianguka. Kumi na tano kwa mia peke yake ndio walipita kuingia kwa vioo vikuu. Waskia sawa sawa? Eighty five percent failure rate si kitu ya kusherehekea. Hiyo ni kitu ya kuhuzunika. Sivyo? Sasa mimi nimesema, imekua vitu viwili tu. Kua ni wale watoto walifanya mtihani walikua ni wajinga sana, ama wale walitihani hiyo mtihani walikua ni wajinga sana. Ehe? Hatuwezi kusherehekea failure rates. Hii ni kitu ambao inataka ifanyiwe uchunguzi. We cannot sit and watch somebody ruining the future of so many young Kenyans citizen here. Mpaka uchunguzi ufanywe. Maana yake ikiwa kama wasema ati wameanguka mtihani kwa sababu wamezoea uwizi ya mtihani hiyo ni kusema ya kwamba elfu mbili na kumi na tano, kumi na nne, kumi na tatu, kumi na mbili na chini huko, wale walikua wanapita kwa sababu walikua wanaiba mtihani.”

He brings into the public concern, something that ignites debate and questioning. While the majority would have gone without seeing the abnormal graph that indicated many students failing, their focus is brought to the issue and a public debate on the process of examining and grading the students is questioned. He demands an audit of the process. He criticizes the process. Apart from the fact that he has managed to bring the public into the debate on his idea, some feel he is a nuisance as others feel he is fighting for their rights. In Bukhumbu stadium, he picks on the police and attacks them. Controversially, he says the police should not bother those taking illicit brew locally referred to as *chang’aa* but instead provide the security. He says he doesn’t know of a place where *chang’aa* is illegal. This is polemic. It raised debate on whether legalizing *chang’aa* would be good to the country. He says,

“Usalama umezorota. Kila mahali, unalala nyumbani una shida zaidi. Saa zile unapiga simu kwa polisi, unawaambia ya kwamba nimevamiwa hapa na majambazi, wanaambia wewe ati hawana pesa ya petrol. Ati hawana petroli ya kukuja. Lakini wakisikia tu harufu ya changaa namna hii, hao ndo wale wale wako hapo. Wanakimbia moja kwa moja, lakini mimi sijui pahali pengine ambao chang’aa ilipigwa marufuku. Wananchi wanajiburudisha, wanaenda kuwasumbua.”

In Kajiado West, Raila Odinga again controversially brings into the debate the issue of land. He claims that the Maasai people sell their land to people of other tribes because of the impoverished condition they have been pushed into. He says that if he gets into the government, then he will not let others buy land. For a good time, the president and those in the government attack him over the remarks. He said,

“Sasa watu wanalazimishwa tu kuuza shamba yao. Unauza mashamba kwa sababu si kupenda kwako, unauza kwa sababu ya ufukara. Ama sivyo? Wao ndo wanakuja kuingia, kuvamia kuvamia, ehe. Hiyo tunataka kubadilisha. Tutabadilisha hayo, ili watu wasiuze mashamba yao. Baki na shamba. Usiuzie yeye, kule anatoka anatoka sababu ghani anakuja kwako? Ehe? Si abaki kule kwao? Si abaki kule kwao?”

Some politicians claimed that Raila Odinga’s sentiments boarded on hate speech. They said he should be investigated. Most people however, see the danger of ‘willing seller willing buyer’ when it comes to land. Raila Odinga is seen as a person who understands the poor and is ready to protect their interests. Due to such comments against the rich who exploit the poor, he is nicknamed the ‘lord of poverty’ by his opponents. He emotionally gets connected to the poor and slum dwellers just as much as the middle class who see his policies on reduced rent rates and affordable fare for transport a noble thing.

3.16 Metaphors

Raila Odinga creates memorable images in the mind of the audience through the use of metaphors, similes and analogies. He attracts the attention of the audience with his artistic comparison of two different things. This makes his speeches more memorable and persuasive.

A metaphor compares something with another but without the use of words of comparison like *as* and *like*. Raila Odinga uses this technique to make a complex idea simple. After the IEBC chairman declared Uhuru duly elected, Raila Odinga went to court with evidence of a rigged election. The evidence submitted included those that showed a linear formation and a constant margin between him and Uhuru. His lawyers managed to convince the Supreme Court that an algorithm had been installed and that tallying was not genuine. That is a complex thing to explain to most voters. To make it simple, Raila Odinga refers to Uhuru and Ruto *as* “*hawa ni vifaranga vya computer.*” “*Vifaranga*” are chicks. He means that the president and his deputy

did not get the votes from the people. He claims that the number of votes announced was generated by the computers. By comparing the known (*vifaranga*) to the unknown (computer tallies), he makes the abstract to be concrete hence clearly understood. This creates a vivid image in the audience. They remember this message. In the Bomet Rally, Raila Odinga used a number of metaphors. He said, “*Lakini kuna upepo ambao unavuma kwanza. Ichukue takataka yote ya Jubilee na kupeleka baharini.*” He compares NASA to a storm that carries rubbish to the ocean. This metaphor first creates an impression of NASA being as powerful as the storm. It sends a message that it will win and thereafter, the government will clean the messes created by the Jubilee administration. In explaining why Rift valley rally was strategic, he says it is because the region is country’s granary. Though in English the word granary would mean a region that produces great quantities of grain, in Raila Odinga’s speech, it has been used metaphorically to mean both the grain and other cash crops like tea. “*Hapa ni nyumbani ya chai.*” He means that Rift valley feeds Kenyans. “*Bonde la Ufa ni gala ya Kenya.*” Food and especially maize is an issue at the time of speaking. By using granary in the metaphor, the audience’s sensory is appealed to. This makes them to remember the message more. A feeling of importance is placed in the audience who feel appreciated and therefore building on the rapport and endears Raila Odinga to the listeners. He says that those in government are greedy and exploit the farmers for their selfish gains. He compares them to the hyena. He says “*Ile mbolea inaletwa na wale wale nyangau, mbolea quality yake iko chini.*” “*Nyangau*” is a Kiswahili word for the hyena. This to him makes Kenya sick and his team in NASA has the cure. He says “*Sisi kama NASA tuna dawa ya kutibu ugonjwa ambayo inadhuru Kenya. Tuna dawa, na tuna hakika tutatibu ile ugonjwa.*” The country is compared to a sick man who need medication. NASA team is like a doctor with the correct cure.

In 2007 in Dandora rally, Raila Odinga compares his start of campaign to the flow of River Nile. He says, “*Tumeanza safari kutoka hapa sasa. Tunaelekea. Mto Nile imetoka Jinja, ... ata Bwana Kibaki afanye nini, alete watu yake, afanye nini, ajaribu kuiba, mto Nile itafika.*” Raila Odinga compares his campaign to State House to River Nile which is unstoppable. River Nile must reach Egypt. He says anything that tries to stand in its way would be swept away. He says however much Kibaki tries to stop him from clinching the presidency, he will not manage. This image creates in the audience a man who is confident of winning. He inspires the audience in believing in his winning. He predicts a landslide win and again compares the victory to a tsunami. Tsunami

is a metaphorical reference to a vote victory of a bigger margin. In 2004, there were reports of a tsunami in the Indian Ocean. It was reported that the undersea mega thrust earthquake had caused a series of devastating tsunamis along the coast of most land-masses bordering the Indian Ocean and killing 230,000 to 280,000 people in 14 countries. In Kenya, waves struck and caused some minor damages. One person was reported to have drowned at Watamu near Mombasa. Kenyans at that time developed fear with some moving away from Coast region. Raila Odinga says “*Tsunami inakuja.*” This metaphorically compares his expected landslide to tsunami. He warns that the effects of not getting prepared and joining his team would include rejection by the voters. Those who wanted to be safe were advised to defect to Orange Democratic Party or die politically.

The phrase “*Punda amechoka*” is much used in Raila Odinga’s speeches. By *punda* he refers to the citizens who are compared to a donkey. He says the donkey is overwhelmed with the burden. In the Tononoka Rally, he uses the phrase in two ways. He says, “*Nauli ya kusafiri iko juu. Sasa punda imechoka.*” He means that due to the high cost of living, Kenyans are tired and overburdened. In the second use, he suggests what should be done to relieve the ‘burden’ from the tired ‘donkey’ He says, “*Punda imechoka na mzigo. Mzigo inafaa yapunguzwe. Kwa hivyo wale wote ambao wamenena wamesema wanataka kuwe na mazungumzo. Wale ambao wanahusika, na viongizi wengine wa nchi.*” He suggests that there should be a dialogue between the citizen and their leaders.

The choice of Raila Odinga’s metaphor about the relationship on a dog that barks, its owner and a guest left audiences laughing in Bomet Rally. Raila Odinga said, “*Umbwa kama anabweka, huendi kwa umbwa. Unaenda kwa mwenye umbwa.*” A dog is a loyal servant and takes instruction from its owner. If it charges towards you, or even barks, then you do not need to confront the dog but its owner. Raila Odinga convinces people who feel he should be responding to what the Jubilee Members of Parliament (especially Murkomen and Duale) say about him. He says they have called him names but he sees no need of responding to them since their owners are the president and his deputy. He says, “*Wale wakina Duale, Murkomen, wameita mimi majina mingi zaidi. Na mimi nikasema siwezi kuongea na Duale. Ama Murkomen. Umbwa kama nabweka, huendi kwa umbwa, unaenda kwa mwenye umbwa.*”

Raila Odinga referred to himself as Pele and at a time as Fabregas. Pele was a legendary Brazilian soccer forward player. He is widely regarded as the greatest football player of the all the time. He was voted World Player of the Century in 1999 by the International Federation of Football History and Statistics. Fabregas played for Barcelona and arsenal. He too played forward. Raila Odinga's comparison with these two great scorers is meant to create an image of winning. In 2010, Raila Odinga referred to himself as the captain of the team that was pro the constitution in the referendum. Communicating in football language clearly takes the point home. The youth feel connected to Raila Odinga and this makes him influence them easily.

Apart from the comparison he makes between him and other people or objects, Raila Odinga defames his opponents by calling them names of things or others. Raila Odinga called Kalonzo a **water melon**. This was in criticizing Kalonzo's lack of excitement and vigour in supporting the second constitutional referendum. At the time, the electoral body had settled for two colour symbols. Those who were supporting the constitution were given the colour green. Those who opposed the draft were to use the symbol red. Raila Odinga claimed that Kalonzo sympathized with those who wanted Kenyans to vote against the draft even after he had expressed his desire for supporting the draft constitution. The metaphor was effective in communicating that Kalonzo was of two colours. That he had placed himself with those who supported the draft and his body language suggested a green. What could be seen was the outer cover of a water melon but if cut, deep down his heart and in a bigger portion, he was red. Kalonzo had to fight this tag of a water melon for so long a time. This defamed Kalonzo who opinion polls had placed higher than Raila Odinga.

In 2007, Raila Odinga referred to Kibaki as *jogoo la shamba*. This metaphor is borrowed from the Kiswahili proverb *jogoo la shamba haliwiki mjini*. He had been criticized on his calls for reduction of the rents. Kibaki and others had claimed that the issue of rent was an agreement between a tenant and the landlord. In his response to this, Raila Odinga claimed that Kibaki had lost touch with the politics of the metropolitan city of Nairobi and that had chosen to flee from Bahati constituency to contest a seat in Othaya constituency for fear of losing his seat to a woman. In calling Kibaki a village cock, he discredits his remarks on things that affect the city dwellers and say that in matters of the city, he is "*jogoo la jiji*"; city cock. This helps him persuades the people easily compared to Kibaki who through the effective use of this metaphor is

seen as an intruder. In Dandora for example, he says, “*yeye unajua alitoroka hapa Bahati. Alikua mbunge wa bahati akatoroka maana yake aliona kama anaenda kushindwa na mama. Alitoroka akaenda kule kwao Othaya. Sasa amekua jogoo la shamba. Hajui shida ya jogoo la mji. Hajui shida ya wakaaji wa mji.*”

3.17 Simile

Another form of comparison that Raila Odinga employs is the simile. A simile compares two unlike things with the use of words such as *like* and *as*. This helps Raila Odinga to convey his message more emphatically and memorable. In Kapsabet Rally, Raila Odinga compares Jubilee’s promises to Kenyans with a donkey’s farting. He says, “*Ahadi ya Jubilee ni kama kunyamba kwa punda.*” The distinctive characteristic of a donkey is that it farts mightily and frequently. A unique fable embedded in *An Entertaining Tale of Quadrupeds* connects the joyful farting of the donkey to the heavy chores or oppressive work load upon the donkey. Comparing Jubilee’s promises to donkeys fart suggest that jubilee is overwhelmed with work and as the donkey who went to seek relieve from the king was allowed to fart to reduce the weight of work, the government does relieve the burden by giving promises. The promises are useless. After the Jubilee party exercise of nomination, Raila Odinga on 22 April 2017 (just after the burial of David Mwiraria) said “Jubilee were laughing at ODM nomination and calling it a fiasco. The *Raphael Tuju rhetoric’s on the good plans were as useless as donkey’s fart.*” Other than causing laughter and making the audience light in the spirit, the simile creates an image of uselessness. This dissuades the public from believing Jubilee. After submission of the papers to the IEBC for 2017 presidential elections, Raila Odinga says, “*Hatuwezi kuvumilia. Watu wetu wanaumia na watu wachache wanakua kama kupe wanafyonza damu ya watu wetu.*” He compares exploitation of the common people by the rich to the parasitic relationship between the tick and its host. The few who benefit from this kind of relationship are the leaders whose way of governance results to high cost of living. In this speech, he tends to include landlords who according to him collect exorbitantly high rent. He says should he get the power, rent would have to be regulated.

3.18 Analogy

Analogy is Raila Odinga’s trademark. An analogy is an extended metaphor or a long simile. Raila Odinga explain intangible concept and complex or technical ideas. In Kajiado West, Raila Odinga explain the trick used by the government to get votes. He claims during campaigns, so

many projects are initiated but after the elections, the projects stall. He uses the analogy of a hen that one wants to slaughter. He says;

“Hiyo ilikua tu kujaribu kumbembeleza watu, kupapasa watu ati wanataka kuleta maendeleo. Ni kama mtu anataka kuchinja kuku. Anachukua mahindi, alafu anaita kuku ati kutkutkutkut. Anarushia kuku mahindi, kuku anafikiria kwamba leo jamaa amenikumbuka. Amekua mkarimu. Hajui kuwa jamaa aja yake si kua kumlisha, aja yake ni kitoweo. Siyo? Akija karibu namna hii ananaswa. Kwee kwee, kwee kwee, kweee kweee. Kisu ndio hiyo, maji tayari imechemka. Siyo?”

When one wants to get hold of the hen, he drops some grains and catches it as it eats. This analogy is effective in that it helps to establish a relationship between voters who get cheated to vote while believing in the projects just before election with a hen which is fed on its way to slaughter. The idea of projects is new to the audience and by Raila Odinga using the old concept of catching a hen, a thing that the audience is familiar with; he passes his message so powerfully. The audience laughs since they are entertained.

In Dandora in 2007, Raila Odinga says, *“Leo hii tumepeana karatasi kwa tume ya uchaguzi. Na ikawekwa tick. Sasa tuko uwanjani. Firimbi ya mwisho imepigwa. Mbio ya round ya mwisho imeanza. Tuko uwanjani na bwana Mwai Kibaki. Sasa tuko katika safu ya mwisho. Kwa hivyo sasa tunabadilisha mtindo.”* This is an analogy of a race. Having presented his documents to the ECK, Raila Odinga says the final lap of the race has started and that the last whistle is blown. He says the athletes are Kibaki and himself and he has changed the pace on the last lap. This analogy is effective in that most Kenyans are familiar with the long races. Kenyans representing the country in international competitions are known not to be leading in the race till the last lap. They then change their pace and overtake the ones who were in the lead. Opinion polls indicated a rise in the popularity of Raila Odinga and a steady fall for Kibaki. By using this analogy, Raila Odinga gives hope to his supporters that at the end of the race, he would have overtaken Kibaki.

In Madaraka Day Speech, Raila Odinga responds to the jubilee government for criticizing him. They claimed that the IEBC commissioners were chosen by Raila Odinga and Kibaki and that he should not complain that they are ineffective. That argument placed him in a position of persuading the voters that even though he did, he does not need to protect them just because he took part in choosing them. He uses an analogy of a son who is a thief. He says a good parent

should not protect a thief for the reason of being a parent. A thief should be taken taken to jail. He says, “*Wanasema Raila Odinga ndiye aliteua Hassan na ile tume yake, Raila Odinga na Kibaki. Ndio tuliteua wale. Lakini ata kama wewe umezaa mtoto, na huyo mtoto awe mwizi, sio lazima useme ati huyo mtoto asiende jela. Si ndio?*” This justifies his demand that the commissioners should retire for they engaged in a vice. It improves on his virtue by creating an image of a strict and virtuous parent who will not protect his son should the son commit a crime. He therefore easily persuades the audience to his side.

In 2013, in Uhuru Park CORD rally as Raila Odinga accepts to be the presidential candidate for CORD, he compares the CORD team to a plane. He says the plane has moved from the ramp to the runway and shall take off to the sky. He says, “*Ndege ya Kenya ilifaa iingie angani. Ndege imeshatoka kwenye mtahana, imeshatembea mpaka imefika kwenye runway. Nahakikishia ninyi kwamba hii ndege itapaa angani.*” In the months before this day, it was never clear who was going to be the presidential candidate for CORD. He compares this period with a plane still at the ramp. The contest takes shape by the unveiling of CORD line up. That is compared to the runway and ultimate take off. The image compares the power that a flight needs to take off to the power that the coalition has acquired in unveiling its presidential candidate and his running mate.

