A RELEVANCE - THEORETIC ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN KENYAN SOCIAL MEDIA: A CASE STUDY OF THE 2013 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

BY

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DECLARATION

This research is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in the University of Nairobi or any other university.

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my love Isaiah Mutwiri and dearest daughter Shanice Kagwiria: Thank you for your support, patience and love.

To my Mum and Dad, Jessica and Moses: Thank you so much for your support and prayers during my time of study.

To my sisters, Phoebe, Joan and Joy: Thank you for being there and encouraging me to hold on and fight till the end.

God bless you.
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DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Explicature**  - An ‘explicature’ is a propositional form communicated by an utterance; its content is a combination of linguistically decoded material and pragmatically inferred material.

**Implicature**  - An ‘implicature’ is any other propositional form communicated by an utterance; its content consists of wholly pragmatically inferred matter (Sperber & Wilson 1986).

**Pragmatics**  - Pragmatics is the study of how language is used and how language is integrated in context.

**Relevance**  - Relevance is defined as a property of inputs to cognitive processes; it is a positive function of cognitive effects and a negative function of the processing effort expended in deriving those effects.

**Input**  - An input is a sight, a sound, an utterance or a memory.

**Cognitive effects (or contextual effects)** - include the strengthening of existing assumptions of the system, by providing further evidence for them, the elimination of assumptions that appear to be false, in the light of the new evidence, and the derivation of new assumptions through the interaction of the new information with existing assumptions.

**Utterance**  - A unit of speech bounded by silence.

**Context**  - It is a subset of all the assumptions that forms the cognitive environment of the communicators.
ABSTRACT

The 21st century has witnessed considerable research on social media. This study aims at contributing to the knowledge of social media research by analyzing political discourse on social media using a relevance-theoretic perspective. In particular it examines the political discourse conducted by selected candidates on the Twitter platform during the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaigns. The study sought to determine the communicative intention in selected candidates’ utterances on Twitter during the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaigns. By means of a methodology of qualitative content analysis, the study found that the presidential candidates’ tweets could be classified into the inherent prevailing themes namely: voting, peace, corruption, economy, devolution, change, technology and social interactive tweets. The contesting candidates through the use of explicit and implicit strategies, expressed their positions on various issues of national importance, the main goal being to influence the citizens to take action and vote for the candidate in question. It was found that social interactive tweets and the tweets on the agenda of voting and peace were the most explicit in passing the speakers intended messages whereas the tweets on devolution and economy were stated rather implicitly. The candidates employed indirect criticisms towards the regime of the day in order to discredit it and create the need for new leadership. The social-political context among others was seen to greatly enhance the communicative intention of the analyzed utterances.
CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction
In recent years political discourse has moved from the mainstream media such as radio, television and newspaper into social media networks. This phenomenon is currently of interest to disciplines such as sociology, information communication studies, information systems, political science and linguistics. Political institutions now see the importance to actively participate in social media for political communication based on the use of social media especially during election campaigns (Stieglitz et al. 2012). Social media therefore is an ideal vehicle and information base to gauge public opinion on policies, and political positions as well as build community support for candidates running for public offices (Zeng et al. 2010). This study seeks to explore this phenomena by investigating how Kenyan politicians used social media for campaigning in anticipation for the 2013 Kenyan presidential elections. Using a linguistic perspective, we seek to specifically find out the pragmatic strategies employed in politician’s utterances on social media and how they aided the candidate to communicate his or her intended messages.

1.1.1 Kenyan Political Discourse and its Place in Social Media
Drawing from the definitions from the traditional studies of discourse analysis, politics is viewed as a struggle for power between those who seek to assert and maintain their power and those who seek to resist it. On the other hand politics is seen as co-operation, as the practices and institutions that a society has for resolving clashes of interest, over money, influence, liberty and the like (Chilton 1997).

In our study we view political discourse as political communication. That is the ways and intentions of message senders to influence the political environment (Denton and Woodward, 1998). It is the strategic use of communication to influence public knowledge, beliefs and action on political matters. In this case the emphasis is on the strategic nature of political discourse
(Swanson and Nimmo, 1990). Also as echoed by (McNair, 2003) it is the purposeful communication about politics. In this study we consider politicians’ utterances on social media during the 2013 campaigns to be strategic in influencing the citizens to agree with the candidates’ political ideology and more importantly the utterances are meant to cause the citizens to take action and vote for the said candidates.

In broad, the term social media refers to the many relatively inexpensive and widely accessible electronic tools that enable one to publish and access information, collaborate on a common effort or build relationships. They include highly interactive platforms through which individuals and communities share, co-create, discuss and modify user generated content. They have changed the way communication takes place in businesses, organizations, communities and individuals (David 2011).

Globally there has been an increase in the use of social media during presidential elections. For example in the 2008 US presidential elections where Barrack Obama and Hillary Clinton used social networks such as My space and Facebook in the primaries amassing hundreds of thousands of supporters in such networks (David et al 2009). From this brief depiction of high profile cases, it is evident that social media is being used in campaign environments to create political networks, promote discussions on politics and raise funds among other functions.

In Kenya, general elections are held every five years and are preceded by campaigns by those contesting for various political seats. During this campaign period, it is not what the politician says but rather how he says it that delivers the message home (Michira, 2014). Kenyans rely on mainstream media such as television, radio and newspapers for political news and live up to Castrell’s notion of “what does not exist in the media, does not exist in the public mind” (Castells 2007).

The advent of new media in Kenya has led to new ways of political participation and has been embraced by many Kenyans especially the youth. The latest figures show a total of 17.8 million users at the beginning of 2013 (Hook 2013). Social media in Kenya through platforms like Twitter
and Facebook has complimented the effort of the traditional media in ensuring transparent, accountable and all inclusive system of governance. Kenyan politicians and their various parties have recognized the importance of social media in building a strong link between them and their supporters, influencing public opinion, reaching potential members and ultimately winning more votes.

The 2013 presidential elections took place at a critical time; the first elections under the new constitution and also the first elections following the 2007 post-election violence in which over 13000 Kenyans lost their lives (Human rights watch, 2013). Two main political coalitions emerged during the 2013 presidential elections-The Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD) led by Raila Odinga and the Jubilee Alliance led by its presidential flag bearer Uhuru Kenyatta. Other presidential contesters included, Martha Karua, Peter Kenneth, Musalia Mudavadi, James ole Kiyapi, Paul Muite and Abduba Dida. These candidates created pages on Facebook and Twitter through which they informed the public about their campaign schedule and events.

Presidential candidates such as Peter Kenneth and Martha Karua were able to grasp the power of the platform to reach their audience. At one time, Karua, @Marthakarua appeared as the most mentioned candidate by commentators on Twitter, followed by Raila Odinga, @Raila Odinga. The presidential candidates’ profiles on Twitter were as follows: @JamesOleKiyiapi (James Ole Kiyapi), @Marthakarua (Martha Karua), @MusaliaMudavadi (Musalia Mudavadi), @PaulMuite (Paul Muite), @Peter_Kenneth (Peter Kenneth), @RailaOdinga (Raila Odinga), and @UKenyatta (Uhuru Kenyatta). On Facebook their presence was equally unmatched.

Raila Odinga had two Facebook fan pages one with 78,000 fans and the other with 74,000 although membership could overlap. William Ruto who had two Facebook fan pages one with 58,000 fans the other 52,972. Kalonzo Musyoka had 19,156 fans. Peter Kenneth had 47,000 fans. (The total number of Facebook fans of the various political candidates was not static). Uhuru Kenyatta’s Facebook page had received close to half a million likes, making it the individual
profile with the most likes in Kenya, while that of William Ruto had close to 250,000 likes. On Twitter, Kenyatta’s handle had close to 125,000 followers, while Ruto’s had 25,000 followers. The presidential candidates acquired multiple Facebook and Twitter accounts for themselves, their parties and other lobby groups associated with them. In a bid to intensify their campaigns they posted frequent updates on their activities and that of their parties on various media platforms. Mathew Muthuri, a social media marketer in Nairobi observed, “Politicians know that if they want to reach the youthful voters, social media is the place to be. Each presidential candidate has a sizeable number of friends on Facebook and followers on Twitter.”

In the 2007 Kenyan presidential campaigns and the aftermath, social media blogs and other social media platforms were a significance source of information and advocacy in general but had not yet been officially associated with campaigns. However in the 2013 presidential campaigns, politicians especially the presidential aspirants made great use of the social media to drive their various campaigns.

The increase in use of social media by Kenyan politicians for political campaigns is the motivation for this proposed study. The focus of this study is on the linguistic analysis of the utterances (posts/tweets) on social media with the aim of determining the implicatures and explicatures therein and how they aid the politician to strategically communicate his message in particular contexts.

The term “discourse” is the analysis of language in use. It is the description of linguistic forms and the purposes or functions they serve in human affairs (Brown and Yule 1983). Language is described as serving a transactional and interactional function. Transactional language is used to convey factual and propositional information. Bennet (1975) remarks that “It seems likely that communication is primarily a matter of speakers seeking to either inform a hearer of something or to enjoin some action upon him.” In the interactional view, language is used to negotiate role relationships, peer solidarity, the exchange of turns in conversation and saving of face for both speaker and hearer (Labov 1972, Lakoff 1973). In this study we analyse how Kenyan politicians use language on social media particularly during election campaigns.
Generally speaking, pragmatics might be seen as studying all information transmitted as someone speaks, intentionally or accidentally. In a more restricted sense, it might study all intentional information, covert or overt. Still in a narrower sense it deals with only one type of speaker meaning; that is with overt intentional communication (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, 2002 and 2004). In this study Pragmatics offers a means of describing and explaining discourse facts from a linguistic point of view in a principled way. The focus of this study is using the pragmatic approach particularly the relevance theory to analyze political discourse on social media. Pragmatics is primarily concerned with the study of utterance meaning or meaning in context and therefore relies on discourse (utterances).

1.2 Statement of the Problem
The increasing use of social media in election campaigns has attracted considerable research interest in recent years (cf.1.9): Maireder and Ausserhofer, 2012; Pencis and Uzule, 2011; Stieglitz and Xuan, 2012). On the Kenyan scene, Munyua (2007) conducted a research on the role of social media in the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya, focusing on how social media contributed to the violence. Other studies in linguistics relevant to the Kenyan situation include, Habwe (1999) and Michira (2013). On the whole none of these studies has employed a relevance-theoretic approach to Kenyan social media data. The research gap arising from this observation is that we do not know what may be revealed by the powerful theoretical apparatus of relevance theory when applied to the political discourses of the kind we saw in 2013 when four leading presidential candidates, Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga, Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth aggressively used social media to woo the Kenyan citizens to vote for them. The research questions arising from these observations are stated in 1.3 below.

1.3 Research Questions
The research questions for this study include:

i. Can we determine the implicit and explicit strategies employed by Kenyan politicians in the political discourse in the Kenyan social media during the 2013 presidential campaigns?
ii. Can we determine the communicative intention in the implicit and explicit strategies identified above?

iii. Can we determine the role of context in the identified pragmatic strategies?

1.4 Research Objectives

The study will be guided by the following specific objectives.

1. To classify the selected presidential candidates’ utterances according to the inherent prevailing themes.

2. To investigate the pragmatic strategies employed in utterances in Kenyan social media by the selected presidential candidates using the principles of Relevance theory.

3. To establish the role of context in enhancing the communicative intention of the analyzed utterances using the principles of Relevance theory.

1.5 Hypotheses of the Study

1. The selected candidates’ tweets can be classified according to the inherent prevailing themes.

2. The pragmatic strategies employed in utterances in Kenyan social media by the selected presidential candidates can be identified using the principles of relevance theory.

3. Context contributes to the enhancement of communicative intention of the analyzed utterances according to the principles of Relevance theory.

1.6 Rationale

This study is based on the fact that social media is increasingly been used in the political context. In recent years, political actors including politicians, political parties and other political foundations have used platforms like Twitter, Facebook, websites and blogs in order to engage their citizens in direct political dialogue and discussions (Hong and Nadler 2011). This study will
be useful in advancement of knowledge in linguistics by providing a relevance theoretic account of how communication take place on social media with focus on selected political actors. The findings of this study will also be useful to media organizations, political analysts and other individuals who write about politics and elections.

1.7 Scope and Limitations
There are various social media platforms associated with the internet. Due to time constraints only the utterances on the twitter platform will be selected for analysis in this study. This is a reasonably good choice because Twitter is mostly associated with politics compared to the other social media networks. Since political discourse is a general term, in our study only selected politicians’ utterances will be analyzed. This study will only be on the communicative intention of utterances on social media and therefore visual objects will not be given much consideration although they will be of great use when identifying the intended meaning in the identified utterances. This study does not investigate the impact of social media on political institutions but rather the intriguing nature of linguistic elements and the intended messages encoded in them. The study will be carried out within the boundaries of implicatures and explicatures of relevance theory.

1.8 Theoretical Framework
As indicated in the literature review, there are several approaches to pragmatics (cf 1.9). This study is based on relevance theory (RT) as explained by Wilson & Sperber (1995,2002 and 2004) The theory accounts for interpretation of utterances and it works with four assumptions, namely:

1. Every utterance has a variety of linguistically possible interpretations, all compatible with the decoded sentence meaning.
2. Not all these interpretations are equally accessible to the hearer (i.e. equally likely to come to the hearer’s mind) on a given occasion.
3. Hearers are equipped with a single, very general criterion for evaluating interpretations as they occur to them, and accepting or rejecting them as hypotheses about the speaker’s meaning.
4. This criterion is powerful enough to exclude all but at most a single interpretation (or a few closely similar interpretations), so that the hearer is entitled to assume that the first hypothesis that satisfies it (if any) is the only plausible one.

According to Sperber and Wilson (1995:261-263), the interpretation of an utterance means the overtly intended interpretation, or speaker meaning: the one that the speaker wants the hearer to recover and is helping the hearer to recover and will acknowledge if asked. Interpretation here is used in a broad sense, to mean the intended combination of explicit content, implicit content and context. This is in line with principle 3 above.

The aim of relevance theory is to explain how hearers attribute speaker meaning both successfully and unsuccessfully. Therefore the criterion stated in 3 above should be viewed as a guide to the selection of one interpretation; not the determination of the correct one. The interpretation so selected is merely the one that the hearer is most justified in treating as correct given the evidence provided by the speaker and the contextual information currently available to him or her.

Relevance is a potential property of inputs to cognitive processes (Wilson and Sperber 1995) An input may be in the form of external stimuli such as sights, sounds, utterances, actions or internal representations (thoughts, memories, conclusions and inferences).An input is relevant to an individual when it combines with background information he/she already has to yield conclusions that are relevant to them. For instance it may combine inferentially with existing assumptions to yield new conclusions known as (contextual implications). On the other hand it may provide evidence that strengthens existing beliefs or it may contradict existing beliefs or information.

Relevance theory also uses the notion of “processing effort” in getting the effects of a particular input. Sperber and Wilson (op. cit.) view relevance as a trade-off between cognitive effects and processing effort: the greater the cognitive effects using less processing effort, the greater the relevance of an input. The claim here is that communication is geared towards maximizing
relevance. As a result of constant pressure to lean towards cognitive efficiency, human minds have devised procedures to pick out potentially relevant inputs and to process them in the most cost-effective way (Sperber and Wilson, 1995:158).

Closer to our research agenda is the comprehension procedure of RT which is based on the balance between effort and relevance. According to Wilson & Sperber (2004:613) a hearer should follow a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects; test his or her interpretive hypothesis in order of accessibility, and stop when his or her expectations of relevance are satisfied. The following are the specific sub-tasks of the comprehension procedures (Wilson & Sperber 2004:615).

1. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about explicit content via decoding, disambiguation, reference resolution, and other pragmatic enrichment processes.

2. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual assumptions.

3. Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual implications.

The procedure in (1) is for deriving explicatures while those in (2) and (3) are for implicatures. “An explicature is a communicated logical form that has to be enriched through pragmatic means such as disambiguation, reference assignment, saturation, free enrichment and ad hoc constructions while an implicature is solely derived through inferential processes.”

According to Carston, (2002:377) the comprehension process is not demonstrative nor does it occur sequentially; it is an online process where the hypothesis about explicatures and implicatures (implicated premises and conclusions) is developed simultaneously against the cognitive environment and the expectations of the speaker and the hearer. Usually there is an
interplay of explicatures and implicatures in the comprehension process. As Yus (2008:142) observed in relation to jokes; “Jokes generally work on the exploitation of the interplay of explicatures and implicatures.”

It should be noted that the most accessible interpretation will always be checked first, given that this procedure follows a least effort path. So if the most accessible interpretation is relevant enough, it will be accepted as the intended interpretation (i.e. the speaker’s intended meaning). Thus in situations where other sources of potential relevance are largely absent, and where the hearer has low expectations of the speaker’s abilities and preferences, the most accessible interpretation will generally be accepted as the most likely one. In other cases, the hearer’s expectations will make it clear that the speaker intended a more relevant interpretation and the search will continue guided by the comprehension heuristic.

In relevance theory, the proposition that is intuitively expressed by an utterance of an ordinary language sentence is often assumed to go beyond the content expressed by the sentence in virtue of the lexical meaning of the parts and the syntactic structure. In order to capture the distinction between the content expressed by a sentence in virtue of the content expressed by its constituents and its syntactic structure on the one hand, and the content expressed by an utterance of a sentence in a given context on the other hand, relevance theorists distinguish between the encoded content of a sentence and the explicature of a sentence.

In relevance theory, explicatures are derived by enriching the decoded sentence meaning (using RT comprehension procedure) to yield enough implications to satisfy the hearer’s expectations of relevance. This also includes reference assignment for indexical elements, and disambiguation of ambiguous words or phrases.

On the other hand, Relevance theory claims that implicatures are intended contextual assumptions and implications added during the mutual adjustment process in order to satisfy expectations of relevance. The process is genuinely inferential, in the sense that the explicit
content and context together must logically imply the contextual implications which satisfy the hearer’s expectations of relevance.

Consider the following example in determining explicatures and implicatures as explained in the principles of relevance theory.

Martha Karua reaching out to her voters in the 2013 presidential campaigns wrote on Twitter: “This Sunday, I would like to appreciate millions of Kenyans who wake up every day and go about their business hoping to make ends meet. You are the game-changers and you all humble me. To you, I say better days are coming.”

The above utterances by Karua are logical forms whose explicatures are arrived at by decoding the words in the utterance and pragmatic enrichment through reference assignment. For instance, the pronouns “I” refer to Martha Karua “You” and “their” refers to Kenyans or potential voters. The proposition in her utterance is that she appreciates the hard work of Kenyans in sustaining their livelihoods and promises them of a better future.

Martha Karua says this at a time when Kenya was facing a myriad of economic hardships as a result of inflation that had led to increased cost of basic commodities like food. Another contextual assumption is that there would be presidential elections taking place soon and Martha Karua was one of the contesting candidates. With this contexts in mind, the reader is able to make a hypothesis about what she implied in her first utterance; she understood the struggles many Kenyans were going through and because of this Kenyans would see her as more compassionate candidate than the other contesting candidates and therefore be influenced to vote for her. The implicated conclusion is even stronger in the utterances that follow; Kenyans have the power to change the status quo and should vote for her in order to enjoy a better economy where businesses will thrive and the standards of living will improve.
1.9 Literature Review

1.9.1 Social Media and Political Discourse

Stielgz and Xuan (2012) in their work, social media and political communication, asserted that in recent years social media is seen to have an impact on public discourse and communication. In particular there has been an increase in the use of social media in political discourse. Platforms such as Twitter provide an easy and fast way for users to not only spread information in general but also to share political opinions publicly through their networks. Political institutions (politicians, political parties and political foundations) have also begun using such platforms like Facebook and Twitter for the purpose of entering into dialogue with its citizens and encouraging more political discussions. They propose a methodological framework for social media analytics in political context and outlines approaches for data tracking an analysis. Their study is useful as it gives us guidance on the ways of collecting and organizing data on social media for this current study.

Maireder &. Ausserhofer (2012) did a study on political discourse on Twitter, and state that the exchange of information and ideas on Twitter shows great promise on the reconfiguration of political discourse towards a broadening public debate through social connectivity. They describe these discourses using three perspectives; (1) networking topics in terms of the inclusion of information, interpretation, and views into a debate; (2) networking media objects, driven by hyper linking practices and resulting in a reconfiguration of web spheres; and (3) networking actors, driven by @mentioning practices, resulting in new patterns of interaction between political actors and citizens that reshape the participation structure of the public sphere.

They try to connect those perspectives in order to understand the processes of the creation and negotiation of political meaning through Twitter, and the way Twitter usage may shape citizens’ approaches to political information and participation. This study is beneficial in enabling us to see that there are political dialogues taking place on social media. We will adopt their perspective of @mentioning practices used by the selected politicians in order to identify their utterances and analyze them using linguistic perspectives to find out their meaning. Our
proposed study goes an extra mile to find out the role played by context to arrive at such meaning.

Scott (2015) considers the pragmatic contribution of hashtags on the social networking site Twitter. Taking a relevance-theoretic perspective, she argues that hashtags contribute to relevance by adding a layer of activation to certain contextual assumptions and thus guiding the reader's inferential processes. The information contained in a hashtag may guide the hearer in the derivation of both explicitly and implicitly communicated meaning, and may also have stylistic consequences. Twitter facilitates one-to-many, asynchronous communication, and so tweeters are unlikely to be able to assume that they share contextual assumptions with all or any of their audience. By allowing tweeters to make their intended contextual assumptions accessible to a wide range of readers, hashtags facilitate the use of an informal, casual style, even in the unpredictable and largely anonymous discourse context of Twitter. Our study also uses the Twitter platform as the source for data and the presence of hashtag within tweets will enhance the accessibility of contextual assumptions that enable the interpretation of an utterance.

Boymet et al (2012) in their study examined Twitter discussions surrounding seven US Republican politicians who were running for the US Presidential nomination in 2011. They showed a largely negative rhetoric to be laced with sarcasm and humor and dominated by a small portion of users. Furthermore, they showed that using out-of-the-box classification tools resulted in a poor performance, and instead developed a highly optimized multi-stage approach designed for general-purpose political sentiment classification. Finally, they compared the change in sentiment detected in their dataset before and after 19 Republican debates, concluding that, at least in this case, the Twitter political chatter is not indicative of national political polls. They used the Twitter search API to collect tweets mentioning various politicians for analysis this data collection tool has been adopted in this study.

Wasswa (2013) in his paper examined the role of social media in the 2013 presidential election campaigns. The study investigated the integration of social media into the 2013 presidential campaigns explored how social media users utilize SNS for political purposes and sought the impact of social
media on the presidential campaign. According to the findings of the study, the 2013 presidential candidates integrated social media into their campaigns. This platform was majorly used for sharing information on campaign activities, debate on issues, sharing photos, videos and links, updating of their followers, soliciting for funds, countering propaganda and updating their followers. The findings further revealed that although presidential candidates integrated social media into their campaign they are yet to exploit its full potential. They also concluded that social media by itself could not guarantee a candidate’s victory in the elections. Our study also investigates the social media phenomena in relation to political discourse, however we use a linguistic perspective to do the analysis of such data from social media.

Odinga (2013), in his thesis did a study to investigate the use of new media in the 2013 presidential elections in Kenya. His thesis looked into the emergence and development of social media in the 2007/2008 post-election violence and the progression made on the social media realm in terms of information dissemination and monitoring of hate speech online during the 2013 presidential elections in Kenya. He concludes by saying that there is indeed power in mass communication online to drive mass action. New media led to an increase in political participation and dialogue in the Kenyan case that had not been witnessed before but it cannot be said to have increased the level of democratization. His focus was on the role of social media in the said elections while our study will be interested with doing a pragmatic linguistic analysis of political utterances on social media in the 2013 presidential campaign.

1.9.2 Pragmatics and Political Discourse
Discourse involves conversation (what is spoken) and texts (what is written). Discourse can be studied or analyzed from different perspectives with different commitments and purposes. For example, Schiffrin (1994), examined six different approaches to discourse studies, and Johnstone (2001) also takes discourse analysis as a number of different approaches other than one unified subject. There are different methods of carrying out discourse analysis: formal, computational, sociolinguistics and pragmatics among others. In this study we undertake discourse analysis using pragmatic means.
Trent et al (2012) in his work argues that political election campaigns are campaigns of communication. He asserts that despite there being other situational, economic and power relationships that affect the campaign process, they all become important by way of communication. In this study we also view political discourse to be political communication. Politicians use language during election campaigns to make their goals and aspirations known to the citizens.

According to Grice (1989), communication can only be achieved simply by getting the audience to recognize ones intention and second, that the communicator’s intention can be recognized by assuming that her utterance meets certain standards. In his work he was interested in showing how the notion of speaker meaning, analyzed in terms of intention could be used to underpin properly linguistic notions of sentence meaning and word meaning. He also shows that overt communication can be seen as a type of mind reading. He proposes a set of communicative principles (the co-operative principle and maxims of truthfulness, informativeness, relevance and clarity.

Another approach to pragmatics is the relevance theory by (Sperber & Wilson 2002).This approach tries to deal with how hearers or readers understand what is implicitly or explicitly conveyed by utterances used for a wide variety of purposes: poetic, scientific, political and so forth. Secondly it acknowledges that communication takes place at a risk and tries to explain how despite this it succeeds. Thirdly, it aims to do this in a way that is compatible with what is known as psychology and neuropsychology about human cognition. Other authors that have tried to improve on the Gricerian distinction about what is said and what is implicated include Carston 1988 and 1998, Recanati 1989, and Levinson 2000. In our study we focus on relevance theory as explained by Sperber and Wilson (1995,2002 and 2004).

Tarjana and Nurkamtoin (2013) carried out a research study of persuasive utterances used by the campaign speakers of the Regent and vice Regent election at Pasuruan, East Java. The specific aim of the study was to describe the patterns, strategies and culture-social norms of persuasive utterances used in the political campaign based on the pragmatic perspective. Theoretically, they
defined persuasive utterances as the ones to influence and convince the hearers to do the acts wanted by the speakers. They categorized this utterance types into directive-speech acts. In this research we adopt a relevance-pragmatic perspective to describe the strategies of persuasive utterances in political campaigns on social media.

Pencis and Uzule et.al (2011) did a research on the pragmatics of political messages in Latvian Twitter communication during the 2010 general elections. They did a topical analysis of political discussions, hash tags and retweeted messages. The content analysis revealed major discrepancies in terms of cognitive and physical distance between individual and group members in their identity formation process. They proposed a hypothesis that revealed correlations between individuals and group members, richness of topics, communication channels and frequency of mention, connotations and effects of messages. This study will be beneficial to our present work as we will also embark on doing a content analysis of the prevailing themes in the selected politicians’ tweets to find out how messages were explicitly as well as implicitly communicated on twitter during the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaigns.

Yus (2011) did extensive work on cyber pragmatics where he applied cognitive pragmatic theory to various genres of computer mediated communication (CMC). His analysis covered synchronous genres (e.g. chat rooms, internet relay chats and instant messaging) as well as asynchronous genres (e.g. emails, blogs and twitter) as well as topics like politeness and formation of identity on the web. Our study is more in line with his work as we intend to explore pragmatic strategies used in political campaigning on social media.

Kinyua (2012), in her research on decoding cartoons, used the pragmatic approach to analyse editorial cartoon in the Daily Nation. The aim of the study was to explore cartoonist’ intention to communicate in a subtle way serious issues that afflict the society as a means that could be used to initiate positive political and social reforms in Kenya. The study explored implicatures and explicatures realized in editorial cartoons in order to communicate effectively. It concluded that editorial cartoons involve free enrichment to logical forms that intend to communicate much
more than is linguistically encoded. Our study uses the same pragmatic approach to decode political utterances made on social media.

Michira (2014), in his paper: language and politics, investigated the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign discourse using the critical discourse analysis approach. He argued and demonstrated that language is a powerful tool used by those seeking power to not only communicate their political ideologies but also to create certain perceptions in a bid to influence and manipulate voters with a view of gaining an advantage over their opponents. The study discussed various rhetorical and semiotic techniques that communicated concealed messages to potential voters. It also explained the usage of the diverse range of rhetorical techniques: riddles, metaphors and symbols among other devices employed in the Kenyan political discourse during the 2013 campaign period. Michira asserts that it is not what one says that matters rather it is how one says it that drives the message home. His study provides us with the Kenyan political context during the 2013 presidential campaigns although in our study we focus on utterances on social media and use a relevance pragmatic theory for analysis.

Habwe (1999) demonstrated that meaning goes beyond the usual linguistic properties into context. We adopt the same pragmatic approach used in his study as it enables us to go beyond the linguistically encoded message into the pragmatically encoded message in order to recover the full propositional form known as the explicature. In analyzing utterances on social media the reader must supply the missing information through inferences in order to reach the intended meaning. This study will however use the relevance theory approach to pragmatics.

1.10 Methodology
1.10.1 Data on Social Media
The data used in this research is drawn from Twitter which is a social media platform mostly associated with politics in Kenya. The data base contained tweets (utterances) made by selected political aspirants during the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaigns. Twitter was a particularly fruitful resource for this type of analysis because its brevity constraint gave rise to an abundance of shortcut techniques including expressive lexis, the use of abbreviations and hyperlinks for
proper names and keywords. Rigid information hierarchies revealed what users presumed to be already known and/or shared by their in-group, and were a fertile soil for the investigation of presuppositions, cultural common ground, and cultural discrepancies. This is especially prominent in Twitter discourse about politics, a topic where speakers generally exhibit willingness to report their opinions despite the fact that their perspectives are often conflicting.

1.10.2 Data collection
In order to choose topically relevant set of twitter accounts, data collection began with a manually selected set that included accounts of the selected political parties and their candidates. This resulted in a total of four user accounts to collect tweets from and a total of 1,386 tweets. The selected presidential candidates were: Raila Odinga,@Raila Odinga (CORD coalition), Uhuru Kenyatta,@UKenyatta (Jubilee Alliance), Martha Karua,@MarthaKarua (NARK-Kenya) and Peter Kenneth,@Peter_Kenneth (Eagle Alliance). As mentioned in section 1.1.1, these were some of the politicians who joined the race through their parties, alliances or coalitions’ nomination for the Kenyan Presidential Election of 2013. They were also the most prolific users of Twitter during the said period.

Using Twitter Search API, tweets mentioning the sampled politicians were collected. The names of the said politicians were manually composed into queries in order to increase precision. The collected tweets spanned a month over the period of February 3, 2013 to March 4, 2013. The posting of tweets became more frequent and lively towards the Election Day. Guided by these trends, we selected a time span in which to sample the data for each politician choosing the month in which sufficient posting activity was seen. The presidential election in Kenya took place on 4th March and hence we chose the preceding month of February moving towards the Election Day as our time span.

Our choice of tweets was not be based on a random sample to avoid large amounts of redundant data consisting of ordinary discussions unrelated to our research interest-politics, pragmatics and the social media. Instead using qualitative content analysis on the basis of explicit vocabulary, we classified the selected candidates’ tweets according to the inherent prevailing
themes. We also cleaned the dataset by filtering out duplicate and retweeted tweets resulting in a total of 80 tweets. The data was analyzed using the relevance theory of pragmatics as outlined in 1.8. The elements to be explored are implicatures, explicatures and related context.

