

**^ POLITICS OF IDENTITY AND IDEOLOGY, POLITICAL
ORATORY OF RAILA ODINGA AND THE MANIFESTO OF THE
ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT, (ODM) //**

BY

/ JONYO SILAS OTIENO

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signed: _____ Date: 2_0| 2.

JONYO SILAS OTIENO

C50/65051/2010

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

Signed:— Date: _____ J

PROF. HABWE JOHN

(Supervisor)

Signed:  Date: 14/11/2 <PI A

DR. SCHROEDER HELGA

(Supervisor)

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, Jeremiah Jonyo (posthumous) and Mary Aoko, who showed me school at an early age. It would have been a no journey if you didn't expose me to the realities of the fruits of education through persuasion, correct guidance, sacrifice and leadership.

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ABSTRACT

The present study was determined to show how power relations, the notion of identity and the notion of ideology and how they are manifest in the written political speeches of Raila Odinga. In particular, the notion of identity was examined in the frontier of how the change in the roles of the tenor, in this case the speaker and other participants automatically determine the type of identity that he speaker seeks to cast to his audience for the purposes of textual and contextual relevance in time and space. The concept of ideology on the other hand is expressed as 'common sense' through opaque discursive relationships that outline the ideas and beliefs of the speaker which are context dependent and mostly persuasive.

The approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis proposed by Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Teun Vandjik among others informed the theoretical frameworks of this study. The approach of CDA proposes that language should be studied as a social practice, where, the use of language is directed by the objectives of the discursive events hence the dynamism with which the re-introduction of similar concepts can adopt new strategies in different environments through re-contextualization as a recourse of text reproduction. Specifically, it proposes that Linguistics should be integrated into the daily experiences and challenges of social life particularly the role that is played by language in shaping social relationships.

The general framework of the study is outlined in chapter one in the introduction, statement of the problem, the objectives and the hypotheses guiding this study, theoretical

approach used, the methods of data collection and, review of the existing literature and the rationale of the study.

In chapter two, the elaborate theoretical concepts of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) adapted in this study is discussed at length. The key terms and definitions used in this study are also outlined in this chapter. The main arguments in this study are outlined in chapter three and four. Chapter three focuses on the notion of identity as is expressed by the subject of this (Raila Odinga) study within time and space. In chapter four, the notion of ideology is discussed as it is manifested in the texts. Research findings and the proposals for further research are outlined in chapter five. The major findings of this study were: Raila Odinga uses the pronominal, the anaphor, and the cataphor as forms of identity in his political speeches. Secondly, as a stylistic strategy, Raila Odinga uses the emotive language and marked terminology in his speeches to create the binary oppositions that define the in-groups and the out-groups in social discourses. And lastly, power relations are embedded in ideology and identity as marks of dominance, discrimination and abuse in the societal structures.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

The notion of power relations is a key component in the area of critical linguistics. The fact that the discursive differences which are manifest in the existing public spaces are negotiated and mediated through texts is not in contention, except the question that arises quite often is how language contributes in texts to achieve this purpose. Norman Fairclough (1989:2003) claims that "language is simultaneously constitutive of social identities [sets] social relations and shapes systems of knowledge and beliefs by forming ideologies that inform the texture and the contexts] of discourses".

In this study, the discursive strategies used by Raila Odinga in his written political speeches will be analyzed to determine the extent to which, they (texts) highlight the social identities, power relations and, the notion of ideology formation through conceptualized attitudes. The main focus will be to determine how the linguistic choices made by Raila Odinga in respect to lexicogrammatical units and rhetorical tropes are used in his political texts with an aim to achieve certain discursive effects in the point of view of the speaker.

The notions of power and identity are dependent on the ideological concepts adopted by the speakers. Ideology essentially deals with the acquisition of mental structures through presentation about political situations, events, actors and groups of persons through beliefs and attitudes engineered by common 'sense'. Thomas and Waering(1999:207) for example argue that, "Political information processing is a form of discourse processing that is dependent on both text and context....it is possible to regard our understanding of reality as entirely mediated

by language and the system of signs available to us". These arguments enable me to conclude that, when a text is biased or 'objective' on a particular subject, concerning a particular group of people, say, teachers or the teaching profession. Those attitudinal biases that arise from such texts may reflect into personal or group beliefs about teachers and or the teaching profession. Those beliefs may extend to be shared by a larger group portraying teaching as the lowest financially rewarding profession hence the idea that not many people willfully offer themselves to the teaching profession.

Now, on identity, the ideas of Halliday (1978:143), through his system of functional grammar outlines the role of participants that explore the social context of a text. He says that the relationship between actors allow for meaning[s] to be exchanged through the use of semiotics and meta functional roles that language plays in patterning a discourse.

On matters of identity, there is a struggle for positive representation of self as an individual or a group of people who share common salient characteristics considered as the 'norm' against those considered as ' outsiders' in every context that define those identities. Language is hence used to emphasize or deemphasize the emerging identity peculiarities that keep on changing within time and space, where the use of marked terminology that creates binary oppositions between 'us' and 'them' and, or the use of negative labeling can be evident as a recourse of text production and promulgation.

According to the principles of CDA, identity issues can be even defined in the existing hierarchical structures as well as at the national or international levels.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The present study seeks to determine the extent to which the written speeches of Raila Odinga express power relations in terms of the social hierarchical structures that define the social identities within the existing public spaces. The study will analyze how texts are used as sites for negotiating and mediating the discursive differences that emerge in the struggling interpersonal relationships in the societal structures informed by the discourse modes and styles of Raila Odinga through his written political speeches.

Norman Fairclough (1995:46) claims that language is simultaneously constitutive of social identities, social relations, systems of knowledge and beliefs.

Aoko (2008), examined the relationship between power and language in the gender perspective, in regard to how language has been used to discriminate, disregard and incapacitate women. Her ideas largely borrow from Wodak (1997) who looks at the notion of power and societal relations in the gender perspective as opposed to the heterogeneous discursive environments that are elicited by political discourses. The investigation was based on the texts of Oyunga Pala's *man Talk*. She further used the relevance theory as proposed by Speber and Wilson to advance her arguments. Even though this study would be quite beneficial in outlining some of the key aspects that feature quite often in the study of discourse, the homogeneity that it entails, in terms of looking at only one aspect of gender, the female of course limits the study to one particular group of people who share some common salient discursive characteristics.

Habwe (1991), on the other hand, analyzed the Kiswahili political speeches. In his analyses, he observed that there is a deliberate choice of language by politicians used in their political speeches to manipulate the audience[s] into their [viewpoints]. First; his theoretical approach was quite eclectic, in that both the Gricean theory of relevance and that of conversational analyses. Secondly, these important observations made by Habwe, fell short of determining whether the 'deliberateness' of the lexico-grammatical choices made by politicians he observed were actually with a view to deciphering ideology, or if those choices indeed encoded power relations or contained any marked terminology that can be used to discriminate, accommodate or redefine the social relationships in terms of identities that exist in the societal hierarchical structures through the use of language and constrained by context or genre.

This wide gap observed in the study of Habwe offers a window to reexamine how the lexico-semantic choices made by politicians indeed advance the notions of power, identity and ideology. Hence the linguistic choices made by Raila Odinga in his written political speeches will be analyzed to determine the extent to which they contain marked terminology that portray 'inclusiveness 'or 'exclusiveness' that define the social relationships.

With this background, the claims of Raila Odinga's democratic credentials that are actually expressed through language will be examined, to analyze whether or not, their strategic positioning in texts as forms of positive presentation both of himself and that of the Orange Democratic Movement are aimed for identity or ideological effects.

1.2 Objectives

This section will outline the aims and objectives of this study. The objectives of the study will raise the specific questions being asked in the study, the corresponding hypotheses will provide the tentative answers to the questions being raised.

This study focused on the following objectives:

- To analyze the notion of identity using the pronominal, the anaphora and the cataphor in the speeches of Raila Odinga.
- To analyze the extent to which the lexical choices, through the use of emotive language, marked terminology and the metaphors contribute to ideology formation in the speeches of Raila Odinga.
- To investigate if power relations is embedded and or manifest in identity and ideology.

1.2.1 Hypotheses

The study sought to test the following hypotheses:

- Raila Odinga uses the pronominal, the anaphor and the cataphor as forms of identity in his political speeches.
- The lexical choices made By Raila Odinga, through the use of emotive language and marked terminology in the speeches of Raila Odinga contribute to ideology formation.
- Power relations are manifest through identity and ideology.

13 Theoretical Framework

The study adopts the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the power relations informed by politics of identity and ideology based on the speeches of Raila Odinga. The existing literature in the domain of CDA associates linguists like Teun Vandjik, Ruth Wodak, Norman Fairclough and many others, whose views are directly quoted from them or quoted in other peoples works.

Norman Fairclough (1995:132) who is one of the founders of the theory, as quoted in Locke, (2004) have described it as aiming [as]...

"to systematically explore often opaque relationships of casualty and determination between discursive practices, events and texts, and, to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by power relations" (P 1).

Why critical and analytical?

Locke (2004) summarizes the concepts of CDA in the following words:

The approach is critical because the central outcome of the analysis is to enable a consideration of social effects of the meanings as the recipient of the discourse is called upon to subscribe to it in the act of reading and the [manipulation] of meaning that can be reconstructed. Analytical because a detailed and systematic examination of particular subjects, [the speeches of Raila Odinga], with a view to arriving at one or more underlying principles (P: 9)

George Orwell and Teun Vandjik on the other hand contribute vastly to the domain of political discourse as other scholars in this subject area have vastly quoted them. Vandjik (2009) quoted in Ola (2011) observes the following:

Beyond description of superficial application, critical science in each domain ask further

questions...instead of focusing on academic or theoretical problems, it starts from social prevailing problems and thereby chooses the perspectives of those who suffer most and critically analyzes those in power, those who are responsible and those whom have the means and opportunity to solve those problems (P: 4).

Now, the ideas of the above scholars of CDA are consistent with the functions of the arising discursive practices that arise in the social structures enabling language to act as the ideological and power links between the discourse models adopted by the speakers and their communicative objectives constrained by context hence enabling language to be studied as a social practice. See also Ostman (2011:56-7).

1.4.0 Methodology

This section will talk about the methodology. It will include the description of the data design, the data collection processes and the techniques that will be used for the data analyses.

1.4.1 Data Design

The selected written speeches of Raila Odinga and the manifesto[s] of the orange democratic movement ODM were analyzed. Many speeches by Raila Odinga were selected purposively to isolate those features I was interested in, in the study. I intended to come up with ten speeches delivered in different contexts and audiences. This implies that the study included some field work to actually elicit data and later confined itself to library research where material on discourse and discourse analysis was researched.

1.4.2 Data Collection

The written speeches and the manifestos will be collected from the orange house and the office of the prime minister directly. Where necessary, the websites connected with the operations of the office of the Prime Minister will provide additional relevant information.

1.4.3 Data Analysis

I will use the gathered information from the field, i.e., the selected speeches of Raila Odinga will be subjected to the methods of data analyses proposed by the theory of CDA. The manifesto of ODM will also be looked at with a view to examine the extent that the ideological positions] advanced by the manifesto and that of Raila Odinga as a person are embedded in the discourses of the manifesto and those of his political speeches. The specific linguistic areas such as the argumentation structures, the use the pronominal, anaphors, cataphors and vocabulary choices used in the speeches of Raila Odinga will be analyzed to determine the extent to which they are manifested in his discourse[s] by the means of rhetoric.

The analyses will then produce the outcomes that will enable me to arrive at the conclusions.

1.5 Rationale of the Study

This study is deemed important because the notions of power relations, ideology and identity are illuminated in language to the extent that some of the participants engaged in discourses do not even know they exist. Others use them intuitively as speech acts whereas some people have learnt to deliberately use them to achieve some discursive objectives, and of course the latter is exploited in the genre of political speeches for ideological reasons.

I'm therefore carrying out the study to enlighten the readers that, speakers actually intend for more meaning that is expressed beyond the words they speak. Political speeches may not be entirely dependent on the creativity of the speaker as most of them are reconstructed through intertextuality and recontextualization where meanings or meaning potentials may be reproduced depending on context. The study therefore seeks to link language and reality in terms of how language is used to exercise power relations, decipher ideology and how it is used to define opaque and transparent relationships that exist in the hierarchical social structures through discourses or texts.

1.6. Literature review

I have decided to divide this section into two parts to enable me to examine the previous literature that provided me with the insights to undertake this study. This is important to me because the previous literature actually provided me with the relevant information on what had been previously studied, what was ignored and the recommendations offered by various scholars before me. Thus, the first section will look at the studies carried out in discourse before this study was carried out thereafter I will explore the existing literature based on the theoretical framework according to the principles of CDA.

1.6.1 Review of the previous literature on political speeches and studies related to CDA

Habwe (1991) defines a political speech as a monolithic text whose purpose is to advance matters related to the running of the state either directly or indirectly. The competing political discourses depend on the political environment and tenor. This definition may be controversial or inadequate altogether since the dictionary and contextual definitions of the words 'political' and speech may allude to more meaning not only constrained by the running of state affairs as

Habwe puts it, however for the purposes of this project, it will serve my purposes objectively and adequately.

He took a pragmatic approach to examine the unprepared political speeches based on the Grice's theory. He examined to a great extent the use of figurative language, which in this study are referred to as rhetorical tropes, hence the study of metaphors, rhetorical questions as they were used by different politicians in un prepared political texts were subjected to scrutiny.

In his thesis, Habwe further Observes that, besides power relating with the people, directly and immediately, it also displays a complex language matrix on which politicians depend on [to persuade, command, threaten bargain, impose and reason. This study is beneficial to my study because first, it steers clear from the basic concepts of CDA and this gives me the opportunity to look at the political speeches from a completely different point of view. Secondly, the texts looked by Habwe were speeches which were unprepared before their time of delivery, this again offers a new opportunity to look at the written political texts. And lastly, the most important components of political discourse such as power and ideology which were barely mentioned but not studied by Habwe will be looked at.

Aoko (2008), examined the relationship between power and language in the gender perspective, in regard to how language has been used to discriminate, disregard and incapacitate women. Her ideas largely borrow from Wodak (1997) who looks at the notion of power and societal relations in the gender perspective. The investigation was based on the texts of Oyunga Pala's man Talk.

Whereas Aoko looks at the power relations in the gender perspective, and how language is used to oppress and discriminate women, this study will look the notion of power, ideology and

identity in the political context, and specifically how these notions are manifested in the speeches of Raila Odinga. The study by Aoko is a good starting point because, gender also contributes in power relations and identity issues in the political discourse. The recurrent mention of power relations by Habwe and Aoko, in different viewpoints offers a new window of opportunity towards pursuing further research on it.

Earlier on, some important precursory studies had been done. Karanja (1993) for example, analyzed the observable conversation patterns based on the programs of the Kenya broadcasting cooperation (KBC). This descriptive study looked at the salient features of language through conversational analyses. Conversational analysis is a key area in the areas of pragmatics and sociolinguistics which are both related to critical discourse analysis.

Kiai (1996) on the other hand analyzed the radio educational programs to look at how the scientific register is adapted to suit the local languages. In her study, more attention is given to the lexical and stylistics. Kiai takes a pragmatic Grice's model to analyze her data.

The notion of ideology was looked at by Mbugua's (1997). He looked at the Kenyan political discourse in typological and ideological perspectives. This study offers the closest link to the present study in the notion of ideology since; it investigates written text vs. the editorials, in terms of their stylistic and ideological leanings. Mbugua's observations, though are in the perspective of media discourse, will give a positive bearing to the present study because I will be looking at written texts of Raila Odinga where the notion of power, ideology and identity come into play through language. Mbugua's work was based on the theory of CDA.