War and election analogy in Raila Odinga’s speeches helps him to persuade Kenyans to register as voters and to turn out and vote. He compares votes to the arms in the battle. He likens the national identification card to a gun and the registration of voters to acquisition of bullets.in Bungoma, when Raila Odinga went to urge people to vote, he said;

“*Sasa tumerudi kutangaza kwamba vita imeanza. Vita ya ukombozi wa tatu wa Kenya umeanza. Parapanda imepigwa. Tuko tayari kwenda kwa vita. Tarehe nane, mwezi wa August mwaka huu tuko na vita. Sivyo? Lakini matokeo ya hiyo vita itaamuliwa ndani ya siku thelathini. Kwanzia tarehe kumi na sita mwezi huu hadi tarehe kumi na nne mwezi ujao. Hizo ni siku thelathini ya kuunda silaha ya kwenda kwa vita. Sawa? Kwa hivyo kama wewe hauna silaha, wewe si mwanajeshi. Mwanajeshi ambaye hana silaha ni raia. Sawa? Mkitaka sisi tushinde, mnasema Uhuru must go. Ruto must go. Mpaka uwe na silaha. Maanake wao pia wanaunda silaha. Sawa?*”

The analogy works well in helping him pass the message. The audience gets the importance of registering as voters if they want Uhuru and Ruto out of the government. He points to them clearly that it is not enough to just say the Jubilee administration should be voted out but to register and vote. He emphasizes that an unarmed soldier is vulnerable and exposed to dangers just like a common citizen and cannot help in the war.

Raila Odinga's most favorite analogy is football commentary. The crowd gets excited too at this analogy. This is perhaps because he loves watching football matches. He usually uses this strategy to illustrate the political contest between his side of party or coalition and the government. The structure of this commentary always include an exciting introduction of the teams that are competing, the name of the referee, the colours of the jerseys and the specific persons playing. In all the cases, Raila Odinga plays the part of a striker and the commentary ends when he scores. He receives a pass from either Mudavadi or Kalonzo depending on who was at the time his running mate. In the match, the weaknesses of the opponent are always emphasized. Vices such as corruption, drunkenness, indecisiveness and land grabbing are punished when those said to have involved in their falling down, sliding or are humiliation when a virtuous person from his side dribbles a ball past the said perpetrator of the vice. The following is an analogy of football that he gave in Bukhungu stadium.

“Team NASA, sema team NASA, sema team Jubilee, team Jubilee, Nimeona team Jubilee hapa. Hapa nimeona mwingine anaitwa Were, mwingine anaitwa Washiali, Mwingine anaitwa Shinali, Mwingine naitwa Wangwe, Mwingine anaitwa Dan Wanyama, Nimemwona mwingine anaitwa Lusaka. Mwingine anaitwa Weluke, alafu pamoja na Dwale, Pamoja na Murkomen, pamoja na Ruto, Pamoja na Uhuru. Na Ababu Namwamba. Team NASA, hapa nimeona Khalwale. Nimeona Oparanya, pale Wanyama. Hapo nimeona hapo Musalia Mudavadi. Moses Wetangula, James Orenge, Kalonzo Musyoka, tuko na Hassan Joho, alafu na Baba.

Sasa nimeona referee pande ile. Anaitwa bwana Chebukati. Nimeona team ya Jubilee ndio hiyo, ikiongozwa na Uhuru Kenyatta. Wanaingia kwa kiwanja. Wamevaa nguo nyekundu. Wanajiandaa huko kiwanjani. Team NASA inaingia, wamevaa nguo nyeupe. Wanaingia kwa kiwanja. Referee ndiye amebeba mpira. Anaweka mpira hapo mbele. Kati kati ya kiwanja. Naona wana Jubilee wako tayari. Uhuru ndiye huyo amekanyaga mpira. Anaanza mpira Uhuru. Firimbi imepigwa. Mpira umeanza. Uhuru amampatia Ruto upande ile. Ruto amampatia

Washiali. Washiali na mpira, Na Washiali, Washiali anampatia Were. Were anamrudishia Shinalii. Shinalii anaenda na mpira Shinalii. Anampatia Lusaka. Lusaka na mpira, Lusaka ohh, ameteleza ameanguka chini. Wasikizaji, huyu mchezaji anaitwa Lusaka alikua anafikiria mpira ni wheelbarrow. Inaonekana ameumia. Ameumia na naona kama anabebwa. Anatolewa nje ya kiwanja. Ili apate huduma ya kwanza.

Sasa mpira unaendelea tena. Ruto kwa kiwanja na mpira. Huyu Duale amerusha mpira. Amempatia Ruto. William Ruto na mpira. Anaenda Ruto, amempata Uhuru Kenyatta. Uhuru Kenyatta na mpira, Uhuru na mpira, mpira mpira napiga shuut. Oh, lakini goal keeper, Chris Wamalwa, ameudaka mpira huo bila wasi wasi wowote. Chris Wamalwa ameshika huo mpira, anapigapiga na kupiga kule mbele kwa Khalwale. Bonny Khalwale na mpira, na mpira Khalwale, amekata mpira mbio pande ule mwingine kwa Orengo. James Orengo na mpira. Anaenda na mpira Orengo, anaenda na mpira Orengo, amekata pande ile kwa Hassan Joho. Joho na mpira, Joho na mpira. Uhuru ndio huyo. Joho amemchenga Uhuru akamchenga Uhuru Uhuru ameanguka chini. Amekata mpira huo kwa Moses Wetangula. Wetangula na mpira. Na mpira Wetangula. Amempatia Mudavadi. Mudavadi na mpira, amempatia Isack Ruto. Isack Ruto ndiye huyo, amekabiliiana na William Ruto. Ruto na Ruto, Ruto na Ruto. Isack Ruto amerudisha mpira nyuma, amenchenga Ruto mpaka ameanguka chini tena. Mpira unaendelea. Isack amekata Ruto akaweka kwa Kalonzo Musyoka. Kalonzo Musyoka, mpira na Kalonzo, Kalonzo, amerudisha pande hii, imerudi kwa Musalia. Amempatia Oparanya. Oparanya na mpira. Amerudisha upande mwingine. Kwa Wetangula. Kwa Kalonzo, kwa Raila Odinga. Hataritatatata goooooooooal.”

The opposing mates are chosen with care; William Ruto and Isack Ruto were for example bitter rivals competing to have the control of the South Rift votes. Joho and Uhuru had exchanged words in the public and used harsh sentiments against each other. Lusaka falls down since he handled the ball like a wheelbarrow. Lusaka had got criticism for letting the devolved government fund be used to buy a wheelbarrow at Ksh 109,320/-. The audience gets excited at this. The analogue creates an impression of team-work in winning the presidency. One person working alone cannot win. The best organized team becomes victorious.

During the unveiling of the NASA presidential candidate, Raila used the Biblical story of Canaan and Joshua. He wanted to explain his role as the presidential nominee to the people. He

claimed that his role was only to take power from the government and usher a new era of transformative and transitional governance. He would not go for another term. He said;

“Tumekubaliana ya kwamba hii serikali ambayo tunaenda, ambayo ni serikali ya mseto, itakua ni serikali ya mpito. Transitional and transformative government ambayo itafagia uchafu yote ya Jubilee na kupeleka mpaka baharini. Na mimi nimeapa mimi nitakua ni rais ya kuvuka mto Jordan. Maanake Waisraeli, walishatoka Misri, walipita Bahari ya Shamu, wameingia jangwa ya Shinai, sasa wanasimama genge ya mto Jordan ngambo hii. Mimi nitakua Joshua ya kupita na nyinyi mto Jordan na Kuingia katika Canaan. Nikifika huko, kazi yangu itakua imekwisha. Sawa? Na hawa ndugu zangu mimi nitawashika mkono, tukielekea mbele uko.

He compares Kenyans to the Israelites. He says that they have been through difficulties on their way to Canaan. They have been through desert, ocean, and are about to cross River Jordan to Canaan.

In Jacaranda Rally after the submission of nomination papers, Raila Odinga gives a story of the Israelites and compares himself to Joshua. Kenya is predominantly a Christian country. By using a story that is in the Bible, Raila Odinga sends the message that he is a believer. This contradicts to the atheist image created by his opponents. This appeal to the Christians. They feel they share religious beliefs with Raila Odinga. It is interesting to note that in most church services that Raila Odinga attended during the campaigns, the pastor of the church or himself would joke about Raila Odinga being Joshua. In some churches, the sermon would include the Israelites journey, their suffering and how they reached Canaan. This is part of the story, as narrated by Raila Odinga in Jacaranda Rally;

Nataka msikie sasa mambo ya Joshua. Mambo ya Canaan. Mambo ya Canaan. Mnataka kusikia? Ati Canaan ni nchi ghani? Mnaona Wanaisraeli, waliangaika jangwani miaka arubanne. Mpaka wakafika karibu na mto Jordan. Pale, sasa Mungu akateuwa Joshua kusema ongoza watu wangu tuingie ndani ya Canaan. Sivyo? Lakini kwanza Joshua alituma mjasusi. Mjasusi alikua anaitwa Caleb. Sindiyo? Siyo? Caleb yetu ni Kalonzo Musyoka. Sawa? Sasa Canaan ni nchi ghani? Kwanza, Canaan ni nchi ambayo ina rotuba. Ina rasilmali. Ina madini. Ina matunda. Ina fedha. Na ina opportunities mingi zaidi. Pili, Canaan ni nchi, pahali ambaye

kila mtu atapata haki yake. Kila mtu tukiingia Canaan atapata mali yake. Wake watoto ambao wamezaliwa watapata haki ya elimu.”

This analogy is a story of the Israelites on their journey to the Promised Land. Raila Odinga compares the struggles and hardships of the Kenyans to the suffering that the Israelites went through in the desert. Moses led them; he was not to reach Canaan. Joshua was identified by God to take the people to Canaan. Raila Odinga calls himself Joshua and alludes to the Bible that his purpose is just to let Kenyans realize reforms that will impact positively on them. He gets the opportunity of selling his manifestoes to the audience inventively. For example, by saying when Kenyans shall reach Canaan by voting him, secondary education will be paid by the government, he sells his manifesto on free secondary education. He says in Canaan, there will be no corruption. Raila Odinga artistically alludes to the Biblical story of Moses removing his shoes in the burning bush story. He says;

“Sasa, hiyo Canaan, Canaan pahali ambapo tunaenda, sheria yake ni ile sheria ya Mungu. Sheria ya patakatifu. Ukitaka kuingia Canaan unatoa viatu. Unatoa viatu unawacha nje ya nyumba. Ni kama mtu ambaye anaingia kwa msikiti. Sawa sawa? Kwa hivyo wale waalifu, wale wafisadi, hawatapata kazi katika serikali yetu. Sawa sawa? Wote wataenda nyumbani.”

This is a better way of selling the manifestoes than using hard facts and scientific information in communicating to the common man. This is because as the audience gets entertained in the story, their attention is arrested and they remain focused hence easily persuaded. Creating of the contrasting images of desert and Canaan inspires the listeners. They yearn for a change and are convinced that that change is in Raila Odinga’s NASA team.

In 2013 elections, Raila Odinga used the same story of the Israelites but in a different version. He said that when he delivers Kenyans to the Promised Land, he will ensure that resources are distributed equitably. In the standard Newspaper of 11th December 2012, Raila Odinga is reported to have said;

In the Bible, Joshua divided Canaan’s resources according to the 12 tribes of Israel and similarly when we cross to Canaan, we will share the national cake among the 42 tribes.

This was meant to create an image of an inclusive government. Raila Odinga had accused the then government of engaging in tribal appointments and favoritism.

I have shown, in this chapter, some outstanding communication strategies that Raila Odinga uses to drive home his points so meritoriously. Public speakers need to have copious to garner and apply from his style. When making speeches, for example, very effective speakers arrange and put emphasis well. These speakers cast aside lower priority issues and shining a light on ideas of greatest importance. They borrow on a wide variety of valued rhetorical devices to promote forcefully the most noteworthy thoughts and themes. Rhetorical questions crystallize attention on crucial ideas. Commoratio and epizeuxis dwells on the idea and hence emphasize key points and help build to a peak. Anaphora and epistrophe draw attention to key words and add a musical eloquence to speech. Raila Odinga uses alliteration to create rhythm and this makes his speech powerful. For a logical presentation of ideas, speakers can employ the use of eutrepismus. Raila Odinga achieves this. This helps the audience to follow the speech. The listener is aided through numbering. It is also very important to create memorable images in the minds of the audience through the use of metaphor, simile

CHAPTER 4

Achieving Persuasion through the use of Oral Literature Genres.

Raila Odinga has popularized the art of performing oral literature genres in his campaigns. Looking at him dancing, listening to the songs he sings, the riddling sessions in his speeches and his use of proverbs shows his artistry. Perhaps this is the reason why most people spend their money to go and listened to him. He is a crowd puller. Some politicians have been ferrying people to the venue of their rallies because people have failed to turn up for boring and dry speeches of party manifestoes, policies and political ideologies. Raila Odinga makes entertainment a fundamental element of his speeches.

Some people, however, believe that the audience is persuaded more by of reason and building of arguments built on scientific facts and logical principle. William Ruto and many others have looked down upon the use of riddles and other genres of oral literature in Raila Odinga's speeches. They have referred to him as *Mtu wa Vitandawili, Yule jamaa wa Vitendawili* (a man of riddles) and even suggested that the Kenyans and voters are not interested in riddles and stories but policies and manifestoes. Aristotle believed logos to be of superior persuasive appeal. He felt that all argument should be won or lost on reason. He however recognized that an audience would not be sophisticated amply to trail arguments. This is especially in the case where arguments are founded uniquely on scientific and logical principles. He argued that other appeals needed to be used as well. Men have a tendency of dismissing the strategies that have the ability to inject some more emotions into a speech. Use of the genre of oral literature like songs, stories, riddles, tongue twisters is not a weakness but strength in the delivery of speeches. People tend to remember stories more than facts. Stories and songs tap more into the emotions. If one needs to persuade, one must emotionally connect with the audience. A speaker may have the most logical and well-thought-out argument. However, if the audience is not emotionally involved, if there is disconnect between the speaker and the audience, all the logic presented will be for naught.

4.1 Riddles

Though some would think that riddles are meant for children and that their use in politics should be shunned, I argue that riddles are effective in political speeches and that they help in persuasion. The use of riddle in politics started long time. William Shakespeare used riddles in

his plays. In *Hamlet* for example, the two clowns digging a grave for the late Ophelia debate if they should be allowed to have Christian burial or not since she had committed suicide. This quickly leads them to a discussion of the impact of politics on the decision and the two parody lawyer speech. The dialogue of the two ends with a riddle. *What is he that builds stronger than either the mason, the shipwright or the carpenter?* The first grave digger is unsatisfied by the answers that the second grave digger gives and sends him off to go bring alcohol. Finally, he gives the answer in the latter scene. *And when you are asked this question next, say "A grave-maker." the houses that he makes last till doomsday.* I therefore argue that riddles are not for the children only and can be used in serious discourses by political leaders in talking to their adult audience. Raila Odinga's use of riddles is also pragmatic and humorous. In an interview he gave to the Sauti Zetu Show in Dallas, USA, Raila Odinga says that during his campaign rallies, the audience expected and even demanded that he uses a riddle. He said that riddle helped him to drive the point home in a manner that was "closer" to his audience. This, he added, helped him to have an effective communication with his audience. Sadly, in 2017 campaigns, Raila Odinga seemed to shy away from the use of riddles. Though he still used them, he did not exhibit enthusiasm in riddling. At one time, while in Bomet, crowd demanded for a riddle and instead he passed it to Suna MP Junet to riddle. He ceded ground and failed to strongly defend his use of riddles. Raila Odinga's act makes me wonder if he strongly believed that a riddle is an effective tool for rhetorical persuasion.

Raila Odinga uses riddles as a powerful technique in his speeches to communicate his political ideologies and create images that make it easier for him to persuade the voters to his side. A riddle is a statement or question that will necessitate the audience's inventiveness to realize its intended meaning since it is crafted and told figuratively. Riddles are effective tools of communication owing to their ability to provoke and engage the audience. They are both puzzling and entertaining.

Raila Odinga uses his riddles to introduce stories. This enhances mental alertness and makes the audience ready for a story. It improves on the concentration of the listeners. In Bomet, after the crowd insisted, Raila Odinga gave a riddle. He said;

“Kitendawili? Kitandawili? Kitandawili? Alipisha mlango afunguliwe aingie kwa nyumba, alipoingia akanyakua nyumba akafanya ni yake. Ni nani huyo? Nani huyo? Mmeshindwa. Nipatieni mji basi? Hiyo ni ngamia.”

After the riddle, he went on to give the story of a camel. His allegory of the camel and the tent was also introduced with another riddle in 2013. *Nundu yangu ndio gala yangu*. My hump is my store; who am I? When the crowd could not solve the riddle, he asked for a prize then he solved it. *Ni ngamia*. Some level of excitement usually comes during the times in his speech when he invites the audience in riddling. In a way, the crowd’s possible boredom is eased and Raila Odinga connects to the listeners even more.