1.10.3 Data Presentation
The study presented the prevailing themes inherent in the selected politicians’ tweets which guided inferential processes that contributed to theimplicitly communicated meaning of a tweet. Data was categorized in themes and presented in the form of tables.

1.10.4 Data analysis
The data collected was analyzed using content analysis. Content analysis is a qualitative research technique that enhances compressing many words into fewer content categories based on explicit rules of coding. It enabled the researcher to sift through large volumes of data collected from Twitter with relative ease in a systematic fashion. Thus, enabling the development of supportive evidence for conclusions and findings. It also provided a qualitative picture of the selected candidates’ concerns, ideas, attitudes and feelings as expressed on social media. It guarded against selective perception of content. Therefore there was improved reliability and validity. Content analysis was also used to identify the intentions, focus or communication trends of the sampled candidates.

The explicit and implicit pragmatic strategies employed by the selected candidates were identified according to the principles stated in the relevance theoretical framework (1.8) and analyzed and classified according to their communicative intention. A writer’s intended communication which is never stated directly is determined by his or her deliberate choice of words. The intended communication was arrived at by enriching the writer’s utterance by drawing from contexts provided by the background information of such an utterance and also guided by our encyclopedic or world knowledge to fill in the missing information that leads to the writer’s intended meaning or communication.
Conclusion
This section has given a general introduction to the topic of this study. The purpose and significance of the work has been discussed followed by its scope and limitation. We have equally reviewed the concept of social media, political discourse and pragmatics in the literature review. We have also discussed the theoretical framework and hypothesis for the current study. In the last section the method of data collection, data presentation and data analysis has been explained.
CHAPTER TWO
A THEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES’ TWEETS

2.1 Introduction
In this chapter we present the data found in the selected candidates’ Twitter accounts in preparation for a relevance pragmatic analysis. The data is in the form of tweets posted on the candidates’ Twitter accounts during the 2013 Kenyan Presidential campaigns. Since this study seeks to investigate the communicative intention of the selected candidates’ utterances, the data has been organized in a topical fashion to avoid redundant data in terms of duplicate and retweeted messages. Such an organization will enable the reader to observe the general messages contained in the candidate’s utterance on Twitter before a thorough pragmatic analysis is carried out. The features of Twitter such as @ mentioning practices, short-cut techniques, hyperlinks and hashtags will also be observed by the reader. Due to character limitation in Twitter, the writer/candidate will try to avail certain contextual assumptions by employing such features that enable the reader to arrive at the speaker’s intended meaning. In the final section in this chapter we discuss the social-political context of the observed tweets.

2.2 Description of candidates’ Tweets
We selected candidates who showed sufficient posting on their Twitter accounts during the campaign period. We began with a manually selected set that included accounts of four presidential candidates namely: Martha Karua, @Marthakarua (NARK-Kenya party), @RailaOdinga (CORD coalition), Uhuru Kenyatta (Jubilee Alliance coalition) and Peter Kenneth, @Peter_Kenneth (Eagle alliance coalition) as shown in Table 1. This resulted in a total of four user accounts to collect tweets from and a total of 1,386 tweets. As mentioned in section 1.1.1 these were some of the politicians who joined the race through their parties, alliances or coalitions nomination for the Kenyan Presidential Election of 2013. Using qualitative content analysis on the basis of explicit vocabulary, we classified the selected candidates’ tweets according to the inherent prevailing themes.
Table 1 below shows the total number of tweets found in the candidates Twitter accounts before a sample for analysis was drawn.

**TABLE 1: OVERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES PARTIES AND INDICATION OF THE NUMBER OF TWEETS POSTED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party/Alliance</th>
<th>NARK KENYA PARTY</th>
<th>CORD COALITION</th>
<th>JUBILEE ALLIANCE</th>
<th>EAGLE ALLIANCE</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Presidential Candidate</td>
<td>MARTHA KARUA-@MarthaKarua</td>
<td>RAILA ODINGA-@RailaOdinga</td>
<td>UHURU KENYATTA-@UKenyatta</td>
<td>PETER KENNETH-@Peter_Kenneth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Tweets</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>1,386</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown above, Martha Karua was the most prolific user of Twitter with a total of 611 tweets. The large amount of tweets in her account could be attributed to her observed interactivity with citizens on Twitter as she informed them of her campaign activities as well as responding to their tweets to answer questions asked on various issues of national agenda. Peter Kenneth followed closely with a total amount of 600 tweets and just like Martha Karua he was very interactive with the citizens on Twitter, as was reflected by his frequent updates urging Kenyans to vote for him and also assist in the campaign for his election as president. Tweets found in Raila Odinga’s Twitter account were 125 in total which seem quite dismal compared to those of the other candidates. However he was adequately interactive with the Kenyans on Twitter and used the platform to strategically campaign for his election as well as express his position on various national issues. It is worth noting that his tweets were also accompanied by a lot of visual effects including pictures and videos of campaign rallies, manifesto launching and endorsements. This was strategic in terms of enhancing his message by anchoring it with an image. With only 50
tweets, Uhuru Kenyatta had the least number of tweets found in his account. He did not post as frequently as the first two candidates but he significantly used the platform to campaign for his party and by extension his own election as president. His tweets were accompanied by a lot of visuals in terms of pictures and videos just like those of Raila Odinga.

2.3 Tweets on Voting
The tweets categorized under this theme include all tweets found in the selected candidates’ account that contained utterances where the politicians forthrightly asked the citizens to vote for them during the 4th March 2015 elections. It is seen that the candidates used the twitter platform to urge the citizens to come out and specifically vote for them during the Election Day. This message seems to be more directly communicated than any other kind of message.

1. Martha Karua’s Tweets on Voting
   a) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua3 Mar 2013
      @Greyfos give the power tomorrow!

   b) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua2 Mar 2013
      @youthinkkenya so as a nation let our vote be for our country's success not failure!

   c) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua28 Feb 2013
      @timo_maina you can still vote for me and your vote is what will help me be strong! So #Get4ToVote4MarthaMarch4

   d) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua27 Feb 2013
      @kenya_politico let your vote speak!

   e) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua21 Feb 2013
      @PewaAbagenge sooner than later your vote counts!
f) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 13 Feb 2013
@AnthonyWathutta lets work hard for March 4th to vote for me, a leader who can actually work to eradicate poverty.

g) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 12 Feb 2013
@AriesMuzic let your vote decide

2. Raila Odinga’s Tweets on voting

a) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 28 Feb 2013
For a stable, more consistent Kenya @HenryOtende chooses to #VoteRaila - What is your stand? http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zUJWpmd49XQ …

b) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 25 Feb 2013
It was a pleasure participating in #kedebate2013. On March 4th the Kenyan people will voice their choice. #Vote2013#VoteCord

c) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 24 Feb 2013
“@Nudih_2013: Am travelling to Nairobi to vote on 4th” Hello Nudih. Remember to urge your colleagues & friends to also vote come March 4th

3. Uhuru Kenyatta’s Tweets on voting

a) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 28 Feb 2013
Make this a round one win for Jubilee so the real work can begin. Vote Early. Get 10 people who you'll make sure vote too. Vote Peacefully.
b) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 25 Feb 2013
I hope you enjoyed the debate as much as I did. On March 4th, vote for a coalition that is focused on solutions #Jubilee#KeDebate2013

c) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 18 Feb 2013
On March 4th, Vote for me and @WilliamsRuto because you believe in Transforming Kenya.
Good Day to you.

d) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 2 Mar 2013
Thank you for all the support you have shown today. Let us come out and vote in even greater numbers on March 4th!

e) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 1 Mar 2013
This is how you cast your vote for the Jubilee Coalition on Monday 4th. Vote correctly to ensure our first round win

4. Peter Kenneth’s Tweets on voting

a) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 1 Mar 2013
@NgangaNduati A waste of vote is when you vote the same people and expect different results. Vote right

b) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 27 Feb 2013
A vote for me on Monday will not be a wasted vote; it will be a vote for the change Kenya deserves now not in the future #Tunawesmake

c) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 26 Feb 2013
@coldtusker@MediaMK Gambling with your vote is when you vote the same people and expect different results. Vote right
d) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 22 Feb 2013
It’s your vote that will count on 4th March. Not pollster’s agenda. Vote right, vote Peter Kenneth

e) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 19 Feb 2013
A vote for Peter Kenneth si kutupa kura ni kuchagua kiongozi bora. Vote right, vote Peter Kenneth

f) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 18 Feb 2013
Please turn out and vote for me on 4th March 2013. Also ask your friends, relatives and contacts to vote for me. Tunawesmake!

2.4 Tweets on Peace
The candidate’s tweets also revealed their opinions and ideology about various issues of national agenda and these formed useful background contexts upon which further interactions would be sustained. For instance, it was imperative for the leaders to talk about peace given that this were the first elections after the 2007/2008 post-election violence that led to the indictment of high level politicians by the ICC court for charges of crime against humanity. This category contains tweets whereby the selected politicians urged the citizens to maintain peace during and after the elections.

1. Martha Karua’s tweets on peace
a) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 3 Mar 2013
@KingCollymore yes! And I look forward to seeing you and indeed all Kenyans execute their civic duty peacefully and remain peaceful after

b) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 28 Feb 2013
Kudos! “@KoinangeJeff: All this week, I am dedicating my tweets to peaceful and fair elections. Tunataka #UchaguziBora”
2. Raila Odinga’s Tweets on Peace

a) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 2 Mar 2013
Good Morning. I wish you all a blessed Sunday. #ChaguaPeace

b) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 1 Mar 2013
Morning all. As we embark on the final stretch before March 4th, let us remember that #Peace comes first. We are 1 nation. #CORD

c) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 27 Feb 2013
Morning all. Let us remember to maintain peace this Monday & after. We are one Kenya. #ChaguaPeace cc @KenyaRedCross@gina_din@Kenya28Feb

d) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 24 Feb 2013
Morning all. As March 4th draws near, I remind my fellow Kenyans to maintain peace all through & after the elections #Vote2013#VoteCordRaila Odinga @RailaOdinga 24 Feb 2013

e) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 23 Feb 2013
Baringo is Ready! Remember to vote come March 4th & maintain peace. #CORD Tuko Tayari!

f) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 22 Feb 2013
@gina_din Good Morning. As we we enter the final stretch I ask all Kenyans to maintain peace during & after the elections #ChaguaPeace

3. Uhuru Kenyatta’s Tweets on Peace

a) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 28 Feb 2013
Make this a round one win for Jubilee so the real work can begin. Vote Early. Get 10 people who you'll make sure vote too. Vote Peacefully.
4. Peter Kenneth’s Tweets on Peace

a) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 27 Feb 2013
@QuincyWandera we are all Kenyans first. We need to preach peace and resist the few who want to divide us

b) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 24 Feb 2013
@SayankaMike Let's all preach peace

c) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 21 Feb 2013
Chagua Peace Campaign by the Kenya Red Cross has my support. I intend to keep the promise @KenyaRedCross

d) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 15 Feb 2013
@LeaneFelicitia Thank you, I have always preached peace and i will continue

Looking at the above tweets it is clear that during the 2013 presidential elections, contesting candidates avoided much hate speech and instead encouraged their supporters to maintain peace regardless of the election outcome. Again the utterances containing the peace agenda were seen to be very explicit in nature and the reader did not require to use much processing effort to arrive at the intended meaning.

2.5 Tweets on corruption/impunity
This category contains tweets by politicians who addressed the issue of corruption as an agenda for their campaign. Corruption is a major problem in Kenya and therefore such candidates asserted themselves as been the most capable of solving the issue. Martha Karua was at the forefront in addressing corruption as seen from the number of tweets dedicated to the agenda.
1. Martha Karua’s Tweets on corruption/impunity

a) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 13 Feb 2013
@MrChax the issues that ail us most impunity and corruption. Whose record show you can TRUST to combat them and implement constitution? Me

b) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 28 Feb 2013
@dnyamwaya biggest foe to progress and realizing hope in our constitution is corruption. I am a firm leader best able to deal and deliver

c) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 27 Feb 2013
@LyonCash let your vote sort that out vote me to fight corruption and impunity

d) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 25 Feb 2013
@franklinmanduku greatest issues we have are corruption and impunity and I am convinced am best placed and trusted to do address this.

e) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 21 Feb 2013
@idreada one of the top agendas you cannot attain the same or sufficiently grow the economy without reigning in corruption and impunity!

f) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 16 Feb 2013
@UAPpoaching rise of poaching is rise of impunity, vote to end impunity & address social justice issues related to human/wildlife conflict

g) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 11 Feb 2013
@Simon_Plumb challenging an opponent on issues including issues regarding corruption and impunity not an attack!
2. Raila Odingas Tweets on Corruption
a) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 16 Feb 2013
I restate my commitment in dealing with corruption, including closing the systemic, legal & institutional loopholes that foster the scourge

2.6 Tweets on the Economy
The 2013 elections were held at a time when the cost of living had really escalated due to inflation and a stagnating economy. This category therefore contains tweets of candidates who positioned themselves as most capable of growing the economy. Raila Odinga led the pack in addressing this issue as observed from the tweets found in his account.

1. Raila Odinga’s Tweets on the Economy
a) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 28 Feb 2013
Sanaipe Ntimama stands for a developed 1st class economy. What is your stand? #VoteRaila http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RoLkIu0elhM …

b) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 19 Feb 2013
Our current monetary policy has not been effective in influencing economic growth & stabilizing the economy.

c) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 6 Feb 2013
#CORD will strengthen co-operatives & integrate rural production with the economy via infrastructure development & better markets

2.7 Tweets on Devolution
Raila Odinga was the only candidate talking about devolution on twitter. He promised to make devolution a reality as enshrined in the new constitution. This category therefore contain tweets of Raila Odinga’s utterances on devolution.
1. Raila Odinga’s Tweets on Devolution

a) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 18 Feb 2013

#Devolution without resources is an empty shell. In addressing resource mobilization & financing #CORD will (cont) http://tl.gd/l30c51

b) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 17 Feb 2013

To this end #CORD will assist county governments to legislate & establish modalities for citizen participation #devolution

c) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 16 Feb 2013

I will ensure undiluted #devolution to redress the ills occasioned by years of poor governance & exclusion of citizens from decision making

2.8 Tweets on Change

It was the first time for Peter Kenneth to run for presidency and as such he depicted himself as the change that Kenyans were longing for in terms of leadership and governance. This category therefore contain tweets whereby the candidate asserts himself on being able to transform Kenya if elected.

1. Peter Kenneth’s Tweets on Change

a) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 2 Mar 2013

For change to happen, we must be different and vote right. Make change happen. Vote Peter Kenneth

b) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 27 Feb 2013

A vote for me on Monday will not be a wasted vote; it will be a vote for the change Kenya deserves now not in the future #Tunawesmake

c) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 8 Feb 2013

@MrChax we must be the change agents who make it happen
2.9 Tweets on Technology
On the Twitter platform Uhuru Kenyatta’s main agenda was on improved technology in various sectors. This category of tweets therefore contain messages and promises made on the ways in which the candidate and his government would make advancements in technology in various sectors of the economy.

1. Uhuru Kenyatta’s tweets on Technology
a) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyyatta8 Feb 2013
The Jubilee Government will deliver a 21st Century Transport and Infrastructure System #Uchumi#Transport

b) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyyatta16 Feb 2013
The Jubilee Gov't will work with partners to provide solar powered laptops to every class one child in Kenya.

2.10 Social interactional Tweets
Wang et al (2012) stresses that the primary function of social media is allowing users to connect, communicate and interact with one another. According to Yus (2011), this is a primary source of interest for pragmatics because as a result of these interactions, users, identities are shaped and managed discursively on these sites usually by posting, sharing or co-producing information that is subsequently commented upon causing further heated discussions. All of the candidates were seen to interact with the voters in a very relaxed and friendly manner. Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth led in this activity. This category therefore contains such kind of socially interactive tweets.