It is in order to appreciate the immense contributions made in the mentioned studies; however I wish to also point out that each one of them had its unique limitation. Habwe for example dwells on the deliberate lexical choices made by politicians in the unprepared speeches.

Aoko looked at the power relations and barely mentions the notions of power and identity on the surface and falls short of engaging the readers on how these notions are actually used to define the social relationships in the different contexts.

Her discussions were limited to Oyunga Pala's Man Talk, a column of The Daily Nation. It is therefore possible to delineate her study from the present one because, unlike in Aoko's study, more audiences will form the participants not limited to only one social variable of gender as in Aoko's case, rather the complex discursive issues of social class, societal minorities and age group will be looked at.

In this study, however, the participants' regime is expanded to accommodate the ever changing audiences of Raila Odinga and this will enable me to trace his discursive strategies used in different public spaces and contexts.

1.6.2 Review of literature on the theoretical framework

This study was informed by the principles of Critical Linguistics (CL) or Presently Critical Discourse Analysis CDA. The approach in this study is referred to as CDA henceforth. In that case, I have looked at some of the existing literature that are closely related to the variables under investigation namely; power, ideology and identity.

Norman Fairclough and Wodak (2008), as quoted in Ola (2011:51) describe CDA in the following words...'discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned...constitutes situations objects of knowledge, the social relationships between people and groups of people. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power.

Discursive practices may have major ideological effects-that is, they can produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, ethnic and cultural minorities and majorities through the ways in which they represent things and people'. Since power is about differences in social relations, there is competition of discourses in various public spaces through contextualization and recontextualization. Iedema and Mutngil et al (2003) quoted in Ola (2011:52).

Wodak (1997) on the other hand, examines the power relations in relation to gender where she looks at the cross gender communications and attributes the differences that are evident in the communication between men and women to cross cultural differences. She explains the conceptualization of power in the following words: 'the magnitude of the concept of power inhibits the ability of any one person or research field to fully capture its essence or to describe all of its manifestations...specifically in studying power as used against women she also explains the difficulty:

Male dominance has become naturalized in the institutions of power, rather than necessarily seen as expression through overt dominance behaviors'. Herrmann, quoted in Ola (2011:53) claims that: 'language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power insofar as the legitimizations of power relations... are not articulated... language is also ideological'. (p37).

Terry Locke (2004:25) argues in his critical theory and qualitative research by describing them as 'risky' attempts in identifying the commonality among the proponents of the critical theory, however, in his observation, he makes the following claims towards power in the following words: 'that although it is fundamentally mediated by power relations that are social and historically situated...,the relationship between concept and object and between signifier and the signified is never stable or fixed and is often mediated by social relations of capitalist production and consumption'.

These ideas largely contradict those of Halliday who posits that, texts are dependent on the social semiotics alone as sites of exchanging meaning.

For example, on identity the ideas of Halliday (1998:143), through his system of functional grammar outlines the role of participants that explores the social context of a text that allows for meaning to be exchanged through the use of semiotics and meta functional roles that language plays in patterning a discourse. He categorizes the context schemata in the following terms: the field of the discourse as the field of interaction, the tenor as the participants involved and the mode as the method of delivery. The Meta functional components of language are interconnected i.e., language lends structure to experience through the ideational function that defines the relationship between experience and logic; the interpersonal function that defines the role of the participants and the textual function that accounts for coherence and cohesion in texts. Coherence and cohesion are not however devoid of the syntactic and grammatical units. Bosch (1983), for example argues that the relationship between the pronominal and the nominal, i.e. proper nouns and or reflexive nouns or pronouns [used for identity purposes] must generate coreferential semantic logic expressed by anaphors and cataphors.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

This study will limit itself to the written speeches of Raila Odinga. Only some selected speeches of Raila Odinga will be analyzed to determine the extent of claims made by the theory of CDA in relation to power, ideology and identity about how language contributes to their formation, promulgation and execution in the political discourses.

The domain of political discourse is wide and varied. For example, the study of political cognition focuses on the various aspects of political information processing in terms of the acquisition, uses and structures of mental representations about political situations and participants, Vandjik (2007).

The notion of power relations and ideology formation are topics of interest in the fields of political science and sociology. In this study, however, my major concern will be to determine the extent to which language contributes in shaping power relations, cutting identity and forming ideology in regard to the lexico-grammatical choices and argumentative strategies adopted by Raila Odinga in his political speeches.

The critical domains of political discourse are wide. Parliamentary debates and even political interviews could as well give the same information, except in both of them, unlike the speeches; both actors are active in engaging each other in asking and or answering questions.

In that regard, I will not look at the utterances used by Raila Odinga in the context of parliamentary debates nor the radio and television interviews where I believe he has immensely contributed as a politician. On the other hand, the political oratory seems to be a complicated affair to describe, because, whether written or not, the mode of delivery still stands to be oral,

except what brings out the difference between the two textual modes them could be the idea that one is actually prepared and stored in some form of written 'text' prior to its delivery, whereas the other is a largely spontaneous affair as observed by Habwe (1991).

CHAPTER TWO

In this chapter, I'm going to elaborate more on the theoretical framework of the critical discourse analysis. I think the best starting point would be to attempt to define some of the key terms and concepts that will be encountered throughout this study and entrench my view on what the previous scholars have already discussed. The definitions and understanding of the said concepts may be in contention with the common knowledge of other fields of study that may share them, however for the purposes of this study, I will treat the meaning[s] of those concepts and definitions just as they are understood in the view of Critical Discourse Analysis.

2.0 Critical Discourse Analysis

This part is going to explain some key terminologies that are used in the study of CDA. The definitions are going to explain the concepts and the proposals made by various scholars of critical linguistics so as to enable use navigate through this study with clear focus and clarity of the terminology used and the concepts that they are intended to explain.

2.1 Some important definitions

The following section highlights the definition of the major terms on the theoretical framework.

2.1.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

The term critical discourse analysis has been defined using different terminologies. The term has been used interchangeably with Critical Linguistics (CL). In recent studies however, the term Critical Discourse Analysis CDA is preferred to the latter. Jan Ola-Ostman (2011:31) views the theory as a research program which is definable by separately describing the terms 'critical' and

'discourse'. Quoting Michael Billing, Ola says that the approach is multifarious that is derived from different theoretical backgrounds, and, also rely on different grammatical approaches.

The roots of CDA lie on the classical rhetoric, text linguistics and sociolinguistics as well as applied linguistics and pragmatics.

Fairclough, Wodak and Benke (2000) argue that CDA sees language as a social practice. They summarize the theory in the following words.

CDA sees discourse-language use in speech writing-as a form of social practice. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event shapes it and it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned [and]...since discourse is socially consequential; it gives rise to issues of power. Discursive events have serious ideological effects-they help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between, say social classes, women and men, ethnic and cultural majorities and minorities through the ways they position things and people. (p54).

The term 'discourse' is used differently by different researches and also in different academic cultures. In the English speaking world for example, the term discourse is used for both spoken and written texts. The program closely refers to the term 'critical' which derives from the term 'critique' that is used in a broader sense to denote the 'social and political' engagement.

2.1.2 Text

Halliday and Hassan quoted in Locke (2004) defines a text as follows:

A text is a language that is functional...that is doing some job in some context as opposed to isolated words in sentences. On one hand, a text is a product, produced in a particular time and place, a material artifact that can be described and analyzed. On the other hand it is a [continuous] process of semantic choices, a

movement through the network of meaning potential, with each set of choices the environment for a another set.(p 14).

Those views of Halliday and Hassan are opposed by Norman Fairclough (1995), who says that representation of the text to be only written'. These positions have been contested by other scholars who posit that the spoken discourse too constitutes a text. Texts are considered as having communication function and principles of cohesion, coherence as the key characteristics (Crystal 2003).

In discourse analysis, the analyses of texts include the analyses of the texture of texts rather than their surface configurations. Reality consists of meanings, and, the fact that meanings are essentially indeterminate and unbounded is what gives rise to the changes in the discursive strategies employed by the speakers in different contexts within time and space.

2.1.3 Context

According to Mc Arthur, T. and Mc Arthur, F. (1992:259), "Context is a Latin word (*contexts*) which means woven together in the social and cultural environment of an element of language, an action or behavior...." The definition of context however, can further be pegged on the views of Halliday who argues that the context of a text which allows for meaning to be exchanged is premised on the trends of the social semiotics. His arguments are based on the systematic functional grammar which exploits the use of semiotics to define the level of a discourse as ideational, which is further divided into experiential and logical, the interpersonal and the textual level.

He further uses this model to define the participants in discourse as tenor, the genre of discourse as field and the mode of delivery as either written or oral-both described as texts. Hence these trends clearly outline the role of the actors in a discourse which is of course determined by context. Context itself then, determines the choice of language to be used in a discourse.

Halliday thus makes emphasis pointing out that context situation needs to be known in order to predict the linguistic features that are likely to be associated with it. He developed a contextual schemata based on the three headings i.e., the field of discourse, the tenor (participants) and the mode (channel) of communication adopted in written or oral.

2.1.4 Coherence

Coherence is a concept that defines the configurations of concepts and related principles. It includes the grammatical and semantic patterns that connect the various parts of the discourses into structured and meaningful wholes. Teun Vandjik (1998:8) observes that:

Discourse is not just a set of sentences, but an ordered sequence, with conventional constraints on the possible orderings if it is to be meaningful and it is to represent certain fact structures... (p8). Cohesive links are part of what stitches a text like the threads that tie the language, (ibid). Gee (1996) on the other hand argues that the devices that enhance cohesion include conjunctions, pronouns, demonstratives, ellipsis, various adverbs, repeated word and phrases. Cohesion signals determine the level of argumentation for example; conjunctions signal subordinations and coordination between the clausal levels by showing their relationships in a discursive event, auxiliaries determine the tenor (the participants) in a discourse i.e. if the form 'is/are', 'going to' or more conditional 'may' are used to signal into different nuances. The repetition suggests conviction (a tone of authority) as opposed to tentativeness (p8).

In CDA, coherence is one of the aspects of a text that links it to a wider context and should be investigated for its role in relaying social imbalances.

Vandjik (2005:11) observes that 'a text can be coherent if the paragraphs therein or the whole text is consistent with the topic [under discussion], the theme or the subject. It is therefore the macro structures of discourse that defines the global coherence of texts since the topic of the sentence[s] might be appropriately connected according to a given local coherence criteria, but the sequence will not cohere without consistency in the topic of the discourse.

2.1.5 Cohesion

In all languages, words have to be patterned according to the principles and parameters of that language in order to convey meaning. In that regard, cohesion is concerned with the clausal relationships to enable a text qualify as a text. Cohesive relations within a text are exhibited where the interpretation of some elements in the discourse is dependent in that of another. One presupposes the other in that it cannot effectively be decoded except by recourse to it

Halliday and Hassan (1976) observe that cohesive relationships within and between sentences are what actually determine the existence of texture in a text. Halliday especially argues that 'the textual structure both thematic and informational, and cohesion-are what distinguish text from non-text'. It is not possible to meet non-text in real life, though one can construct it for illustrative purposes.

Halliday (1976:136) further argues that 'a text is not something that is achieved by superimposing an appropriate text form from the existing ideational component. The textual component however, is a component of meaning along with the ideational and interpersonal components.'

2.1.6 Intertextuality

Norman Fairclough quoted in James Paul Gee (2009:47) has the following to say about Intertextuality .That it is "basically a property that texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo and so forth .

This claim made by Fairclough offers an insight to construe that a text cannot work in isolation but they borrow from other texts through quotations, paraphrases, summaries and allusions among others.

In Critical Linguistics, the term is associated with the French structuralist, Julia Kristeva, who regards texts as an intertext in succession of texts already existing or yet to be written.

She argues that the texts may be connected with citations or allusions...thus Intertextuality assumes that as well as making its own unique reference, every text contain latent semiotic links with others[allusions, quotations ,citations ,paraphrases or summaries].

Gee (2001:46) further explains that "sometimes, texts whether spoken or written, will accomplish a sort of switching by incorporating or rather 'borrowing' words from other texts - written or spoken, in the same or different variety of language".

2.1.7 Recontextualization

Recontextualization can be defined as a process that extracts texts, signs and meanings from its original meaning, also referred to as decontextualization- in order to introduce it into another context. Since meaning and signs of texts depend on their context, recontextualization implies change of meaning and often of the communicative purpose too.

Linel (1998) proposes three levels or recontextualization in the following descriptions.

- Intratextuality that refers to what have been said before or anticipates what is to be said.
- Intertextual recontextualization outlines the relationships to specific texts, discourses or conversations. It is an important aspect of texts in that they explicitly or implicitly fetch elements from other texts and;
- Interdiscursive recontextualization outlines the relationships between discourses and genres. Norman Fairclough argues that chains of genres are closely connected to the Interdiscursive. Chains of genres denote how genres depend on each other's discursive material, for example, the relation between interviews, transcriptions and analysis.

2.1.8 Language and power.

Cameron et al (1992:89) observes thus: 'the traditional notions of power have posited an economic view or concepts. In some circumstances, the notion of power is related to politics where power is used to exercise control and dominance in the societal structures. The notion of power can be legitimized through various means, either democratically or through the use of force.'

The notion of power is thus important to the critical linguists because they appreciate the role played by language in defining and destabilizing the societal norms. In some cultures, those in authority cannot be questioned to account for their actions, but Jan Ola (2011:52) disagrees with those views and takes this line of argument:

The constant unity of language and other social matters ensures that language is entwined in social power in a number of ways: language indexes power and expresses power; language is involved where there is

contention over and a challenge to power. Power does not derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it or to alter its distributions (ibid: **p53-54**).

An important perspective in CDA related to the notion of power is that, it is rare that a text is the work of any one person. In texts, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power which in part encoded in and determined by genre and discourse. Therefore texts are sites of struggle in that they show the traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance. Thus the defining features of CDA are its concerns with power as a central condition in social life and its efforts to develop a theory of language which incorporates this as a major premise.

It is therefore necessary to acknowledge that language is not just a simple straight forward system used for communication; it reveals a lot about society since it is the tool that negotiates all the discursive events encodes power, decipher ideologies and define identities.

In political discourse, the views of Fairclough (1992) can be counted on. He argues that:

One aspect of power is the capacity to impose and maintain a particular structuring of some domain or particular way of dividing it into parts of keeping the parts in terms of hierarchical relations of dominance and subordination (p. 13).

2.1.9 Linguistic study of ideology

The notion of ideology is central to this study because, the exercise of power relations is not straight forward and therefore largely depends on the extent to which the beliefs held by an individual can be shared by a larger group of people. Texts thus act as sites where the ideological concepts can be negotiated and promulgated.

The ideological standpoint is what determines how issues are portrayed. Some scholars who have looked at the notion of ideology like Kress, (1979:15), suggest that ideology involves a 'systematically organized presentation of reality'. Vandjik, (1998) suggest that social actors implement ideologies in their discourse and other social practices. The notion of the enemy as an ideological concept has also been proposed. Sam keen (1998), quoted in Zidore (2011), <http://www.u-landsnyt.dk/sites/default/pdf> claim that this notion can be used as hegemony over others and may exploited by the speakers to justify cultural violence.

Even though some scholars such as Thomas and Waering (1999:34) claim that 'nowadays ideology tends to be used more widely, to refer to as a set of beliefs which, to people who hold them appear to be logical and 'natural', ideology is not necessarily a pejorative term because, it can be argued that anything that we know and think can actually be ideology'.

This position is not largely shared by the scholars of CDA as true because, texts usually take different positions because of the varied ideological leanings that can be traced to them.