In Tononoka rally, Raila Odinga engaged the audience with another riddle; *“Kitandawili? Kitandawili? Kitandawili? Kuna anaona, lakini kuskia hasikii, ila kwa kigongo. Yeye ni nani? Yeye ni nani? Yeye ni nani? (The crowd says uhuru) Hapana, hamjapata. Nipatie mji basi, nichukue Mombasa? Ehe? Hiyo ni mnyama anaitwa burukenge. Burukenge. Mnamjua burukenge? Anafanana na mamba. Yeye anaona, lakini yeye ni kiziwi. Hasikii, ila kwa kigongo, mpaka uchukue mti, umgonge ndio asikie.”*

It is interesting to note that the crowd is always wrong in giving the answer of a riddle. The crowd is however right in this sense. Listeners get the implied meaning in the story that Raila Odinga tells after his riddle. Raila Odinga manipulates them into simply giving the answer to the riddle. After the story, he explains it to what the audience had suggested. The twist and turns in the riddle capture the attention of the audience and creates a suspense that glues them to the speech. Finally as he ends the speech, he says, *“Sasa sisi tunadhani wale wenzetu wanasikia. Wenzetu, tunadhani sio burukenge. Kwa hivyo mimi nina akika kwamba wanasikia na wataanza mazungumzo kabla ya saba...?”* The government had failed to heed to their call on the talks that would make the IEBC commissioners go.

In Wajir Rally, Raila Odinga gives another riddle;

Kitendawili, Tega. Kitandawili, Tega. Hufyonza na kufura, fwonza na kufura mpaka anakua mviringo kama mpira. Ni nani huyo? Ni nani huyo? (No response). Ni nani huyo? Crowd: Keynan. Nani huyo? Keynan. Mmeshindwa. Nipatieni mimi mji basi. Crowd: Wajir. Wajir? Crowd: yea. Hiyo ni kupe. Si mwajua kupe? Nyinyi ni wafugaji.

The crowd is right to say Keynan. This is because after riddle, he tells a story. The story turns out to be an allegory. In his allegory, he attacks those who defected to the government because of short term financial benefit. According to Raila Odinga, the ‘cow’ has been slaughtered and the ‘tick’ has not realized. The twist comes when he insists on the correct answer to the riddle and the dramatic turn necessitated by him those who defected to the government are like ticks.

4.2 Proverbs

Another genre of oral literature used by Raila Odinga is proverbs. In African culture, proverbs are considered as expression of wisdom. In using a proverb, Raila Odinga communicates in a way that allows the audience to share with him a common piece of wisdom. This allows him to take advantage of situations especially when he is not completely sure about the thoughts of his audience on a subject. Using a proverb enhances the message because at least the proverb is shared as popular piece of wisdom between him and the audience. By using a proverb, Raila Odinga convinces the audience that whatever was said and supported by the use of the proverb is the best alternative hence easily persuades. In Tononoka Rally, Raila Odinga uses the proverb to criticize the government on its failure to keep its promises to the people. He utters the proposition as a question and leaves the audience to say the completion. He says *Ati ahadi haijatimizwa. Na ahadi ni nini?* The audience says *deni*. ***Ahadi ni deni*** imply that if one makes a promise, then he is bound to fulfill it. It builds on his claim that the Jubilee government has failed to deliver on its pledges on the creation of more jobs for the youth and should not be trusted with leadership. He criticizes the government and dissuades people from it. He claims that the youth have completed their education and have certificates but are just made to hawk yet they had been promised employment after completion of the courses undertaken. He reports that the youths have spoken and have said “*Hakuna kazi kwa vijana. Ati vijana wana macertificates. Wamesoma. Lakini hakuna ajira. Kazi hakuna. Wanafanya tu kazi ya hawking pekee yake.*”

Still in *Tononoka Rally*, Raila Odinga picks on the use of a proverb that summarizes the relationship between a person who has to carry a heavy load (the citizen) and the load itself (the government). *Walisema ati kibebacho kikivuja, ni nafuu kwa mchukuzi*. He says that the citizens are tired of the government. When the part of the load falls, then some relief is realized. He says; “*Mzigo inafaa yapinguzwe.*” The suggested way to offload is to vote for an alternative government. This proverb can as well mean that to the opposition, the enormous task of

convincing the voters against the government is made easier as the government fails to discharge its duty effectively. He advises the government to brave for a tough duel and assuring the audience that the opposition will win just like it happened in the other countries. He says, “*Waswahili wanasema, ati ukiona kama jirani yako ananyolewa, na wewe anza kufanya nini? Usipotia maji, utanyolewa bila. Si mmeona kama majirani wananyolewa? Tumewaambia waanze kutia maji. Kwa kichwa maji.*” The wisdom in the proverb is that when you see your neighbor in a difficult situation, prepare on how to deal with the situation before you are hit. This proverb, other than advising the government, builds the confidence of voters in a democratic win by the opposition by comparing Kenya and other countries in Africa. In Madaraka Day Speech, Raila Odinga uses this proverb to caution the then IEBC chairperson who had said that they would not leave their offices as had been demanded by the opposition. He was being reminded of the fate of his predecessors who had finally left the office after they failed to organize a credible presidential election. He says, “*Tuliambia Bwana Isaack Hassan aende nyumbani mapema. Tulumwambia ukiona ya jirani yako yanyolewa, na wewe anza kutia maji. Na hivo sasa tutakunyoa bila maji.*” He speaks to those who might have sympathized with the commissioners in his demand that the commissioners should not leave. First, by bringing to their attention that he and his team had earlier cautioned Hassan and other commissioners to prepare to leave the office by resigning voluntarily and avoid the shame of being forced to leave. The commissioners had failed to resign and so would be evicted. ‘To shave him without water’ means letting the commissioners leave the office whatever the means.

In Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga uses a proverb *dalili ya mvua ni mawingu*. The cloud is sign that it will rain. He refers to the crowd as mawingu. *Naona mawingu yametanda*. ‘Cloud’ refers to the large number of those attending to his rallies. To him, that is a sign that they will vote for NASA and his team. He says, “*Dalili ya mvua ni nini? Nimeona mawingu yametanda Kakamega*. This can be connected to what he says in Gusii stadium. *Mimi nina furaha kuona vile Wakisii wamekuja kwa wingi. Kuona kwama mumefurika. Hii ni ishara kwa Jubilee ya kwamba wa wamechoka.*” The multitude attendance is therefore to him a show that the message of change is accepted by the people. By using this proverb, Raila Odinga build the confidence of voters on his winning. In Bomet Rally, he explicitly refers to the presence of the big multitude as a sign of winning the elections. He says; *Tumefika Bomet. Tumekuja Bonde la Ufa. Na nimeona kama*

kiwanja imefurika. Si hii ni dalili? Dalili ya mvua ni nini? Tumeona kama mawingu imetanda hapa Bomet. Si ni ishara kwamba kutanyesha? The crowd is the cloud and the rain is the vote.

In Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga uses the proverb *Mjinga akierevuka, mwerevu yu mashakani*. Raila Odinga claimed that his victory had been stolen in 2007 and in 2013. He received criticism from his opponents who said he was a perennial loser and would still lose in 2007. He assured his supporters of protecting his votes since he had learnt of the tricks that were used to rob him of his victory. He said he had grown wise enough not to let the repeat of the same. He insisted on the use of parallel tallying center to crosscheck on what the IEBC would post as the final result. He said; “*Wanahesabu tunahesabu. Wanajumulisha, tunajumulisha. Wanahesabu, tunahesabu. Wanatangaza? Saw sawa? Mara hii, mara hii, mjinga amerevuka. Mjinga amerevuka. Mwerevu yuko wapi?*” This meant that the government was in trouble. To show this confidence and assuring the voters of protecting the votes results to giving hope to his supporters and ensuring higher percentage of voter turnout in the region where he enjoys much support. Apart from this, Raila Odinga used the proverb in the speech to caution the government against giving promises to the citizens without fulfilling the ones that initially had been given. He claims that doing that amounts to taking the people to be naive and never learning. He insisted that Kenyans had learnt that the promises given by the government were not fulfilled hence could not give Jubilee their votes. “*Jubilee wamezoea kudanganya Wakenya. Wanafikiri wakenya ni wajinga sana. Sivyo? Sivyo? Lakini sisi tumesema mjinga sasa amerevuka.*”

In Bomet Rally, Raila Odinga uses the proverb *Mbiu ya Mgambo ikilia ina jambo*. Mbiu is the horn. This proverb connects Raila Odinga to the people of CCM. The party symbol of CCM is a trumpet but in the rallies, the supporters of the CCM blew horns. The horn is blown when people are to be gathered for a communication. The horn is not just blown anyhow but only purposefully. He justifies his reason to visit Bomet. He tells the audience that it was purposeful and planned that his team would go to Bomet and invite Isaac Ruto to join NASA team. Besides, he had things to share with the audience. He says; “*Na tumekuja kupiga mbiu ya mgambo. Na kuambia nyinyi ya kwamba kuna maneno. Mbiu la mgambo ikilia? (crowd Kuna Jambo). Si kuna Jambo?*”

Raila Odinga uses the proverb *mkuki kwa nguruwe kwa binadamu mchungu*. When one spears a pig, feeling of pain is absent. But when it is a human being speared, then one can feel the pain or

even react. It is used against those who treat things casually when they are not directly involved but would react explosively and start to care when they themselves are involved. Raila Odinga uses this proverb to convince people that Ruto was involved in the NYS corruption saga. He says, “*Sasa, Waswahili, Waswahili kusema, ati mkuki kwa ngurue, kwa binadamu ni chungu.*” When Raila Odinga said money was stolen, Ruto treated it casually and said Raila Odinga was just jealous because he failed to improve the lives of those who lived in Kibera slums. He says he was told his sentiments on NYS were baseless. He says, “*Wakasema Raila Odinga anasema uongo. Ati Raila Odinga anasema uongo huyu mwanamke anafanya kazi kwa bidii. Raila Odinga ana uwivu sana. Alikua mbunge na alishindwa kufanya kazi.*” He adds, “*Nikasema huyu mama ndiye mwizi. Ruto akasema niwachane na Waiguru.*” But latter on when the investigation were carried out and Ruto’s name mentioned, he defended himself strongly and suggested that the then cabinet secretary, who Raila Odinga had accused should carry her own cross. He says, “*Juzi, yeye yeye Ruto anasema ati Waiguru abebe msalaba yake peke yake.*” He manages to convince people to buy the idea that Ruto was involved and that in deed there was loss of money. He dissuades people from the government claim that there was no corruption in the ministry.

Raila Odinga uses the proverb *heshima si utumwa* in Mathare Rally. Raila Odinga urges Uhuru Kenyatta to respect the other elected leaders. He had been in war of words with Mombasa Governor Ali Hassan Joho and Nanok of Turkana. He says that for president to be respected, he should also respect others. He says, “*Heshimu katiba, pili heshimu sharia, tatu heshimu magavana wote ambao wamechaguliwa na wananchi.*”

Penye nia pana njia is another proverb that Raila Odinga uses to persuade the audience against his opponents. In 2007 in Dandora, he claims that the work of cleaning Dandora dumpsite cannot take government a long time. The president had visited the area and promised to do away with the dumping of rubbish in the place. Raila Odinga dissuades the people of Dandora against believing that president Kibaki’s government would clean the Dandora for he had failed to do that in five years. He tells the audience that the government is just not willing. If there would be a wish, there could be a way out. He says, “*Kwani kutoa taka taka na kutafuta mahali pengine ya kuweka ni kitu ngumu zaidi? Hiyo ni kitu ambayo inaweza kushinda serikali? Haijashinda serikali. Lakini hakukua na nia. Panapo nia pana nini? (crowd says njia.)*” Giving of the

proposition and letting the audience complete creates a dialogue between him and his audience. This increases their attention and connects Raila Odinga to the listeners.

4.3 Songs

Raila Odinga performs songs in his speeches. These songs help him to convince the audience to his ideological perspectives. Chief among his songs are those that adopt the tone of protest. The songs that have this tone appeal to the emotion of the audience. The songs carry a message that leaves the audience feel something about the topic or call. In 2007 in Dandora, Raila Odinga sung this song at the end of his speech;

Nipigwe pingo sitarudi nyuma

Oh nipigwe pingo, sitarudi nyuma.

Nipigwe pingo, Sitarudi nyuma

Oh nipigwe pingu, sitarudi nyuma

Niwekwe jela, sitarudi nyuma

Oh niwekwe jela, sitarudi nyuma.

The song calls the youth to action and develops in them some sense of courage. The feeling of the youth in protesting against the government that he has painted as oppressive and not concerned on the rights of its citizen is established. Raila Odinga's desire to air his views and criticism against the government and talk of what he perceives as imperfections of the government amidst the impending danger of arrest and detention is communicated. In the song, he creates assurance to the audience who join him in singing. They see a confident man who can never succumb to intimidation. He achieves political persuasion through this song by attempting to generate a united group of the youths and himself in resisting intimidation. He evokes sympathetic feelings and reactions. This makes a section of crowd to wail instead of singing.

In Madaraka Rally speech, he uses the same melody and leads the youth in singing at the end of his speech. He sings;

Nipigwe teke, Sitarudi nyuma

Oo nipigwe teke, Sitarudi Nyumaa

Nipigwe teke, Sitarudi nyuma
Oo nipigwe teke, Sitarudi Nyumaa

Nipigwe pingu, Sitarudi nyuma...
Nipigwe pingu, Sitarudi nyuma.

Niwekwe jela, Sitarudi nyuma...
Ooh niwekwe jela, Sitarudi nyuma.

Nipigwe teargas, Sitarudi nyuma.
Nipigwe teargas, Sitarudi nyuma.

Nipigwe Maji, Sitarudi nyuma
Nipigwe maji, Sitarudi nyuma

Ata wao waseme,
Ata wao waseme,
Ata wao waseme ,
Sisi hatutarudi nyuma.

At this time, so many youths had been beaten and some even killed in protesting against the commissioners of the IEBC. They had gone through the ordeals sung in the song. They had been kicked by the police, some had been arrested, others dispersed by use of teargas and steam. As the tribulations are mentioned, their feelings are evoked and they get charged to go on with the protest despite the pain in the street. The song calls for courage and discourages the idea of surrendering.

In Madaraka Day speech, Raila Odinga creates an impression of a patriot by honoring the great men who fought for independence. He thanks many and sing a song he say Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, his father sung at the time Kenyatta was released and the mantle of leadership given to him. He sings;

*Kenyatta alitetea Kenya,
Kenyatta alitetea Kenya
Kenyatta alitetea Kenya
Akafungwaaa.*

*Asanta asente baba
Asante asante baba
Asante asante baba
Kwa kufungwaaaa.*

The song pays tribute to Kenyatta for fighting for going even into the miles of getting imprisoned for the sake of independence. The song helps in persuasion in that it invigorates the audience in a special way and even serves as to give the aspect of patriotism. He proves that he is not mean to appreciate Kenyatta even after the differences Kenyatta and Jaramogi had. This makes him be seen as a person of great heart and one who only differ with others not because of their tribes but on principles. Raila Odinga creates an image that he is not seeking to revenge.

In Bukhungu stadium, Raila Odinga sings two songs both of which he says were sang by the supporters of the two rival football teams. He tone is nostalgic and the audience feels enlightened to listen to him. This connects him with his listeners who have a strong attachment to the game. The Luhya community loves football. Singing those songs that supporters sang or still sing makes Raila Odinga to not only entertain the audience but also finds a common thing between him and those he wants to talk to. Raila Odinga himself has said so many times that he is a lover of football. He attends the matches especially between the AFC Leopards and Gor Mahia teams which most Kenyans have dubbed as a *Mashemeji* (in-laws) derby. Nostalgically, he sings as the North Nyanza used to sing:

*Eeh mama, eingombe
Eeh mama, ei ngombe
Eeh mama, ei ngombe
Banai eeh mama, ei ngombe.*

The audience feel connected to him. Listeners are entertained and made ready for the political ideas that are just about to be said. By singing in the Luhya language, Raila Odinga suggests to the Luhya community that he and they have historical shared cultural engagements. This makes him find it easier to convince them. He explains to them that he was one of the participants. His team was the Central Nyanza team. They could sing as follows:

Kama nene kama nene kama nene

Kama nene kama nene kama nene

Kama nene kama nene kama neneeee

Kama nene kama nene

Wolo wolo wolo

Wolo wolo wolo

Wolo wolo wolooo

Wolo wolo wolo.

The song in Luo language acknowledges his background as a Luo. It suggests several encounters of the Central Nyanza team and North Nyanza team. It reawakens the cordial relationship that existed between the Luhya and Luo communities. The two songs give him the opportunity of involving the audience in his speech. This makes the audience more attentive.

4.4 Narratives

Another genre of oral literature that Raila Odinga uses is the narratives. Raila Odinga uses narratives in his some of his speeches. As already indicated political facts are necessary but in themselves are insufficient in promoting the depth of the audience understanding that would lead to persuading them to buy the ideas being sold. Narratives are thus too serious to be dismissed with skepticism. Raila Odinga tells stories that promote the selling of his political idea(s) to the public.

The use of narratives to comment on political subject is not new. Writers have in the past crafted narratives that are ideally political in nature. George Orwell for example wrote a story on the behaviour of animals in the farm; *Animal Farm*. The novella reflects the events that led to the Russian Revolution and even to those of the Soviet Union. George Orwell believed that Soviet Union had embraced dictatorship. He therefore fused political purpose into the artistic story of

animals. Jonathan Haidt summarizes the effectiveness of using stories by asserting that “Human beings are not logic processors. We are story processors.” This suggests that people understand issues better through stories. Our judgment as people is based on into the story frame work. As audience listen to the narratives, they get entertained. This has a good feeling and pulls the crowd to political rallies where speakers narrate. The listeners quickly identify with the narrative and hence the idea expressed becomes a popular idea even if it is less rational.

In Bomet rally, Raila Odinga gives the narrative of a camel. He introduces his narrative with a riddle. The audience is excited and feels entertained. He tells the crowd that Kibaki, him and Kalonzo formed a government. Later on, Uhuru Kenyatta and Ruto pushed them out of the government and it would be better for him and his team to form a government. Raila Odinga used the same narrative to explain why he had decided to leave Ford Kenya party which was headed by his father. He explained that Wamalwa Kijana had got into his father’s house like a camel and eventually kicked him out of the party. He narrates;

Kitendawili? Kitandawili? Kitandawili?