1. Martha karua’s social / Interactional tweets
a) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua3 Mar 2013
Thank you dear bless you “@bettymurungi
b) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 2 Mar 2013
At st Pauls ACK church Kiminji (makutano) Kirinyaga County at the consecration ceremony of the church by Rt Hon Bishop Joseph Kibucwa

c) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 28 Feb 2013
Great! “@WhitWanderi: Yes we are birthday buddies :) RT @MarthaKarua: @WhitWanderi amen! We share a birthday? #Get4ToVote4MarthaMarch4”

d) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 17 Feb 2013
Grateful for today. Goodnight tweeps!

e) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 14 Feb 2013
Enjoying the vice presidential debate!

f) @Chef_pinchito Asante good morning

g) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 4 Feb 2013
I am privileged this morning to be sitting at the kerio view hotel enjoying one of the most beautiful and breathtaking landscapes!

h) Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 3 Mar 2013
Rev Faith Ndambiri inducted as parish vicar! Congrats to her and best wishes

2. Raila Odinga’s social/interactional Tweets

a) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 2 Mar 2013
Good Morning. I wish you all a blessed Sunday. #ChaguaPeace

b) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 17 Feb 2013
Good Morning. I hope you all had a restful weekend. Wishing you a blessed week ahead.
c) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 24 Feb 2013
“@OduwoNoahAkala: *wakes up*” good Morning daktari how was your weekend?

d) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 19 Feb 2013
Congratulations to 16yr old Eva Chemngorem for beating thousands of entries to win this year’s DSTV Eutelsat Star Award.

e) Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 18 Feb 2013
Thanks Ojay for the well wishes. Cord will ensure we implement our manifesto for the
(@YouTubehttp://youtu.be/ssWXcKmauUs?)

3. Uhuru kenyatta’s Social/ Interactional Tweets
a) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 2 Mar 2013
Thank you all for the support today. We have made it clear this will be a round one win. Let us make this a reality on Monday 4th #Jubilee

b) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 1 Mar 2013
Kapkate is all Jubilee. Thank You. Let's make this a first round win. God Bless you all.

c) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 21 Feb 2013
Thank you people of Nyahururu and Nanyuki. Great rallies today. We appreciate your support.

d) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 19 Feb 2013
Had a wonderful rally in Kisii today. Thank you all for the support and for your commitment to form a Jubilee Gov't

e) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 15 Feb 2013
Our march towards forming a Jubilee Government is still on course. Thank you for all your support and prayers this far. God is Great!
f) Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta9 Feb 2013
Thank you people of Eldoret for all the support you have shown today. Let us continue working together to deliver a Jubilee Government.

4. Peter Kenneth’s Social/Interactional Tweets

a) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth3 Mar 2013
@Cobyi Thank you for the warm reception

b) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth1 Mar 2013
@eveoryx Thank you, be blessed

c) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth26 Feb 2013
@A_purpbiatch Thank you, I appreciate, convince your buddies to vote for me

d) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth25 Feb 2013
@karangi Thanks, I appreciate

e) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth18 Feb 2013
@joykagwiria@rkondo Thanks, pls continue campaigning for me

f) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth15 Feb 2013
Many thanks to the people of Tana River, Lamu and Kilifi Counties for the warm reception today. Tunawesmake!

g) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth11 Feb 2013
@Jumanoah thanks, you can count on me

h) Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth9 Feb 2013
@MarthaKarua@Andrew_Kenneth thanks my Sister, he has known you from when he was in primary
As seen from the above tweets, the candidates would inform the candidates about their campaign activities and even upload pictures and videos of the same. Such tweets were also characterized by greetings, thank you messages. Some like Martha Karua even wished goodnight to the Kenyans on twitter.

2.11 Summary of Major Themes Covered
From the above topical classification of tweets, it is clear that the selected presidential candidates had various themes that were prominent in their tweets. The tweets were seen to fall into four categories: Voting, socially interactive, peace, corruption, economy, devolution, technology and change.

**TABLE 2: TOPICAL OVERVIEW OF THE MAJOR THEMES COVERED**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Voting</th>
<th>Peace</th>
<th>Corruption</th>
<th>Economy</th>
<th>Devolution</th>
<th>Technology</th>
<th>Change</th>
<th>Social/interactive Tweets</th>
<th>Total number of Tweets</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Martha Karua</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raila Odinga</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uhuru Kenyatta</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Kenneth</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Shows how much attention was paid to these four themes by the different candidates. The table shows that the social interactive kind of tweets were the most prominent with a total of 27 tweets. There were a total of 21 tweets on voting and only 13 tweets on the agenda of peace.
The selected candidates however sought to differentiate themselves from each other by having varied agenda for their campaign. This is can be seen as a strategy to outdo their opponents by expressing their position on different issues of national importance. The table above shows that Martha Karua concentrated on the agenda of corruption with a total of 18 tweets. Raila Odinga’s agenda was more varied as he addressed the issues of corruption (1 tweet), the economy (3 tweets) and devolution (3 tweets). The candidate Uhuru Kenyatta had only two tweets on technology while Peter Kenneth had 3 tweets on the theme of change. The tweets from all the selected candidates regarding the various agenda totaled to a number of 80 tweets as shown in table 2.

2.12 Context of the tweets
Since interpretation of speaker communicative intention relies on context Sperber and wilson (1995:3.1-2), It is important to give a brief social-political sketch of the utterances (tweets) posted by the various presidential candidates.

In the 2013 Kenyan presidential elections, social media offered an opportunity to contesting candidates by allowing them to engage directly with the political citizens by the way of broadcasting their political ideology and also responding to questions asked by citizens on various issues. The networking phenomenon was leveraged by such candidates wanting to encourage citizens to support their political ideologies and also urging them to take action and vote for them.

Social media sites have distinct interest properties such as affordability and network functionalities. These are seen to reduce the cost of civic and political participation with online communications, the cost of information decimation and retrieval falls and political participation becomes less costly (Enjoras et al 2012, 3-4).

For the first time in Kenya seven out of presidential aspirants set up social media accounts as means of reaching out to voters directly. As a result, patterns of mobilization were transformed both in terms who participates and how they participated. Social media played a significant role
in facilitating the dissemination of news especially the future of twitter's news propagation in the use of re-tweets which allow users to record the importance of the attachment to an item of the news. Popular tweets therefore spread very quickly (Enjoras et al. 2012, 10).

Wang et al. (2012) stresses that the primary function of social media is allowing users to connect, communicate, and interact with one another. According to Yus (2011), this is a primary source of interest for pragmatics because as a result of these interactions, users' identities are shaped and managed discursively on these sites usually by posting, sharing, or co-producing information that is subsequently commented upon causing further heated discussions.

In our study we saw the candidates make very personal interactions with the citizens on Twitter with Karua and Kenneth being ahead of the others in this activity. The candidates would inform the candidates about their campaign activities and even upload pictures and videos of the same. Such tweets were also characterized by greetings, thank you messages. Some like Martha Karua even wished goodnight to the Kenyans on Twitter. By doing this they were shaping their identities firstly as social beings especially in the Kenyan scene where politicians are seen to have a high power distance.

During this campaign period the politicians now in need of the citizens' votes tend to become more interactive in order to create familiarity with the citizens and more importantly win votes. For instance, Martha Karua was able to transform her persona from the iron lady as she was usually referred to due her firm stance on various issues in the country especially when she was the minister justice in Kenya and we could now see the other facets of her. In her main profile on Twitter, she referred to herself as ‘a mother and a granny. ‘ Her posts on Twitter also revealed her as a social human being as well as a caring mother which endeared her to her followers on Twitter as could be seen by the comments on her posts.

The candidates' tweets also revealed their opinions and positions on various issues of national agenda and these formed useful background contexts upon which further interactions would be sustained. For instance, it was imperative for the leaders to talk about peace given that this were
the first elections after the 2007/2008 post-election violence that led to the indictment of high level politicians by the ICC court for charges of violation of human rights. From our data it is clear that all candidates led by Raila Odinga talked about peace despite of their perhaps different political ideology on other matters.

The candidates also sought to stand out or differentiate themselves from each other giving their stand on various issues of National agenda. For instance Martha Karua depicted herself as most capable candidate to fight corruption and impunity given her track record as minister of Justice. Raila Odinga talked about his ability to revive the economy as well as support the devolution process. Uhuru Kenyatta set his agenda on improved technology in education, transport and agriculture sectors. In the mainstream media they referred to themselves as the “digital team.” Finally but not least Peter Kenneth another prolific user and the youngest of the four selected politicians had his agenda set as change and transformation. He asserted himself as being capable to bring new ideas that would favor the younger generation.

**Conclusion**

The topical organization of tweets shows that the candidates’ utterances on Twitter had a communicative intention. Using a content analysis methodology based on explicit vocabulary it was observed that the candidates’ tweets contained messages on voting, peace, corruption, economy, devolution, technology and change. The category on social interactive tweets contained utterances of candidates offering appreciation to their supporters as well as sharing their day to day experiences with them. In order to achieve the optimal relevance of the utterances, the tweets have to be interpreted against various contextual assumptions. A thorough analysis of context is carried out in the next chapter.
CHAPTER THREE
THE ROLE OF CONTEXT IN THE ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES’ TWEETS

3.1 Introduction
In the previous chapter we thematically presented the tweets found in the selected candidates’ Twitter accounts. The general messages contained in the candidates’ utterances on Twitter were observed in preparation for an analysis using Relevance theory. In this chapter we seek to examine the role of context in the interpretation of the candidate utterances on Twitter. Firstly a discussion of ostensive verbal communication is given and then applied to political communication. We later examine the various socio-political context of Kenyan elections that enhanced the interpretation of candidates’ tweets during the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaigns.

3.2 Ostensive verbal communication
One of the central claims in relevance theory is that human linguistic communication requires both the knowledge of some linguistic code and a general ability to draw inferences. Contrary to exclusively coded communication which involves merely the coding and decoding and meaningful information, ostensive communication is an inferential activity that is achieved by producing and interpreting evidence concerning the speakers intentions for engaging in the communication act (Sperber and Wilson 1986 / 1995: 2). In this sense utterance interpretation relies heavily on non-demonstrative inference, a process that “takes a set of premises as input and yields as output as a set of conclusions which follow logically from the premises (Sperber and Wilson 1987a: 698).

3.3 Dynamic contexts
According to Relevance theory, a context for utterance interpretation comprises the set of premises in which the encoded content of an utterance is processed and can be described as a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer’s assumptions about the world. As such context is not limited to information about the immediate physical environment or the immediately
preceding utterances; expectations about the future, scientific hypotheses or religious beliefs, memories, general cultural assumptions, beliefs about the mental state of the speaker may all play a role in interpretation (Sperber and Wilson 1986/19995: 15 – 16).

3.4 Political Campaigning as an Ostensive – Inferential Communication

Political campaigning is highly intentional. Usually a communicator would offer clear ostension for the information he wants to communicate, and that is his informative intention. The reason why a contesting candidate is likely to use novel words and attractive linguistic features is the characteristic of political communication. The candidate in question provides evidence and directs his target audience to infer his intention. On the other hand the audience reading the candidates utterances is busy searching for relevance. Both sides communicating are trying to adjust and enlarge the mutual cognitive environment in order to form an effective context.

The purpose of political campaigning is to create a necessity for the citizen to vote for the candidate in question. The essential role of election campaigns is to attract the people’s attention, and then try to find the optimal relevance through and inferring process. A successful communication will lead to the effective persuasion by a contesting candidate and as a result spread his or her popularity.

Finally an excellent election campaign realizes its most expected role to win votes for the particular candidate and ensure his election. On the contrary if an election campaign fails to show the candidate’s intention or makes the audience be fed with it, then it is doomed to gain a negative consequence. A lot of resources both human and monetary are spent on election campaigns, its failure would thus lead to huge losses for the candidate and their parties or alliances.

However, candidates contesting in an election will not always directly ask their target audience to vote for them. Politicians often seem more concerned with amusing us – by setting a puzzle for us to work out or demonstrating their own sophistication. The aim of doing this is to engage
the target audience in their structure of meaning to encourage them in deciphering the politician’s linguistic and visual signs and to enjoy their interpreting activity.

In this process the candidate/politician in question should offer the intended ideas in an ostensive way to ensure that what he intends to communicate will be adequately relevant to the target audience in order to fulfill their real task-manage to boast the candidate popularity and win votes. The ostensive behavior in election campaigns is meant to catch the people’s attention because human beings naturally focus on the most relevant things which is a general cognitive law. Since processing information requires effort, the request to undertake the task has to be accompanied by reward. By requesting the audience’s attention, the candidate indicates that he/she is providing some relevant information which will make the audiences effort worthwhile.

3.5 Social-Political Context of Presidential Candidates’ Tweets

3.5.1 Tweets on Voting

Kenya is a multi-party democracy and as such, several political parties compete for political power. General elections are held after every five years and are preceded by campaigns by various political parties and their candidates. The 2013 general elections were fiercely contested with eight candidates contesting for the presidential seat as mentioned in section 1.1.1. The competition for political power got fierce and even dirty as candidates and their parties tried to popularize themselves. Each of the candidates wanted to emerge the winner and all their efforts including on social media were directed towards this goal.

The influence of money in politics in Kenya is a key feature of the Kenyan political environment. Despite the fact that the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) has the constitutional mandate under Article 88 to broadly regulate the flow of funds during the campaign period, the Tenth Parliament failed to pass the Election Campaign Bill of 2012, thereby perpetuating weak controls over a crucial element of the political system. Politics in Kenya retains a strong ethnic dimension, with polarization and divisions along ethnic and regional lines. Political coalitions and parties are largely built on this basis, with few ideological differences between them. Even though eight presidential candidates ran for the 2013 general
elections, the race was ultimately narrowed down to two presidential candidates, Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta and their respective party coalitions, CORD and Jubilee Alliance. The two candidates are members of the Luo and Kikuyu communities respectively and have historically battled for the topmost seat in Kenya. The utterances on voting can therefore be interpreted through this historical, cultural and political context. Datum 1 is exemplary.

Datum 1

Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 25 Feb 2013

It was a pleasure participating in #kedebate2013. On March 4th the Kenyan people will voice their choice. #Vote2013#VoteCord

Raila Odinga, a leading presidential candidate does not directly tell the reader to vote for him. Instead he mentions the Kenya debate as expressed in the hashtag #kedebate. This mention attracts the attention of the reader who would recall the contribution of the Raila Odinga in the said debate. The debate was a platform where the contesting candidates were given a chance to explain their positions on issues of governance and other issues of national importance like security, ethnicity, corruption and land among others. The reader is thus able to make a contextual assumption based on Raila Odinga’s contribution in the debate. Another act of ostension on the candidates’ side is in the use of the hash tags #Vote2013 and VoteCord. The inclusion of these hashtags acts as a stimuli for the reader who is able to form a clearer contextual assumption about the competitive elections that were about to take place where Raila Odinga was one of the contestants. The reader would gain the contextual effect that he or she should vote for Raila Odinga on the basis of his position on issues of national importance. It is clear that the candidate is able to balance between what to explicitly convey and what to leave for the reader’s inference.
Datum 2

Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 27 Feb 2013

Let your vote speak!

In the above tweet Martha Karua does not directly ask the citizens to vote for her but nevertheless her utterance draws the reader’s attention when she likens the act of voting to the citizen’s voice. In order for the reader to obtain optimal relevance, he or she has to draw some contextual assumptions for instance the fact that the 2013 presidential elections were about to take place and that Martha Karua was one of the contestants in the elections. The reader’s processing effort in drawing the contextual assumptions would be rewarded by gaining cognitive effects about the candidate’s communicative intention which is to urge the citizens to take action and vote for her.