Since the societal hierarchies are defined upon dominance and subordination through power relations embedded in ideologies, the political leaders often times tend to impose their ideological positions on the 'ordinary' persons positioning themselves as the legal representatives capable of offering true solutions to the problems of the majority and get a way of narrowing the emotional distance between them and the participants through rhetorical modes to access to power and control through ideological concepts.

2.1.10 Language and Identity

It's good to point out that, whereas, individuals and societies define their own personal and group identities, it is important to clarify that in the context of the political discourse, or rather the entire study of discourse, the notion of identity is not focused on the individual or the society by the salient features that define them, but rather, on how language is used in the competing discourses to identify with self and others.

Since language is so important in the construction of individual and social identities, the text configuration in terms of the voice depends on the lexico-semantic choices made by the speaker not on the content of the text but on the form taken by the text dependent on the context.

Linda Thomas and Shan Waering (1996:46) argue that the question of identity, whether on an individual, societal or institutional, is something that is constantly built and negotiated...people switch into different roles at different times in different situations and each of those contexts may require a shift into different, sometimes conflicting, identities for the people involved.

Since the discursive relationships are defined along the social hierarchical structures in terms of ethnic majorities and minorities, gender, age and social class, language is used to emphasize the 'oneness' or the 'otherness' as 'we' and 'them' respectively determined by the convenient binary oppositions that define the relationships.. These terms are used with the objectives of inclusiveness, prejudice or exclusion. In that regard Gee (2009:47) observes: 'language is used to get one recognized as engaging in certain sort of exercise, to signal what sort of relationship one has or want to have or trying to have with the listeners'.

CHAPTER THREE

Introduction

This chapter will deal with the notion of identity. It will outline identification modes of Raila Odinga in the texts especially when the said roles are defined as: a leader of a political party, head of government, leader of government business, leader of reform agenda, environmental conservationist, Pan Africanist, national and neutral leader and a responsible family man. This aspect (identity) will extend to looking into alienation as a strategy of exclusion. These notions will be illustrated with the anaphora, cataphor and the pronominal. The adjectival phrases used for inclusion and exclusion for the in groups and the out-groups will also be used as the means of illustrating this notion alongside emotive language and marked terminology. The second part deals with the manifestation of the ideology of the Orange Democratic Movement. Since all these notions are manifested in the texts as it were, it is important first to look at the components that are actually evident at a glance on the surface of the text before we consider how these components are used to achieve the desired discourse objectives towards identity.

3.0 Text 'surface'

The political speeches are texts that address political matters based on the genre of political persuasion known as rhetoric. The political texts of Raila Odinga are configured by careful selection of vocabulary carefully arrangement of syntactic units, and suitable argumentation patterns that suit the objectives of the texts to the intended audience within the present location of the discourse. The surface of texts manifest careful selection of adjectival phrases, deictic markers that define tenor, the time and location of discourse and the use of figurative language as language is also evident. In the course of surveying the texts for Raila Odinga, I am obliged by

the demands of the theoretical framework outlined in chapter two of this study to make some critical assumptions. These assumptions are made concerning the relationships of the elements that contribute to the socio-semantic nature of discourse and the textual configuration strategies that result into the production of texts to integrate them within the study of CDA in relation to the speeches under investigation.

The first assumption I make will be that the semantic system consists of four functional components [the meta- language component] these components consist of:

- The experiential component that can further be divided into the ideational and the logical components.
- The interpersonal component, defines the role of the participants in a discursive event, their roles and objectives.

secondly, I assume that each stratum and each component mentioned above is described as a network of options, sets and intellectual choices having the form of: if 'a' then 'b' or 'c'. This will sort out the complex issues of semantics where the axioms of proper nouns and their reflexives anaphors or cataphors are clearly and logically correspondent for identity purposes. For example, the rule seems to say about semantics of Raila that, to be its true value, the anaphor I for example must be truly representative to the very person Raila to logically achieve co-referential relationships advanced both by the nominal and the pronominal i.e. *iff the value of(x)* as an anaphor I is equal to the proper noun Raila in both semantic and pragmatic terms. Subsequently I assume that each component of the semantic system specifies its own structures as the 'output' of the options in the network, so that each act of choice contributes to the

formation of structures. Thereafter it is the function of the lexico-grammatical stratum to map out the structures, one on to the other to form a single integrated structure that represents all components simultaneously.

With this background, it is demonstrated by the proposals made by Halliday (1972) that, the socio-semantic nature of discourse, the semantic strata that constitute the linguistic system and the logical forms that configure texts are actually the key tenets upon which the principles of discourse production is based. The ideational component doesn't however work in isolation; it is inter-connected by the other meta-functions of language proposed by Halliday i.e., the interpersonal component and the textual component.

For this study however, the texture of the texts is not considered without the phonological concepts, except it is of no significance for my present purpose because I consider it only paramount at the level of text production, which is beyond the scope of the present study because the phonological realizations can only be experienced when the mode of text delivery is oral, in which case both written and unprepared speeches are delivered by oral means

The notion of identity is always used as a means of achieving relevance for text with the target audience. For example, on one hand, it is impossible for Raila Odinga to identify with the female gender, an out cultural group, or a different racial group as **'we'** in some contexts; it is plausible to observe that the same person marker may just as well be appropriate for him to identify with them as **'we'** in other contexts. For example, a discursive event involving him with a purely female audience or members of a distinctive racial group, say an Asian business community, the use of the appropriate pronominal that define personal or group identity between **'him'** and **'them'** must be distinct as to the choice made between the use of **I** and **we** respectively. This

seems to be peculiar in ordinary sense because this strategy enables the speaker to appropriately fit into both the in-groups and the out-groups simultaneously posing difficult questions on transparency issues on the part of the speaker. In CDA however, people usually juggle between these choices for the purposes of relevance and to meet the demands of context.

These strategies are dependent on the roles of the respective participants in the discourse, the discursive boundaries assigned to both the speaker and the audience and the salient characteristics of the participants that determine the discursive relationships e.g. gender, social class, culture or race. On the other hand, both Raila Odinga and the social categories mentioned above may be involved in the discursive events that force the discourse to define him and them as 'we' in diverse social contexts. For example, while in solidarity with the female human rights activists on a common ideology or policy position, the use of the person marker 'we' could just be appropriate for both Raila and the female participants in the same discourse.

The notion of identity will be illustrated through the discursive relationships defined along the social hierarchical structures in terms of ethnic majorities and minorities, gender, age and social class where language is used to emphasize the 'oneness' or the 'otherness' as 'we' and 'them' respectively. This will be achieved by categorizing the contexts, within which these texts were delivered, i.e., some of them were delivered in local contexts whereas others were delivered at international fora. These terms are used with the objectives of inclusiveness, prejudice or exclusion. Since the tenor in the political discourse is significantly inconsistent in time and space, the choice of the personal pronouns by the speakers in political texts is a strategic move to conveniently identify with the ever-changing audience that do not share common salient characteristics and discourse expectations.

3.1 Identity

Linda Thomas and Shan Waering, (1999) argue that:

"The question of identity, whether on an individual, societal or institutional, is something that is constantly built and negotiated...people switch into different roles at different times in indifferent situations and each of those contexts may require a shift into different roles, sometimes conflicting, identities for the people involved".p27

These ideas are supported by Gee (2009:47). He points out that "Language is used to get one recognized as engaging in certain sort of exercise, to signal what sort of relationship one has or want to have or trying to have with the listeners".

In this section therefore, the impression of self by Raila Odinga and that between himself and others will be illustrated by the use of the pronominal and lexical selections. Due to different roles played by Raila Odinga in different discursive events, the objectives of his texts actually define the type of identity he seeks to achieve.

In CDA, the notion of identity is used to describe how language is used for the purposes of identity. The modes of identity used by the speaker in his texts are encoded by the pronominal, anaphors, cataphors and lexical selections. The convenient interchange between the uses of the personal pronominal and the group pronominal *we* give relevance and credibility in each context of the speech especially at the interpersonal level. As a party leader, Raila Odinga uses personal pronouns, possessive anaphors and the modals to define his relationship with the audiences in the present discourse. Using the pronominal, the modals, and the lexical selections, Raila Odinga identifies himself as a leader of a political party. In the following examples, the personal pronominal / the group pronominal *we* are used as modes of identity. The possessive

pronominal *my* and *you* are used as anaphors which will be illustrated below.

3.1.1 Identity as Leader of a political party

As a leader of a political party, the mode of identification is focused on the personal strengths of the speaker using pronominal *I* when emphasis is on the speaker and **we**, when he attempts to identify with the audience as part of them. Secondly the use of the anaphors, enable the speaker to achieve the semantic and syntactic demands of discourse within the context of speech making the defined social relationships logical and appropriate. The use of analogous structures for the purposes of comparison is also evident. **See the samples.**

1. **And I** assure you of **my** total support as **your** leader. **I** also want to thank **you our** MPs and **NEC** members for the support for **me** and **our** party. (Nairobi, January 12, 2012).

In this sample the personal pronominal *I*, *my* and *you*, **the genitive pronominal** '*your*' and the group genitive pronominal '*our*' are used to define the notion of personal and group identity respectively. The possessives are used as for the purposes of emphasis. See how the pronominal relates with the anaphor in the following phrases: 'I assure you of *my* total support as *your* leader' and 'I also want to thank *you our* MPs and NEC members for the support for *me* and *our* party'. It is important as a discourse strategy, to note how the speaker conveniently makes the choices between the uses of these pronominal to achieve the desired discursive effects. For example, when the speaker desires to emphasize a personal identity, the pronominal *I* and *my* are used. On the other hand, on group identity, the pronominal **your** and *our* are used for Emphasis.

On lexical selections, the lexemes used appropriately define the relationship between the speaker and his present audience as the party leader and members of the party respectively. See the lexemes in the phrases: "your **leader**", '**our** MPs and NEC members' and "the support for **me** and **our** party'. In these relationships the anaphors play the crucial role of defining these relationships constrained by context i.e. the social distance between members of a political party and their leader. CDA proposes that on matters of identity, the form that language takes an effort to enable the speaker to make an appropriate choice within the grammatical tools to confine him within the context of the speech for the purposes of appropriateness. Wodak and Meyer (2001:54) for example propose that 'the intentions of the speaker, their current mood and opinions and the impressions they have on the other participants in the communicative event are all subtly signaled among other things...the use of the pronominal and lexical selection. As already evident in the samples, these claims are true Raila Odinga makes appropriate choices of the pronominal and vocabulary to identify with self and others.

2. Finally, as **the leader of a party that is**, like yours, is in a coalition government, **I** would urge **you** as you prepare for the next elections, not to lose sight of the fact that **you** are in government, and **you** have government policies to pursue and deliver.

In the example above, the speaker seems to be addressing an international audience. This is justifiable through the use of the analogous phrase '**as the leader of a party that is**, like yours' however, the use of the pronominal / and *you* for purpose identity in this context is still manifest. In the sample, the possessive pronominal '*yours*' is introduced by an analogy. The analogous phrase achieves the goals of comparison between the parties the speaker intends to talk about. First, the speaker uses the possessive anaphor '*yours*' in this phrase as a stylistic effort to avoid repetition of the antecedent, '*your party*' to mitigate the problems of redundancy but easily

express the similarities that exist between the two synonymous antecedents that share similar salient characteristics in the view of the speaker for example, both the speaker's party ODM and the audience's party MDC are in coalition arrangements in their respective governments. Secondly, the speaker uses a passive construction to redirect the emphasis on himself as a leader rather than the party that he leads. See the phrase, 'as the leader of a party that is, like *yours*, is in a coalition government *I* would urge *you* as you prepare for the next elections, not to lose sight of the fact that *you* are in government, and **you** have government policies to pursue and deliver'. This is tallying with ideas of Shan and Waering (1996:27) 'The question of identity, whether on an individual, societal or institutional, is something that is constantly built and negotiated...people switch into different roles at different times in indifferent situations and each of those contexts may require a shift into different roles, sometimes conflicting, identities for the people involved'.

3. On issues that matter to the party and the future of Kenya, **we must speak with one voice** from the Indian Ocean to Lake Victoria, from Mt. Elgon to Mt Kenya.

In this sample, the speaker as a leader of a political party The third person pronominal '*we*' is used for group identity. This phrase '**We must speak with one voice**' justifies this fact. Here, the pronoun '*we*' is used when the speaker intends to achieve identity with others as an in-group member-one of '*them*' actually, their equal in the context of the present social category being addressed, hence the phrase '*we must speak in one voice*'. Here the intention of the speaker seems to be aimed at seeking solidarity with the present audience through inclusion. Raila Odinga also exploits careful lexical selection to achieve the desired effects on his statements. For example the phrase 'on **issues that matter to the party and the future of Kenya**' evident in the

text is supposedly used by the speaker a rhetorical expedience to seek and exploit the compliance of the audience, to work hard on party matters because this statement makes the members feel important and responsible. Further, in the samples, the speaker gives a positive impression of the party and that of its members. The impression he gives is that his party and its members can determine the future of Kenya. See the phrase 'issues **that matter to the party and the future of Kenya**'. The speaker's discursive strategy in this context agree with the views of Halliday on the other hand, through his meta functional components of texts, the textual component carries meanings, which are expressed in syntactic forms. Those meanings can be read off from syntax. However, at the ideational level, the mechanics of syntactic rules must always obey both the semantic and the pragmatic logic .in the sense that language must ideationally link to experience to achieve both textual and the interpersonal objectives of discourse.

3.1.2 Identity as Head of Government

Since the responsibility bestowed on the speaker defines his role in the present discourse defines Raila Odinga as head of government. The coalition government that he shares with president Kibaki naturally assigns him some roles that enable him to identify himself as head of government at local, regional and international contexts. In this category of leadership responsibility, the use of the first person pronominal seems to be more emphasized, rather than the group pronominal *we*. Secondly, the lexical items selected seem to make direct reference to the speaker and the co-center of power with whom the speaker steadily attempts to positively identify. See the samples.

4. I have had the privilege of serving as **prime minister** of our great nation for the past one-year and half.

In this sample, the pronominal / is used for self-identification and our for group identity and

solidarity. This is evident in the phrases 'I have had the privilege of serving as prime minister' and '**of our great nation**' the lexical selections in this sample also points at the speaker's political office. The phrase "as **prime minister**' justifies this claim. For the purposes of solidarity and group identity, the speaker uses the group genitive pronominal *our* is evident in the phrase '**our great nation**'. Since political offices are related with power relations, the speaker uses the title of his political office to define identity through power means. Further, the vocabulary choices that define the notion of identity in this context are completely elevated. Lexical items like, '**the prime minister, heads of state and head of government**' are evident in the texts as the means of defining personal identity.

5. I will work **tirelessly** and **relentlessly** with **his Excellency the president, my political colleagues, the public service and all our partners in Kenya** to achieve a better and a more responsive government and to implement the changes that Kenyans have told **us** matter to **them** most.

In this clause, the pronominal *I* is used to make self-identification. See the phrase 'I will work **tirelessly** and **relentlessly**'. This is emphasized by the use of the use of the personal genitive and group anaphors '*my* and *our*' respectively. See the phrases: **my political colleagues, the public service' and all 'our partners in Kenya'**. The use of anaphors in the pronominal *my*' in the phrase '**my political colleagues, us** and *them* are anaphors used to refer to the antecedents that can be presupposed as 'we, the government and them, the people of Kenya. **See these phrases:** 'I will work tirelessly and relentlessly with his Excellency the president *my* political colleagues, the public service and all *our* partners in Kenya to achieve a better and a more responsive government and to implement the changes that Kenyans have told *us* matter to *them* most. These phrases allude to a perfect discourse strategy of inclusion and exclusion is well displayed here

where, the social boundaries and the discursive roles of the participants i.e. the *us* and the *them* is clear. CDA claims that the discursive relationships are defined along the social hierarchical structures in terms of ethnic majorities and minorities, gender, age and **social class**, language is used to emphasize the *oneness* or the *'otherness'* as *'we'* and *'them'* respectively. These views are observed by Gee (2009:47) who argues that 'the terms are used with the objectives of inclusiveness, prejudice or exclusion...language is used to get one recognized as engaging in certain sort of exercise, to signal what sort of relationship one has or want to have or trying to have with the listeners'.