Alipisha mlango afunguliwe aingie kwa nyumba, alipoingia akanyakua nyumba akafanya ni yake. Ni nani huyo? Nani huyo? Mmeshindwa. Nipatieni mji basi? Hiyo ni ngamia.

Ngamia. Unajua hadithi ya ngamia? Mtu mmoja alijenga nyumba kwenye jangwa. Alafu sasa, ngamia akaja. Akapiga hodi hodi hodi. Jamaa akauliza yeye ni nani? Ngamia akasema ni mimi ngamia. Unataka nini? Jua ni kali sana hapa nje, nifungulie niingie ndani.

Akamwambia bwana hema hii ni kidogo, haitoshi wewe na mimi. Basi tafadhali nikubalie niweke kichwa yangu pekee yake. Akasema kama ni kichwa peke yake, karibu. Akaweka kichwa. Na shingo yangu pia, niweke na shingo vile vile, akaambiwa karibu. Nundu yangu sasa, nundu inayoyoma hapa, wacha niingie na nundu. Karibu. Matako yangu... matako yangu ehe bwana. Wacha niingie na matako yangu... karibu. Sasa akaingia na kiwiliwili yake yote. Alipoingia akaangalia Yule jamaa akamwambia bwana, hii nyumba ni kidogo. Haitoshi wewe na mimi. Wewe toka. Akampiga jamaa teke akamtoa kwa nyumba.

Sawa? Hii nyumba tulijenga na Kibaki. Na Kalonzo. Wale walikuja wakaingia ndani yake, wakatupiga teke. Mnataka tuingie ndani kwa nyumba tena? Tuwatoe kwa nyumba? Tuwatoe kwa nyumba? Wangapi wanasema tuwatoe kwa nyumba? Wangapi wanasema nione kwa mkono?

The narrative above paints a camel as a very selfish animal. After requesting to be allowed some space for just his head, he requested for more space. The camel latter requested for a space for its humps. Later on, the camel kicked the owner of the house out of his own.

On Sunday, 3 June 2012, Raila narrated a story of a cat that fed on the rats. One day, the rats called for a meeting. They deliberated on ways of killing the cat or making it impossible to devour on the rats. The rats first decided on fighting the cat. But they reasoned that it was not possible to fight the cat for he was too powerful. One other cat suggested that instead, they would buy a bell and tie it o the cat's neck. Any time the cat would be moving, the bell would ring and the rats would know that danger lurked. The rats would then run away. The idea looked brilliant. The rats each contributed some small amount. The finally bought the bell. They met and deliberated on how they were going to tie the bell on the cat's neck. They agreed that one of the rats would go to cat as he sleeps and tie it. When the different rats were chosen for the task, none agreed. Each feared that the cat would pretend to have slept and devour the one who had been picked.

The above narrative was meant to dismiss a tripartite alliance between Uhuru Kenyatta, Musalia Mudavadi and William Ruto. He expressed confidence by painting a picture that the trio were scared of his strength. He said, "They are like those rats that after making getting a nice bell started arguing who would tie it around the neck of the cat. TNA said no I can't. URP said no I can't and UDF said no as well. So, in the end, nobody is ready to bell the cat and that cat is ODM." Raila Odinga was assuring his supporters not to fear the three for scheming of blocking him from ascending to power.

When Raila Odinga and Miguna Miguna disagreed, the latter started to tell Kenyans of the other side of Raila Odinga. Most people believed him. Miguna Miguna had been Raila Odinga's coalition adviser in the office of the Prime Minister. He knew many other things about Raila Odinga than many other Kenyans. Many people expected him to react to Miguna's sentiments. Miguna Miguna himself challenged Odinga to come out publicly and say if what he had been

telling were fabrications. He had painted Raila as a very undemocratic man. In his artistic rendition of a narrative, Raila Odinga responded. In his Kibira Rally on Sunday 5 August 2012, he gave a narrative of two mad men and a sane person.

Two mad men went to the river and found a sane person swimming in the river. The mad men picked the clothes of the sane person and started running away. On realizing that his clothes had been taken, the sane man got out of the river and started chasing after the two mad men. He asked a question to the public and made them ponder on the best approach to go about the incidence; “*When two mad men steal your clothes and ran away, would you chase them?*” The sane person had the alternative of going after the mad men. The challenge with that approach would be that the people who meet them on the way would quickly judge the sane person to be mad and the mad men to be sane for the simple reason that they have clothes while the sane person is naked.

Apart from Miguna, the other person symbolized by the image of a mad man is Tony Tahoka. He had also worked for Raila as chief of protocol and also knew much about him. He had linked Raila Odinga to the 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya. By responding in this manner, Raila protects his image by avoiding a situation of confrontational exchanges between himself and his former aides. He was not going to dismiss the allegation since he knew some truth existed. It would have been worse to dismiss Miguna Miguna and Tony Tahoka when they claimed to have evidence in support of their claims. Through the use of the narrative, he manages to paint a picture of his critics as not worthwhile to respond to. They are like mad men. Responding to them is as disastrous as chasing a mad man.

I submit that genres of oral literature are important in rhetorical speeches. In as much as political rallies should have manifestoes and policy issues, political argument should be ornamented with aspects of oral literature. This is because an audience would not be sophisticated amply to trail arguments. Use of oral literature aides the common man to follow an argument. Facts and policies alone are too boring. This is especially in the case where arguments are founded uniquely on scientific and logical principles. Songs entertain the audiences and communicate to their feelings. Proverbs in a way, allows the audience to share with the speaker a common piece of wisdom. This allows the speaker to take advantage of situations especially when he is not completely sure about the thoughts of his audience on a subject. Using a proverb enhances the

message because at least the proverb is shared as popular piece of wisdom between him and the audience. Riddles give the speaker and the audience an opportunity to create dialogue between them. This in turn improves on the rapport. The twist and turns in the solving of the riddle make the listeners ponder over what is being talked of. This enhances memory of the message. Speakers should tell narratives because people understand issues better through stories. Our judgment as people is based on into the story frame work. As audience listen to the narratives, they get entertained. Raila Odinga has manifested effective use of these genres of literature.

4.5 CONCLUTION

The use of rhetorical strategies and genres of oral literature in the effort to persuade the audience is of importance. Political facts and policies, manifestoes and presentation of a list of projects done is not enough to convince a voter to buy a political ideologies or party manifestoes. Politicians and other people interested in persuading the audience in rallies are it a political rally or church crusade must take care of so many other ways of connecting to the audience and speaking to the listeners in a way that makes the message memorable, worthy to listen to and entertaining. Raila Odinga has mastered these and for so long, has maintained a wider support base for a longer period of time. He has managed to influence long term changes even in a lesser position of the opposition leader. The disadvantages of fluency notwithstanding, his messages sink to the heart of his audience. To his opponents, his statements form the basis of their criticism.

The first strategy that Raila Odinga pays attention to in his bid to persuade is the non-verbal cues. Not so many speakers think of this. Non-verbal cues are as important as the verbal message. Raila Odinga exploits this technique to his advantage. Raila Odinga's non-verbal elements like dress, colour, word accent, dancing style, walking style, slow pace of talking and voice all constitute a proper means of persuasion.

The objective non-verbal communication which he exploits includes the dresses, accessories (artifacts), dancing style and use of space and time. He carries props on stage. These would include the fly-whisk, the club, hammer, an orange and many others. His dance style is his trademark. He does not speak too fast but at an average speed that allows the audience to get almost each word articulated. At one time, he bought a Hummer vehicle just to attract the attention of the audience. Most Kenyans would go to his rallies just to have a look at the SUV car.

He also uses the non-verbal silent communication. This includes the body language (includes the head, hands, mimics). As he speaks, he moves his head forward towards the end of the sentence or at a pause. This is emphatic enough. The sentences are made powerful and resonate well with the audience. Lastly, Raila uses non-verbal vocal communication. This comprises of the speed of utterance, the tone of the voice, the intonation, accent and rhythm.

The use of rhetorical stylistic devices in persuasion is of great importance. When people are evaluating speakers, they are persuaded and affected in the style of delivery and the strategies used to send the message. Rhetorical techniques help Raila Odinga to structure his main ideas and themes and drive key points home. A remarkable trademark of Raila Odinga's communication style is his use of unique variations of repetition. Repetition is a major rhetorical strategy for producing emphasis, clarity, amplification or emotional effects. Raila Odinga draws on a wide variety of repetition techniques that give power to his oration. Repetitions of words or phrases include anaphora, epistrophe, commoratio, epizeuxis or palilogia among others. There are instances where there are repetitions of sounds. These include use of alliteration, assonance, consonance amongst others. These devices create rhythm in the speech hence make it more persuasive.

Allegory, metaphor, similes create images in the mind of the speakers. They make a complex thing be stated so simply. The phrase *vifaranga vya kuku* was an effective way of communicating a complex thing so simply. The message is clearly sent home.

The last strategy that is important in persuasion is in the use oral literature genres. Raila Odinga has popularized the art of performing oral literature genres in his campaigns. Looking at him dancing, listening to the songs he sings, the riddling sessions in his speeches and his use of proverbs shows his artistry. Perhaps this is the reason why most people spend their money to go and listened to him. He is a crowd puller. Some politicians have been of ferrying people to the venue of their rallies because people have failed to turn up for boring and dry speeches of party manifestoes, policies and political ideologies. Raila Odinga makes entertainment a fundamental element of his speeches.

Basing on the above arguments, it is a worthy undertaking for public speakers to master the non-verbal communication, use styles that enhance the verbal message and learn to sing, use a

proverb, narrate a story, dance and use a riddle to connect to the audience and persuade them. The dismissive tone with which some use against use of riddles, stories, allegory should be ignored.

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Raila Odinga's speech in Nandi

Raila Odinga's Madaraka Day Speech

Raila Odinga Muranga Speech

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 : SPEECHES

2016 Madaraka Day Speech Delivered on Wednesday, 1 June 2016 at Uhuru Park , Nairobi.

(Minutes before the speech is made, Raila dances to the tune of Onyi Papa Jay's song which was composed in praise of him during elections. He is dressed in white. Has a black headgear and carrying a flywhisk on his hands. The crowd is electrified and joins in the dance. Among the issues to be addressed, as expected by the audience is relieving IEBC commissioners of their duty. There had been demonstrations before against the commissioners conducting another election in Kenya)

Haya,Haya, Haya. Vijana hoyeee! Vijana Hoyee! Vijana Hoyee! Leo ni siku muhimu kwa taifa letu. Miaka hamsini na tatu iliyopita, ndiyo Kenya ilipata uhuru wa ndani, kutoka kwa mubeberu. Wakati hiyo ndo mubeberu alipewa notisi, ya kwamba wakati wako umefika. Wakaambiwa siku ya Mwizi ni ngapi? Wakamwambia mubeberu, mubeberu sasa toka kwenda nje. Mubeberu alikua ananyanyasa Waafrika hapa. Alikua anakalia juu ya Mwafrika, alikua anamwita mwafrika ni bladi African. Mahali zingine ulikua ukienda, unaambiwa Africans and dogs, are not allowed here. Ndio sababu Waafrika waliamka, wakashikana pamoja,kabila yote ya wakenya, walikuja pamoja, wakasema wazungu must... Go! Wazungu must...(go!) Wazungu must...(go!).

Wakati hiyo, Jomo Kenyatta, Achieng' Oneko, Paul Ngei, Kungu Karumba, Bildad Kagia, Fred Kubayi, walikua wamewekwa korokoroni. Ilikua ukitaja jina ya Kenyatta, unawekwa ndani. Ngwee... (ndani) ngwee? Ndio Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, alienda kwa bunge, pahali ambalo lilikua imejaa makaburu, wazungu, akasema, 'in the hearts of hearts, of the African people, Jomo Kenyatta, and all those people who were detained with him, were and are still the true leaders of our people, and their continued detention, injures and hurts the conscious and feelings of our people.' Wengine walipinga Jaramogi. Masinde Muliro peke yake ndiye aliunga Jaramogi mkono. Jaramogi alifukuzwa kwa bunge, lakina alitoka akaenda nje,akamwambia Kiano ati 'twende na wewe Muranga, fortal tuulize wananchi kama si nilisema ukweli, sikusema ukweli.'

Wananchi walitoka wakaanza kuunga jaramogi mkono. Wakaanza ile inaitwa uhuru na Kenyatta. Ati hakuna Uhuru bila Kenyatta. Uhuru na Kenyatta siyo? Jaramogi alienda pembe zote za Kenya akisema uhuru na Kenyatta. Akaimba:

Kenyatta alitaka Kenya,

Kenyatta alitaka Kenya

Kenyatta alitaka Kenya

Akafungwaaa.

Asanta asente baba

Asante asante baba

Asante asante baba

Kwa kufungwaaaa.

Sasa, Jaramogi na wenzake walisimama imara kupigania haki ya wananchi mpaka Kenyatta akatoka kwa jela. Kenyatta alirudi, akawekwa kama kiongozi wa Kanu. Akawa president ya Kanu na Jaramogi akawa makamu yake mpaka uhuru ilikuja mwaka huo wa sitini na tatu. Mwaka huo wakenya wote wakiungana pamoja. Kulikua hakuna ati huyu ni mkamba, huyu ni mhindi, huyu ni mkale, huyu ni mjaluo, huyu ni mkikuyu, huyu ni mjikenda. Wakenya wote walikua kitu kimoja. Hii ugonjwa ya ukabila ilikua bado haijakuja kwa taifa letu. Watu waliungana wakati huo, ndio sababu ikifika leo namna hii tunakumbuka kule tumetoka. Ile ziara ambayo tumetembea sixty three mpaka twenty sixteen. Yale mawimbi ambayo imepiga taifa la Kenya. Yale milima na mabonde ambayo tumepitia, mpaka tumefika hapa.

Wakati kama huu, tunakumbuka wanajeshi wetu, ambao wamelinda taifa letu mpaka wa leo. Wakati kama huu, tunakumbuka wale sportsmen wetu, wale wanariadha, wale wachezaji mpira, wale wa mereka, wale wakimbiaji wote, ambao wameleta sifa kwa taifa letu. Pia wale Professors, wale walimu, wale wafanyi kazi ambao wameleta Kenya mpaka kwenye Kenya iko.

Sasa sisi, tumeambia wenzetu. Tuliambia wenzetu, leo tulialikwa vile Weta alisema. Tulialikwa tuende ikulu. Nataka niseme hapa. Nataka niseme hapa. Lakini tulimwambia uhuru amechelewa. Na tukamwambia tiyari tulikua tumeandaa karamu hapa Uhuru Park. Ndio sababu tukasema waendeleo Nakuru, sisi tutaendelea hapa. Lakini tukawaambia tutangoja mpaka wamalize kule Nakuru, ndiyo tuanze yetu. Tunawaambia vile vile, hakuna matusi leo. Hakuna matusi leo. Tumewaambia sisi tunataka wakenya wawe pamoja. Wawe kama kitu kimoja. Maanake Kenya ni kubwa na nzito kushinda sisi sote. Tunataka muungano ya Kenya kama kitu kimoja.

Miaka hamsini na tatu, Kenya iko kwa shida. Kenya iko kwa shida. Wakati ile walisema... (a section of the crowd is restless. Wachaneni na hao mradi hawatupi teargas hapa. Jana nilimwambia bwana Nkaiseri, ata ukileta teargas tonne million moja, huwezi kuzuia watu wetu.

Vijana hoyee! Vijana hoyee! Sisi tumesema, hatutaki fujo. Hatutaki utani wala dhihaka. Tunataka ukweli. Ndio maana tumesema hii shirika ambalo linaitwa IEBC , IEBC... IEBC... IEBC... Tuliambia Bwana Isaack Hassan aende nyumbani mapema. Tulimwambia ukiona ya jirani yako yanyolewa, na wewe anza kutia maji. Na hivo sasa tutakunyoa bila maji. Ndio maaana tuliambia Bwana uhuru, na Ruto yake, (pause) tunataka mazungumzo ya amani. Siyo?

Tunataka mazungumzo ya amani, tukubaliane. Wanasema Raila ndiye aliteua Hassan na ile tume yake, Raila na Kibaki. Ndio tuliteua wale. Lakini ata kama wewe umezaa mtoto, na huyo mtoto awe mwizi, sio lazime useme ati huyo mtoto asiende jela. Si ndio. Wakati tulikua tunateua bwana Isaack Hassan, hatukujua mambo ya Chicken Gate, hatukujua yeye alikua alikula kuku. Sivyoy? Yale maovu yote ambayo yamefukuliwa kule kwa IEBC, hatukujua wakati ile. Ndio sababu nimesema ndio tuliwateua, lakini wamefanya makosa. Sasa ni wakati wao ya kuenda nyumbani sasa hivi. Sivyoy? Sivyoy? Kwa hivyo tumesema, hakuna uchaguzi tena, kama wale wako pale. Mmesikia Weta amesema, kesho tutateua wale ambao watawakilisha sisi kwenya mazungumzo ya IEBC. Wao wanasema, wanasema ati ooh, mazungumzo mpaka ifanywe kwa bunge. Wanasema ati tufwate katiba. Sisi tunafwata katiba.tunafwata nini? Ata ile ambaye ilikua inaitwa IPPG, watu waliketi chini kwanza walikubaliana, wakateua wabunge wakuenda kuwakilisha. Ile ya Kofi Annan, ya serena hapa, tulikua na wabunge tano kwa upande yetu ya ODM, na tano kutoka PNU. Si walikua wabunge? Lakini walikutana nje ya bunge. Waliteuliwa na vyama, wakakutana nje ya bunge, wakakubaliana, tukapata mukhtaba, mimi na Kibaki tukaweka sahihi, ikaenda bungeni. Sivyoy? Ndo mahana tumesema tutateua kesho, na wataoteuliwa ni wabunge tano. Na wao vile vile watateua wangapi? Alafu ijumaa wataanza mazungumzo. Sivyoy? Mazungumzo ikianza, mazungumzo ikianza, hakuna pale. (pointing to the streets). Lakini kama hakuna mazungumzo, juma tatu, juma tatu, Juma Tatu, Juma Tatu, Juma Tatu, kule. (pointing to the streets).