Datum 3

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 25 Feb 2013

I hope you enjoyed the debate as much as I did. On March 4th, vote for a coalition that is focused on solutions #Jubilee#KeDebate2013

Uhuru Kenyatta posted the above tweet above just after the first ever presidential debate in Kenya. The candidate is able to capture the reader’s attention when he mentions the Kenya debate that had been televised by most media houses. The reader therefore bases his or her interpretation on the debate. One of the contextual assumptions is that the candidate Uhuru Kenyatta expressed his views on various issues of national importance such as land, security, ethnicity and corruption among others during the debate. The reader would therefore understand the candidate’s communicative intention in persuading the citizens to vote for him based on the solutions he provides to Kenya’s socio-economic problems.
Datum 4
Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth19 Feb 2013
A vote for Peter Kenneth si kutupa kura ni kuchagua kiongozi bora. Vote right, vote Peter Kenneth

Peter Kenneth is able to capture the attention of the reader when he code-switches from English to Swahili. This ensures that he reaches a wider audience including those who may not understand the English language. Translated to English the Swahili utterance would be (A vote for Peter Kenneth is not a wasted vote but a vote for better leadership). In order for the utterance to achieve optimal relevance, the reader would need to draw contextual assumption about the competitive elections that were about to take place whereby Peter Kenneth was one of the contestants. The candidate’s communicative intention would be to persuade the citizens to vote for him in order to realize better leadership.

3.5.2 Tweets on peace
The peace agenda was addressed by all the candidates selected for this study. The legacy and memory of the 2007 elections aftermath provided a fierce reminder of what was at stake in the 2013 elections. Utterances on peace could thus be interpreted against such history. The impact of the 2007 elections came to be known as the ‘Kenya crisis’ as it entailed the death of hundreds of people and saw thousands others injured and displaced from their homes. In these regard, those elections helped to trigger a number of important changes both political and institutional. Contesting candidates avoided hate speech and instead incorporated the peace message in their campaigns. Media houses also adopted policies that prohibited them from airing any kind of hate speech utterances by the politicians. Other non-governmental institutions like Ushahidi.com were set up to monitor hate speech on social media. Consider the example in datum 3 and 4 below.
Datum 5
Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth27 Feb 2013
We are all Kenyans first. We need to preach peace and resist the few who want to divide us

The above tweet by Peter Kenneth draws the attention of the reader through his first utterance ‘we are Kenyans first’. It is an act of ostension on the part of the candidate; the encoded content leads the reader to make further inference in order to obtain optimal relevance. The candidate expects the reader to have in his encyclopedic knowledge the nature of Kenyan elections where ethnicity is usually the defining factor in deciding a favorable candidate. In his second utterance the candidates introduces the peace agenda which the reader interprets using the contextual assumptions about the history of Kenyan elections that result in divisions based on ethnicity and especially the post-election violence that took place in 2007 elections that were a result of ethnic tensions. The candidate therefore says enough that directs the reader to make further inference in order to arrive at his communicative intention.

Datum 6
Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga27 Feb 2013
Morning all. Let us remember to maintain peace this Monday & after. We are one Kenya. #ChaguaPeace cc @KenyaRedCross@ginadin

The above tweet by Raila Odinga is quite explicit in conveying the message on peace however as reader’s are endowed with a natural tendency to search for optimal relevance, the reader would draw contextual assumptions about Kenyan elections that are mostly carried out along tribal lines. The reader would draw from his or her encyclopedic knowledge the occurrence of the post-election violence witnessed in the 2007 elections. Such a vivid memory would enable the reader to grasp the candidate’s intended message on maintaining peace. The inclusion of the hashtags #Chaguapeace and the mentioning of Red Cross make the contextual assumptions to be readily available to the reader and create even stronger cognitive effects as these were organizations that were involved in the same initiative.
3.5.3 Tweets on corruption

Corruption has become a core topic in the Kenyan political discourse especially after the expanded political space that followed the advent of multiparty politics in early 1990s. In Kenya demand for improved financial stewardship is a central force for renewed leadership. For instance, the National Rainbow coalition (NARC) rode on this popular demand and won the 2003 general elections. During the 2007 elections, corruption was again a major campaign platform, the electoral dispute and the consequent coalition arrangement was to impact on the anti-corruption agenda of the new government.

In the 2013 presidential elections, corruption was ranked third among the Kenya concerns at 10% according to the Kenya Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) monitoring October 2012 report. A similar survey conducted by Gullup in April, 2012 had ranked corruption the top position.

In the 2013 elections, not all candidates rode on the corruption agenda since some of them had already been implicated in previous scandals, for instance the maize scandal, Anglo leasing and Grand Regency among others. Martha Karua seemed to be the most vocal on this agenda as she had a clean track record to back her claims. Consider datum 5 and 6 below.

Datum 7

Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 21 Feb 2013

@idreada one of the top agendas you cannot attain the same or sufficiently grow the economy without reigning in corruption and impunity!

The above tweet by Martha Karua is quite explicit in conveying the candidate’s communicative intention. Nevertheless in order to achieve optimal relevance, the reader needs to make inference about the magnitude of corruption scandals in Kenya including the ongoing scandals at the time of elections for instance the maize scandal that involved high profile politicians. The utterance also acts as stimuli in helping the reader to make other contextual assumptions about the track record of the candidate making the claim. The contextual assumptions would have another
cognitive effect on the reader given that Martha Karua had never been implicated in any corruption scandal. In this case the candidate would have achieved her goal to popularize herself as the best candidate to tackle corruption and in extension selling herself as the best presidential candidate.

Datum 8
Citizen on Twitter; Do hope the #Debate254 will not be about attacking one another? @MarthaKarua, @UKenyatta, @RailaOdinga, @Peter_Kenneth, @JamesOleKiyiapi
Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 11 Feb 2013
@Simon_Plumb challenging an opponent on issues including issues regarding corruption and impunity not an attack!

Martha Karua responds to a citizen on Twitter who raises concern about the candidates attacking each other during the presidential debate. She defends herself by saying that she would only challenge the candidates on issues such as corruption and impunity. The reader needs to make certain contextual assumptions about the candidate in question and her perspective on the issue of corruption. The contextual assumption would be that corruption is a major problem in Kenya mostly perpetuated by those in leadership positions. The reader would also draw the assumption that Martha Karua was one of the contestants in the race for presidency and unlike some of her opponents she had never been implicated in any corruption scandal. As such the candidate succeeds in achieving her goal which is to make the citizens aware of her firm stand against corruption. The reader having gained the cognitive effects would have a reason to vote for the candidate in question.

3.5.4 Tweets on Economy
Kenya has the largest and most diverse economy in East Africa, with an average annual growth rate of over 5% for nearly a decade. In Kenya wealth is not distributed equally, in fact, although the human development index ranks Kenya highest in the region, Kenya’s poverty rate is significantly higher than in the neighboring countries Tanzania and Uganda. Poverty is highest in the arid and semi-arid areas that cover about 80% of the land area and are inhabited by about
20% of the population. Poverty also affects the coastal area, which receives fewer resources. Rapid population growth is another challenge further complicated by high unemployment rates especially among the youth. The demand for equity in distribution of resources and job creation led the contesting candidates to make promises focusing on the economy, and other aspects of development. Datum 4 is exemplary.

**Datum 9**

**Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga**

28 Feb 2013

Sanaipei Ntimama stands for a developed 1st class economy. What is your stand? #VoteRaila

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RoLkIu0elhM ...

Raila Odinga in the above utterance does not directly state his promise to deliver a first class economy. Instead he mentions a famous personality by the name of ‘Sanaipei Ntimama’ in order to capture the attention of his target audience. The reader then has to make inference based on his encyclopedic knowledge of the personality mentioned in the tweet. The cognitive effects gained would be that if Sanaipei supports Raila Odinga on his economy agenda then the reader should not be left out. The utterance therefore is interpreted as been an endorsement for the candidate. The reader would also make a contextual assumption based on the level of corruption in the country to gain the cognitive effects about the need to change leadership by electing a new president. The utterance becomes relevant in the context of presidential elections that were soon to take place whereby Raila Odinga was one of the contestants. The use of the hashtag #VoteRaila acts as evidence of the candidate’s communicative intention which is to get his target audience to vote for him.

**3.5.5 Tweets on Devolution**

The 4 march 2013 elections were Kenya’s first General Election under a new constitution. These complex elections signaled multiple transitions; the end of the grand coalition government, the ushering in of the new constitution, including the creation of new governance structures, layers and levels of representation and institutions. In addition to voting for the president and the expanded National Assembly, Kenyans were to vote for new elective positions of women
members of the assembly, a senate, county governors and county assemblies. Wolfgang Fengler, the World Bank’s lead economist in Kenya, described Kenyan devolved government as arguably the most radical (decentralization programme) in the world today. He also argued that Kenyans had unrealistic expectations of what devolution would bring and that poorly managed decentralization could make worse the existing tensions in the country. Raila Odinga’s utterances on devolution would thus be interpreted against such context as he popularized himself as most capable of implementing devolution. Datum 5 is exemplary.

Datum 10

Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 17 Feb 2013
To this end #CORD will assist county governments to legislate & establish modalities for citizen participation #devolution

The utterance concerning the devolution agenda can only be relevant to the reader against the context of the newly adopted constitution of 2010. The stimuli provided by the logical form of the utterance prompts the reader to recall from his encyclopedic knowledge that devolution needed to be fully implemented as enshrined in the new constitution. The reader continues to build the contextual assumptions little by little given that this were the first elections under a new constitution it followed that the previously national government would be decentralized in a bid to ensure equitable development and distribution of resources. The reader would then recognize the need for political will in implementation of devolution and gain the cognitive effect that Raila Odinga was promising to ensure the implementation of the same and the reader would need to vote for him in order to realize the promise. The candidate therefore succeeds in getting the reader to understand his communicative intention which was to give the reader a reason and motivation to vote for the said candidate.

3.5.6 Tweets on change
Election campaigns in Kenya have often focused on internal issues, often driven by ethnic agenda. In Kenya political parties have historically mobilized constituents based on ethnicity, even an externally driven process like the International criminal court (ICC) could not escape
this reality. The 2013 elections were a two horse race between Raila Odinga and Uhuru Kenyatta. The politicians were considered first and foremost as members of the Luo and Kikuyu community which have historically battled for power and supremacy. The candidates’ alliances were aimed at crafting an ethnic vehicle capable of capturing the state. The 2007 Kenya election and its aftermath had a significant impact on the way in which political actors approached the 2013 elections. Peter Kenneth a new incumbent in the presidential race urged the citizens to be different and vote right. These utterances would be interpreted against the Kenyan historical tendency to vote on tribal lines. It was a bid to influence the target audience to vote based on character as opposed to ethnic affiliations. Datum 9 and 10 are exemplary.

Datum 11

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 26 Feb 2013

Gambling with your vote is when you vote the same people and expect different results. Vote right.

In the above tweet, the presidential candidate Peter Kenneth captures the reader’s attention when he talks of ‘gambling’ in an election process. In order for the reader to arrive at his intended communicative intention he or she needs to make inference about Kenyan history in regards to elections-Kenyans tend to vote on tribal inclinations and as a result end up voting people who do not deliver on their promises. The utterance becomes relevant to the reader who makes other contextual assumptions for instance the fact that this was the first time that Peter Kenneth was contesting for a presidential seat. The reader’s effort in drawing the contextual assumptions would be rewarded by new cognitive effects about the candidates intended meaning-the citizens should not vote on tribal lines and in extension for politicians who have been in office before yet they have not delivered but instead vote for those with the best leadership skills. Since Peter Kenneth is a first timer in the presidential race he succeeds in his intention to persuade the citizens to vote for him.
3.5.7 Tweets on technology

The Jubilee government won Kenya’s 2013 election campaign on the promise of delivering a new ‘digital’ and techno-savvy government, in contrast to the opposition’s ‘analogue’ mode of politics. Jubilee’s self-nomination as the ‘digital team’ was not necessarily invented to reflect an active social media presence but rather their political manifesto to boost the Kenyan ICT sector, nevertheless the winning campaign team clearly invested heavily on social media. Uhuru Kenyatta, in particular was an active tweeter and it follows that he was mentioned in the year 2014 as one of the top ten tweeting presidents. In their campaign they promised to improve technology in various sectors such as infrastructure, agriculture and education. Datum 10 is exemplary.

Datum 12

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 12 Feb 2013

We'll put a million acres of land under irrigation and expand agricultural production by employing modern technology

The logical form in Uhuru Kenyatta’s utterance is the candidate’s contribution in capturing the reader’s attention. By focusing on agriculture which is the backbone of Kenya’s economy he provides a stimuli for the reader to create contextual assumptions against which to interpret the utterance. From the readers logic he or she would infer that Kenya is faced with the effects of global warming and hence inadequate rainfall especially in the arid and semi-arid regions. The reader would thus gain the cognitive effects that the candidate is offering a solution for this problem. The candidate’s aim is to convince his target audience to vote for him by making a promise to modernize the agricultural sector. Without the available contextual assumptions it would be impossible for the reader to attain the optimal relevance of the utterance.

3.5.8 Social Interactive Tweets

Wang et al (2012) stresses that the primary function of social media is allowing users to connect, communicate and interact with one another. According to Yus (2011), this is a primary source of interest for pragmatics because as a result of these interactions, users, identities are shaped and
managed discursively on these sites usually by posting, sharing or co-producing information that is subsequently commented upon causing further heated discussions.

In our study we saw the candidates make very personal interactions with the citizens on twitter with Martha Karua and Peter Kenneth being ahead of the others in this activity. The candidates would inform the candidates about their campaign activities and even upload pictures and videos of the same. Such tweets were also characterized by greetings and thank you messages. Some like Martha Karua even wished goodnight to the Kenyans on twitter. By doing this they were shaping their identities firstly as social beings especially in the Kenyan scene where politicians are seen to have a high power distance. During the campaign period the politicians now in need of the citizens’ votes tend to become more interactive in order to create familiarity with the citizens and more importantly win votes. For instance Martha Karua was able to transform her persona from the iron lady as she was usually referred to due her hard stance on various issues in the country especially when she was the Minister of Justice in Kenya and we could now see the other facets of her. In her main profile on twitter, she referred to herself as a mother and a granny. Her posts on Twitter also revealed her as a social human being as well as a caring mother which endeared her to her followers on twitter as could be seen by the comments on her posts. Consider datum 11, 12, 13 and 14 below.

Datum 13
Martha Karua @MarthaKarua4 Feb 2013

I am privileged this morning to be sitting at the kerio view hotel enjoying one of the most beautiful and breathtaking landscapes!

The above tweet by Martha Karua is not only informative but can be interpreted further through inference on the reader’s part. The encoded elements is an act of ostention by the speaker that gives the reader give just enough information that enables him or her to make further inference. The utterance portrays the candidate to be in a relaxed atmosphere enjoying a scenery. The reader would need to create contextual assumptions in terms of his or her encyclopedic knowledge about Martha Karua’s personality. The shared knowledge among Kenyans is that
Martha Karua is a tough and nonsensical; a stereotype that threatened her election as president as many feared her to be a tyrant of sorts. Given such contexts, the utterance achieves optimal relevance in weakening the reader’s earlier believes about Martha Karua’s personality. Suddenly she is able to portray herself as a social fun loving person. As such she is able to achieve her communicative intention which is to present herself as a social human being with emotions and as such persuade her target audience to vote for her.

Datum 14

Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 19 Feb 2013

Congratulations to 16yr old Eva Chemngorem for beating thousands of entries to win this year’s DSTV Eutelsat Star Award.