6. 'I joined the heads **of state** and **government** and **CEO'S of global corporations** at the world economic forum in Davos' (parliament, 15th, February 2012).

In this sample, the use of the personal pronominal 'I' for personal identity is still evident. See the phrase, '**I** joined the heads **of state** and **government** and **CEO'S of global corporations**'. Secondly, Raila exploits the deliberate lexical choices to achieve both Semantic and syntactic logic. This is evident in the use of the titles, heads of state, heads of government and CEO'S of global cooperation which may be used with a variety of collocations such as president, prime minister, managers etc. But to achieve the discourse affects, the speaker uses Metonymy, where the indexical associations attached to the titles 'his **Excellency the president**' in the phrase 'I will work tirelessly and relentlessly with his **Excellency the president**' to point out that the latter is his equal in the hierarchical social stratum hence a power coded identity this strategy conveniently enables the speaker to use the titles '**prime minister**' and his **Excellency the president** as the vehicles that associates with the target domain, which is the self which in this case is the speaker- Raila Odinga. The phrases **heads of state, government, and CEOs of**

global **corporations** are metonymic expressions used as vehicles and the target here is to define the power relationship that exist between the speaker and the referents who are his social equal. In this category, the expression personal identity using the pronominal / is more fore grounded as opposed to group identity since the center of focus seems to be /, the self and not others.

3.1.3 Identity as Leader of Government Business

The leader of government usually drives the agenda of the government in parliament. The terms parliament, legislature or the national assembly are near synonyms, which are used to refer to a place where laws are made. These terms can be used as collocations depending on the context and composition. The house (parliament) has another wing known as the executive composed of the president and ministers. This wing implements the government policies and its leader in the 'house' is a cabinet minister here referred to as the head of government business. I am going to illustrate how the speaker uses the personal pronominal and the lexical items preferred by the speaker as relevant and appropriate in the present context. The examples below will illustrate these claims.

7. **It** is therefore incumbent upon on us, the executive and the house to deliver.

In this sample the use of the accusative group pronominal '*us*' is evident. See the phrase '**It** is therefore incumbent upon on us'. This phrase is introduced by an expletive '///'. The pronominal it is an expletive because, the subject position is empty and according to the extended projection principle, when the subject position is empty, the speaker can use the expletives to fill the position of the absent subject to achieve the syntactic coherence. This, however, is not a strategy in CDA but a grammatical obligation that must be met by the speaker to achieve the desired

discursive objectives. See also the terms house and executive have been used to refer to parliament and a consortium of ministers respectively.

8. I call on **honorable members** to rise to the challenges and enact all the necessary **legislations** not to exploit conflicts for political gains.

In this example, Personal identity is expressed with the use of first Person pronominal 'I'. See the phrases: 'I call on honorable members to rise to the challenges and enact all the necessary legislations and I appeal to the house. It is important to note here that in the present discourse, both the speaker and the addressees are members of parliament (house), except, the speaker being a privileged member by being the leader of government business has an elevated social status thus the power to talk as others listen and the phrase 'I call on honorable members' cannot take any effect if the speaker has no powers to call members of parliament into action. Secondly, the lexical items used here fit within the context of legislature. Words such as honorable members are only used when referring to only members of parliament and also see legislations; these are pieces of laws that are made within parliament by the honorable members, hence the appeal by the speaker to call them into action.

9. I appeal to the house not to exploit conflicts for political gains. Let us use our good offices to unite Kenyans.

In this example, the pronominal 'I' is used for self-identity more so as a leader of government business. In this sample though, the strategy known as negotiation is evident in the text through the use of the rhetorical adjectives. See the phrase 'I appeal'. For the purposes of solidarity or inclusion, the speaker uses the group pronominal *us* and *our* to include the members of parliament who are not members of the executive (ministers). In CDA this is what Linda Thomas and Shan Waering (1996:46) explain thus. 'The question of identity, whether on an individual,

societal or institutional, is something that is constantly built and negotiated...people switch into different roles at different times in different situations and each of those contexts may require a shift into different, sometimes conflicting, identities for the people involved. The act of negotiation thus involves a rhetorical appeal to achieve the desired text objectives. See also the adjectival phrase: 'our good offices' is aimed at persuading the members of parliament as a negotiation skill through inclusion embedded in the group pronominal 'our', where the speaker is also included as a member of parliament.

10. We will submit to this house the public finance management bill later this week.

In this example, the group pronominal '*we*' and not I is used by the speaker because the aim is to achieve the group identity. See the phrase '*we* will submit to this house'. It is however, important to note here that, since the role of the speaker cuts across being a member of parliament and that of the executive, sometimes the discursive strategies adopted by him are discriminative. For example, the current '*we*' in the above sample no longer include members of parliament but only the members of the executive who will actually report to the house. The house hence forth in the view of the speaker, automatically becomes the new *them*- an out group. In CDA, this is a fundament of discourses of identity and difference and such discourses are considered salient for discourse discrimination and inclusion as suggested by Wodak and Meyer (2003) to guide the interpretation taken by the speaker when labeling or attributing the qualities to the referents.

3.1.4 Identity as a leader of the reform agenda

As has been pointed out earlier in this chapter, the discursive role assumed by the speaker, determines the person markers and the lexical choices he makes to define his social relationships

with others. In his role as leader of the reform agenda, there is evidence of the use of the adjectival phrases, marked terminology, the lexemes are emotive aimed at emphasizing the negative things about the out-group and the positive labels aimed at the self and the orange democratic movement (ODM). These will be illustrated below.

11. We will create policies that protect and promote the livelihoods and welfare of the poorest and most vulnerable people. (ODM Manifesto, 2007.)

In this sample, the speaker identifies himself as a leader of the reform agenda. He uses the group identity pronominal *we* to include the others who share with him his reform ideas. See the phrase '**we will create policies**'. For positive label of the self and ODM, the words '**protect and promote**' are evident on the text. These words give the impression that the speaker and his party, on whose behalf he speaks, have better ideas on the livelihoods of the poor. See the phrase '**the livelihoods and welfare of the poorest and most vulnerable people**'. These terms are used to refer to a special category of people who are supposedly in the lower social category. Although in pragmatic terms, the adjectives poor and vulnerable elicit some degree of vagueness and therefore imprecise, since the degree of the severity of both is only precisely definable within given social boundaries i.e. whether the speaker means the poor and vulnerable among the rich or the poor can be treated with subjective relativity. However, the terms are still useful in defining the disadvantaged groups of people in the lower social classes as the poor and the vulnerable respectively. However, the clarity of this notion is foregrounded in the contexts through implicature, that the poor are not rich and therefore are helpless and that, the vulnerable lack protection from the social dangers and hence are defenseless. Further, the use of figurative language is evident. See the use of the creative metaphor in the phrase '**We will create policies**'. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) 'the essence of metaphor is understanding and

experiencing one thing in terms of another'. Since CDA claims that a metaphor consist of a literal primary object (or tenor), expressed in terms of a figurative 'secondary' subject (or vehicle).

The linking of a particular tenor and vehicle is normally unfamiliar and imaginative leap must be made to recognize the resemblance to which the metaphor alludes, hence the creation evident in the text metaphor alludes to a power coded identity.

12. It (ODM) is the product of past struggle and the vehicle for future reform.

In this sample, the notion of the leader of the reform agenda is alluded to in the text through a positive presentation of the party. Here, the speaker uses the adjectival phrases that allude to positive impression of the party. These adjectives include, '**product, struggle, vehicle, future and reforms**'. In ideal circumstances, a product must have a producer in which case, the speaker is covertly alluding to the fact that he is the 'producer' of **ODM**. Secondly, struggle is a warlike process that is aimed at giving the positive consequences in a process. In this example, the word 'struggle' is associated with the past struggles of 'reforms'. A vehicle is an automobile that can take an individual or group of people from one destination to another, the future is some distant time beyond the present and reform is presupposed to make things better. In this respect, (Wodak and Meyer 2001) point out that studies in discourses are mostly ideologically biased and the way that these biases polarize the presentation of us and them are glossed over, where the good things about us are emphasized and the good things about them is de-emphasized, which means that the speaker at any time in the production of the texts can rarely acknowledge the deficits, doubts or the opaque relationships in his in group that arise as a result of the competing discourses and would rather take a defensive position on the matters affecting the group where he is included.

13. 'He began (Kibaki) his presidency with **betrayal and shattered the dream of all Kenyans** who looked forward to **an all-inclusive government** premised on **fundamental** reforms. (ODM manifesto, 2007).

In this example the use of the anaphor is evident. Although the anaphor should be used as a co-referential means to the antecedent, in this construction this notion is only achieved through implicature because the subject position is occupied by a pronominal '*he*' that can only be logical when the subject is mentioned for the second time and the gender is determined to be male. That is when anaphors achieve their syntactic objectives in non-passive constructions. Secondly, the lexical choices made in this sample are aimed at a negative label of the opponent to portray him as non-reformist. See the lexemes: '**betrayal, and all inclusive government**'. These terms are used to emphasize the bad things about the referent as a betrayer and exclusive. The use of figurative language is also evident. The phrase '**shattered the dream of all Kenyans**' is a metaphorical expression aimed at posting a negative label to the referent as a destroyer of dreams. 'Since one of the claims of CDA is that, there is a struggle of competing discourses between positive impression for self and negative impression for others, the speaker utilizes the present context to emphasize the good things about him to give to himself a positive self-impression as a reformist. This claim is evident in the phrase '**government** premised on **fundamental reforms**'.

3.1.5 Identity as an Environmental Conservationist

Matters of the environment are major concerns for both the government and its people. The international community also lays strong emphasis on matters of environmental conservation and management. With this in mind, politicians tend to compete in giving the impression that they

are concerned with matters touching on the environment and Raila Odinga being a politician, may not be an exemption. In this sub theme, we are going to look at how Raila Odinga identifies himself as an environmental conservationist. Here, we look at how he uses the pronominal and the lexical choices for the purposes of identity, both at the local and at the international contexts. These are illustrated below.

14.1 need to emphasize that **the whole purpose of rehabilitating the Mau** forest and other water towers and ecosystems is **to guarantee sustainable developments**.

In this example, the speaker uses the pronominal / as a means of identity for the self. This is evident in the phrase, '**I** need to emphasize that **the whole purpose of rehabilitating the Mau**'. The lexical selections in this sample are more explanatory rather than persuasive but are clearly aimed at the positive label for the speaker. See the phrase 'is **to guarantee sustainable developments**'. The speaker seems to say that the Mau is currently in deplorable state, supposedly caused by others and not the speaker and therefore needs **rehabilitation**". Secondly, the impression given is that when the Mau is rehabilitated, there will be sustainable development.

15.1 regret that my own country is **emblematic of the woes** unleashed by years of **rampant** excesses **in global and local mismanagement of our environment**.

This example again offers the opportunity to examine how the speaker uses language to define himself as an environmental conservationist. In this sample, the use of the pronominal /, for the purpose of self-identification is evident. See the phrase '**I** regret that **my** own country is **emblematic of the woes**'. This phrase presupposes that environmental mismanagement, of course by others in the view of the speaker causes suffering. The possessive anaphor *my*' in the

phrase **my country**' is used by the speaker to identify himself as a citizen and therefore subtly owns the legitimacy of negotiating for the matters of the environment on behalf of his countrymen. For the purposes of solidarity with the audience, the speaker conveniently uses the group genitive pronominal *our*. See the phrase '**local mismanagement of our environment**'. This phrase is also qualified by a number of lexemes that point at exclusion, through presupposition. See the words emblematic woes, rampant excesses, global and local mismanagement. All these lexemes seem to point out the fact that the environment has been mismanaged except, the speaker fails to clearly point out the forces responsible for the mismanagement. This is what Grice calls the violation of the maxim of quantity in his cooperative theory.

16. Our immediate goal is to fully **restore our largest water** tower, the famed Mau as well as embarking on huge reforestation drive to plant seven billion trees which **will recreate carbon taming** 'sinks' **that** once made **us** sufficient in food and energy. (15 February 2012).

In this example, the genitive group pronominal *our* is used for the purposes of group identity. Here, the speaker seeks to draw attention of the audience to the fact that matters of environmental conservation is *our*' and not '*my*' **responsibility**. See the phrase '**Our** immediate goal is to fully restore **our** largest water tower. The accusative pronominal *us*' is also evident in the text as a form of group identity. The phrase **that** once made *us* sufficient in food and energy justifies this claim. Secondly, to achieve rhetorical effects, the speaker uses redemption and creation metaphors to achieve this. See the metaphors in the phrases: '**restore our largest water** tower, is a metaphor of redemption because restoration can only be done to that which is already exhausted. See also '**will recreate carbon taming** 'sinks'. This metaphor is used to

allude to the fact that, planting more trees tames carbon emission that protects the environment.

17. We have steadily pursued the green energy agenda. We have championed the conservation of the environment.

The context of this example seems to be a local forum. From these samples, it is possible to notice the tone and the current location of the speaker. The tone used at the local level, seems to be more assertive, rhetorical and to some extent fallacious and exaggerated. The phrase '**we have steadily pursued**' cannot be out rightly subjected to objectivity and 'we have championed the conservation' is too over generalized and cannot be justified. I consider the example may violate the Grecian maxim of quantity and may lack truth-value in completely or in part. None the less, the group pronominal '*we*' is used for the purposes of group identity in this compound sentence. The speaker uses the adjectives that give a positive impression both to him and the party. See the phrases, steadily pursued, and championed the conservation of the environment. In the phrases, we have steadily pursued the green energy agenda and **we have championed the conservation of the environment.'**

3.1.6 Identity as a pan Africanist

Norman Fairclough (2003:133-134) sees the value of CDA as a method to be used alongside others [methods] in research. This way he proposes that the order of discourse of some social domain is the totality of its discursive practices. As a pan Africanist, Raila Odinga uses the pronominal, the anaphor, emotive lexemes and rhetoric to engage with his audiences, both at the local and the international context. It was earlier pointed elsewhere in this study that rhetoric is the persuasive approach to discourse.

18. In a panel **I** shared with Jacob Zuma, president Jakaya Kikwete, Prime Minister Meles Zenawi and president Conte of Guinea, optimism about Africa was evident'.

In this sample, Raila Odinga uses the pronominal **I** and the selected lexical items expressed by rhetoric. This example exemplifies a power identity. The speaker aims at portraying himself as a powerful person by portraying that the mentioned heads of states are his equals through association. This is presupposed in the phrase 'In a panel **I** shared'. See also the rhetorical turn in the phrase, **optimism about Africa was evident'**.

19. **I** would like to assure **you** of **my** delegation' fullest support as **you** undertake **your** momentous responsibility **to unite member states** in pursuing **the common goal of a more** humane, secure, united and a prosperous world.(25th September, 2009.UN, general assembly)

In the sample, the focus on self and the others is manifesting through the use of the pronominal '*You, your and my*'. The pronominal **I** and **my** for personal reference as a pronominal and *my* as an anaphor. The phrase 'my delegation' is a power coded identity. The lexical selections in this sample also suit the context of the discursive event. See the terms: **common goal, secure, united, humane, and** prosperous. These lexemes are used in the text as a rhetorical (persuasive) strategy to appeal to the UN, to fully execute its mandate to the member states. This rhetorical turn is embedded in the phrase '**I** would like to assure **you**'. The words 'common goal and unite' connotes the need for a common purpose and unity. See also prosperous and humane.