Tunataka amani, na tumeambia polisi, hakuna sharia ambao unazuia sisi kufanya maandamano. Maandamano imealalishwa kwa katiba. Sawa sawa? Sawa sawa? Mko tiyari vijana? Mko tiyari? Au mnaogopa teargas?

Nipigwe teke..

Nipigwe pingo...

Sitarudi nyuma

Sitarudi nyuma...

Oo nipigwe teke...

Nipigwe pingo...

Sitarudi Nyumaa

Sitarudi nyuma.

Nipigwe teke..

Niwekwe jela...

Sitarudi nyuma

Sitarudi nyuma...

Oo nipigwe teke...

Ooh niwekwe jela

Sitarudi Nyumaa

Sitarudi nyuma.

Nipigwe teargas...

Sitarudi nyuma.

Nipigwe teargas

Sitarudi nyuma.

Nipigwe Maji

Sitarudi nyuma

Nipigwe maji

Sitarudi nyuma

Ata wao waseme,

Ata wao waseme,

Ata wao waseme ,

Sisi hatutarudi nyuma

Asanteni

.

TONONOKA RALLY

Hayaa! Hayaa! Sasa, sasa, okay. Nimesikia. Hayaa. Haya. Haya. Sasa, vijana hoyee, vijana hoyee, sasa tunaingia kwa kipindi kigingine. Hiyo ilikua sauti ya wananchi wa Pwani. Vijana wameongea.wamesema hakuna kazi kwa vijana. Ati vijana wana macertificates. Wamesoma. Lakini hakuna ajira. Kazi hakuna. Wanafanya tu kazi ya hawking pekee yake. Siyo? Je huo ni ungwana? Ni ungwana? Ati ahadi haijatimizwa. Na ahadi ni nini?

Wakina mama wameongea. Nao wamama vile vile wamesema walichezewa shere. Wakasema ati ile uwezo fund, elfu kumi ni kitu kidogo sana. Haiwezi kufanya chochote. Hakuna biashara unaweza anza na shilingi elfu kumi. Ata furniture haitoshi. Wakasema angalau ifike laki moja. Wakasema zile beach plots, bado yamebaki na wale wezi. Wamesema idara ya ardhi, kule waziri anasumbua ile tume ya ardhi. Mama Charity Ngilu anazuia Bwana Zuazuri kufanya kazi yake ya kikatiba. Kwa hivyo, Bi. Charity Ngilu, aambiwe awachane na mambo ya ardhi. Awache kufanya kazikwa niaba ya wezi wa ardhi.

Walemavu wamenena. Ili waweze kujimudu kutoka kwa ile shida inakumba walemavu. Ata kwa vinjengo ya gorofa na kadhalika, hakuna njia ya walemavu kuingia na kwenda kufanya mkutano huko. Ata kufanya kazi. Si ndivyo?

Nao wafanyi biashara wamenena, na wamesema ati kuna ushuru ambao imeongezwa kwa bei ya bidhaa. Amabao inafanya bidhaa bei zao zinapanda juu zaidi. Ati bei ya unga iko juu. Bei ya mkate iko juu. Bei ya sukari iko juu. Bei ya soda iko juu. Kodi ya nyumba iko juu. Nauli ya kusafiri iko juu. Sasa punda imechoka.

Walisema ati kibebacho kikivuja, ni nafuu kwa mchukuzi.

Nao, viongozi wa kidini wameongea vile vile. Mambo ya usalama. Usalama umezorota Pwani. Maimam, mashehe wameuliwa, gurunedi imerushwa kwenye msikiti, na kwenye makanisa. Makasisi wa kanisa wameuawa, lakini hakuna mtu mmoja ameshikwa akafikishwa mahakamani. Kila mara, watu wakiuawa, wanatangaza ati hakuna jiwe ambalo litawachwa bila kupinduliwa ili kufukua ni nani amehusika. Kwa hivyo wamesema shida iko mingi zaidi. Sivyo? Sivyo?

Punda imechoka na mzigo. Mzigo inafaa yapinguzwe. Kwa hivyo wale wote ambao wamenena wamesema wanataka kue na mazungumzo. Wale ambao wanahusika, na viongizi wengine wa nchi. Sivyo?

Kongamano la kitaifa ya watu wa Kenya. People's national dialogue. Kenya national dialogue. Kenya national dialogue. Wangapi wanaunga mkono nione? Inua tena inua tena ili wapige picha. Hiyo, hiyo, hiyo, na hiyo na sauti yaw a Pwani. Wa Pwani wameongea, sivyo? Anayesikio na (asikie). Anaye macho na... (aone)

Kitandawili?kitandawili? kitandawili? Kuona anaona, lakini kuskia hasikii, ila kwa kigongo. Yeye ni nani? Yeye ni nani? Yeye ni nani? (crowd say uhuru) Hapana, hamjapata. Nipatie mji

basi, nichukue Mombasa? Ehe? Hiyo ni myama anaitwa burukenge. Burukenge. Mnamjua burukenge? Anafanana na mamba. Yeye anaona, lakini yeye ni kiziwi. Hasikii, ila kwa kigongo, mpaka uchukue mti, umgonge ndio asikie.

Sasa sisi tunadhani wale wenzetu wanasikia. Wenzetu, tunadhani sio burukenge. Kwa hivyo mimi nina akika kwamba wanasikia na wataanza mazungumzo kabla ya saba? (cword Saba) saba? Saba? Sasa tunasema wakikataa, saba saba ni national holiday. Hakuna mtu anatoka. Hiyo ni sauti ya wakenya. Sikizeni. Wengine wanasema ati mimi... ngoja kijana. Hii ni muhimu. Ati raila amepita kiwango. Ati yeye hana uwezo ya kutangaza siku iwe in siku ya likizo. Katiba ya Kenya inasema, ati uwezo katika jamuhuri ya Kenya, ni ya wananchi wa Kenya. The sovereignty of the republic of Kenya, is vested in the people of Kenya. Sawa sawa? Sasa wananchi, wanaweza kutumia hiyo uwezo wao wenyewe, au wanaweza kutumia mtu mwingine, wampatie nguvu, atumie. Sivyoy? Ile nguvu ya raisi, is donated sovereignty of the people of Kenya. Ile ya bunge, wamepewa na wananchi wa Kenya. Ile ya mahakama, wamepewa na wananchi wa Kenya. Na wanakenya wanaweza kuchukua hiyo, na hiyo ndio itafanywa tarehe saba mwezi wa saba mwezi ujao. Watatumia nguvu yao, ya kuendesha mambo. Sawa?

Waswahili wanasema, ati ukioma kama jirani yako ananyolewa, na wewe anza kufanya nini? Usipotia maji, utanyolewa bila. Si mmeona kama majirani wananyolewa? Tumewaambia waanze kutia maji. Kwa kichwa maji.

Sasa, mimi nitakuja hapa kumaliza huu mkutano. Lakini wacha niite kwanza hao majeshi yangu. Wafike hapa. Wafike hapa.

Uhuru Park Rally unveiling NASA Presidential Candidate.

Leo, sitasema maneno mengi. Niko na maneno macheche kabisa. Wahenga walisema ati historia, ina njia ya kujirudia tena. History repeats itself. Mwezi wa October, mwaka wa alfu mbili na mbili, tulikua hapa hapa Uhuru park. Tulikua na Kalonzo Musyoka, Michael Wamalwa Kijana, Moody Awuori, simon Nyachae, Profesa Saitoti. Tulikua na Kipruto Kirwa, tukawa na Charity Ngilu, na Raila amolo Odinga. Hapa hapa Uhuru Park, niliuliza swali. Ati je, Kibaki anatosha? Si mkajibu Kibaki Tasha. Sivyoy?

Leo hawa ndugu zangu, Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka, Wycliffe Musalia Mudavadi, Moses Masike Wetangula, Isack Kiprono Ruto, wao wote wane wamesema Raila ametosha. Hii, hii ni heshima Kubwa, heshima kubwa sana ambao hawa ndugu zangu wamenifanyia. Kwa kuniweka niwe kama Yule ambaye atabeba bendera ya muungano wa NASA katika ile mchuano ambayo inakuja.

Tumekua na makikao ambayo imechukua masiku. Tunakutana karibu mpaka asubuhi kila siku mpaka tumefika hapa. Na kila kitu tumeandika. Tumekubaliana ya kwamba hii serikali ambayo tunaenda, ambayo ni serikali ya mseto, itakua ni serikali ya mpito. Transitional and transformative government ambayo itafagia uchafu yote ya Jubilee na kupeleka mpaka baharini.

Na mimi nimeapa mimi nitakua ni rais ya kuvuka mto Jordan. Maanake Waisraeli, walishatoka Misri, walipita Bahari ya Shamu, wameingia jangwa ya Shinai, sasa wanasimama genge ya mto Jordan ngambo hii. Mimi nitakua Joshua ya kupita na nyinyi mto Jordan na Kuingia katika Canaan. Nikifika huko, kazi yangu itakua imekwisha. Sawa? Na hawa ndugu zangu mimi nitawashika mkono, tukielekea mbele uko.

Sisi tuko kama team. Team ya pembe tano. The pentagon. Wamenipatia mimi ile armband ile ya captain. Mimi ndio wamenipatia mimi ile armband ya captain. Hiyo armband inaunganisha mimi na wao, na wakenya wote. Tutatembea sambamba. Bega kwa bega. I am the first among equals. Na kile kitu ambayo tumeweka kati yetu sisi watu watano, tunataka kubadilisha Kenya ili tuweze kutekeleza ndoto ya waanzilishi ya taifa wetu. To realize the Kenyan dream, ambayo waanzilishi wa taifa letu walipata. Tupigane na umaskini. Tupigane na ugonjwa. Tupigane na ujinga. Vijana wetu waanze kupata kazi. Vijana wapate ajira. Wamama waweze kufanya kazi. Bei ya bidhaa ziweze kurudi chini. Bei ya unga irudi chini. Kodi za manyumba zirudi chini. Gharama ya elimu irudi chini. Matibabu iweze kupatikana. Walimu walipwe mshahara sawa sawa. Madaktari walipwe mshahara. Na kila mfanyi kazi apate aki yake kulingana na jasho lake. Tumalize ufisadi katika taifa letu. Ili tuwe na taifa ambalo linapanuka kila siku.

Hiyo ndio kazi nimepewa siku ya leo. Kwa hivyo, mimi ni captain ya team ambayo inaitwa NASA. Na NASA inataka kuchuana na team inaitwa Jubilee. Jubilee iko pale. Uhuru iko. Ruto iko. Dwale iko. Kindiki iko. Murkomen. Siku ile tarehe nane, mwezi wa nane, itakua mchuano na ninyi. Na mpira itanza. Mpira imeanza. Imechukuliwa pande ile. Uhuru ameanza. Amapatia Ruto. Amapatia Dwale. Dwale na mpira, na mpira Dwale, amepatia Kindiki. Kindiki na mpira, na mpira Kindiki. Anamrudishia Uhuru. Amapiga shoot, na mpira imeenda nje.

Mpira inarudi tena. Inafika upande ya Weta. Weta anapiga pale kwa Isaack Ruto. Isaack Ruto anaenda. Amechenga William Ruto, amemchenga mpaka William ruto ameanguka chini. Inaonekana William Ruto ameanguka chini na ameumia. Ameteguka mguu. Lakini mpira inaenda mbele. Jubilee kwa upande ile. Isack Ruto tena. Amekata mpira upande ile kwa Musalia Mudavadi. Mudavadi anaenda na mpira, Mudavadi na mpira, anachenga Dwale. Anachenga Dwale. Amapatia Kalonzo. Kalonzo na mpira. Kalonzo. Kalonzo. Anampatia Raila. Raila, amem didididididi.....

LAUNCH OF NASA 2017 CAMPAIGNS IN BUKHUNGU STADIUM ON 3RD JUNE 2017

Hayaa! Vijana hoyee! Vijana hoyee! Abandu ba ingo mirembee? Mrembe andii? Muli mwoyo? Asanteni sana. Tumerudi Kakamega. Dalili ya mvua ni nini? Nimeona mawingu yametanda Kakamega. Tuliamua, ati mkutano wa kwanza, wa campaign wa mwaka huu, tunaleta hapa Kakamega. Leo tarehe tatu... (The crowd is jubilating. He keeps silent as he waits to know what is happening. Hassan Joho arrives and hugs him)

Hayaa! Sasa team NASA iko complete hapa Kakamega. Tulisema hatuendi Mombasa. Hatuendi Kisumu. Hatuendi Nairobi. Tunaenda Kakamega. Kwa bahati mzuri, wameleta hapa hapa Bikhungu stadium. Hapa Bukhungu stadium kuna historia kubwa zaidi. Kwanza zamani nilipokua mtoto mdogo, tulikua tunakuja hapa hapa Bhukungu stadium kwa mpira. Mjomba wangu alikua anacheza mpira kwa team ya Central Nyanza. Team ya Central Nyanza ilikua inacheza na team ya North Nyanza. Na ilikua inachezwa hapa hapa Bukhungu stadium. Wakati huo North Nyanza ilikua na team kali sana. Elijah Lidondi. Shem Shimoto. Okumu Omari. Joe Kadenge. Hao wote walikua ni team ya North Nyanza. Central Nyanza kulikua na Bobby Oronge. Odiwuor Apuoyo. Odhiambo sambusa Mkate wa kaloleni. Goal-keeper Onyun. Sasa tulikua tukikuja hapa tulikua tunakuja na basi hapa ndani. Na team ya North Nyanza walikua wanakuja kwa vishindo sana. Wanaimba:

Eeh mama, eingombe

Eeh mama, ei ngombe

Eeh mama, ei ngombe

Banai eeh mama, ei ngombe.

Naye team ya Central Nyanza tukiingia, na tunaimbaa:

Kama nene kama nene kama nene

Kama nene kama nene kama nene

Kama nene kama nene kama neneeee

Kama nene kama nene

Wolo wolo wolo

Wolo wolo wolo

Wolo wolo wolooo

Wolo wolo wolo.

Mechi ilikua ni ya kirafiki kabisa. Hapa katika stadium hii, nimeona Elija Lidonde akipiga penalti pale. Ilienda ikapiga, nyuma pale kulikua na pole pande ile. Ikapiga mpaka mpira ikapasuka. Psssss. Kwa hivyo, tuna furaha, kwa kuanzisha safari yetu ya kwenda state house hapa hapa Bukhungu stadium. Tunawaambia wana wa ingo ya kwamba, safari imeanza. Mara ya mwisho nilisema kumepambauka. Tunasema safari imeanza, ya kupeleka Jubilee wapi? Wapi?

Juzi, Uhuru anasema ati mtu ambaye analeta shida Kenya hii ni Raila. Ati Raila ndio adui ya maendeleo Kenya hii. Mimi nataka kumwambia yeye, kazi ya Raila kama kiongozi ya upinzani,

ni kukosoa serikali. Kuangalia kama serikali inafanya vizuri au inafanya vibaya. Wakifanya vizuri tunawasifu. Wakifanya mbaya tunawakosoa. Baati mbaya, wamekua mara mingi wakifanya mbaya tu. Sasa utasifu kitu ambayo haiko? Kama wanaleta NYS kule Kibira, alafu wanatumia hiyo kuiba pesa, nimsifu Uhuru ama nimkosoe? Nimsifu ama nimkosoe? Hiyo NYS peke yake, waliiba zaidi ya shilingi billion ishirini. Bilioni ishirini sio billioni moja na nukta sita.

Sasa, mambo ya Eurobond. Nimepiga darubini, nimeangalia na macho, ile ya mwewe, nikaangalia, sioni pesa imeenda wapi. Tena tukiuliza editor general, angalia kama pesa iliingia. Auditor general, ameangalia amesema, nikienda kwa benki kuu, sioni pesa imeingia. Nikienda kwa mawizara, sioni pesa imeingia. Sijaona pesa hii, ata harufu yake sijasikia. Lakini hiyo ni pesa mzito, ambaye ikiingia kwa uchumi ya Kenya, mpaka usikie harufu yake. Mpaka uone ishara ya hiyo pesa. Sasa nikikosoa kuna makosa? Kuna makosa? Hiyo pesa haijaonekana.

Ile pesa ya hospitali ya matibabu, ya wagonjwa ya watu wa TB, ya wale ya akina mama, imeenda. Si imeenda? Million tano na kitu. Wale walikua wanahusika, dada ya Uhuru. Cousin yake. Ehe si mmesikia haya? Mjomba wake. Nikimkosoa kuna makosa hapo? Nikimkosoa kuna makosa? Naibu wake, naibu wake, (pause as the crowd chants) Naibu wake bwana Ruto, anapeleka askari kupiga watoto wa shule teargas kwa sababu yeye anataka kunyakua shamba ya shule. Hiyo ni ungwana? Hiyo ni ungwana/ na pahali amejenga hoteli, amenyakua shamba naploti ya airport authority. Siyo? Ata uko upande ya Eldoret alinyakua shamba ya mtu mwingine. Si mlisikia? Mlisikia? Kila hapa na pale. Nikikosoa kuna makosa? Kuna makosa?