The above tweet is a congratulatory message directed to the person by the name of Eva Chemnogorem. The above utterance by Raila Odinga communicates more than is encoded in the logical form. At first it seems a simple message directed to a 16 year old however the reader can gain more cognitive effects by adding some contextual assumptions. For instance the fact that social media provides a platform for members to interact and share their thoughts and experiences. Given that Raila Odinga was one of the contestants in the 2013 elections it would follow that he was interacting with the citizens on twitter as an effort to construct his identity as a social human being aware of what is happening in his environment. By mentioning Eva, a Kenyan citizen who had won an international award the utterance becomes relevant as it creates a sense of togetherness and pride for the people of Kenya. Raila Odinga’s association with a positive event would be an effort to popularize his candidacy.

Datum 15

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 19 Feb 2013

Had a wonderful rally in Kisii today. Thank you all for the support and for your commitment to form a Jubilee Gov't

The above tweet is an act of ostension on the candidate’s part as he appreciates the people of Kisii for their support. The reader can search for more relevance by adding contextual assumptions to the utterance. One contextual assumption is that elections in Kenya are marred
with ethnicity and therefore Kisii region which is part of Nyanza province an ODM stronghold could have been divided in their support for Uhuru Kenyatta. However the candidate asserts that they are all committed to form a jubilee government. The cognitive effects gained by the reader by applying the contextual assumptions would be that Uhuru Kenyatta’s appreciation for the people of Kisii is intended to persuade those on the opposing side to change sides and vote for him.

Datum 16

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth1 Mar 2013
@eveyryx Thank you, be blessed

The above tweet is Peter Kenneth’s show of appreciation to his supporters. In order to gain optimal relevance, the reader needs to construct contextual assumptions about the candidate. The reader would thus infer that Peter Kenneth is a candidate in the presidential race and as such his utterance is meant to encourage his supporters to continue in the same endeavor given that he would like to emerge the winner.

Conclusion

The essence of relevance theory is that every act of ostensive communication communicates the presumption of its own optional relevance. (Sperber and Wilson, 1995). In political campaigning, the public’s attention is drawn to the candidate in question and in this process, they need to get to know the messages that the candidates try to convey. As the other side of communicators, the politicians have interwoven their intended meaning into an utterance/tweet. However, what they want to show and want to express to the public must be made clear enough for the public to find the relevance. In this way, the public is required to infer/understand the message according to the on-going situation. Therefore, typically, political campaigning is a communication of ostension-inference, in which the audience needs to construct a dynamic context including the whole set of assumptions forming the cognitive environment of the communicators. In this way, context is proved play an important role in the interpretation of any process of communication, including political campaigning in which the communicators are the contesting candidate and the potential voters.
CHAPTER FOUR
A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF CANDIDATES’ TWEETS USING RELEVANCE THEORY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter the study carries out a relevance pragmatic analysis of tweets collected from the selected candidates’ Twitter accounts between the month of February and March 2013. The analysis is based on tweets simply referred to as utterances. The study bases its discussion on implicature derived from what the candidate explicates in his/her intended communication. Explicature and implicature are the two types of assumption communicated by a speaker/writer. They can also be thought of as enrichment processes in that utterances are only blueprints (Blakemore, 1992) that need enrichment to become full mental representations of what a writer intends to communicate.

Relevance theory treats all forms of verbal communication, whether written or spoken as ostensive. Tweets just like any other form of ostensive communication carry with them a presumption of their addressees (Yus, 2011). In face-to-face communication, this is likely to be specific individuals and in one-to-many broadcast communication, such as Twitter, this will be whoever finds it relevant.” (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 158).

As Yus (2011: 14) explains, humans are “equipped with a biologically evolved tendency to maximize the relevance of the utterances that we process, but we do not apply different inferential procedures for our interpretation of stimuli (verbal and non-verbal) in physical or virtual contexts. A tweeter, just like any other communicator will therefore aim for optimal relevance, and will try to make her utterances as relevant as it can be given his or her abilities and preferences.

The format of Twitter places another constraint as he or she is limited to using only 140 characters in total. In the absence of physical or prosodic ones available to the communicator, (Yus 2011) the tweeter is forced to depend on the limited number of characters to convey his or
her intended message. This means that the tweeter is likely to leave much of the message implicit and trust the reader to fill in the gaps inferentially.

The reader must therefore identify the tweeters intended contextual assumption given that tweeter is an asynchronous, one to many channel of communication, a miscommunication can occur. However speakers can lower the risk of miscommunication by making certain contextual assumptions and inferential routes more accessible for the reader. The hash tag feature prominent in tweeter allows the tweeter to make contextual assumptions highly accessible and this guides the hearer (reader) to the intended overall interpretation in the most efficient and economical manner.

4.2 Analysis of Tweets on Voting
There were a total number of 21 tweets from all the selected candidates on the theme of voting. The plea by the candidates urging the citizens to vote for them was uttered rather explicitly. Some of the contextual assumption available to the reader in this case would be; 1) the upcoming presidential elections 2) Elections are competitive 3) Only one of the contesting candidates will emerge the winner. Given the above contextual assumptions the utterances on voting become relevant to the reader who then has to follow a path of least effort in order to arrive at the intended meaning of the specific tweets. The degree of explicitness differed between the candidates with Raila’s and Karua’s utterances seeming less explicit as compared to Uhuru Kenyatta’s and Peter Kenneth’s utterances. Below is an attempt to analyze such tweets using a relevance pragmatic perspective?

Datum 17
Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 27 Feb 2013
A vote for me on Monday will not be a wasted vote; it will be a vote for the change Kenya deserves now not in the future #Tunawesmake

The above tweet is a propositional template requiring reference assignment as well as free enrichment in order to arrive the inherent explicatures. The explicatures would thus be:
A vote for me (peter Kenneth) on Monday (Election Day) will not be a wasted vote; it will be a vote for the change Kenya deserves now and not in the future.

The contextual assumptions readily accessible to the reader using a path of least effort include: 1) Kenneth being contestant in the upcoming presidential elections 2) Kenyan political context where elected leaders do not always deliver. The reader would therefore derive the implicated conclusion that the candidate is making a promise to bring change in terms of governance and leadership if elected to be the president of Kenya. This assumption is evidenced by the use of the hashtag, #Tunawesmake which was the candidate’s campaign slogan. The candidate therefore uses both explicit and implicit strategies to convince the citizens to vote for him.

Datum 18

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 22 Feb 2013

It’s your vote that will count on 4th March. Not pollster’s agenda. Vote right, vote Peter Kenneth.

The above tweet is relevant to a reader who is waiting to vote for a new president on March 4th. The tweet is relevant in persuading the reader to come out and vote on the Election Day. The reader derives the explicature in the first utterance through reference assignment of the pronoun ‘your’ and in the second utterance using background knowledge of the polls that were being carried out by most media houses that didn’t favor some candidates like Kenneth. The third utterance is quite explicit as it hardly needs any pragmatic enrichment in order to arrive at the intended meaning. The explicatures would be as follows.

1st utterance-It’s your vote (citizen’s vote) that counts on 4th March (Election Day)
2nd utterance-Pollster’s agenda will not count on Election Day
3rd utterance-Kenyan citizens should vote for Peter Kenneth.
The available contextual assumptions easily accessible to the reader include, 1) Peter Kenneth was one of the contesting candidates in the presidential race, 2) knowledge of polls’ outcome that did not favor Peter Kenneth.

The reader would thus make the implicated conclusion that the candidate is discrediting the polls and he is asking the citizens not to believe in them and instead come out and vote on the 4th March. The candidate through his utterance tries to weaken the earlier believes held by citizens in regard to the polls outcome and instead persuade them to vote for him.

Datum 19

Uhuru Kenyatta@ukenyatta 21Feb 2013

Make this around one win for Jubilee so the real work can begin. Vote early, get 10 people who you'll make sure vote too, vote peacefully.

Using the logical form in the first utterance, one can easily derive the explicature through free enrichment. The concept of Jubilee which was the candidate’s alliance avails the contextual assumptions. Uhuru is addressing Kenyans and urging them to vote for him in large numbers. The explicature would thus be:

1st utterance-Kenyans should vote for Uhuru Kenyatta in large numbers.
2nd utterance-Kenyans urged to vote early and get 10 people to vote too.
3rd utterance-Kenyan urged to vote peacefully.

The contextual assumption available to the reader would be about the upcoming elections that the candidate would like to win 2) the other assumption is that if he doesn’t win there is likelihood of violence taking place like in the previous elections.
The utterance would therefore be relevant to the reader who would draw the implicated conclusion that the candidate is telling them to vote for him in large numbers and maintain peace regardless of the election outcome.

Datum 20

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 18 Feb 2013

On March 4th, Vote for me and @WilliamsRuto because you believe in Transforming Kenya. Good Day to you.

The above tweet is quite explicit in expressing the proposition that the citizens should come out and vote for the said candidate in order to realize a transformed county. The reader derives the explicature through reference assignment of the pronoun ‘me’ and free enrichment using encyclopedic knowledge about the candidate’s running mate, William Ruto. The second utterance is a logical form where the candidate appreciates his supporters and only requires reference assignment of the pronoun ‘you’. The explicatures would be:

1<sup>st</sup> utterance-on March 4<sup>th</sup>, vote for Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto (running mate) because (the reader/kenyans) believes in transforming Kenya.
2<sup>nd</sup> utterance-Good day to all Kenyans.

The contextual assumptions available to the reader include: 1) Kenyatta is contesting for the presidential race 2) Kenyatta is promising to transform the country if elected. The reader would therefore derive the implicated conclusion using a path of least effort to be that the candidate is promising to transform Kenya if elected. The utterance is relevant as it give the reader/citizen a reason to vote for the said candidate.
Datum 21

(@MarthaKarua Stop Sale of Kisite Marine Park.)

Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 3 Mar 2013

@Greyfos give the power tomorrow!

In the above tweet, Martha responds to a tweet by one of her followers on twitter. The utterance is a propositional template requiring pragmatic enrichment to fill in the missing information about who is to be given the power and also conceptual adjustment about what ‘power’ and ‘tomorrow’ actually mean. The most accessible contextual assumption using a path of least effort would be that 1) presidential elections are taking place the following day, 2) Martha Karua is one of the contestants in the elections 3) the ongoing petition to stop the sale of the Marine Park. The utterance thus becomes relevant to the reader who would derive following eplicature;

Vote for Martha Karua on Election Day (4th march 2013) to stop the sale of the Marine park.

The available contextual assumptions available to the reader using a path of least effort is about the citizens exercising their power by voting in the upcoming competitive elections.

This would lead the reader to derive an implicated conclusion that the candidate is telling them to take action and vote on the Election Day. A further implicature is that the reader should specifically vote for Martha Karua and not any other candidate in a context where she is one of the competitors in the race. By associating voting with giving power, Martha Karua is able to influence much stronger cognitive effects that will cause the reader to take action and vote for her so that she is able through her presidency to top such ills as expressed by the tweeter.
Datum 22
Twitter: @lillian_muli@MarthaKarua@RailaOdinga@UKenyatta Success will never lower its standards to accommodate us, we have to raise our standards to get it)

Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 2 Mar 2013
@youthinkkenyaso as a nation let our vote be for our country’s success not failure!

The candidate Martha Karua responds to a citizen on Twitter in the above tweet. The proposition been that Kenyans should vote for the right leader. The utterance is relevant to the reader by echoing the need to vote based on the candidate’s capability in delivering results. The explicature is derived through free enrichment of the logical form given the knowledge of the history of Kenyan elections where citizens vote on tribal basis. The explicature would thus be:

So as a nation (Kenya) let our (Kenyan’s) vote be for our (Kenyan’s) success not failure!

Following the Kenyans’ voting trends as explained above and using a path of least effort, the reader would derive the implicated conclusion that the candidate is asking him or her to vote on the basis of character and not on tribal lines. Given that Martha Karua is one of the contesters, this utterance can be seen as an implicit strategy to woo the voters to vote for her.

Datum 23
Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 28 Feb 2013
For a stable, more consistent Kenya @HenryOtiende chooses to #VoteRaila - What is your stand? http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zUJWpmd49XQ …

The above tweet by a leading presidential candidate is a logical form requiring a fair amount of pragmatic inferences in order to derive its explicatures and implicatures. Firstly in order to derive the explicature the logical form requires pragmatic enrichment through reference resolution of the concepts “Henry Otiende” and the concept ‘vote Raila’ as used in the hashtag. It also requires reference assignment of the pronoun ‘your’ thus arriving at the following explicatures;
i) For a stable more consistent Kenya, **Henry Otiende** (a famous business man) chooses to vote for Raila (cord presidential candidate).

ii) Who will you vote for? (Reader or Kenyan citizen)

The contextual assumptions available to the reader include; 1) Raila is a contestant in the upcoming general elections 2) elections are competitive 3) politicians have an agenda when campaigning. It is usual during election campaigns for high profile individuals in the society to endorse a candidate by voicing support for their political ideology.

The reader would thus conclude that the candidate is also asking them to agree with him on this agenda and more importantly vote in his favor as evidenced by the hashtag ‘#voteRaila’. As such this is an implicit strategy used by Raila Odinga meant to trigger positive cognitive effects from the reader by way of associating with a high profile individual in the society. It is meant to convince the reader to take action and vote for Raila.

**Datum 24**

**Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga** 25 Feb 2013

It was a pleasure participating in #kedebate2013. On March 4th the Kenyan people will voice their choice. #Vote2013#VoteCord

The intended meaning in the above tweet is a logical form requiring enrichment through free enrichment. The reader derives the explicature using his knowledge about the Kenya presidential debate that enabled the contesting candidates to give their opinion on different issues of national agenda.

The contextual assumptions are invoked by the use of the hashtags #kedebate2013. The use of the hashtags #vote2013 and #VoteCord also make the contextual assumption about voting for Raila to be easily accessible to the reader.
The implicated conclusion that the reader would make based on the above assumptions is that the candidate is asking him or her to vote for him what he indirectly refers to as the ‘the voice of Kenyans.”

Datum 25

Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 18 Feb 2013

On March 4th, Vote for me and @WilliamsRuto because you believe in Transforming Kenya. Good Day to you.

The above tweet does not require much processing effort in order to arrive at the meaning. The propositional template requires little pragmatic enrichment in terms of reference assignment of the pronouns ‘me and you’ the mentioning of William Ruto needs reference resolution (running mate to Uhuru Kenyatta). Thus the explications would be:

On March 4th, vote for Uhuru Kenyatta (president) and William Ruto (running mate) because you (the reader/Kenyan citizen) believe in transforming Kenya.

The available contextual assumption for the reader include: 1) Raila Odinga was contesting for the presidential seat in the fourth coming elections on March 4th, 2) The candidate would like to win in the elections. Based on this contexts the reader would hypothesize that the candidate is promising to transform Kenya if elected as president. This utterance is relevant to the reader by providing reason as to why he or she should vote for the said candidate. The implied conclusion would thus be that Uhuru Kenyatta is telling the reader to vote for him because he will transform Kenya.

4.3 Analysis of Tweets on peace

There were a total of 13 tweets on peace. All the candidates addressed the peace agenda led by Raila Odinga. The tweets containing the message on peace were also quite explicit. After the occurrence of the 2007/2008 violence in Kenya, most politicians were expected to take a stand on maintaining peace by helping to contain their supporters regardless of the election outcome.
Most of the tweets on peace also had utterances where the contesting candidates urged the citizens on twitter to vote for them. This can be considered to be an implicit campaign strategy as the candidates could have used the agenda of peace in order to endear themselves to the public and win their votes. Below are some of the candidates’ tweets on peace.