20. But **I** speak to **you** as an afro **optimist and true believer** in pan Africanism, one **who** looks forward to the day **Africa will be united in irreversible democratic ideals and sound socio economic policies**.(September, 2011, MDC, Zimbabwe).

In this example, the pan Africanist identity is illustrated using the pronominal *I*, the metonym and the selected lexical items. The pronominal *I* in the phrase "But I speak to you as an afro optimist" is aimed at expressing self-identity. The second person pronominal *you*, is used to identify with the audience. Besides, achieving the grammatical functions, the pronominal strikes an emotional appeal embedded in the lexical items like optimist and **true believer**. These lexical selections also touch on unity, democracy and sound socio-economic policies as the tenets of pan Africanism. See the phrases in this clause; '**Africa will be united**' in '**irreversible democratic ideals**' and '**sound socio economic policies**'. The metonym is in the noun Africa, representing whole for part. Consider that the speech is delivered in Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe is part of Africa.

21. In short, political power in Africa **has often meant gains and riches for the ruling class**. (September, 2011, MDC, Zimbabwe)

As a syntactic strategy, the speaker uses a passive construction to define opaque relationships and maintain the blur where there is no clear-cut relationship between the subject, the agent and the goal. See the phrase 'In short, political power in Africa **has often meant gains and riches for the ruling class**. In this phrase only the indirect object, power is mentioned alongside the benefactive, the ruling class but the effects of the '-gains' and riches of the ruling class on the opaque agents (the poor) is not transparent.

3.1.7 As a nationalist and neutral leader

Political leaders seem to seek neutrality with their audiences in speech to avoid being associated with the negative traits of tribalism, nepotism and language that expresses exclusion, **in Kenya**

known as 'hate speech'. As a national leader, Raila uses the group pronominal *we* rather than the personal pronoun *I* to express solidarity with and to include the audience[s] in his present discourse. These syntactic means are accompanied with the positive lexemes aimed at positive presentation of the in-group, where the speaker belongs and the negative ones aimed at labeling the out-group. The use of figurative language is also evident in the texts, say, when ethnicity is equated to the devil. This notion is illustrated in the following examples.

22. **We** gather here today to ratify the pledge **we** made to **ourselves** and the world, that Kenya shall redeem **herself** and extend the frontiers of **democracy and freedom**.

To identify with the self as a national leader, Raila uses the group pronominal *we* in preference to the personal pronominal *I*. This is a discourse strategy of inclusion and seeking solidarity with others. In this example, the reflexive pronominal 'ourselves' is used as an anaphor for the purposes of emphasis. See also the reflexive 'herself'. This reflexive is used in two significant ways, first, it acts as an anaphor to the noun Kenya and secondly, it qualifies the redemption metaphor in the phrase 'Kenya shall redeem herself'. The lexical items selected in this example also point at the identity of a leader committed to the national goals. See the words democracy and freedom. These lexemes presuppose that in the current state of affairs, the people of Kenya do not enjoy freedom and Kenya itself is not democratic enough, hence the need for the extension of both which the speaker identifies himself as what he stands for. See the phrase 'We gather here today to ratify the pledge'

23. Our traditional enemies; corruption and negative ethnicity shall challenge the promise of this new beginning.

In this example, the notion of group identity is advanced by the use of the genitive pronominal

our' is used by the speaker to advance the enemy concept. Although the concept of the enemy will be discussed at length in the next chapter as an ideological strategy, the speaker uses it to negatively label others and to positively paint himself and his party ODM. The negative label for the out-group is achieved through the following lexical items. See the phrase "**Our traditional enemies; corruption and negative ethnicity**". The speaker concludes this statement with a rhetorical turn '**the promise of this new beginning**' as he seeks to give the impression that there is a difference between the "**new**" and the '**old**' order in which ease he represents the **new**' order. The identity as non-ethnic leader is expressed using the rhetorical tropes.

24. All these issues have one fundamental problem: **inequality among** Kenyans. In addition, that inequality can be traced to **one basic devil. Ethnicity. We shall deal a deathblow** to inequality and ethnicity.

CDA observes that ethnic tensions are social problems that arise in the existing public spaces. In this sample, the speaker distances himself from the notion ethnicity to advance the national ideology. Since the concept of ethnicity is largely an ideological concept, the speaker uses the metaphor '**deathblow**' to covertly presuppose that the vice should be fought and killed. He equates it [ethnicity] to a concrete object, with life that can be physically confronted and be killed to save people from inequality and ethnic biases. This is an effective use of the metaphor where the aspect of imagery brings the mental constructs to near reality. These views are supported by Graham quoted in Chandler (2011:59). He argues that genres are developed within institutions and thus within the realms of vested interests, they display an inherent axiological biases...discourse analysts have become more and more concerned with the link between historical sources and discourse theory. The speaker also uses emotive language that defines the

social norms to decipher national ideological concepts. See the phrase, one basic devil and the lexeme inequality. The concept of the devil is associated with the dangers that can afflict pain in the society whereas inequality itself is an 'evil' and a consequence of ethnicity.

25. This kind of ethnicity in Kenya is in essence not different from the white apartheid in South Africa or racism in the US, the only difference is that this is black apartheid, African against fellow African.

Since the consequences of the above prejudices are well known through history and literary studies, in this sample, the speaker seeks to make the notion more familiar to the audience using an analogous phrase. See the comparative approach in explaining the concept. In the speaker's point of view; 'ethnicity' is equated to 'white apartheid in south Africa and racism in the US. The use of emotive language concludes the sample; see the phrase, African against fellow African. On orders of discourse Fairclough (1993:133-134) observes that 'the boundaries and insulations between and within orders of discourses, may be points of conflict, open to being weakened or strengthened as part of wider social conflicts and struggles This position can be accurately linked to the texts of Raila Odinga since, in his texts he proposes a new culture, a democratic culture, that is likely to be in direct conflict with the traditional genres which he calls the 'old order'.

3.1.8 Identity as a family man

The style adopted by Raila Odinga as a family man is uniquely configured in terms of the form taken by linguistic expressions used. In this context, the stylistic approach adopted is that the pronominal is fore grounded to introduce the subject, where the nominal (Ida) comes last. It is known in pragmatics that the exhaustive use of the pronominal may violate the maxim of manner

of Grecian cooperative principle making the propositions ambiguous and obscure flouting the maxim is however avoided when the referent is finally mentioned. See the example below.

26.1 also salute a person **who** has been with **me** every step of the way on **my** long journey. **She** is a person **who** has always worked hard, **she** has loved and raised **her** own children, she has been a mentor for hundreds of other children through **her** teaching, **she** has made long journeys and put in a great deal of effort to assist poor schools, **she** has worked tirelessly to raise the status of women and **she** has built a distinguished public career **of her** own. That person is my wife, Ida.

The above excerpt is rich in the use of the pronominal as a means of defining identity between the speaker and the referent. The use of the relative pronominal '*who*' in the text is aimed for inclusion of the referent in the discourse. The exhaustive use of the subject anaphor is evident in the pronominal '*who, she and I*' that have been repeatedly used to introduce many phrases. The accusative pronominal '*me*' is an anaphor used to co refer with the subject *T* in which case the speaker is referring to himself. This exhaustive use of the pronominal is accompanied with suitable lexical selection in the text this is aimed at emphasizing the good things about the referent. The objective is to positively label the referent using adjectives that point at the positive attributes only, the following phrases in this sample illustrates this fact: 'She is a person who has always **worked hard**', 'she has been a **mentor** for hundreds of other children through her teaching', 'she has made **long** journeys and put in a **great deal of effort** to **assist** poor schools', 'she has worked **tirelessly** to raise the status of women' and 'she has **built a distinguished public career** of **her** own'. Consider the adjectives such as hard work, love, mentor, assistant

builder etc. are aimed at posting a positive label to the referent throughout the paragraph.

As a stylistic strategy in discourse, the exhaustive use of the pronominal is used where the subject (referent) Ida Odinga is mentioned last. The use of first person suggests originality whereas the use of the second person pronoun, 'she' and the relative pronoun 'who', is aimed as inclusivity. Where the referent is part of the opaque 'we' together with the speaker. I cannot, however, over generalize Raila Odinga's opinion and attitudes on his current subject, Ida to be the same on other women other than Ida since in some contexts he just refers to them as women.

In CDA, things such as intentions, Wodak and Meyer (2001) observe:

Things such as the intentions of the speaker, their current mood, their opinions, and the impressions they have of their participants in the communicative event are all subtly signaled by among other things the sentence structure. For example, a man who wants to hide his negative opinion about women could succeed in controlling his choice of vocabulary, but through the evaluation he makes or subtle structural characteristics such as word order, use of passive or active voice, pronominal relations among other things he will betray his inner feelings. Using passive or active voice can enable the speaker to foreground the desired information depending on the discourse objectives. (P: 197)

3.1.9 Identification through the strategy of exclusion

Exclusion is a key strategy in CDA where, the theory not only attempts to disclose the discursive nature of both the contemporary and cultural change, but also to provide space for public discourses by giving the perceptions and the salient arguments of the speakers. This way, language plays a crucial role in determining who is included and that that is discriminated against. The main proponent of this approach is Teun Vandjik, most of whose critical work focuses on the reproduction of ethnic prejudices and racism in communicative discourse.

Yandjik (1987) quoted in Chandler (2011) argues thus:

An analysis of frequent topics for instance suggests what speakers have in their minds or what hierarchies are of their personal mental models of ethnic events as well as structures of ethnic attitudes. (P: 60)...Vandjik concludes that the most frequent topics on racism on the press correspond to the prevailing ethnic prejudices portraying immigration as invasion, immigrants and refugees as spongers, crime as violence and problematic cultural differences.... (P:60).

I have used these proposals by Vandjik because there is no any other more readily conspicuous forms of exclusion such as those expressed by racism and the attitudes people have against the immigrants and refugees. The same attitudes and prejudices are exhibited on people in different political divides because of different political party identities and beliefs. To advance this concept, Raila Odinga uses the group pronominal, the metaphor and emotive language.

27. Being an election year and the party to beat, we are going to have a lot of mud thrown **our** way.

In this sample, Raila uses the group pronominal **h*** and *our* respectively to define group identity and consolidate solidarity. The use of the first person pronominal plural '-we' is used in the text to include the in-group i.e., the speaker and his political party. The use of emotive language is also manifest in the text. See the phrase '**h*** are going to have a lot of mud thrown *our* way'. See also. These phrases are ideologically configured as a mode of including the addressees into the discourse and elicit the positive emotional effects towards the speaker.

28. The **old order** is trying to **claw back** the gains. **They** are fighting devolution. **They** are trying to starve the county government of money and other resources.

In this example, Raila uses the third person pronominal '**they**' as a means of excluding the out

group. Secondly the warlike metaphor is used by the speaker to paint a negative label on the out-group. The metaphor '**to claw back**' is warlike because the term claw is a deadly weapon used by the tigers or the lion to kill their prey hence causes pain and suffering. At the lexical level, the speaker used marked terminology for the purposes of exclusion. The terms the **old order, fighting devolution and starving the county** are all marked to exclude the out-group by emphasizing the bad things about them.

29. We must speak out for Kenyans when the entrenched forces that hold them back threaten their interests.

In this example, the effort to positively label the self and the party using the group pronominal

The use of the modal '*must*' in the sample signals an obligation and hence is power coded. The strategy of exclusion is entrenched in the proposition in that, the *we* who must speak out, must do so against the them who are the '**entrenched forces that hold them [Kenyans] back and threaten their interests**', hence the point of exclusion is embedded in the accusative group pronominal **them**. According to Halliday, the third Meta linguistic component, the textual component explains that meanings are carried and expressed in syntactic forms and processes and these meanings can be read off from the syntax. See also (Fowler et al 1979: 208). This way consideration is made as to how the prepositional structure can be altered by the speaker to communicate the biases that define social relationships.

30. The democratic efforts were first thwarted by the 'repressive' Moi regime and further d His Excellency the president and I, share the conviction that Kenya can be a more prosperous unified and secure nation.

In this example, the speaker uses the marked terminology to advance the notion of exclusion

Conclusion

This chapter examined the notions of identity. The notion of identity outlined how the ever-changing role of the speaker in every context, determines the type of identity he is trying to define in the text has analyzed the discursive practices that lead to the identity formation. It was determined that the choice that is made in the use of the pronominal *say* / instead of *nr* or *us* against *them* determined by context. I also examined what informs the lexical choices made by the speakers, where it was ideally found to be incumbent upon the speaker to make those choices depending on the discourse objectives, discursive environment, his current mood and intentions. Inmost cases these were used for positive label of the self and negative label of the other, further, Power relations are embedded in the discourse through the constitutional mandate that enables the speaker to point the source[s] of that power using the pronominal *I* and *his* in the phrase his Excellency which illustrates that the referent and the speaker have accessed power through legitimate means hence are privileged to speak on behalf of others.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the notions of ideology. The notion of ideology is going to be illustrated through lexical selections, adjectival phrases, marked terminology and emotive language that are used for negative labeling of the out-groups and to strike an emotional proximity with the audience. The notion of power on the one hand is manifest in the ideological **propositions** using the rhetorical tropes i.e. the metaphor and metonymy. The use of figurative language in the texts through the metaphor and metonymy will be used to illustrate how indexical relationships that demonstrate power relations through association are opaquely rather than transparently exercised through ideological expositions.

4.1 Ideology

Politicians **deliberately** make lexical **choices to model their texts, in both speech and writing, in their texts** as already observed in **the existing literature. The lexical choices are based on the speaker's social beliefs and ideological positions. Habermas made this observation in his study of the political speeches in (1991) and many other scholars of Critical Discourse support this observation.**

Wodak and Mayer, (2001:67) for example observe .ha. .his strategy serves .he speakers .0 bolster .heir argumnts and justify .heir stated positions. In .his regard, .he speaker's best convey Mr ideological positions such that the meanings relayed lexical choices, jointly with the topic can act as sites of text reproduction and reproduction through intertextuality and recontextualization.

In this study, the notion of ideology will be illustrated through the lexical selection taken by Ula Odinga, the use of marked terminology and the use of emotive language, using adjectival phrases aimed at positive and negative labeling. In CDA, political texts are considered to be biased and take positions, to the extent that objectivity is the prerogative of the speaker and not the addressee. In this way, the use of the marked terminology for the **(in groups) 'us'** and **(out-groups), 'them'**, the use of abstract forms and emotive language are positioned in texts for ideological reasons.

Now the notion of ideology is manifested in the texts through the frequent use of the lexical item that offer positive appraisal on the Orange Democratic Party, ODM and its leader Raila Odinga. Since the concepts of ideology involves advancing the individual or group beliefs through rhetoric, the speaker uses his knowledge of the existing social deficits that arise in the public spaces to make his propositions be perceived as 'common sense by his audiences. I will look the notion of ideology under four sub themes: political ideology, economic ideology, religious and social ideology and, how language is used to construct and legitimize the notion of the enemy.

4.2 Political ideology

32. We remain the mainstream political voice today. We must use this privileged position to stand up for the wishes of the vast majority.

In this example, political ideology is expressed using positive adjectival phrases '**mainstream, political voice, privileged** , wishes **of the vast majority position'** and the ontological metaphor '**stand up'**. Now, considering the '**words mainstream'** and '**political voice'** it is possible to point out that in the speaker's view, the out group (**the** opposing political parties) are inferior

as they are only 'inlets' and weaker in strength and hence, can neither 'stand up nor express any voice towards the wishes of the populace. The notion of strength is expressed by the metaphorical phrase 'we must stand up' which means, the vast majority who are at a disadvantaged position, needs a brave voice that can stand up (rather than sit and watch) to articulate their concerns. The phrase 'the wish of the vast majority' is on the other hand a rhetorical strategy used to create the impression that both the speaker and the party he represents are on the side of popularity. See also the phrase 'We must use this privilege position' is an ideological statement aimed at justifying the fact that, the popularity of the party and the speaker is a matter of 'common sense' both to him, the addresses and the populace.