Wanasema ati watu wa NASA, wanataka tu uongozi. Ati wanagawanya tu uongozi. Ati only, they are only interested in sharing power. Nasema utawala ni power and what we are saying is that sisi tunataka kugawanya power. Hatutaki kuweka power chini ya mkono ya watu wawili tu peke yake. We want to share power. We want to divide power. We want to diffuse power. We want to use power for the benefit of the people of Kenya. That is the meaning of governance. Good governance requires that power is diffused. So that people can feel power in a positive way. Hiyo ndio sisi kama NASA tutafanya.

Hapa leo, tukizindua, leo hapa kampeni yetu, tumekuja hapa na Blue print yetu ya mkoa ya Magharibi. Hii blueprint hapa, na nyinyi mtapata nafasi ya kuyasoma, inasema yale ambao serikali ya NASA itafanya ikichukua utawala. Upande hii, kwa upande ya elimu, upande ya matibabu, upande ya kilimo, kwa upande ya kunyunyiza maji kwa mashamba, upande ya mashamba, kwa upande ya biashara, kwa upande ya ali ya afya, yooote iko hapo ndani. Nipatie iyo copy. Hii ni blue print yetu. Western region investment plan. Vile tutafanya investment hapa kwa western region. Ili maendeleo iweze kuarakishwa. Hii si kama ile ahadi ya Jubilee. Hii si kama ile ahadi ya Jubilee. Sisi tunatoa ahadi ambao sisi tunahakika tunaweza kutimiza. Ahadi ya Jubilee, walitoa ahadi mingi zaidi. Hawakutimiza. Sasa, wanazidi tena kutoa ahadi mpya. Walisema wakishika utawala, ndani ya siku mia moja, laptop iko kwa kila shule. Mmeona hizo laptop? Mmeziona? Hamjaziona na hamtazona maana imebaki siku tisaini peke yake. Walisema, ati wakishika namna hii, gharama ya maisha itarudi chini. Imerudi chini? Bei ya unga

iko wapi? Bei ya sukari? Bei ya mazima? Nauli ya matatu? Walisema ati watatengeneza lami kilomita elfu kumi, mmeziona hizo? Mmeziona hizo lami? Mmeziona? Hamjaziona. Na walisema ugatuzi itafanya kazi. Imefanya kazi? Kwa hivyo ahadi ya Jubilee ni kama kunyamba kwa punda.

Sasa, wameanza tena tutoa ahadi mpya. Ati wakishika kuanzia mwaka ujao, watoto watasoma bure hadi kwa secondary. Sisi na Kibaki tuliposhika, tulitoa ahadi ati tukiingia kwa serikali, primary itakua free. Siyo? Tulishinda Desemba na tukaanza January mambo ya free primary. Tulianza hatukuanza? Tulianzisha ama hatukuanzisha? Siyo?

Sasa mara hii, tumesema, na ndio sasa wanaiga. Sisi tulisema sekondari school itakua free. Na hiyo tutaanza, maanake mpango ya serikali ya pesa inaanza mwezi wa Julai. Sio January. Kwa hivyo sisi tumesema tukishika namna hii, kuanzia September, watoto watakua wanasoma bure katika shule zote za sekondari. Sio Januari, September mwaka huu. Term ya mwisho, watoto hawatalipa karo katika secondary zetu zote.

Sisi tunasema na tunatenda. Sio ile tenda ya Ruto, anasema tumetenga, tumetenga, tumetenga, tumetenga, yote ni ahadi ya bure ambao hauna chochote.

Sasa wanasema ati serikali ya NASA ikiingia, watafuta machifu wote kazi waende nyumbani. Hiyo ni uwongo mtupu. Sisi tulisema tuliwaambia, maanake ile fungo ya kumi ya saba, ya katiba, schedule ya katiba, imesema ati the system known as Provincial administration, shall be restructured to conform with the devolved system of government. Yaani tutaiunganisha, ili iingiane kwa ugatuzi ifanye kazi sawa sawa. Ata wale village elders, tutawaweka vizuri na watazidi kupata mshahara na kupata kufanya kazi yao sawa sawa. Hatatawapeleka nyumbani. Hatutawafukuza.

Sisi tunataka kuzalisha kazi. Vijana wanapata kazi, wamama wanapata kazi, ata wazee, wanapata kazi. Ili wapate marupurupu. Sio?

Ile marapurupu ya wazee, tutazidisha kutoka elfu mbili hadi elfu tatu na mia tano. Na itagawanywa bila ubaghuzi. Hao wanabaghua. Wengine wanapata, wengine hawapati. Lakini sisi tumesema mtu yeyote ambaye ako na zaidi ya umri ya miaka sabini, mama na mzee, atapata marupurupu. Sawa sawa?

Sisi tuko na mpango wa kubadilisha maisha ya wakenya wote kwa Jumla. Ili wakenya wawe kama kitu kimoja. Tumesema ndani ya siku tisaini, ya maisha itarudi chini. Hiyo bei ya unga itarudi chini. Sio hii ya hao jamaa ambao wanafanya tu kwa sababu gharama ya kampeni.

Mwaka jana mpaka mwaka huu, wakulima walikua wanalia. Walipwe shilingi elfu tatu na mia tano kwa ghunia. Jamaa wamekataa. Wakati tulipokua tunawacha serikali, mimi na Kibaki na Kalonzo, bei ya mahindi kwa wakulima ilikua elfu tatu na mia mbili. Jubilee walipoingia, wakarudisha chini mpaka elfu mbili na mia mbili. Sasa wakulima wakaanza kulia. Jee hii

inakuaje? Gharama ya maisha imepanda, bei ya mbegu imepanda, ata bei ya mbolea imepanda, na nyinyi mnashukisha bei ya mahindi. Sasa walikataa kulipa wakulima wa Kenya elfu mbili na mia mbili. Wakatii hii wakalipa wakulima wa Mexico elfu nne na mia sita. Wako tiyari kununua mahindi, kwa shilingi elfu nne na mia sita. Wako tiyari kununua mahindi, shilingi elfu nne na mia sita kwa wakulima wa Mexiko, wamekataa kupatia wakulima wa Kenya elfu tatu na mia mbili. Je hiyo ni ungwana? Hiyo ni uungwana? Na hiyo mahindi inakuja duty free. Sasa walisema ati wanaitisha mahindi kutoka Mexiko. Mexiko ni karibu kilometa elfu kumi kutoka Kenya. Sasa ndani ya siku tatu, meli imefika Mombasa. Hiyo kweli ilikua ni ndege? Ilikua ni ndege? Ati wanasema ati, wanasema mbona tunasema imekuja kwa haraka. Tukiuliza tu, hii meli yenu ilikua wapi? Ati ilikua Afrika kusini ilikua nangoja. Wa Kenya wanaumia na unasema meli ilikua inangoja hapa Afrika Kusini? Mbona hiyo meli haikukuja mapema?

Jubilee wamezoea kudanganya Wakenya. Wanafkiri wakenya ni wajinga sana. Sivyo? Sivyo? Lakini sisi tumesema mjinga sasa amerevuka. Sivyo?

Nataka kuambia nyinyi abandu ba ingo. Mara hii mlifanya vizuri, mliitikia wito wetu, na mkaenda mkajiandikisha vizuri kwa kura. Hii kura mmejiandikisha vizuri sana. Sasa hapa imefika, Magharibi yote ni kura milioni moja na nukta tisa. Sasa ndio tumechukua hizo kura zote tumepima, kwa eneo zote za nasa. Tumepimana nao kwa mizani. Kwa uzito tumeona kama sisi ni mzito kushinda wao. Ndio sababu tunasema tuko na ten million strong. Ten Million strong. Ten million strong. Hiyo ni kura ambao tuko nayo ndani ya mfuko. Iliobaki sasa, ni kutoa hiyo kura kwa mfuko, uingie kwa debe. Nataka hiyokura itoke kwa mfuko uingie wapi? Sasa hiyo inaitwa sasa kwanza, get the votes. Get the votes. Pili, get out the votes. Tatu, protect the votes. Sawa sawa?

Sasa ile imebaki ni kwamba uakikishe umepiga kura tarehe nane, mwezi wa nane, imetoka kwa mfuko, immenda wapi? Kwa debe sawa?

Tunapanga namna hii. Katika kila kituo cha kupiga kura, tunataka kua na watu tano. Tano tano. Tano tano. Mwenye kiti, katibu, mweka hazina, mama na kijana. Sawa sawa? Hawa watu kazi yao itakua kuangalia hiyo station na kuwasiliana na headquarter yetu kule Nairobi. Sasa register imetoka. Tunataka kila mmoja wenu aende na kipande sasa hivi, aende ahakikishe kwamba jina yake iko pale. Na ameweka kidole yake, na imetoka. Sawa? Imebaki kama siku sita hivi. Nataka kila moja wenu, aende acheck kama jina lake iko ndani ya register. Sawa? Maanake ukipatikana kama hayuko wataingisha jina yako sasa. Sasa hiyo register watapublish, alafu itakua na register kila polling station. Kutakua kila polling station. Watachapisha majina ya watu ambao wamekua registered pale. Na hii kamati itakua na hiyo register. Siku ile ya kupiga kura, nataka alfajiri na mapema, kwanza kama tumelalia kura kesho, sasa mama, mzee asikuje karibu na wewe. Mwambie yeye hapana. Leo ni vita. Kesho tutasherehekea tukishapeleka Jubilee nyumbani. Sawa? Alafu nataka ya kwamba vijana ikifika usiku wa manane mnatoka. Mnaenda kwa vituo vya kupiga kura. Sawa? Alafu saa ile kuna ile register, agent wako nayo kule ndani. Mtu akipiga kura, una tick. Akipiga ... tick. Akipiga? Mpaka sasa ikifika saa tatu, wanaangalia wangapi

wamepiga? Kiasi hii. Nani baso hajapiga? Flani flani flani. Vijana wanatumwa wanaenda nyumbani kuchukua wale watu waletwe wakuje wafanye nini? Sawa?

Ata wagonjwa, wagonjwa kwa hospitali wanachukuliwa, wanaletwa wapige kura ndowapelekwe hospitali. Hatutaki ata kura yetu moja imelala. Sawa? Sawa? Ili ikifika saa saba, najua tunaambia jubilee bye bye. Bye bye. Bye bye.

Sasa baada ya kituo kufungwa, wakimaliza namna hii, hiyo debe inamwagwa hapo, alafu inahesabiwa. Tunahesabu? Wanahesabu tunahesabu. Alafu saa ile ambaye matokeo imetangazwa, wale agent wetu wanachukua picha kwa simu, anapiga picha, anarusha. Sawa sawa? Sawa sawa? Wanahesabu tunahesabu. Wanajumulisha, tunajumulisha. Wanahesabu, tunahesabu. Wanatangaza? Saw sawa? Mara hii, mara hii, mjinga amerevuka. Mjinga amerevuka. Mwerevu yuko wapi?

Hakuna na tumesema, vile juzi mahakama imeamua, ati, kura, ikiwa kama imetangazwa, na Yule returning officer, katika constituency, hiyo ni fainal. Hiyo ni fainal. Hakuna ati mtu anaka Nairobi, ati ni super returning officer. Ati anaweza kubadilisha. Hiyo ukitaka unaenda mahakamani. Sasa wameenda mahakama. Wanataka hiyo ibadilishwe. Tunasema sisi tumekataa. Si sisi tumekataa? Si tumekataa? Sisi tumesema hiyo hatutaki kuona kama inafanyika maanake hiyo ni njama ya kujaribu kuiba kura. Sawa sawa? kuna tiyari uamuzi wa mahakama kuu. Supreme court. Kwa kesi inaitwa Shaban verses Joho. Yule Shaban alipeleka Joho mahakamani. Alipeleka Joho mahakamani, Joho alimshinda. Lakina mahakama ilisema, supreme court ilisema, ati the results as announced by the returning officer at the constituency level is final and only a court of law can alter. Sawa sawa? Kwa hivyo hiyo tutaenda namna hiyo. Hakuna kubadilisha hiyo. Kwa hivyo sasa nataka vijana muwe tiyari. Mko tiyari? Mko tiyari? Wangapi wako tiyari nione kwa mkono?

Sababu ya kupeleka Jubilee nyumbani ni mingi zaidi. Lakini ya muhimu zaidi, namba one, gharama ya maisha. Sawa? Pili, ufisadi. Tatu, ukosefu wa kazi kwa vijana. Sawa? Na nne ni kutoheshimu ugatuzi. Sawa? Kutoheshimu ughatuzi. Sasa ya tano ni ukabila. Ukabila. Alafu ya sita ni usalama. Upotovu wa usalama. Usalama umezorota. Kila mahali, unalala nyumbani una shida zaidi. Saa zile unapiga simu kwa polisi, unawaambia ya kwamba nimevamiwa hapa na majambazi, wanaambia wewe ati awana pesa ya petrol. Ati hawana petroli ya kukuja. Lakini wakisikia tu harufu ya changaa namna hii, hao ndo wale wale wako hapo. Wanakimbia moja kwa moja, lakini mimi sijui pahali pengine ambao change ilipigwa marufuku. Wananchi wanajiburudisha, wanaenda kuwasumbua. Lakini saa zile ambao wananchi wanataka ulinzi yao, hawako. Sasa hawajui ya kwamba polisi ni mtumishi wako. Maanake, hiyo bunduki amebeba, juu yako. Risasi ndani yake, juu yako. Mshahara yake, juu yako. Uniform amevaa, juu yako. Nyumba yake, juu yako. Wewe ndio boss. Siyo? Sivyoy? Sisi tutaleta police reform. Tutareform police force iwe people friendly. Tutawapatia mshahara ya kutosha, ili waache kusumbua wananchi hapo kwa bara bara. Wanasimamisha gari, wanasema ati ooh, inaonekana taa hakuna hapa. Piga honi, ati sijui nini, wapi insurance? Lakini kitu wanataka ni kitu kidogo tu. Inaitwa

TKK. Walianza kusema ati toa kitu kidogo, TKK. Baadaye wakapandisha ikawa toa kitu kikubwa, TKK. Sasa wakasema toa kila kitu. TKK.

Sisi tutahakikisha watu wetu wako na usalama. Juzi tumekua kule Bonde la Ufa, kule watu wanavamiwa na majambazi. Na bunduki. Wanapiga watu risasi. Kuna mama moja alijifungua ana mtoto wa siku mbili. Amebeba hapa ananyonyesha. Anapigwa risasi mama na huyo mtoto anauawa. Kijana moja anachunga ngombe ya wazazi yake. Kijana mtoto wa miaka kumi na tatu, amepigwa risasi mguu umevunjika. Ako katika Kenyatta National Hospital kule. Ruto anaenda kule, anaorder ati wazazi wake wapewe bunduki. Unapewa bunduki ati wewe ujikinge nayo. Hii ndio kuonyesha kwamba police ameachia wewe sasa usalama wako ni juu yako. Wewe una bunduki, G3, wale wanakuja na AK47. Ati sasa kama umeuawa shauri yako. Sasa ni jukumu ya serikali kulinda wananchi. Sio kupatia wananchi bunduki ati wajilinde nao peke yao. Hiyo ni kuonyesha kwamba serikali imeshindwa. Si imeshindwa? Si imeshindwa? Kuleta usalama wameshindwa. Kupigana na ufishadi wameshindwa. Uhuru alifanya mkutano kwa statehouse akasema jameni, nimefanya hii, nikafanya hii, sasa mnataka nifanye nini? Si amesema ameshindwa? Kama umeshindwa, enda Gatundu, achia Raila aingie pale. Sisi tukishika, mtaona mabadiliko makubwa. Tutatumia ile kifagio ya Maghufuli, ndio tutatumia hapa. Baada ya siku chache tu wale wezi watakua wanakimbia tu. Watakua wanakimbia hapa na pale. Mtaona pesa imerudi kwa hazina ya serikali mingi zaidi. Hiyo pesa haitakua watu wanatembea nayo kwa maghunja kama vile Ruto anatembea nayo kila pahali. Anazoea kuja nayo kwa maghunja, ati harambee. Harambe hapo huko. Harambe hapo. Hiyo sin i uwizi? Si ni wizi? Sisi tutahakikisha ya kwamba kuna nidhamu kwa watumishi wa umma. Na tukila peni, tutaweza kuaccount for. Sasa mimi, maanake niko na team yangu hapa. Na nitarudi kufunga mkutano na kucheza ule mpira. Sawa sawa? Bado. Bado. Bado. Bado mambo bado. Mambo bado. Kabla sijaita Joho, kabla, nataka kwanza nilete kijana moja hapa. Kule kutoka upande ule wa Bonde la Ufa. Lang'at njoo hapa. Lang'at njoo hapa. Huyu mweshimiwa, huyu alikua mkimbaji, marathona, alikua champion. Sasa amekua mbunge. Tulikua naye bunge, ata sasa yeye ni mbunge. Mimi nataka aongee na ninyi msikie kile ambacho kinatendeka Bonde la Ufa.

LAUNCH OF NASA CAMPAIGN 2017 AT KAKAMEGA BUKHUNGU STADIUM

Kwanza, ningependa tutangaza, kwa taifa lote ya Kenya, ya kwamba, ushirika yetu, mseto wetu ya NASA, leo imezindua campaign, officially, hapa Kakamega. So I declare our open campaign, for the elections of August 8th, this year officially longed here in kakamega. Lakini kabla hatujaanza ule ushindi ingine, kwanza tunaanza na soka. Sawa sawa? Sawa sawa?

Team NASA, sema team NASA, sema team Jubilee, team Jubilee, Nimeona team Jubilee hapa. Hapa nimeona mwingine anaitwa Were, mwingine anaitwa Washiali, Mwingine anaitwa Shinali, Mwingine naitwa Wangwe, Mwingine anaitwa Dan Wanyama, Nimemwona mwingine anaitwa Lusaka. Mwingine anaitwa Weluke, alafu pamoja na Dwale, Pamoja na Murkomen, pamoja na Ruto, Pamoja na Uhuru. Na Ababu Namwamba. Team NASA, hapa nimeona Khalwale.