**Datum 26**

**Martha Karua @MarthaKarua** 3 Mar 2013

Tweeter: (@marthakarua I look forward to see u Embrace peace after Results released God Bless All)

@KingCollymore yes! And I look forward to seeing you and indeed all kenyans execute their civic duty peacefully and remain peaceful after

The above tweet is a response by Karua to a concerned citizen on the agenda of peace. The utterance is relevant to the reader in term of agreeing with the twitter to maintain peace and also echoing the need for all Kenyans to maintain peace after the results of the elections. The reader derives the candidates’ intended meaning by making a hypothesis about the explicatures in the utterance through free enrichment to fill out the missing information in the first utterance and reference assignment of the pronoun ‘I’ ‘you’ and ‘their’. The reader derives the following explicatures:

1\textsuperscript{st} utterance-Martha Karua will embrace peace after the results of the elections.

2\textsuperscript{nd} utterance-And Martha Karua looks forward to seeing you (@kingCollimore) and indeed all Kenyans execute vote peacefully and remain peaceful after.

The reader also needs to make a hypothesis about the context of this utterance using a path of least effort. The most accessible contextual assumptions include 1)Past occurrences of violence after election outcomes 2)candidates contesting for elections have a role to maintain peace before and after election outcomes by not in sighting the citizens to violence 3)The citizens also have a role to maintain peace after election outcomes.
As such the reader would make an implicated conclusion that Martha Karua is committed to play her role to maintain peace regardless of the elections outcomes. A further implicature is that the citizen also need to play their role in maintaining peace after the said elections. This is also an implicit strategy to persuade the target audience to vote for Martha Karua as she also looks forward to see the citizens perform their ‘civic duty’ of voting.

**Datum 27**

(#kenyakwanza am rep kahawa sukari kiambu county and my msg is its better to peace peace than to vote)

**Marthakarua@marthakarua 3 march 2013**

@buganyau_kenya would say preach peace and vote both are critical for the nation

In this particular tweet, Karua is responding to a tweet from a Kenyan citizen on the hashtag (#Kenyakwanza). The tweet expresses the need for politicians to preach peace than voting. This tweet exemplifies the use of shortcut techniques on the twitter platform. The brevity characteristic of Twitter does not allow the user to be fully explicit. As seen in the tweet about #KenyaKwanza the tweeter omits some letters in his utterances for instance ‘am’, ‘rep’ and ‘msg’ instead of the full forms which are, ‘I am’ ‘representing’ and ‘message ‘respectively. Karua responds by saying that preaching peace and voting are both important for the country.

This utterance is quite explicit and is derived through free enrichment process of filling in the elipted reference to Martha Karua. Thus the explicature would be:

**Martha Karua would say preach peace and vote both are critical to the nation.**

In this case, the available contextual assumptions for the reader following a path of least effort would include 1) the post-election violence that took place in 2007/2008, 2) Karua being a contestant in the upcoming elections. The utterance would be relevant to the reader in terms of Martha Karua echoing the need to preach peace and also the need for citizens to vote for the right leaders in order to ensure good leadership.
Datum 28

Raila Odinga@railaodinga 27 Feb. 2013

Morning all, let us remember to maintain peace this Monday and after. We are one Kenya.

Raila’s utterance on the need to maintain peace during the election and after is quite direct. The explicature is arrived at through pragmatic enrichment by reference assignment of the quantifier “all” and the pronouns ‘us’ and ‘we’ which refers to the citizens of Kenya. If the reader is a Kenyan citizen he or she would not need much effort in adjusting the concept of Monday to actually mean the Election Day. Thus the explicature would be;

Morning, Kenyans. Let ‘Kenyans’ remember to maintain peace on the Election Day and after.

The context available to the reader when following a path of least effort would be the the events of the 2007 elections that led to violence where Raila Odinga of ODM at the time accused PNU led by Mwai Kibaki of rigging the elections. Another context is that of the elections which were soon going to take place. Thus, this utterance would be relevant especially coming from a leading presidential candidate like Raila Odinga.

Implicitly, Odinga would be positioning himself as a leader who stands for peace regardless of the outcome of the elections and hence endearing himself to the nation at large.

Datum 29

Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 24 Feb 2013

Morning all. As March 4th draws near, I remind my fellow Kenyans to maintain peace all through & after the elections #Vote2013#VoteCord Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga

The tweet above is very explicit on the agenda of peace and the reader only requires to make inference using reference assignment of the quantifier ‘all” and the pronoun ‘I’. The explicatures that the reader derives would thus be as follows.
1st utterance- Morning Kenyans.
2nd utterance- As Election Day draws near, Raila Odinga reminds Kenyans to maintain peace before and after election.

The reader would then make a hypothesis about the contextual assumptions using a path of least effort. The use of the hashtags #Vote2013, #VoteCord and the @ mentioning practice of Raila Odinga make the contextual assumptions to be easily available to the reader. These include, 1) Kenya’s proneness to post-election violence as witnessed in 2007/2008 elections 2) presidential elections to take place where Raila Odinga is one of the competitors.

The reader is thus able to make a hypothesis about the implied meaning of the utterance. The candidate in this case is urging the people to maintain peace and avoid violence regardless of the election outcome. The use of the said hashtags and mentioning of Raila suggest that the candidate is also implicitly asking the citizens to vote for him.

Datum 30

**Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 28 Feb 2013**

Make this a round one win for Jubilee so the real work can begin. Vote Early. Get 10 people who you'll make sure vote too. Vote Peacefully.

Uhuru Kenyatta’s tweet on the agenda of peace is very explicit although the main proposition in the tweet is a plea or citizens to vote for the candidate. The reader would make a hypothesis about the explication in the utterances through free enrichment to fill in the missing information in the utterances. The second utterance also requires reference assignment of the pronoun ‘you’.

The contextual assumptions available to the reader include: 1) the elections that are soon to take place whereby Kenyatta is one of the competitors. 2) The leaders’ role to maintain peace during and after elections.
The reader would thus make a hypothesis about the implicated conclusion based on such context. In this case the candidate is telling the reader to overwhelmingly vote for him in the upcoming elections and also maintain peace while doing so to avoid skirmishes like in the 2007/2008 election aftermath.

Datum 31
(Thank u @Peter_Kenneth for recognizing the voice of the lord Almighty n attending meeting to renounce violence and embracing peace)

Peter Kenneth @ peter_kenneth 24 Feb 2013
@sayankamike lets all preach peace.

In this tweet, Peter Kenneth is replying to one of the citizens on twitter. The logical form embedded in the linguistics elements helps the reader to derive the explicature with little processing effort. Through reference assignment of the quantifier ‘all’ we get the explicature;

Let all Kenyans preach peace.

The implicated premise using the contextual assumption of Kenya’s proness to post-election violence would be that it is important for everyone to preach peace in order to avoid an occurrence of violence. The implicated conclusion that the reader would derive would be that indeed all Kenyans should engage in activities and speech that promotes peace.

Datum 32

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth21 Feb 2013
Chagua Peace Campaign by the Kenya Red Cross has my support. I intend to keep the promise @KenyaRedCross

In order to arrive at the intended meaning in the above tweet, the reader first derives the explicature through free enrichment using background knowledge of the ‘chagua peace
campaign’ by Red Cross that was taking place on social media. The pronoun ‘my’ also needs reference assignment. The explicatures would thus be:

1st utterance-Peter Kenneth support the ‘chagua peace campaign’ by Red Cross.

2nd utterance-Peter Kenneth is promising to preach and maintain peace.

The available contextual assumptions for the reader using a path of least effort include: 1) The ongoing campaign by red cross to maintain peace 2) The role of contesting candidates in the same endeavor.

Based on the above contextual assumptions, the reader would make the implicated conclusion that the candidate is promising to preach and maintain peace by supporting the campaign by Red Cross. Implicitly this association with the Red Cross agenda on peace would endear the citizens to vote for Peter Kenneth.

4.4 Analysis of Tweets on Corruption

Martha Karua’s main agenda was on corruption and impunity. There were seven tweets talking about this issue on Martha Karua’s twitter account. Apart from Raila Odinga she was the only one who addressed this agenda. Most of the tweets were explicit in addressing her ability to fight corruption. This is seen as an implicit pragmatic strategy that she uses to convince the citizens to vote for her. Her Tweets on corruption are relevant to the reader given the contextual assumptions available; For instance, 1) corruption is a big problem in Kenya (e.g. Anglo leasing scandal), 2) the need to vote for a candidate who can tackle the corruption issue 3) Martha’s track record of not being involved any corruption scandals. Using a path of least effort the reader would make an implicit conclusion that Martha Karua would be the best candidate to tackle corruption since she has never had any corruption charges levelled against her. Below are some examples.
Datum 33
Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 13 Feb 2013

The issues that ail us most impunity and corruption. Whose record show you can TRUST to combat them and implement constitution? Me

The utterances in the tweet above show that Martha was very confident in communicating her agenda on corruption. The logical form of the utterances do not require much pragmatic enrichment to derive the explicatures therein. The first utterance requires reference assignment of the pronoun ‘us’. The second utterance requires reference assignment of the pronoun ‘them’ and ‘me’. Thus the explicatures would be:

1st utterance; the issues that ail us (Kenyans) most are impunity and corruption.
2nd utterance; whose record show you (Kenyans) can TRUST to combat them and implement the constitution? Answer: Martha Karua

The reader does not use much effort to derive the implicatures in the above tweet. The contextual assumptions are easily available to the reader through the explicature; 1) the problem of corruption in Kenya 2) Martha’s clean track record on corruption 3) Karua being a contestant in the upcoming elections.

Following a path of least effort, the reader would derive the implicit conclusion that Martha Karua is asserting herself as the most suitable candidate to fight corruption because of her clean track record. A further implicature is that she is telling the reader or citizen to vote for her and not any other candidate.

Datum 34
Tweeter :(It is greed fueling government not to license another power distribution firm.)

Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 27 Feb 2013
@LyonCash let your vote sort that out vote me to fight corruption and impunity
The tweet is a response by Karua to concerned citizen. The utterance is relevant to this particular tweeter and indeed all Kenyan citizen since corruption is major problem in Kenya. The reader derives the explicators in the above utterance via reference assignment of the pronouns, ‘your’ and ‘me’. The hypothesized explicatures would be as follows:

1\textsuperscript{st} utterance- Let your vote (@Lyon cash/Kenyans) sort that out (licensing of another distribution firm)
2\textsuperscript{nd} utterance- vote for Martha Karua to fight corruption and impunity.

The contextual assumptions available to the reader would be: 1) that corruption is a big problem in Kenya 2) Martha Karua is a contesting candidate who has never had any corruption allegations.

The reader would in this case make a hypothesis about the implicate conclusion that since Martha Karua has a clean record by not having any corruption scandal, she should be the best candidate to fight corruption. This utterance would therefore implicitly persuade the target audience to vote for Karua.

**Datum 35**

\textbf{Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga} 16 Feb 2013

I restate my commitment in dealing with corruption, including closing the systemic, legal & institutional loopholes that foster the scourge

In order to recover the explicature in the above tweet, the reader needs to make inference through reference assignment of the pronouns ‘I’ and “my’ He or she also needs to know the kind of loopholes been described in the utterance using his or her background knowledge of the corruption menace in Kenya. The explicature would thus be:

Raila Odinga restates his commitment in dealing with corruption, including closing the systemic and institutional loopholes that foster the scourge.
The contextual assumptions available to the reader include, 1) knowledge about corruption been a major problem hindering economic development in Kenya 2) The need to elect a leader capable tackling the issue 3) There are various candidates contesting to be elected 4) Raila Odinga is one of the candidate competing to be elected.

Given the above assumptions the reader will use a path of least effort to derive the implicit conclusion that Odinga is telling him or her to vote for him due his commitment to fight corruption. Thus it can be seen that the candidate is using the corruption agenda to implicitly woo the citizens to vote for him. Whether the reader believes him or not is another issue but that would be the intended communication.

### 4.5 Analysis of Tweets on Economy

Odinga was the only candidate who addressed the issue of the economy. It is important to note that he makes the utterances at a time when inflation was at a high in Kenya causing the prices of most basic commodities to go up. The tweets were seen to implicitly woo the citizens to vote for the candidate as shown in the examples below.

**Datum 36**

**Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga** *6 Feb 2013*

#CORD will strengthen co-operatives & integrate rural production with the economy via infrastructure development & better markets

The reader is able to derive the expicature from the above tweet without using much processing effort. The use of the hashtag #CORD makes the contextual assumptions easily available to the reader. The hashtag was a campaign slogan for Raila Odinga’s coalition and thus shows the candidate intention to have the citizens to vote for him as he promises to improve the economy through infrastructure development. The utterance would be relevant to the reader given the background knowledge that agriculture is the backbone of Kenya’s economy 2) poor infrastructure especially in rural areas 3) low prices for farmers produce.
The implicated conclusion based on the above contextual assumptions would be that the reader should vote for Odinga in order to realise growth of the economy. This would be most relevant to farmers and is an implicit strategy by the candidate to have the citizens to vote for him.

Datum 37

Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga 19 Feb 2013

Our current monetary policy has not been effective in influencing economic growth & stabilizing the economy.

To arrive at the writers intended meaning the reader must make a hypothesis about the explicatures in the utterance. The logical form of the utterance requires assignment of the pronoun ‘our’ as well as free enrichment using background knowledge of Kenyans monetary policy at the time. The explicators would this be.

Kenyans current monetary policy has not been effective in influencing economic growth and stabilizing the economy.

The contextual assumptions available to the reader include, 1) knowledge about Kenya’s monetary policy at the time. For instance whereby small business startups could not easily secure bank loans. 2) Raila Odinga being one of the contestants in the 2013 Presidential elections.

The reader would then derive the implicated conclusion that the candidate is implicitly promising to better the economy by improving the monetary policy. This would then persuade the reader/target audience to vote for such a candidate.

4.6 Analysis of Tweets on Devolution

Again Only Raila Odinga’s tweets were found on the issue of Devolution. There were a total of three tweets on the issue. Following the adoption of the new constitution in 2010, Raila Odinga was at the forefront in advocating for the full implementation of the devolved system of
governance. He asserted himself as most capable of ensuring a devolved system of governance as can be seen from the tweets below.

Datum 38

**Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga16 Feb 2013**

I will ensure undiluted #devolution to redress the ills occasioned by years of poor governance & exclusion of citizens from decision making

The above tweet is quite explicit in expressing Odinga’s promise to ensure total devolution. The logical form requires reference assignment of the pronoun ‘I’ to refer to Raila Odinga. The use of the hashtag #devolution gives rise to some contextual assumptions in the readers mind. As devolution was a major issue addressed during the 2013 elections whereby Kenyans expressed the need to have more resources in control of the citizens by money been allocated to the county governments.

The reader would therefore derive the implicit conclusion that he or she should vote for Odinga in order to experience undiluted devolution as promised by the candidate.

Datum 39

**Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga18 Feb 2013**

#Devolution without resources is an empty shell. In addressing resource mobilization & financing

The above utterance is a logical form requiring pragmatic enrichment and conceptual adjustment of the phrase ‘empty shell’ via, free enrichment to arrive at the actual meaning of the utterance. The explication would thus be:

#Devolution without resources is an empty shell (useless)

The use of the hashtag (#Devolution) makes the contextual assumptions to be easily available to the reader using a path of least effort. The contexts include, 1) The issue of evolution as enshrined in the new constitution 2) Difficulty in implementing the Devolution by allocating resources to the country governments.
The reader would then make an implicated hypothesis about the implicated conclusion. In this case, Raila Odinga was highlighting the failure of the current regime in implementing devolution and implicitly suggesting that he would be better placed to do so. The citizens should therefore vote for him in order to realize meaningful devolution.

4.7 Analysis of Tweets on Change

Tweets most explicit on the change agenda were posted by Peter Kenneth. There were at least three tweets on the theme of change found in his account. Being a first timer in contesting for a presidential seat, it was possible that citizens would see Kenneth as being capable of bringing change to the country by bringing in fresh and new ideas on leadership and governance. His tweets on this agenda were quite explicit and the agenda on change was used as strategy to convince voters to vote for him as shown below.