33. Our politics will be progressive. There is another road off somewhere to the east, and a vote for that route leads to nowhere at all. There is no sign of development down that road after many years in power.

In this example, the speaker uses the negative adjectival phrases: *progressive* to label the self and the party as moving forward in matters of development. The out-group on the other hand is labeled as non-progressive this ideology is embedded in the phrase 'a vote for that route leads to nowhere at all'. The auxiliary '*will*' introduce the ideological rhetoric when the speaker uses it to express a promise in the phrase '*Our politics will be progressive*'. The demonstrative *there* used twice in the sample, emphasizes the speaker's attitudes. In the sample, the adjective 'progressive' presupposes that the politics of the out- group i.e. 'their' politics is retrogressive. See also the rhetorical hopelessness introduced in the second clause by the words 'a vote for that route leads to nowhere at all'. The phrase 'There is no sign of **development** down that road after many years is targeted at labeling the out group negatively by giving the impression

it they' are not development conscious.

34. Your ODM government will ensure **economic stability** remains a platform for **growth with low inflation**.

In the above sample, the use of positive ideological statements for positive label of self and the party is evident. See **economic stability, growth, and low inflation**'. In the sample, the speaker clearly and intentionally presupposes that the 'present' government, i.e. **'their government'** has not ensured economic stability that is characterized with **'stagnation'**. See the word **'growth'**. This word is a metaphor that is synonymous with the positive trends of the economy. The speaker uses the metaphor to indirectly advance the positive ideological position of his party. Consider also the phrase **'low inflation'**. This is also an ontological metaphor that is used for positive ideological reasons. The use of auxiliary **'will'** in the text encodes a rhetorical turn through making a future reference.

35. **But a time comes in the life of every nation when citizens have to choose between the status quo and a future that is full of promise.**

In the above sample, the political ideology is advanced through rhetoric. The rhetoric is expressed using time adverbials such as **'a time comes', 'when citizens have to choose', and a future that is full of promise'**. These phrases are intended to invoke ideological position through emotional statements. The use of negative label is advanced to express political ideology using an analogy. See the analogous phrase choose between **'the status quo and a future that is full of promise. This is** a rhetorical turn aimed at creating emotions to the audience who might choose to break from the **'old order'** here referred to as the **'status quo'**, that things remain the

way they are or associate with the ' **new order**' which is the future full of promise.

36. We proclaim this new supreme law in the firm belief that the lasting peace and security for all can come when we enjoy freedom and justice as equals.

The expressions used in the above sample contain positive adjectives that aim at positive label of the speaker and his party. The phrases '**firm belief lasting peace and security**' and emotive language embedded in the phrase '**when we enjoy freedom and justice as equal**'. These expressions are positioned in the texts for political ideological reasons. The phrase 'we enjoy freedom and justice, as equals is an ideological rhetoric. The adjectives 'freedom, justice and equals 'in the phrase' are used to create emotions by presupposing that the society is in bondage, unjust and is socially imbalanced and insecure, which the speaker seeks to change. See the lexeme 'peace. See also the phrase 'when we enjoy' is a strategy of exclusion, meaning that at present, the mentioned virtues are only enjoyed by members of the out- group but not the speaker and his audience hence the phrase 'when we enjoy' as a future bound rhetoric. In any case, the use of time adverbials in these examples are to declare the current occupants of powerful political offices redundant and create relevance for ODM and the speaker to strategically advance the political ideological positions through negative labeling by presupposing that the present state of affairs is the cause of the social deficits.

37.1 have spent my **entire adult life** somewhere on the political spectrum-**as an observer, activist, a three-time detainee, a member** of parliament, cabinet minister and now a prime minister of my country. (MDC).

JC above example exploits the use of emotive language as to put forward a political ideological position. See the words **my entire adult life, observer, activist and three time detainee'**. adjectives that advance positive labeling and power relations are also used to advance a positive self-impression and achieve the desired rhetorical effects. See **a member of parliament, cabinet minister and now a prime minister of my country'**. This rhetoric advances the ideology of political experience. It is expressed using carefully selected vocabulary that encodes power identity and political ideological identity of an experienced politician. See 'I have spent my entire **adult life** somewhere on the political spectrum'. This paragraph deliberately aimed at achieving political expediency by achieving emotional effects when the speaker succeeds to get to audience's sympathy. The use of the auxiliary form 'will' is a means of advancing political ideology through creating hope. This is covertly proposed by giving the impression to the speaker have gone through some positive and negative political experiences. **The** positive experiences are presupposed to have emanated from personal achievements whereas the negative ones have been perpetrated by the opponents. First, this is a clever discourse strategy of deliberate lexical selection proposed by Habwe in (1991), and secondly it enables the speaker to clearly define the role of participants in this particular text in terms of social hierarchy.

4.1.1 Economic ideology

The economic ideology is manifest using demonstratives, the creation metaphor, the auxiliary will, marked terminology and syllogism to advance economic rhetoric. Syllogism is the inclusion of vague statements, statements that express stereotypes and conclusions that are based on general assumptions in the texts. The following examples will demonstrate this fact.

38. There is the economy as you know; our economy falls back into negligible growth every single election year. We must not repeat the same mistake this year.

The concept of economic ideology is manifest in the texts. In this sample, the lexemes that point at the economic concepts are evident to advance the concept of the present state of the economy. In the example the speaker point out that the economy is in the state of neglect, and this state of affairs has been caused by the out-group. See the phrase '**negligible growth**'. This is a metaphor used to point at the economy as stagnant and realizes minimal or at best no growth. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) argue that 'the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another. In literary terms a metaphor consist of a literal primary object (or tenor), expressed in terms of a figurative 'secondary' subject (or vehicle).

The linking of a particular tenor and vehicle is normally unfamiliar and imaginative leap must be made to recognize the resemblance to which fresh metaphor alludes and therefore, the phrase negligible growth just alludes to the poor performance of the economy. Consider that the speaker's impression that the economy is poor is matter of 'common sense between him' and the audience hence the phrase 'We must not repeat the same mistake this year'. This rhetorical turn crates hope to the addresses that the 'bad' state of the economy will be corrected by the speaker and his party.

39. We intend to see that all Kenyans have few wants, and the lives of the **desperately poor**, which make up to half of our nation, **become lives worth living**.

In the above example, the introductory phrase in this sentence clearly defines the social categories in terms of social classes, i.e. as the desperately poor and the presupposed rich. The

difference between the poor and the rich is achieved through implicature, where the direct mention of the rich is avoided. The phrase 'the lives of the **desperately poor**, which make up to half of our nation' clearly implies that the other half of the population which is not poor is rich, secondly, the economic ideology is illustrated through exaggeration and syllogism. Syllogism is a text strategy where argumentations are not necessarily valid. They either express general and broad statements, social stereotypes and assumptions. See the phrase 'we intend to see that all Kenyans have few wants'. This proposition may be difficult or rather impossible to achieve in the ideal circumstances, but here, the speaker uses the phrase to achieve rhetorical effects. The fact that half of the nations are desperately poor is **not** justified by any facts, except the speaker says that their lives should be improved. See the phrase 'lives worth living'.

40. ODM will ensure through sound economic policies that we immediately set out on a path towards ensuring that **every person** in this nation has the opportunity to put their labour to the fullest.

In this sample, the speaker uses the vocabulary aimed at positive label of the party. See "ODM will ensure through sound economic policies". Consider that the term '**sound economic policies**' is associated with economic growth hence suitable for use for the group of the speaker. This way, the speaker seems to be saying that the current economic policies are unsound exclusive and offer limited opportunities. See the lexemes '**every person**'. Here, the speaker uses the positive adjective that puts him and the party at the position of strength hence the ability to use the auxiliary 'will' to advance the certainty of the party to advance the said 'sound' economic policies. To achieve this, the speaker uses the inclusive rhetoric in the intensifier '**every**' in the sample. As such, such arguments lack credibility and hence not valid. As is evident in the

ests, some of the arguments advanced in the texts are stereotypical, exaggerated or are based on general assumptions made by the speaker based on his discursive objectives. For example,⁴We intend to see that all Kenyans have few wants' and policies that we immediately set out on a path towards ensuring that **every person in this nation has the opportunity to put their labor to the fullest**, are near false, exaggerated and stereotypical. Not every person in any given society can have equal opportunity neither can a government fully fulfill the wants of every citizen.

41. Your ODM government will create capacity within government to **effectively protect Kenyans** trade interests and extract value for the country in the international trade negotiations. (Manifesto).

In the above sample the speaker uses the creation metaphor to extend the economic ideology. See the creation metaphor in the phrase. 'Your ODM government **will create** capacity within government'. Secondly, the choice of vocabulary involved also seeks to advance this notion. The phrase 'effectively protect' is power coded rhetoric the speaker uses to advance the ideology that the speaker and his party have the capacity to protect Kenyans trade interests. See the phrase 'to effectively protect Kenyans trade interests'. CDA proposes that discursive differences are negotiated. This notion is promulgated in this text when the speaker suggests that his party will indeed extract value for the country in the international trade negotiations.

4.1.2 Social and religious ideology

The social ideology is manifested in the texts through rhetoric, the use of the future auxiliary will, marked terminology and the metaphor. These different devices will be illustrated below. As has been pointed out earlier in this study, it has been attributed by scholars of discourse analysis that some topics of exclusion such as racism and religious differences are pervasive and are

^tfitiount^{to the} prevailing ethnic prejudices that politicians do not openly acknowledge.

42. We will provide basic employability training for jobless people with severe literacy and numeracy problems to remove their barriers to employment and enable them to gain employment. (ODM Manifesto).

In this sample, the uses of the future auxiliary 'will' a rhetorical strategy. It is used to advance and to qualify the speaker's ability to provide basic employment and training for the jobless people. **On** the other hand , the vocabulary such as 'people with severe literacy and numeracy problems' are marked as negative labels used to define a disadvantaged section of the society. When the speaker seems to say that the illiterate people can effortlessly gain employment opportunities with some little training, he clearly and successfully defines the group in which he **belongs** through exclusion and inclusion i.e., the speaker belongs to the in-group who want to **change** the lives of the referents of which the out-group that is responsible for the current states of affairs. This extreme use of language is aimed at achieving social ideological effects.

43. We will construct policies that protect and promote the livelihoods and welfare of the poorest and most vulnerable people. (ODM Manifesto, 2007).

In this sample the speaker uses the creation metaphor. The metaphor 'to create' is embedded in the phrase 'we will construct policies'. This is a power coded social ideology because the 'creator'. The notion of construction is borne of power, creativity and unique, sometimes deity-like wisdom. Secondly, the use of adverbials for positive labeling for him and his group is evident. See the words 'to protect and promote', enhances the social ideology that, the poor are helpless and therefore should be protected and, the vulnerable "poorest and vulnerable' are disadvantaged and therefore should be promoted. Further, the adjectives used to label the

•>reOts contain emotive language .The terms poor and vulnerable actually define the advantaged social categories and the severities of the presupposed squalid conditions -dergone by the poor. These are justified using the superlative and the intensifier. The -perlative-est is used in the word poor in the adjective 'poorest' whereas the adjective -vulnerable' is qualified by the intensifier 'most. In each case, the intensifier and the superlative ire used to exaggerate the circumstances of the poor and the vulnerable to achieve social geological effects. This is a cause and effect strategy in discourse to exclude the "causers' of the present condition of the referents when the speaker presupposes that the poor will benefit from the policies of his political party ODM, the party he leads. This is where the ideational metalinguistic component proposed by Halliday comes in handy because it clearly spells out how logic lends to experience, this is to say that it might be difficult to conclude that what the speaker says is actually what he means.

44. The moment we **created the space**, Mwai Kibaki, who had never tasted the **discomfort and pain caused** by holding strong political beliefs and fighting for it, unlike his peers, formed his own political party DP.

In this sample, rhetoric is used as an ideological strategy to advance power relations trough persuasion. To express power relations, the speaker uses the creation metaphor **Mo create'** to advance power. The phrases, we created the space, for example, is positioned in the text both for ideological reasons and power relations. First, it expresses power because the creation metaphor 'we **will** create' succeeds to qualify the speaker as an entity with the power of creation and ideological because, the entire phrase labels the out-group as a **non-struggler**. See the lexemes '**discomfort** and pain' is used to presuppose that, unlike his peers, the referent has no strong democratic beliefs and is not a team player. See 'holding strong political beliefs and

righting for it, unlike his peers, formed his own political party DP. In political usage, war metaphors manage the perceived societal problems where, the advanced concept (tenor) takes the place of individual or state (vehicle) as the target domain where dominance is expressed through metoric.

45. This has led to **human rights abuses, the breakdown of the rule of law**, the over-centralization of power, particularly as vested in imperial presidencies, and the accompanying cultures of corruption and impunity. We will devolve that power.

In this sample, the same strategy is employed to express power through ideology. Here, the speaker uses the metaphor and emotive language to express his ideas. See **human rights abuses, over centralization of power, imperial presidencies and cultures of corruption and impunity**. The speaker seems to say, for ideological reasons that when one entity wields excessive power, the power can be abused to dominate others, to express the power rhetoric to label him positively by implying that he has the ability to devolve that power. See '**We will devolve that power**'. In advancing that rhetoric, the speaker uses the more assertive form of auxiliary 'will' instead of shall to introduce the phrase where the power relations in the metaphor 'to devolve' is embedded. The creation metaphor is the main means used to achieve this discursive objective aimed at deciphering ideology and advancing power. On the metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) argue that 'the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one thing in terms of another'. In literary terms a metaphor consist of a literal primary object (or tenor), expressed in terms of a figurative 'secondary' subject (or vehicle).

46. 'Muslims have suffered terribly due to **so-called anti-terrorism moves**'.

In the above sample, the lexical selection used to advance the social ideology is in of marked

terminology. See Muslims- a minority section of religious group and terrorism- associated with **he** extremists who cause death and destruction to humanity for religious and ideological reasons, **the** phrase 'anti-terrorist moves' shows the speaker's current mood and intention. It is important to consider that as a discourse strategy, the present location of the speaker actually determines the context of the text, hence the word terrorism which is a negative label is mitigated by the phrase 'so **called**' in the present context so as to exonerate the speaker's negative feelings about Muslims and to de-emphasize the negative idea that Muslims are terrorists. Indeed this works well for the speaker to justify that the idea that Muslims are terrorists is advanced by others but not the speaker. This strategy deciphers a perfect social ideology. In CDA, these pervasive topics [such as racism and ethnic prejudices] are also reflected in style rhetoric and the local semantic moves. Vandjik (1991), quoted in Ola (2011:60) argues that elites play a crucial role in the reproduction of racism by reformulating and instigating 'popular' racism through debates. Among the many strategies of what Odinga actually describes as elite racism, **are the consistent denials** of racist beliefs and the attribution of racism to others as has been proposed by Vandjik (ibid). Racist ideas can be used to actually draw the true feelings and attitudes of the speaker in this particular topic. Since CDA proposes that political reality is a social construct manufactured through discursive practices and shared systems of meanings, it is plausible to conclude that language does not simply reflect reality, it actually co-constitutes it. Consequently, "a fully informed understanding on the current 'war on terrorism' is unattainable in the absence of critical deconstruction of the official language of counter terrorism' (<http://www.49thparallel.bham.ac.uk>).