Nimeona Oparanya, pale Wanyama. Hapo nimeona hapo Musalia Mudavadi. Moses Wetangula, James Orenge, Kalonzo Musyoka, tuko na Hassan Joho, alafu na Baba.

Sasa nimeona referee pande ile. Anaitwa bwana Chebukati. Nimeona team ya Jubilee ndio hiyo, ikiongozwa na Uhuru Kenyatta. Wanaingia kwa kiwanja. Wamevaa nguo nyekundu. Wanajiandaa huko kiwanjani. Team NASA inaingia, wamevaa nguo nyeupe. Wanaingia kwa kiwanja. Referee ndiye amebeba mpira. Anaweka mpira hapo mbele. Kati kati ya kiwanja. Naona wana Jubilee wako tayari. Uhuru ndiye huyo amekanyaga mpira. Anaanza mpira Uhuru. Firimbi imepigwa. Mpira umeanza. Uhuru amampatia Ruto upande ile. Ruto amampatia Washiali. Washiali na mpira, Na Washiali, Washiali anampatia Were. Were anamrudishia Shinalii. Shinalii anaenda na mpira Shinalii. Anampatia Lusaka. Lusaka na mpira, Lusaka ohh, ameteleza ameanzuka chini. Wasikizaji, huyu mchezaji anaitwa Lusaka alikua anafokiri mpira ni wheelbarrow. Inaonekana ameumia. Ameumia na naona kama anabebwa. Anatolewa nje ya kiwanja. Ili apate huduma ya kwanza.

Sasa mpira unaendelea tena. Ruto kwa kiwanja na mpira. Huyo Duale amerusha mpira. Amampatia Ruto. William Ruto na mpira. Anaenda Ruto, amempata Uhuru Kenyatta. Uhuru Kenyatta na mpira, Uhuru na mpira, mpira mpira napiga shuut. Oh, lakini goal keeper, Chris Wamalwa, amekata mpira huo bila wasi wasi wowote. Chris Wamalwa ameshika huo mpira, anapigapiga na kupiga kule mbele kwa Khalwale. Bonny Khalwale na mpira, na mpira Khalwale, amekata mpira mbio pande ule mwingine kwa Orenge. James Orenge na mpira. Anaenda na mpira Orenge, anaenda na mpira Orenge, amekata pande ile kwa Hassan Joho. Joho na mpira, johu na mpira. Uhuru ndio huyo. Joho amemchenga Uhuru akamchenga Uhuru Uhuru ameanzuka chini. Amekata mpira huo kwa Moses Wetangula. Wetangula na mpira. Na mpira Wetangula. Amampatia Mudavadi. Mudavadi na mpira, amampatia Isack Ruto. Isack Ruto ndiye huyo, amekabilia na William Ruto. Ruto na Ruto, Ruto na Ruto. Isack Ruto amerudisha mpira nyuma, amenchenga Ruto mpaka ameanzuka chini tena. Mpira unaendelea. Isack amekata ruto akaweka kwa Kalonzo Musyoka. Kalonzo Musyoka, mpira na Kalonzo, Kalonzo, amerudisha pande hii, imerudi kwa msalia. Amampatia Oparanya. Oparanya na mpira. Amerudisha upande mwingine. Kwa Wetangula. Kwa Kalonzo, kwa Raila. Hataritatatata gooooooal.

KAPSABET (NANDI COUNTY) RALLY

Wanandi hoyee! Wananchi wa Nandi chamegei tugul? Chamegei tokei, asanteni sana. Hapa ni nyumba ya mvua, kila mara hapa Nandi, Mungu hupenda sana hapa hukojoa hapa Nandi. Kwa hivyo mvua ni Baraka sivyo?

Tumefika Nandi siku ya leo, na tumekuja na ujumbe hapa Nandi. Maanake Nandi, ndio kihere here ya siasa ya watu wa Kalenjin. Sivyo? Mambo yote ya wakalenjin uanzia hapa Nandi. Ndio sababu tumekuja kusema kumembambauka. Wakenya wameamka. Na tuna furaha kuona vile kiwanja leo imefurika. Inaonekana wanandi wanataka mabadiliko. Kweli ama urongo? Kweli urongo? Mabadiliko, na mabadiliko itakuja.

Wakenya wana sababu, wa Kenya wana nia, wakenya wana uwezo ya kuleta mabadiliko kwenye nchi yetu. Ama sivyo? Ama Sivyo?

Sisi tumesikia kilio ya wakaaji wa Nandi. Wanandi ni wakulima shupavu. Wanandi wamekua wakilisha Kenya. Lakini sasa wanandi wamekua maskini. Kweli au urongo? Wakulima ya majani chai wanalia. Sivyo? Wale wakulima wafugaji wa ngomba wanalia, wakulima wa mahindi... si wanalia? Kweli au rongo? Wote wanalia kwa sababu uchumi wa kilimo umeharibika. Si uchumi ya kilimo umeharibika?

Sasa bonus, wakulima wa hapa ya majani chai, wanapata shilingi kumi na tano shilingi ngapi kwa kilo. Ataitwa West of Rift. Na upande ule wa mashariki, wanapata karibu shilingi hamsini kwa kilo. Sivyo? Na wakulima wa mahindi, wameanguka. Kwanza walipewa ile mbolea ya mbandia. Ambaye ilichoma mahindi. Ama sivyo? Baadaye wakashusha bei ya mahindi. Tulipokua tunakaa kwa serikali, kibaki Raila na Kalonzo, bei ya mahindi kwa ghunia ilikua ni shilingi alfu tatu na mia mbili. Jubilee walipoingia, wakashusha wakapeleka elfu mbili na mia mbili. Sivyo? Wakulima wakalialia, wakapandisha kidogo wakaweka elfu tatu. Lakini sasa, wanalipa wakulima wa Mexiko, shilingi elfu nne na mia sita kwa ghunia. Wamekataa kulipa wakulima wa Kenya, wanalipa wakulima wa Mexiko. Jee huo ni ungwana?Hiyo ni ungwana?

Maziwa, wanapatia wakulima hapa, shilingi thelathini kwa lita. Wanapeleka hiyo maziwa kwa mtambo yao, wanatoa siagi, wanatoa butter, wanatoa chizi, wanaongeza maji, wanauza kwa shilingi mia moja na arubaini kwa lita. Sasa, wakulima wa maziwa wana shida. Maanake wanapewa shilingi thelathini peke yakewanapewa shilingi thelathini peke yake, wao wanauzi mia moja na arubaini. Wakishatoa butter, wakishatoa chizi. Sawa? Sasa ile KCC, ambaye ilikua ni shirika ya wakulima, wanataka kuchukua. Vile wamechukua makampuni mengie ya serikali.

Sisi kama wana NASA, tumesema tukishika namna hii, KCC itarudi kwa wakulima. Sawa? Vile vile, hapa Nandi, kuna wale wanaitwa the intergrated IDPs. Yaani wale ambao wanaitwa, wale watu ambao mashamba yao yalichukuliwa, manyumba yao ilichomwa, jubilee ilihahidi ati itawapatia pesa. Watu karibu elfu sita, mpaka leo hawajalipwa chochote. Mpaka leo hawajalipwa chochote. Wanaishi na wenzao, wanakua ma refugees ndani ya nchi yao. Sisi tutahakikisha kwamba wote ambao waliathirika, kwa sababu ya shida ile ya wakati ile, wamepata ridhaa. Sababu ni chungu mzima ya kupeleka Jubilee nyumbani. Sababu ya kwanza, gharama ya maisha. Bei ya unga imepanda juu juu juu zaidi ama sivyo? Haya, bei ya sukari? Imepanda. Bei ya mafuta? Si imepanda? Nauli ya matatu? Si imepanda? Kwa hivyo wananchi wengi wanahangaishwa.

Pili ni mambo ya ufisadi. Mambo ya uwizi. Mambo ya hujuma ya mali ya umma. Ambaye imezidi. Ama sivyo? Ama sivyo? Alafu ingine ni ukosefu wa ajira kwa vijana. Vijana wanahangaika, hawana kazi. Jubilee walisema wakishika utawala, kila mahali ambayo imeandikwa hakuna kazi, itabadilishwa iandikwe ati kuna kazi. Vijana mmepata kazi? Vijana mmepata kazi? Kazi haijapatikana ata wa leo.

Walihaidi wataleta laptop katika kila shule. Hiyo laptop mmeona? Mmeona laptop hizo? Si hazijaonekana. Sivyo? Kwa hivyo Jubilee ina ahadi ambayo haina maana yake. Sisi kama wana NASA, tuna mpango kamili ya kuboresha maisha ya wakenya wote. Vijana watasoma. Kila shule itakua na computer laboratory. Sawa? Alafu vile vile kuanzia mwezi wa December mwaka huu, vijana watasoma mpaka secondary, bila kulipa karo yeyote. Hiyo ni ahadi. Ahadi ya NASA si kama ile ya Jubilee. Ahadi ya Jubilee ni kama kunyamba kwa punda. Haina maana. Kwa hivyo, wandugu zetu, wa Nandi, tumekuja, na tuna furaha vile mmetukaribisha hapa. Inaonyesha kwamba nyinyi mmeamua. Mmeamua ama hamjaamua? Wamgapi wameamua nione kwa mkono?

Kwa hivyo, mvua imetukaribisha hapa siku ya leo, na hii ni baraka. Na hii ni Baraka. Tuko hapa na ma candidates ambao wamesimama. Na vyama vyetu hapa. Tunataka tuwapigie kura. Sisi vilevile, tunaomba kura zenu. Mpigie sisi kura, mpigie sisi kura, ili tupeleke uhuru nyumbani. Wangapi wanampigia Raila kura nione.

Asanteni sana. Wacha sasa niite Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka.

BOMET RALLY

(For the first one minute, Raila dances to the tune of Mambo Yabadilika.)

Hayaa. Hayaa! Hayaa! Hayaa! Vijana hoyee! Vijana hoyee! Vijana hoyee! Vijana hoyee! Tumefika Bomet. Tumekuja Bonde la Ufa. Na nimeona kama kiwanja imefurika. Si hii ni dalili? Dalili ya mvua ni nini? (01:39) tumeona kama mawingu imetanda hapa Bomet. Si ni ishara kwamba kutanyesha? Sivyo? Lakini kuna upepo ambao unavuma kwanza. Ichukue takataka yote ya jubilee na kupeleka baharini.

Tumekuja hapa maksudi. Hii ndiye hafla ya kwanza ya NASA kufanya, baada ya sisi kuunda NASA. Tumekuja kwanza, tumealikwa na ndugu yetu, Isack Ruto. Isaka ndiye alituambia ati kama mna nafasi, mnaweza kuja Bomet. Tukasema tutakuja. Sasa, tuko Bonde la Ufa. Na Bonde la Ufa tumesema vile vile iwe pahali tunafanya mkutano ya kwanza. Maanakeunajua Bonde la Ufa inianza Turkana mpaka uko upande ya Narok inaingia Tanzania. Siyo? Imekata Kenya kati kati. Iko east of rift, na west of rift. Ama sivyo? Kwa hivyo hii, ni very strategic meeting. Mahali ya kuja kwa mara ya kwanza, na kutoa taarifa ya NASA. (03:09) Tatu, Bonde la Ufa ni gala ya Kenya. Nyinyi ndio mnalisha Kenya. Hapa ndio pahali ya kilimo. Chakula ambayo inalisha Kenya yote inatoka Bonde la Ufa. Sivyo? Ndio sababu tumekuja hapa. Na tumekuja kupiga mbiu na mgambo. (03:38)kuambia nyinyi ya kwamba kuna maneno. Mbiu la mgambo ikilia? (crowd Kuna Jambo). Si kuna Jambo? Sisi tunajua hapa kuna wakulima wengi zaidi. Na tukifika Bonde la Ufa, mpaka tuongee mambo ya kilimo. Ama sivyo? Ama sivyo?

(04:01) Hapa ni nyumbani ya chai, hapa kuna mahindi, hapa kuna kahawa, hapa kuna maziwa, hapa kuna ngano, sikia sikia Murusik. Na mimi nina akika wakulima hawana furaha. Wakulima wana furaha? Wakulima wana furaha? Wakulima wakati huu wanameza mate tu.

Wale ambao wanakula nyama sin i wale wale wale unajua? Wanakula nyama na nyinyi mnameza nini? Tunajua hapa. Mimi ninajua ya kwamba majani chai iko na shida hapa. Najua kwamba kiasi ya majani chai ambao imekuzwa imerudi chini. Pili vile vile, najua ile bonus inalipwa. Kuna ubaguzi. Pande ile ya mashariki, wanalipa arubaini na nane ata hamsini siyo? Hapa ishirini na sita, ishirini na nane, namna hiyo, ama sivyo? Ubaguzi sio ubaguzi? Ubaguzi sio ubaguzi? Najua wakulima wa mahindi vile vile wanalia. Bei ya mahindi, ilirudi chini sivyo? Wakati tulikua pale na kibaki, tulikua tunalipa gunia moja shilingi elfu tatu na mia mbili. Ama sivyo? Ilikua imerudi juzi juzi chini, baada ya kelele kupigwa wapepandisha kidogo. Lakini wanasema, hakuna pesa. Hakuna pesa. NCB, NCB pia wanasema, hawana pesa, ya kununua. Ama sivyo? Lakini wakati hiyo hiyo, wakulima wana mahindi, na wale majambazi wanaleta mahindi kutoka ngambo. Si wanaleta mahindi? Wanaleta hawaleti? Wanaleta hawaleti? Ngano wanaleta , hawaleti? Wakulima wamejaa na ngano upande hii mpaka huko Narok, nawanaleta ngano kutoka nje ati bei ya uko iko chini. Hii inaonyesha kwamba sirikali haina policy nzuri ya kuzaidia wakulima wake. Ama sivyo? Wajua vilevile tumekua na shida ya mbolea. Ile mbolea inaletwa na wale wale nyangau, mbolea quality yake iko chini. Ama sivyo? Inasababisha ugonjwa ya mahindi na wakulima wanapata hasara mingi zaidi. Ama sivyo? Siyo? Ata wale wakulima, wale ambao wako na ngombe wa maziwa vile vile wako na shida. Ama sivyo. Bei ya maziwa ambayo iko processed imepanda juu zaidi. Lakini ngombe , bei ni ile ile tu.lakini wakienda kule pande ile ingine,wanafuta deni, deni ya wakulima wa kahawa. Inafutiliwa mbali. Isilipwe na inalipwa na serikali. Lakini ya chai, hawavutili mbali. Ata ya maziwa. Sivyo? Si mnajua haya? Hiyo ni njia ile ya ungwana? Hiyo ni ungwana hiyo? Ubaguzi sio ubaguzi? Si hiyo ni ubaguzi? Kwa hivyo sisi tunasema, haya yote inaleta atharii kwa wakulima na wakulima ni watu wanafanya bidii. Nataka wakulima waanze kupata riziki yao kulingana na jasho yao. Ama sivyo? Hiyo tutaangalia tukiwa kama NASA.

Sasa, kuna wale wengine wanaokuwa na shida. Wake wa mifugo. Wakati wa ukame, wanaangaika na ngombe wanapeleka mbaali kutafuta maji. Siyo? Hiyo vile vile ni shida ambayo tunataka yatetuliwe.

Tatu ni mambo ya miundo msingi. Mambo ya barabara. Barabara unajua mimi nilikua waziri wa barabara na ujenzi. Na mimi ndiye niliweka hii barabara ya sotik-tanai. Ilikua ipite hapa, iende mpaka kilgoris. Pale tuliweka si imekwama hapo? Si imekwama hapo? Ehe? Sasa wanarudi, juzi naskia walirudi at kuzindua Liteini ati Chemurgei. Hii ilikua ni mradi yetu. Sasa wanatafuta mradi ya kufungua. Ati Litein na Chemurgei. Si ilikua mradi yetu? Juzi walikuja ati wanazindua hiyo. Sasa wanatafuta mradi ya kuzindua. Wanakuja kuzindua mradi ati hii tumetenga pesa, lakini ukiangalia bajeti, hiyo mradi haimokatika mpango ya pesa. Wanadanganya wewe tu. Tinga tinga inaletwa kwa wakati huo, alafu wakitoka namna hii, tinga tinga inarudishwa tena. Hao watu, ata ukiwaalika sasa, waje wafungue choo, umejenga choo kwa boma yako, watakuja. Hii choo ilifunguliwa na makamu wa Rais wa jamhuri ya Kenya.

Sasa, Waswahili, Waswahili husema, ati mkuki kwa ngurue, kwa binadamu ni chungu. Siyo? Sasa mimi kila mara husema nikisema wanasema ninasema uongo. Niliongea juu ya mambo ya

uwizi kataka taifa letu. Nikasema kuna ufisadi kubwa zaidi. Nikawaambia juu ya NYS, nikasema hapa wanaiba pesa. Wakasema Raila anasema uongo. Ati Raila anasema uongo huyu mwanammke anafanya kazi kwa bidii. Raila ana uwivu sana. Alikua mbunge na alishindwa kufanya kazi. Nikasema huyu mama ndiye mwizi. Ruto akasema niwachane na Waiguru. Angalia mimi na Uhuru, wachana na Waiguru. Juzi, yeye yeye Ruto anasema ati Waiguru abebe msalaba yake peke yake. Si ulisikia hiyo? Wizi si wizi? Wizi si wizi? Wizi si wizi? Wale wakina Duale, Murkomen, wameita mimi majina mingi zaidi. Na mimi nikasema siwezi kuongea na Duale. Ama Murkomen. Umbwa kama nabweka, huendi kwa umbwa, unaenda kwa mwenye umbwa. Siyo?