Datum 40

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth 2 Mar 2013

For change to happen, we must be different and vote right. Make change happen. Vote Peter Kenneth

The above tweet contains a logical form that requires little pragmatic enrichment by the reader to arrive at the intended speaker meaning. The pronoun ‘we’ refers to the citizens of Kenya. The explicature would be as follows.

1st utterance-For change to happen, Kenyans must be different and vote right.
2nd utterance-Kenyans urged to make change happen.
3rd utterance-Kenyans urged to vote for Peter Kenneth.

The contextual assumptions available to the reader would be 1) The tendency for Kenyans to vote on tribal lines instead of candidate’s character 2) Contesting candidates who had not delivered in previous elections 3) Peter Kenneth being a new incumbent in the presidential race.
Given the above social-political contexts, the utterance by the candidate would be quite relevant and the reader would derive the implicated conclusion that Kenneth is telling his target audience to cease voting based on ethnicity and instead vote in terms of a candidate’s character. Since he is a contestant in the race a further implicature is that Kenyans should vote for him order to experience a transformed country.

Datum 41
Tweeter; Are we (Kenyans) so blinded by tribe that we cannot choose to be right and vote for Hon PK? He has our interests at heart! @peter_kenneth

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth8 Feb 2013
@MrChax we must be the change agents who make it happen

The above utterance by Peter Kenneth is logical form requiring pragmatic enrichment via reference assignment to fill in the missing information. The reader would thus derive the following explicatures.

Kenyans must be the change agents who make it happen. (By voting for Peter Kenneth)

The contextual assumptions available to the reader include 1) As expressed by the tweeter, the tendency for Kenyans to vote based on ethnicity 2) The need to vote differently for a leader with character 3) Peter Kenneth was a new incumbent in the presidential race.

From the above contextual assumptions the reader would find the utterance by Kenneth to be relevant. The candidate would therefore be asking the target audience not to vote on tribal lines but vote for the right candidate since Kenneth is also a contestant in the presidential race. He would be implicitly persuading his target audience to vote for him.
4.8 Analysis of tweets on Technology.

Uhuru Kenyatta mainly campaigned on the agenda of technology advancement. At least two tweets were found on his account addressing this agenda. Consider the example below.

Datum 42

**Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 16 Feb 2013**

The Jubilee Gov't will work with partners to provide solar powered laptops to every class one child in Kenya

The above utterance is a propositional template that requires little processing effort to arrive at the intended meaning. Through reference resolution of the concept “Jubilee government” the reader is able to derive the following explicature; The Jubilee Gov’t (Uhuru Kenyatta’s government) will work with partners to provide solar powered laptops to every class one child in Kenya

The above explicature gives rise to certain implicatures. Given the context of the Kenyan education system whereby primary resources such as teachers and classrooms are still insufficient such a promise would be quite exciting to every parent and child in Kenya. The promise to provide laptops to every class one child is quite ambitious and meant to excite Kenyans. The reader would therefore derive the implicated conclusion that he or she should vote for Uhuru Kenyatta in order to realize such a dream.

Datum 43

**Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta 8 Feb 2013**

The Jubilee Government will deliver a 21st Century Transport and Infrastructure System #Uchumi #Transport

To arrive at the writer’s intended meaning, the logical form does not require much pragmatic enrichment to arrive at the intended meaning. Free enrichment using the reader’s encyclopedic knowledge about 21st century kind of infrastructure is required to derive the explicature.
The use of the hashtags (#uchumi and #transport) makes the contextual assumptions available to the reader using a path of the least effort. The hashtags refer to familiar topics during the campaigns, given the poor state of most roads especially in the rural areas as well as traffic congestion in the urban areas.

The utterance would therefore be relevant to the target audience by providing a solution to the problem. The reader would derive the implicated solution conclusion that the reader promising to improve infrastructure if elected. The reader would therefore have a reason to vote for such a candidate.

4.9 Analysis of Social Interactive tweets
These were the most posted tweets. There were a total of 27 tweets on this theme from all the selected candidates. This is perhaps in line with the primary function of social media which is to connect and interact with other members on such platforms. The selected candidates therefore took to the twitter platform to create a level of closeness and familiarity with individual citizens. The frequent use of @ mentioning practices characterizes this function. A phenomenon which would be impossible on other mainstream media.

On the explicit level, the candidates were able to share about their feelings and experiences in life with the citizens on Twitter, they were also able to share content on campaign activities including pictures and videos of the same. Some like Peter Kenneth and Martha Karua went ahead to respond to individual concerns of the citizens on such platforms.

Implicitly, such one to one interactions led to a higher level of familiarity with the voters whereby in most cases the candidates were able to convince the citizens about their eligibility and capability to lead the country. The citizens were also able to show their solidarity with specific candidates by aligning themselves to their parties and assisting them to campaign as seen from the comments posted on the candidates twitter accounts.
Datum 44

Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 2 Mar 2013

At st Pauls ACK church Kiminji (makutano) Kirinyaga County at the consecration ceremony of the church by Rt Hon Bishop Joseph Kibucwa

The above tweet was posted by Martha Karua informing the citizens of her whereabouts. The utterance is quite explicit and does not require much if any pragmatic enrichment to arrive at the intended explicature.

The context available to the reader about religion invoked by Martha Karua attending church would lead the reader to derive the implicated conclusion that Karua is religious and therefore has moral standing to lead the country. It is also believed according to statistics that 80% of Kenyans are Christians. As such this utterance would be relevant to the reader and would implicitly convince the reader to vote for this candidate.

Datum 45

(@MarthaKarua: You have run a long and principled campaign. All the best and God bless you always.)

Martha Karua @MarthaKarua 3 Mar 2013

Thank you dear bless you “@bettymurungi

In the tweet above, Martha Karua is responding to one of her followers on Twitter, she appreciates the compliments given by the tweeter. The utterance by Karua is a logical form that requires pragmatic enrichment via reference assignment in deriving the explication. The explication would thus be:

Thank you dear (Betty) bless you
The readily accessible contextual assumptions for the reader using a path of least effort would be 1) Martha Karua is contesting for the presidential seat 2) Karua did not give handouts as bribery to get votes during her campaign unlike some other candidates.

Given the above contexts the reader is thus able to derive the implicated conclusion that Karua is thanking Betty for her kind compliments and agreeing that she had run a clean campaign, implicitly this kind of comment would give her a positive image as a person of integrity and could influence her target audience to vote for her.

Datum 46

**Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth15 Feb 2013**

Many thanks to the people of Tana River, Lamu and Kilifi Counties for the warm reception today. Tunawesmake!

The above tweet again contains a very explicit utterance that doesn’t require much inference on the reader’s part in order to arrive at the intended meaning. The candidate is merely thanking his supporters in the mentioned counties for their reception in the held rallies. The second utterance is a logical form containing the candidate’s campaign slogan meaning ‘we can make it ‘when translated to English. The explicature thus being; Tunawesmake-“Kenyans can make sure Peter Kenneth wins”

Implicitly by including all the people of Tana River, Lamu and Kilifi counties, the candidate intends to convince the undecided voters to vote for him to avoid been left out. The context here being that numbers have a lot to do with election outcomes and the tendency for citizens to align themselves to the seemingly winning side.
Datum 47
(@peter-Kenneth is too clean. The kind of leader Kenya needs)

Peter Kenneth @Peter_Kenneth25 Feb 2013
@karangi Thanks, I appreciate

Peter Kenneth responds to one of his supporters in the above tweet. The tweeter is commending the candidate for carrying out a clean campaign and Peter Kenneth’s tweet is an appreciation of the compliments. The tweet is quite explicit and only requires reference assignment to drive the explicature which is: Peter expressing appreciation.

The tweeter’s utterance gives the reader the contextual assumptions that enable him or her to arrive at the intended meaning of the utterance. The context being the Kenneth who is one of the presidential contestant had run a clean campaign unlike some of the other candidates who were allegedly giving handouts to bribe voters.

The reader would therefore make a hypothesis about the implicated conclusion. In this case the candidate is appreciating a positive comment from one of his followers and therefore agreeing that he indeed run a clean campaign. A further implicature for the target audience is that he would make a good leader since he is a man of integrity and that would be a good reason to vote for him.

Datum 48

Raila Odinga @RailaOdinga17 Feb 2013

Good Morning. I hope you all had a restful weekend. Wishing you a blessed week ahead.

The proposition template in the first utterance “Good morning” is a greeting. The second utterance “I hope you all had a restful weekend “ is a logical form whose explicature can be derived inferentially through reference assignment of the pronouns ‘I’ and the quantifier ‘all ’. The third utterance ‘wishing you a blessed week ahead is a logical form that can be
pragmatically enriched through reference assignment of the pronoun “you” to derive the following explicatures;

1\textsuperscript{st} utterance-Raila Odinga hopes that all Kenyans had a restful weekend.
2\textsuperscript{nd} utterance-Raila Odinga wishes Kenyans a blessed week ahead.

The implicated premise given the contextual assumption that 1) Raila is a contesting candidate in the upcoming elections 2) interactive function of twitter platform, the reader would be led to conclude using a path of least effort that the candidate is very social and mindful of the people’s wellbeing. A great leader is known by his or her ability to interact with people he leads and as such this would be an implicitly woo the people to vote for him.

**Datum 49**

**Uhuru Kenyatta @UKenyatta1 Mar 2013**

*Kapkatet is all Jubilee. Thank You. Let's make this a first round win. God Bless you all.*

The linguistic elements encoded in the above utterance do not require a lot of processing effort in deriving the intended meaning. The explicatures are arrived through conceptual adjustment and reference assignment, as follows.

1\textsuperscript{st} utterance-Kapsabet is all Jubilee (The people of Kapsabet support Jubilee)
2\textsuperscript{nd} utterance-Thank you (people of Kapsabet)
3\textsuperscript{rd} utterance-Let’s (kenyans) make this (election) a first round win.
4\textsuperscript{th} utterance-God bless you all. (The people of Kapsabet)

The explicatures help to derive the implicated premise using context of 1) Kenyatta being a contestant in the upcoming presidential elections 2) The ongoing campaigns by various candidates across the country.

As such, the reader would derive the implicated conclusion that the candidate is asserting himself as a popular candidate in the region and that the target audience should vote for Jubilee
to avoid being left out. It is therefore an implicit strategy by the candidate to woo the citizens to vote for him.

4.10 Discussion of findings
This study sought to explore the pragmatic strategies employed on Twitter by selected politicians during the 2013 Kenyan presidential elections. It also investigated how access to the message contained in the tweets was enhanced by the situational context of the utterances by the said presidential candidates. The study was guided by the following objectives: To determine the pragmatic strategies employed by selected Kenyan politicians on Twitter during the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaigns, To explore the communicative intention of the identified pragmatic strategies in the said utterances, To establish the role of context in enhancing communicative intention in the analyzed utterances and to account for this factor using the principles of relevance theory.

4.11 Explicit and Implicit strategies
The analysis of the explications and implicatives of utterances on Twitter by selected candidates sought to explore the intended communication of the tweets found in the politicians Twitter accounts. Most of the politician’s utterances on Twitter communicated at a high level degree of explicitness. It was observed that social interactive tweets and the tweets on the agenda of voting and peace were the most explicit in passing the speakers intended messages.

This finding can be accounted to the fact that the citizens expected the politicians to address such agenda. For instance in communicating with the citizens during election campaigns, the politician’s main aim is to persuade the citizens to take action and vote for the candidate in question. It would then follow that such messages would be explicitly stated. The 2013 Kenyan presidential elections were also hotly contested this and as such the various candidates had to be very aggressive in stating their plea for votes. Examples include datum 17 and 20.

The agenda on peace was also expected following the skirmishes of the 2007/2008 elections whereby some key leaders were accused of inciting their supporters to engage in violence after the election outcome. The candidates pleaded with the citizens to maintain peace before and after
the elections. There was a lot of pressure from various organizations like Ushahidi.com which took to monitor hate speech on social media. As such none of the candidates would have wanted to be implicated as that would cause the citizens to discredit them. Addressing the agenda of peace therefore put the candidates in a positive light and endeared them to the general public. The tweets in datum 26 and 28 exemplify this.

Some candidates were observed to be very explicit in addressing certain agenda, for instance Martha Karua assertively addressed the issue of corruption and impunity given her clean track record on the same. She had never been implicated in any corruption scandal especially when in office as minister for Justice. As such she stated her commitment to get rid of the corruption menace. This would contribute to her confidence and thus her explicitness on the issue of corruption. Consider the tweets in datum 33 and 34.

**Conclusion**

In this chapter we have carried out a thorough analysis of presidential candidates’ tweets using the principles of Relevance theory to find out the implicit and explicit pragmatic strategies employed by the selected candidates in communicating their agenda. There is no doubt that social media platforms have more to offer than purposeless interactions and entertainment. Social media networks have been embraced by Kenyan politicians as a platform to reach out to voters during election campaigns. On such platforms like twitter they use language tactfully in both implicit and explicit ways to persuade the citizens to agree with their positions on various issues. These pragmatic strategies are meant to influence the citizens to take action vote for the contesting candidates.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction
In the previous chapter, we carried out a thorough analysis of the presidential candidates’ tweets using the framework of Relevance theory. The candidates’ utterances were interpreted against various context in order to derive the speaker’s intended meaning. In this chapter a summary of the findings of the study is given as well as conclusions and recommendations for further studies.

5.2 Summary
In this study political discourse on Twitter by selected candidates during the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaigns was analyzed from a relevance-theoretic perspective. Political discourse was theorized as a strategic use of language with ideological implications as politicians have the power to influence how their target audience understands events and situations in the world as well as the candidates’ goals and aspirations.

The study described the selected candidates’ tweets and classified them according to the prevailing themes which were applicable in distinguishing the candidates’ tweets. The themes identified were: voting, peace, corruption, economy, technology, change as well as social interactive tweets.

The study also examined how politicians’ utterances on Twitter can be analyzed using the framework of relevance theory. This included the derivation of the explicatures and implicatures using relevance theoretic principles in order to arrive at a candidate’s intended meaning. The study also dealt with making hypotheses about various contextual assumptions that enhanced the communicative intention of the candidates’ utterances.
5.3 Conclusions
The study was based on a relevance-theoretic analysis of political discourse in Kenyan social media during the 2013 presidential campaigns. We established that the selected candidates used both direct and indirect pragmatic strategies to communicate various agenda to the citizens. On one hand it was found that social interactive tweets and the tweets on the agenda of voting and peace were the most explicit in passing the speakers intended messages, they contained appeals to the citizens to vote for the candidates as well as pleas to maintain peace before and after the elections. The social interactive tweets contained messages of appreciation to the citizens as well as religious references meant to motivate the citizens to continue in their support for the candidate in question.

On the other hand it was found that the tweets on the agenda of change, devolution, and economy were stated rather implicitly. The candidates employed indirect criticisms of the regime of the day in order to discredit it and create the need for new leadership. We also found that the main intention of the candidates’ utterances whether implicitly or explicitly conveyed was to persuade their target audience to take action and vote for the candidate in question on the election day. In our examination of context, we established that context contributed to the enhancement of communicative intention of the explicit and implicit pragmatic strategies identified in the candidates’ utterances. Some of the contexts included: social-political context, use of @ mentioning practices and hashtags as well as the reader’s encyclopedic knowledge. We also established that relevance theory is suitable for the analysis political discourse on Twitter. The theory may therefore be useful in analyzing political discourse on other social media platforms.

5.4 Recommendations for Further studies
This study explored the pragmatics of the utterances made on Twitter by selected candidates during the 2013 Kenyan presidential elections. Further work on political discourse on social media can be conducted to investigate identity formation processes of individuals and groups on such platforms. Furthermore a researcher may carry out a critical discourse analysis of political utterances on social media platforms like Twitter.
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