The enemy concept as an ideological strategy

Many scholars of CDA have highlighted the concept of the enemy. Ida Zidore (2011) available online at <http://www.u-landsnyt.dk/sites/default/pdf>, quotes Ottosen (1995:99) saying that, the enemy images function as a justification of cultural violence. These views are supported by Samn (1998), quoted in Zidore (2011) *ibid*. These scholars argue that cultural elites (in the context of the present study, political elites) can gain hegemony through articulation and persuasion. This is so because the political ethics demonstrated by the politicians actually forms the 'political culture' that they espouse and execute. Samn particularly identifies six typical dehumanizing practices in enemy construction. These are:

1. Enemy as created by paranoia-outside power conspiring against the community.
2. Enemy of god- justifies violent retaliation as a 'crusade' against evil.
3. Enemy of the barbarian-as a destroyer of culture 'matter without mind' that needs to be conquered by superior culture.
4. Enemy as a rapist-destroyer of motherhood.
5. Enemy as a beast, insect or reptile.
6. Enemy as death-bearer of destruction of the populace.

It may not be possible to look at the notion of the enemy in the present study using all the proposals made in this taxonomy, however, it is important to note that much of it has a direct bearing on the present study. Considering that ideology is an organized personal or group attitude, 'they are very general and abstract', Vandjik (2008:207). The notion of the enemy as an ideological concept is manifested in the speeches of Raila through marked terminology, the use of the modal, time adverbial and the metaphor. Since the enemy is painted through negative

ling, the lexical choices used under this sub theme just point at that direction.

47The democratic efforts were first **thwarted** by the '**repressive**' Moi regime and further distorted by the '**regressive**' Kibaki regime.

The concept of the enemy is advanced through the metaphor 'thwarted'. This metaphor is an indirect reference to those who oppose upward progress of others hence, the metaphor is used to paint both Kibaki and Moi as anti-democracy (those who suppress democracy), See the phrase 'The democratic efforts were first **thwarted**' and the use of the words **repressive** and **regressive** to refer to both Kibaki and Moi regimes. Now the clause also contains the adjectives 'repressive and regressive' are positioned in the texts to negatively label the two referents i.e. Moi and Kibaki as the enemies of progress (regressive) and high handed (repressive). The adjectives regressive and repressive portray the two as the enemies of individual rights and freedoms.

48. Kibaki, Moi and the PNU **must be** defeated... to consolidate and enhance **our democratic gains**'. (ODM manifesto, 2007)

The concept of the enemy as an ideological concept is further illustrated in the above sample. Here, Kibaki and Moi are again presented as anti-democracy. See the phrase 'to consolidate and enhance our democratic gains'. The clearest presentation in this sample is in the phrase 'Kibaki, Moi and the PNU **must be defeated**'. The position being advanced here is that the enemy must be fought and the fight must yield defeat without which, the wrath of the enemy is likely to be met with severe consequences. It is always the enemy and his 'destructive' ways that should be defeated, and here, it is plausible to consider that, for the defeat to come there must be a fight.

immediate rejection of the pre-election memorandum of understanding by Kibaki, **his first act of betrayal in breaking the covenant** he made with his peers, was **the first step of going back to the old ways of doing political business in Kenya under president Moi (ODM manifesto).**

In the above sample, the speaker uses the metaphor 'breaking the covenant' to advance the concept of the enemy. This is a metaphor that considers that a covenant is a strong bond that binds entities and the part that violates it in part or in whole is said to be 'breaking' it even though the covenant has no physical qualities and does not undergo such experiences. Subsequently, the speaker uses the concept of the 'old order' and the 'new' order to subtly associate him with the new order and successfully labeling the 'old' order as retrogressive or architects of the status quo. See the phrase 'the old ways of doing political business in Kenya under president Moi'. In the above sample, the speaker attempts to label the referent (Kibaki) as a leader who was elected on the platform of change but who is now unfortunately sliding back to the 'old' ways of the predecessor (Moi) hence qualifies as the enemy of the new order, the enemy of change. Secondly, the speaker uses marked terminology to portray the referent as an untrustworthy leader. The phrase, 'his first act of betrayal' in the example justifies this claim.

50. When he came to power, Kibaki cronies were heard to say that constitutional change was a necessity for removing Moi from power but now that "one of their own" was in power, there was no need for a new constitution that would bring about genuine power sharing. (ODM, Manifesto, 2007).

In the above sample, the concept of the enemy is advanced by an array of lexemes. For example, the phrase 'constitutional change was only needed to remove Moi from power and thereafter, the same is not necessary. In all these words, the speaker resists the onus of the referent (Kibaki) but he is a

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and conclusions

This chapter is going to outline the summary of the research findings in relation to the objectives of the study and the hypotheses that it was determined to test,

the study tested the following hypotheses:

- Raila Odinga uses the pronominal, the anaphor and the cataphor as forms of identity in his political speeches.
- The lexical choices made by Raila Odinga, the use of emotive language and marked terminology in the speeches of Raila Odinga contribute to ideology formation.
- Power relations are expressed through identity and ideology.

In the study, it was evident that power being the struggle of differences, usually pits the participants who are involved in the discursive networks in ideological differences, where texts fit as sites where the emerging discursive differences in the social relationships are negotiated, mediated and or promulgated, in texts and these create different effects, perceptions, attitudes and beliefs in the existing public spaces. In fact identity, ideology and power relations result to production of texts within contexts, which can be conveniently reproduced through recontextualization.

It was also evident that the notion of power relations and struggles are indeed embedded in the texts, through ideological considerations or identity, where the power of the speaker is bestowed upon him by different rights, privileges and laws. The power relations are executed through the use of creation metaphors, warlike metaphors, redemption metaphors other metaphors and the metonymy.

grammatical level, anaphors, cataphors, and pronominals were used in the texts by the * as the means of defining identities and social relationships. It was mentioned in the chapters of this study that, power is a key component in the study of political discourses such, this study clearly outlined the opaque and transparent power relations expressed through power coded language in most of the speeches studied.

In view of the sampled data and the results of this study, I consider it plausible to conclude that, due to the flexible nature of participants in political discourse in terms of the addressees who usually inform the contexts of texts, the speaker often times seems to be forced to deliver the same message in different forms as a stylistic strategy to keep relevant to the context of the text in the present discourse and balance between his personal interests, attitudes, current mood, and the expectations of discourse and those of the addressee to achieve the intended discourse objectives.

The said struggle for relevance is evidently demonstrated through the careful choice made on the level of lexico-grammatical units such as the metaphor stands out as the key element of that is used to configure texts for ideological purposes to suit the contexts] where Raila Odinga delivered the speeches constrained by the opaque discursive objectives.

At grammatical level for example, the use of, Pronominal, anaphors, cataphors adjectival phrases and argumentative strategies used in the political speeches of Raila Odinga portray that political texts are inconsistent in terms of objectivity, and may be sites for manipulation or misuse on the part of the politicians, especially when they deliberately chose to be opaque in the texts with covert intention of dominance. Passive constructions and figurative language for example, exonerates the speaker from taking responsibility where the same may be required and especially when texts are interpreted by the addressees as biased, exclusive, discriminative or offensive in

contexts, making politicians to be the only people who are better placed to exclusively their utterances with objectivity.

it was also evident that language can be used to decipher ideology and identity in the hierarchical public spaces through the binary oppositions defined by lexical choices and i.e discourse patterns. The systematic use of the ideological accounts that define the 'we' terms of 'us' and the 'otherness' in terms of 'them' were encountered in most of the texts as a strategic subject positioning in texts for the purposes of inclusion or exclusion.

At the lexical level, the adjectival phrases used for negative labeling amounted to marked terminology where the 'outside groups' [the 'them'] were depicted in a negative light or the positive things about them deliberately deemphasized through the use of words like regressive,ressive, undemocratic, autocratic among others. In some texts though, the use of marked terminology was mitigated as a rhetorical turn to woo the members of the 'outside groups' to look towards the point of view of the speaker. For example, Odinga seems to be non chauvinist when he uses only the adjectives of positive label to refer to his wife Ida. This attitude however cannot be over generalized since in some contexts, Odinga just refers to the female gender as women.

Scholars of CDA have argued that 'politicians' can use language by manufacturing the enemy concept to justify cultural violence. Some topics that are used to advance the enemy concept are however considered to be pervasive that speakers never acknowledge them publicly i.e. the issues of racism, refugees, and the disabled and marked religious groups like Muslims. The use of figurative language in the texts by Raila Odinga is enormous. Metaphors and metonyms were used to illustrate the hidden power relations in the texts embedded in ideological concepts and

ity. All these were done with the effort to create the positive image of the speaker as a peemer, a creator of solutions and a person who can fight for the interest of others. Since the texts are political in nature, the definition of the social relationships figurative was in most instances preferred to plain language as a stylistic or contextual strategy. The use of metaphors, particularly, those that are associated with personification [ontological metaphors] were evident in the texts. Some metaphors that were manifest expressed the use of emotive language for ideological reasons and to explain complex beliefs and attitudes of the speaker. Sometimes the use of emotive language for emotional appeal to the audience is evident as a deliberate discourse strategy. Further, some ideological concepts are relayed in very abstract terms as a strategy to maintain the blur in texts and bolster the speakers' true intentions as a discourse exit route.

As an ideological strategy, most of the clauses used for the analyses and the excerpts slid in the discourse especially in the 2007 manifesto only emphasize the good things about ODM, as the only political party that can mitigate the problems of Kenyans which are [the problems] which the speaker portrays to have been caused by his opponents but not him nor his party. This is an ideological strategy of exclusion achieved through negative labeling of the out-group. Metaphors are also evident in the texts, creation metaphors as a means of lexical selection in the phrases such as 'when we created democratic space', 'retrogressive regime', 'no consultation', 'struggle', 'reform', 'good governance' and many more are manifested in most of the texts.

If the data could be subjected into numerical quantification, the instances where the democratic credentials of the speaker and the credibility of the ODM, are positively presented could obviously be frequent.

I Recommendations for further research

The main concern of the present study was to determine the extent of the use of language to cipher ideology and to define social relationships in terms of identity the existing hierarchical public spaces.

The study examined the prepared (written) speeches of Raila Odinga in which case, the assumption made here was that, even though the texts were prepared prior to their delivery, the speaker actually read them out to his audiences hence achieve the same objectives of oratory. The fact that they were written and prepared brought the general feeling that the speeches might have not been representative enough to portray the real image (identity) of Raila Odinga, his ideological leanings in terms of his attitudes, beliefs and how he utilizes language to play his politics, and as such further research can be carried out on his unprepared political speeches to examine the notions of power, ideology and identity, within the confines of CDA. On the other hand, the domains that can be studied in the perspective of the Critical Discourse Analysis are far from exhausted. The theory of CDA, as proposed by several scholars point out at many domains in which the study of texts can be possible and beneficial. Teun Vandjik talks about how the notion of social change is manifest in the political texts. Ruth Wodak also points out adequate differences between male and female speakers in discourse. In that regard I would recommend to scholars, who may wish to take a keener look at how the use of language as a social practice, to consider that the studies in CDA and therefore the future study can take in a different approach.

For example, Raila Odinga who was my subject of study is a male politician and therefore a more rigorous twist can be done in a way of studying the political texts of a female politician.

Such a study will give the theory a completely new approach, assumptions and features that can

* subjected into inquiry since it is a known linguistic fact that men actually employ different recursive strategies from women. Future research can therefore take a comparative approach of how male and female politicians use language in their political speeches, or better still; the language use by a female politician in political contexts can be studied in the perspective of social change or power relations. Further, the notions of power, identity and ideology are not restricted to the study of the 'national' political discourse. Politics actually exist in every social setting, say, University Politics, faculty politics, student politics, teacher politics and so on, and in these contexts, power struggles manifest it alongside ideological competitions and identity problems.

Staffroom politics in public and private schools, colleges and universities can still be studied alongside the student unions such as SONU, the teacher organizations such as the Kenya National Union of Teachers KNUT, which is actually apolitical outfit, University Faculty Politics and so on and perhaps the 'kitchen' politics if they ever exist can be studied.

In all of the above mentioned groups, power struggles through dominance and subordination is manifest, where power is legitimized through 'democratic' or 'undemocratic' channels, with a view of determining the extent to which those power struggles and identity challenges are driven by solid ideological positions or not. All these can be analyzed by CDA.

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**STATEMENT BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE RAILA ODINGA, PRIME MINISTER
OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA, TO THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

September 25, 2009 Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, Your Excellencies, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, It gives me great pleasure Mr. President, to congratulate you on the singular honour of your having been chosen for the Presidency of this 64th Session of the United Nations General Assembly. I would like to assure youqfmy_delegation's fullest support as you undertake your momentous responsibility to unite member states in pursuing the common goal of a more humane, secure, united and prosperous world. There was a time recently when this elusive goal finally appeared within reach, but multiple new challenges have coalesced to render the goal even more distant. It is therefore most encouraging, Mr. President, that the world is turning to the United Nations to find a common, global path to resolving the most intractable difficulties facing humanity. There is a clear recognition emerging that together we can all rise; separately, we can only sink. There was a time when the powerful disdained this institution's ability to be a unifying player. This is now changing, and in this regard I would like to commend the President of the United States, who holds a very special place in the hearts of Africans, Kenyans in particular, for having so eloquently on Wednesday indicated the centrality of the UN in charting common solutions. In order to better equip the United Nations for meeting these challenges, Mr. President, we must continue to press for reform in the Organization. The Security Council in particular must be enlarged and made more democratic and representative of current day reality. Part of the enlargement must include permanent, veto-bearing seats for Africa.

2 The world can no longer continue to marginalize a continent which is home to nearly a billion people. This is wrong in principle but even more it is wrong in practice. We cannot find sustainable solutions to our challenges when such a large part of humanity is given so little voice and role in that quest for peace. Mr. President, The world is now acutely aware that the quest for peace begins with ensuring the survival of the planet. I would therefore like to thank Secretary General Ban Ki-moon for having convened the high level meeting on climate change, which has put this issue squarely onto the world's centre stage. There is no issue that clearly unites the

- " population of the entire world as climate change docs. Regrettably, the far-sighted decision at the 2005 United Nations World Summit to explore the possibility of a more coherent institutional framework for International Environmental Governance (IED) has not borne any fruit. This is particularly unacceptable now when climate change is indeed the most pressing challenge of our times. We therefore call for the upgrading of UNEP in Nairobi so that it can become the central environmental institution handling the numerous conventions. We have noted with regret the emergence of multiple centres dealing with environmental issues. This dissipates their impact and sometimes even leads to contradictory actions. The UN Office in Nairobi should now be elevated to the same level as UN offices in Geneva and Vienna to enable it to provide comprehensive support to all member states and organizations struggling to adjust to a new paradigm of a sustainable and dynamic green economy. Without that, the lives of billions will be imperiled. Already, as the Secretary General pointed out on Wednesday, another 100 million people may fall below the poverty line this year from climate change setbacks. Markets may be bouncing back but incomes and jobs are not. These developments do not augur well for the future. Mr. President,

I regret to say that my own country is emblematic of the woes unleashed by years of rampant excesses in the global and local mismanagement of our environment. The melting of the famed ice caps of Mt. Kenya and nearby Mt. Kilimanjaro, the destruction of vast swathes of our once beautiful forests, the drying of fast-flowing rivers, the intensifying cycles of drought and then the floods, the spread of Malaria to highland

3 regions as temperature rise -- these are all consequences of human action within and outside our borders. And so the solution also must also entail action on both fronts. The greater challenge for us, I am afraid, is the external one. We, like the rest of Africa, produce only a tiny proportion of the emissions that are rapidly warming the planet and wreaking havoc in our capacity to produce adequate amounts of food and energy and husband sustainable water supplies.