Sisi tulisema mambo ya Eurobond. Nikasema Eurobond hii ni uwizi mkubwa maanake walienda kuazima pesa billion laki mbili na thamanini na tano. Na mbili na kumi na tano haijaonekana. Wakasema Raila anasema uongo. Ati wakanitisha watakuja kunishika. Nikasema endelea tu. Sasa juzi auditor general mwenyewe, amesema hii pesa nimefanya ukaguzi, kwa central bank, sioni pahali hiyo iliingia. Akasema nilienda kwa mawizara yote, sijaona miradi yoyote ambayo hiyo pesa ilitengeneza. Hiyo pesa, billion mia mbili na kumi na tano ni pesa mzito zaidi. Hiyo pesa ikiingia kwa uchumi kama hii ya Kenya, tutaskia harufi yake. Ehe? Unaskia harufu yake. Haha. Sasa, harufu hii ya pesa ya Eurobond, mmesikia nyinyi? Mmesikia? Hiyo pesa hakuna pahali hiyo pesa ilienda ilienda, ilienda kwa mfuko ya watu binafsi. Sawa? Hiyo ni wizi sio wizi? Wizi si wizi?

Juzi nilionea juu ya mambo ya wizi kataka wizara ya afya. Na nikaambia uhuru hii imeingia kwa boma yako mwenyewe. Dada yako , binamu yako, wajomba wako wamehusika hapa. Akasema Raila anasema uongo. Lakini si imedhihirika? Sisi hatujasema uongo. Tumesema mambo ya wizi. (Wacha huyo mama. Mwache huyo mama apite).

Hayaa! Huyo mama, ameleta baraka. Ehe? Yeye ameskia ati Arap Mibei anaongea. Na amekuja kusema change kwa Arap Mibei. Sawa sawa? Sasa sisi tunasema tutazuia mambo ya wizi. Mambo mengine mnajua sasa zaidi ya miezi miwili, madaktari wamegoma. Si wamegoma? Si wamegoma? Sasa, hawa majamaa madaktari wamegoma, wanapelekwa mahakamani, uhuru na ruto wanaruka ruka na ndege ati wanatafuta kura. Wanavinjari. Wakenya wanakufa kwa hospitali, kwa ukosefu wa matibabu, serikali inarukaruka. Si mmeona haya? Hii ni ungwana? Hii ni ungwana?

Sasa ingine, juzi watoto walifanya mtihani. Darasa kumi na mbili. Kwa wale walifanya mtihani, asilimia themanini na tano, yaani eighty five percent walianguka. Kumi na tano kwa mia peke yake ndio walipita kuingia kwa vioo vikuu. Waskia sawa sawa? Eighty five percent failure rate si kitu ya kusherehekea. Hiyo ni kitu ya kuhuzunika. Sivyo? Sasa mimi nimesema, imekua vitu viwili tu. Kua ni wale watoto walifanya mtihani walikua ni wajinga sana, ama wale walitihani hiyo mtihani walikua ni wajinga sana. Ehe? Hatuwezi kusherehekea failure rates. Hii ni kitu ambao inataka ifanyiwe uchunguzi. We cannot sit and watch somebody ruining the future of so many young Kenyans citizen here. Mpaka uchunguzi hufanywe. Maana yake ikiwa kama

wasema ati wameanguka mtihani kwa sababu wamezoea uwizi ya mtihani hiyo ni kusema ya kwamba elfu mbili na kumi na tano, kumi na nne, kumi na tatu, kumi na mbili na chini huko, wale walikua wanapita kwa sababu walikua wanaiba mtihani. Ama sivyo? Hii ifanyiwe uchunguzi ama sivyo? Ifanyiwe uchunguzi, isifanyiwe uchunguzi? Haya yote inamaanisha ya kwamba Kenya ni mgonjwa. Kenya ni mgonjwa? Kenya ni mgonjwa? Na ukiwa mgonjwa unataka nini? Unataka nini? Sisi tuna dawa. (kuna dawa tune is played and he dances to the song.)

Hayaa! Sisi kama NASA tuna dawa ya kutibu ugonjwa ambayo inadhuru Kenya. Tuna dawa, na tuna hakika tutatibu ile ugonjwa. Mliahidiwa lami kilimetre elfu kumi, mmeona hiyo lami? Mmeona? Mliahidiwa laptop. Mmeona laptop? Mmeona laptop? Ehe? Kwa hivyo ahadi ya jubilee ni kama kunyamba kwa punda.

Sisi, tunataka kuleta mabadiliko ambayo itadumu kwa wa kenya. Sawa? Sawa sawa? Kwa hivyo mimi nimekuja hapa kuwasihia nyinyi, tushikane pamoja. Mimi nimekuja vile vile, na sisi kama wana NASA, kalonzo, Weta, Muda, tumekuja hapa, kualika ndugu yetu Isack Ruto, Na Nick Salat, Na Ngong, Na Gedion Moi, waungane na NASA. Mnakubali waungane na NASA? Wangapi wanakubali nione kwa mkono? Hayaa! Haya haya hayaa! Sasa hiyo Isack ameona haya. Na ameona haya wananchi wanasema.

Kitandawili? Kitandawili? Kitandawili? Alipisha mlango afunguliwe aingie kwa nyumba, alipoingia akanyakua nyumba akafanya ni yake. Ni nani huyo? Nani huyo? Mmeshindwa. Nipatieni mji basi?hiyo ni ngamia.

Ngamia. Unajua hadithi ya ngamia? Mtu mmoja alijenga nyumba kwenye jangwa. Alafu sasa, ngamia akaja. Akapiga hodi hodi hodi. Jamaa akauliza yeye ni nani? Ngamia akasema ni mimi ngamia. Unataka nini? Jua ni kali sana hapa nje, nifungulie niingie ndani. Akamwambia bwana hema hii ni kidogo, haitoshi wewe na mimi. Basi tafadhali nikubalie niweke kichwa yangu pekee yake. Akasema kama ni kichwa peke yake, karibu. Akaweka kichwa. Na shingo yangu pia, niweke na shingo vile vile, akaambiwa karibu. Nundu yangu sasa, nundu inayoyoma hapa, wacha niingie na nundu. Karibu. Matako yangu... matako yangu ehe bwana. Wacha niingie na matako yangu... karibu. Sasa akaingia na kiwiliwili yake yote. Alipoingia akaangalia Yule jamaa akamwambia bwana, hii nyumba ni kidogo. Haitoshi wewe na mimi. Wewe toka. Akampiga jamaa teke akamtoa kwa nyumba. Sawa? Hii nyumba tulijenga na kibaki. Na Kalonzo. Wale walikuja wakaingia ndani yake, wakatupiga teke. Mnataka tuingie ndani kwa nyumba tena? Tuwatoe kwa nyumba? Tuwatoe kwa nyumba? Wangapi wanasema tuwatoe kwa nyumba? Wangapi wanasema nione kwa mkono?

Sasa kuna shida moja, ambaye ni lazima niongee juu yake hapa. Ile shida ya itare dam, ambayo mlisikia. Mliona kwanza mimi niliongea juu ya mradi moja kule Muranga. Si mliona? Baadaye nikagundua wazee,hapa wa kipsigis, walikua wanahangaika na mradi ambao inaitwa Itare Dam. Wakanitumia mimi ujumbe mimi nikaja. Nikakuta hii inashinda ata ile ya Muranga. Hii,

wanazulia mito, karibu kumi na tatu. Ambao inaleta maji kwa zile mto ambazo zinapita hapa. Hiyo ni maji ambao inaenda kile chini. Hii ina affect ile mto ambayo inaitwa mara, ina affect ile Gucha, ile Migori, Ile Sondu Miriu, ile Nyando. Sasa wazee walifanya kazi wakapeleka ata ujumbe kwa serikali, serikali ikakataa kuskia mambo yao. Sasa wakaenda mahakamani. Na mimi nikakuja nikaka na wazee. Tukaongea na nikasema hii maneno mimi nitapeleka. Na nitapiga ile mbom kali kali. Waliposikia ninaenda kuongea juu ya hiyo, wakaenda kule Bomas. Uhuru mwenyewe ndiye anaongea. Ati Raila anapinga hii mradi kwa vile inapeleka maji kule kwa wa Kikuyu. Nakuru ni mji yaw a Kenya. Si wa kikuyu pekee yao wanaishi kule Nakuru. Nakuru si yaw a Kenya wote? Si Nakuru ni yaw a Kenya wote? Kweli ama urongo? Wa Kikuyu wako, wa Kenya wengine wako, wa kisii wako, wa Luhya wako, Wajaluo, wakamba, si Nakuru ni yaw a Kenya? Mara hii, tutahakikisha tunapata Governor Nakuru ambaye anatoka hapa hapa tu. Sawa? Sawa? Sasa tumekuja, na wazee wamejiunda sawa sawa. Tumekaa pamoja na wazee, maanake hii Itare Dam, inaathiri uchumi ya Narok, uchumi ya Bomet, Kericho, Nyamira , Kisii, Migori, Homa Bay, na Kisumu. Sawa? Na vijana sasa mnaeza kukaa chini. Hakuna mvua. Hakuna mvua. Kaeni tu. Hayaa! Mmekua wangwana kabisa.

Hayaa, nikimalizia sasa, nataka make kimya. Kaeni chini. Mama kaa chini hapo. Vijana, vijana, Yule jamaa akae chini. Hayaa! Mimi nataka nipitishie azimio. Maanake hawa wazee wa Kipsigis wamesumbuka na mradi kabisa. Hii mradi, isiposimamishwa itaathiri uchumi wa eneo hii yote. Mimi nataka tupitishie azimio. Azimio ya Bomet. Bomet resolution. Kama ninyi, ambao mnakuja hapa siku ya leo mnapinga huu mradi. Wangapi wanapinga huu mradi niwaone kwa mkono. Inueni mikono hivi vizuri nione. Si mnapinga? Si mnaoinga? Na vijana mmeungana na wazee, sivyo? Sawa sawa? Asanteni sana. Sasa ni furaha yangu, kuita ndugu yangu, stephene Kalonzo Musyoka.

KAJIADO WEST

Hayaaa! Hayaa! Watu wa Kajiado West, Kainashobeng? (Ebaa) ashobeng. Asanteni sana. Nimeambiwa leo si siku ya soko, lakini mmekuja vile mmekuja hivi. Natoa shukrani sana kwa kuja kwa namna hii. Maanake leo ni sherehe maalum. Hii ilikua ni sherehe ya kuja siku ya leo hapa, kumpokea kirasmi, bwana Kores. Kores alikuja kwetu kwa ofisi, akasema mimi sitaki nifanye defection hapa kwa ofisi. Mpaka mkuje kwangu nyumbani, niambie watu wangu kule ati nimehama. Na nimehama na sababu. Siyo? Mnakubaliana na yeye? Wangapi wanakubali nione kwa mkono? Mimi najua mmasai akiamua ameamua. Maasai akisema tunakwenda tunakwenda siyo?

Sasa mimi, mara ile ingine tulikuja kufanya campaign pale Mosiro. Niliambia nyinyi kumepambauka. Ati kumekucha. Jogoo shawika mara tatu. Nikaambia nyinyi amkeni twende kazi. Kazi ya kupeleka jubilee nyumbani. Mko tiyari? Mko tiyari?

Nimeambia wakenya wengi ati wakenya wana sababu, pili wa Kenya wana nia na tatu wakenya wana uwezo wa kupeleka Uhuru na Ruto nyumbani. Sivyo?

Kwanza gharama ya maisha imepanda zaidi. Siyo? Kweli ama urongo? Bei ya unga?Bei ya unga? Bei ya sukari? Iko unga hapa? Si hakuna? Hii njaa ni njaa ya uhuru. Hii ni njaa ya uhuru na Ruto makhsudi. Ambao wameleta ndo wa Kenya waskie njaa ndo wapigie hao kura. Mnaelewa sawa sawa? Sasa gharama imepanda, bei ya mafuta taa imepanda, nauli ya matatu imepanda, na kazi hakuna na mshahara vile vile hakuna ama sivyo? Hiyo ni sababu kubwa ziadi ya kupeleka jubilee nyumbani.

Sasa watu wa kabila la masaai wana sababu zaidi. Maanake ikiwa kuna watu ambao wameachwa nyuma sana kimaendeleo ni wamaasai. Wakati tulikua tunafanya campaign hapo Musiro? Jubilee walileta matingatinga. Si walileta matingatinga? Kutengeneza barabara? Bado ziko?baada ya uchaguzi si zilienda? Na si walileta hapa ile mashine ya kuchimba maji ya chini? Ile ya borehole? Iko? Iko? Hiyo ilikua tu kujaribu kumbembeleza watu,kupapasa watu ati wanataka kuleta maendeleo. Ni kama mtu anataka kuchinja kuku. Anachukua mahindi, alafu anaita kuku ati kutkutkutkut. Anarushia kuku mahindi, kuku anafikiria kwamba leo jamaa amenikumbuka. Amekua mkarimu. Hajui kuwa jamaa aja yake si kua kumlisha, aja yake ni kitoweo. Siyo? Akija karibu namna hii ananaswa. Kwee kwee, kwee kwee, kweee kweee. Kisu ndio hiyo, maji tayari imechemka. Siyo?

Hawa jamaa hawana nia ama sababu ya kuleta maendeleo eneo hii. Na ata wakikaa miaka mia moja, mambo itabaki yale yale. Sababu ghani kudanganya watu hapo ati unaleta tinga tinga ati hii barabara itatengenezwa na lami lakini hii barabara haiko kwa mpango ya pesa ya mwaka huo? Ata hiyo mambo ya miradi ya maji hakuna.

Sasa wamasai wengi ni wafugaji. Na ufugaji inataka ilete utajiri. Sio umaskini. Lakini wamasai wamezidi kufukarishwa na ufugaji. Wafugaji wanahangaika. Wakati wa ukame, hakuna nyasi. Hakuna mbuga, wanyama wanakufa. Maji hakuna. Wanyama si wanakufa? Siyo? Ile mpango inataka kufanywa, na vile tulikua tumeanza na Kibaki, tulete pesa, tuchimbe mabwawa makubwa ya maji, wakati ambao mvua inanyesha tunavuna maji ya mvua. Maji inakua pale, ili ukame ikija tunakua na maji ya kutosha ya mifugo.

Pili ni kutengeneza hay ambayo ngombe inaeza kutumia wakati wa ukame. Tatu kuchimba zile mabwawa ya maji, kuchimba ile siranga, ili maji yatoka chini,ili mifugo ipate maji, binadamu apate maji. Sio wa kina mama wanahangaika na kilomita na kilomita kuenda kuleta maji na kubeba kwa kichwa kuleta kwenye boma. Hii inaweza kufanyika. Lakini lazima tuwe na mpango kabambe ya kufanya hayo. Watu wamekua wafukara, KMC imeuliwa. Si twakaka KMC inafanya kazi, ngombe ikipelekwa kule inachinjwa, nyama inapelekwa ulaya. Na araboi inakua na pesa na kazi ya kufanya. Sivyo? Alafu wakulima wanakua watajiri. Sasa watu wanalazimishwa tu kuuza shamba yao. Unauza mashamba kwa sababu si kupenda kwako, unauza kwa sababu ya ufukara. Ama sivyo? Wao ndo wanakuja kuingia, kuvamia kuvamia, ehe. Hiyo tunataka kubadilisha. Tutabadilisha hayo, ili watu wasiuze mashamba yao. Baki na shamba. Usiuze yeye, kule anatoka anatoka sababu ghani anakuja kwako? Ehe? Si abaki kule kwao? Si abaki kule kwao? Hiyo ndio sababu tunasema tarehe nane mwezi wa nane mwaka huu, ni siku ya

mabadiliko. Siku ya ukombozi wa tatu ya Kenya nay a mwisho, ili wa Kenya waanze kupata haki yao.

Kabila ya maasai ndio wanajua sana dhulma ya kihistoria. Walitolewa kule walikua wanaishi na wazungu, wakaletwa ngambo hii. Alafuile dhuluma ilifanyika wakati huo wote mpaka wa leo haujasawazishwa. Mambo ya mashamba. Iko katika report inaitwa Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission Report. Tutatekeleza hiyo report. Ndio watu wapate haki yao. Si hiyo ndio sababu nasema nataka tuungane pamoja. Sawa?

Sasa tuko hapa na macandidates, mmeona wale ambao wanataka senator, si mmewaona? Bunge si mmewaona? Governor si tuko hapa? Alkadienya si mta mpigia kura? Ehe? Na wale ambao wanatoka central kuna Neimosi hapa. Neimosi Kanchori. Yeye ni general yangu. Yey anangangana na Yule ambaye anaitwa Nkaiseri. Niliambia Nkaiseri bwana ulitoka jeshi ukaja raia. Ukitaka kupeana amri, vaa uniform urudi kwa jeshi. Na kama uko hapa kwa raia, tutakufundisha siasa. Sawa? Hapa tutakupinga na huwezi kutupatia amri, ati mimi naeza fanya nini na nini, hapana. Hatuwezi kuogopa Nkaiseri. Kwani yeye ni nini? Nkaiseri ni nini? Ni nini? Nilimwambia bwana wacha kutisha raia. Huwezi kutisha raia. Wewe ni mtumishi wa raia. Ama sivyo? Ama sivyo? Wangapi wako tiyari kunipatia kura mara hii? Inueni mkono nione zaidi.

Nasema nasa... nasa... ODM... ODM...Ford Kenya... Ford Kenya... ANC... ANC... CCM...

Asanteni sana.