Our economies are in disarray. We are victims of the richer world's acts and omissions, and so we do need large amounts of money in assistance and private sector investment to reverse the course of events. The world must agree on concrete actions in Copenhagen. But we in Kenya are

not interested in playing the blame game or waiting for international action to materialize. We have already begun to take very tough political decisions to reverse the ravages.

Our immediate goal is to fully restore our largest water tower, the famed Mau, as well as the other four towers, and are embarking on a huge reforestation drive to plant seven billion trees which will recreate the carbon-taming "sinks" that once made us self sufficient in food and energy. We are also undertaking a crash programme designed to rapidly shift energy production to green technologies using assets that we are naturally rich in - wind and sun, but most important of all, geothermal energy, which could more than double our current energy production within four years.

For all of this, we are mobilizing local resources but we will need significant assistance and investment to succeed in our goal of self-sufficiency the green way. The rich nations have recognized that they have a self interest in promoting such green commitments in developing countries, but the mechanisms in place to support these need to be refined and made more effective in quickly releasing resources.

We therefore support British Prime Minister Gordon Brown's proposal for a \$100 billion facility, and at the same time, urge the \$20 billion pledged for enhanced food production by the G8 be speedily mobilized and disbursed. Where we need assistance most immediately for feeding the 10 million Kenyans who are now living in hunger and could face starvation shortly. Just last week, we declared this as a national disaster that would need 500 million dollars to rectify, out of which 250 million dollars would be mobilized from our own resources and the other 250 million dollars we are urgently appealing for from our donor partners. Tens of thousands of livestock have died. This devastation is a result primarily of climate change. We have had droughts before but they now recur much more frequently and with greater severity. One drought year is difficult enough, but the rains have now failed us for four consecutive seasons. I appeal to our well wishers, which are many, to assist us in this dire emergency

4 To mitigate suffering, we have done a massive mobilization, including of the military, in providing relief, and drilling boreholes and transporting water to areas in acute need. Mr.

- President, I am very proud to say, Mr. President, that despite the terrible post-election violence and the subsequent multiple reverses which made reconciliation and reconstruction so much
- harder, our people have shown an extraordinary maturity and resilience in rising to their unprecedented challenges.

We were able to overcome the election bitterness with an Accord we signed with the help of the African Union and the Kofi Annan mediation, supported by the United Nations and Secretary General Ban ki-moon, who personally visited Kenya at the height of the crisis. Thank you Mr. Secretary General. Mr. President, Let me now turn to the one area where peace does not prevail and which is a source of immense concern to the entire international community - Somalia. As its immediate neighbor, and with a large population of Kenyan Somalis, no country has done more to assist Somalia in overcoming its divisions and conflicts. No one is keener therefore than we are to help defeat the forces of extremism in Somalia, which have so much sway because of the help of external elements.

The continuing inflow of refugees, small arms and light weapons is the major source of insecurity in our country^The latest setback from this insecurity is disruption through piracy of international trade in one of the busiest sea routes in the world. Despite the risk it exposes us to, Kenya has offered facilities for detention and prosecution of suspected pirates, as part of our international obligation to promote peace.

We have also offered to host a United Nations-organized conference in Kenya on how to coordinate and more effectively deal with the scourge of piracy. In return, we ask the international community to recognize our many sacrifices and assist us in dealing with our major refugee and security burdens.

IGAD and the African Union has recommended to the UN Security Council to impose a no fly zone and locate of airport and seaports held by insurgents to prevent arm inflows. Kenya fully supports this

position. It is now incumbent upon the United Nations Security Council to take decisive action to forestall further anarchy in Somalia. To succeed in the quest for Somali peace, we must recognize that the present focus primarily on the use of force has not seen any curbing of strife. Indeed, the security and humanitarian crises are worse than ever before. We must therefore take a more comprehensive approach in tackling the extremists, which includes encouraging the Transitional Federal Government to more aggressively pursue its commitment to a much more inclusive political process to bring into the government ALL forces which shun violence.

Such outreach to all moderates can only succeed with much greater international support. It is regrettable that many pledges made at the Brussels meeting have yet to be honoured. I call upon all those who have not honoured their pledges to do so immediately. Mr. President, Turning back to the global economic crisis, it is now recognized that one of its principal causes is the weakness of the international financial system. We should strengthen and promote effective multilateralism with the United Nations at the center. We need to reform the international financial governance institutions so that they can prevent crises and develop more effective and equitable responses to them.

Mr. President, The ideals and principles of the United Nations are more than ever today the rarest hope for a more prosperous and equitable world. Multilateralism in this globalized age is the only sure way to ensure that peace, development and unity prevail at a time when the world is riven with so many divisions. We need a genuine partnership among all nations and peoples so that everyone feels he or she is a critical stakeholder in national and international decision making. Within democratic nations, each person's vote is equal to the others, regardless of their power or wealth. That is the principle that must finally be applied to the workings of the entire international system. THANK YOU.

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OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

Speech by the Rt. Hon. Raila Odinga, Prime Minister of Kenya During the Strategic Partners
a t l X e Forum on the Rehabilitation of the Mau Forest Ecosystem at the United Nations Office in
SHOBI > MAY, 2010

Dr A-chim Steiner, Executive Director of UNEP;
Yw Excellencies;
Lanes and Gentlemen,

It is a privilege to meet again to apprise ourselves on where we are, with regard to the Restoration of the
Mau Forest Ecosystem, and chart the course to expand the scope of our work to restore not only the Mau
• also the other four Water Towers. All these water towers are so vital to ensure economic development
"cS is rapid yet at peace with nature.

Irr. particularly happy to report that despite the isolated resistance here and there. Kenyans have, by and
accepted that the restoration of the Mau and other water towers is a sustainable development
-peratK^eT' Consensus has now emerged. The very existence of many communities and the welfare of
v« country depend on how we live with our forests and our ecosystems, and indeed how we address the
»t environmental challenges of our time.

We have made considerable progress. The rehabilitation of the Mau Forests Complex was to be
implemented in three phases. So far we have completed Phases 1, and 2, and Phase 3. It is ongoing.

For date. 4,530 hectares was repossessed almost immediately after the establishment of the Interim
Coordinating Secretariat during Phase I. This consists of land that remained empty and unoccupied.

Additional, 19,000 hectares were repossessed during phase two from illegal squatters
-recommendation of the Task Force on the Mau Forest Complex and as approved by Parliament. As a
December 2009, all squatters had vacated the Mau Forests Complex.

We are now in Phase 3. The bulk of the activities are going on behind the scenes as we work to demarcate
the allottees of land under the 2001 excision; confirm the legality of the land and establish an
Ogiek Council of elders to address the interests of the Ogiek as indigenous or traditional. In the
runtime, we have replanted 1,400 hectares and plans are on course to rehabilitate an additional 5,000
hectares.

As evidence of the acceptance by Kenyans of the urgent need to rehabilitate the Mau Forest, up to 42 titles
have been surrendered back to the government without any demand for compensation.

As we move forward to rehabilitate the Mau Forest, we are conscious of the fact that we have to be
sensitive to the human and social needs of those who must leave the forest. This
sustainability of any rehabilitation efforts will depend on these very people as friends of the forest. So far,
illegal activities have been reduced by an estimated 60-70 per cent in southern Mau.

Truly our past colleagues who share our passion and desire to restore the Mau to its former glory. The Trust Fund has been established, and a substantial sum has already been set aside to contribute to those companies and organizations that made this possible and appeal to me forward and be part of this important initiative.

Ladies and Gentlemen;

beyond the Mau Forest Ecosystem. Environmental issues are necessarily interconnected. We extend our restoration efforts to the other Water Towers. Together with President Kibaki, I launched the restoration of Aberdares several weeks ago. We will soon initiate comprehensive restoration programs for the remaining Water Towers.

Water Towers, we will ensure that we are comprehensive in our solutions. The Ministry of Irrigation has already gazetted two catchments management strategies covering the Mau Forests complex, and in addition established eight Water Resources Users Associations (WRUA) for the entire

extent of the work and resources required to restore all the country's water towers is such that a lot of support will be required. Some of the priority conservation areas will include:

- 1) Implementation of an effective management framework;
- 2) Survey and demarcation of the boundaries;
- 3) Relocation of people residing in the forests and the critical catchments areas;
- 4) Building institutional capacity to attract private sector investment and secure community participation in conservation;
- 5) Development of a long-term ecosystem management plan;
- 6) Rehabilitation of the degraded forests;
- 7) Development of financial mechanisms to sustain the management of the forests and conserve the critical ecological services they provide.

This ambitious Restoration Programme will of course require commensurately large financial resources. The government will provide as much as possible from our budgetary resources. We will also rapidly develop "bankable" forestry development projects, so that Kenya can access our fair share of the \$30 billion fast track Climate Change Financing for 2010-2012, that was pledged in Copenhagen.

Moreover, we want to ensure that the rehabilitation of the Mau and the other Forests can be exploited as a source of financial resources. Specifically, we see opportunities in the REDD Plus initiatives on the horizon. I am traveling to Norway in 3 weeks to participate in discussions of Partnership Agreement, which should facilitate in making REDD Plus more readily available for Kenya and other developing countries.

In addition, we see opportunities in the evolving carbon markets as negotiations continue under the U.N. Framework Convention on Climate Change. We are already engaged in serious discussions with investment bankers and others, all of whom see real and considerable opportunities in carbon trading in our forestry development programs.

I am convinced that these sources combined will give us financial resources much larger than we currently have. However, this will not be enough.

That is why we are establishing the Kenya Water Towers Conservation Trust, to which all of you donor agencies, private enterprises, philanthropies, and you as individuals - can pool resources together, for the shared vision of Glorious Forests covering all of Kenya. The Trust has its own Board and governance structure that will ensure your own preferred projects are implemented and that the use of resources will be fully and transparently accounted for.

Ladies and Gentlemen;

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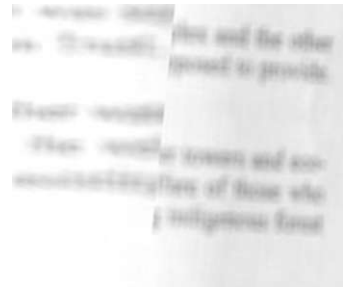
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Our efforts to meet the challenges of Climate Change extend to low carbon growth and to green energy. We are examining how we might develop other green sources of energy in a presently hydro-predominant power generation system. The current system is too sensitive to the vagaries of weather and the now established climate change risks.

Our aim is to generate, within the next three years, an additional 2,000 megawatts of power from renewable energy sources. We are well on our way.

Finally, Ladies and Gentlemen;

The Government is grateful for the support it has received from many development partners. The solidarity demonstrated during tree planting events and the public support for the Mau initiative by many partners has been humbling.

I plead that we put together the necessary resources to ensure that the Mau Forests Complex and the other Water Towers are restored to its former glory to provide the ecosystem services it was supposed to provide. I urge all of you to contribute to the newly established Water Towers Conservation Trust.

I need to reemphasize that the whole purpose of rehabilitating the Mau Forest, other water towers and ecosystems is to guarantee sustainable development. To do so, we must look after the welfare of those who will, of necessity, have to move out of the forest. I assure you that modalities for assisting indigenous forest dwellers, like the Ogieks, is receiving active attention by the government.

I thank you for coming and for your support.



Office of the Prime Minister

Statement Prime Minister - Strategic Plnn Launch

I have had the privilege of serving as Prime Minister of our great Nation for the past year and a half. I have heard directly from citizens about what is important to them, looked at the operations of government and our public services, and considered how we can make Government work better for Kenyans.

This has resulted in the goals and priorities set out in the first Strategic Plan for my Office. The Strategic Plan explains my Office's priorities and work program for the next four years. It is about turning well-made plans into action, success and results for our people. In short, it is about making Government work better for Kenyans.

The Plan explains my mandate to coordinate and supervise the operations of Government as set out in the Constitution and, explains what that means for the role of my Office. It identifies the major priorities we have chosen to drive forward, as we work with Ministries, Departments, other Agencies of Government and stakeholders and spells out improvements I want to see in the way Government works to serve Kenyans.

Some of the big challenges we face, and opportunities we want to pursue, involve the work of several Ministries. No one Ministry or agency can grow our economy, tackle hunger, eliminate corruption, or protect our environment on its own. Ministries and agencies must talk to each other, plan and make changes together. It is my job to make sure that this linking-up does happen - to make sure that everyone in Government is pulling together in the same direction to implement important priorities. I recognize that none of us are as strong as all of us working together.

While responsibility for policy development and implementation rests with Ministries, Departments and other Agencies of Government, my Office will provide support, help remove blockages and will report to Parliament and citizens on our progress and results.

Implementing our priorities and changing how government works will require excellent public service leadership, with new attitudes and ways of thinking that put citizens first and delivers high quality services. We need a public service with the right skills and focus to get the job done — which removes barriers to change instead of putting them up. It must translate citizens* and political ideas into policies, and their policies must translate into action - in our streets, our schools, our medical clinics, and in the quality of the water we drink and the air that we breathe. We need public servants to take pride in making Kenya a better place to live, work and raise our families. There are many dedicated, hard working, and honest individuals in the public service, I want to see that these values are upheld throughout the service. Put simply, we want a modern, corruption-free government that delivers high quality services to Kenyans, within our financial means.

The Strategic Plan signals important changes in how Government works by:

- Calling for a whole-of-Government focus on our most important priorities as a Nation. This means making sure that priorities are funded properly, that departments are working together to relentlessly drive them forward - and reporting often on progress
- Ensuring Government is linked-up in planning, developing policies and programs and in implementing priorities
- Reflecting the Prime Minister's role in integrating Government policy making and implementation.

The public service must be a shining example of the highest standards of professionalism, integrity and ethics. Elected officials must be held to the same high standards. Corruption threatens to tarnish our society and global reputation. This must be replaced with a culture of honesty and integrity.

The change I want to see is significant. In this important endeavour momentum and results will come quickly in some areas, while in others it will take time, but steady progress will be made according to clear plans and timetables, with regular reports to citizens.

I will work tirelessly and relentlessly, with his Excellency the President, my political colleagues, the public service and all of our partners in Kenya, to achieve a better and more responsive Government, and to implement changes that Kenyans have told us matter most to them.

**MESSAGE BY THE RT. HON. RAILA AMOLO ODINGA, E.G.H., MP,
MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA, ON THE
OCCASION OF AWARD OF ISO QMS 9001:2008 QMS CERTIFICATES**

MESSAGE BY THE RT. HON. RAILA AMOLO ODINGA, E.G.H., MP, PRIME
MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA, ON THE OCCASION OF AWARD OF
ISO 9001:2008 CERTIFICATION TO THE MINISTRY OF STATE FOR
PLANNING, NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND VISION 2030 AND THE KENYA
INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS (KIPPRA), AT THE
WATTA INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE CENTRE AT 10.00 AM ON 2ND
FEBRUARY 2011.

Minister of State for Planning, National Development and Vision 2030 Hon. Wycliffe
Oparanya,

Assistant Minister of State for Planning, National Development and Vision 2030, Hon.
Japheth Kariuki-Kenneth,

Permanent Secretary, Secretary to the Cabinet and the Head of Public Service, (Ami).
Sifiso Muthaura,

Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of State for Planning, National Development and
Vision 2030, Dr. Edward Sambili

Members and Gentlemen

It is my great pleasure to join you today and to preside over the official award of the prestigious
ISO 9001:2008 Quality Management System Certification to the Ministry of State for Planning,
National Development and Vision 2030 and one of its Semi-Autonomous Agencies – the
Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA). This is indeed another
significant achievement by this Ministry, whose mandate is to spearhead implementation of the
Vision 2030.

The requirement for the Quality Management System (QMS) certification to government
institutions is a recent addition to the raft of public reform initiatives introduced by this
government in the recent past. It is a process seen as central to enhancing the performance of
public servants and restoring public confidence in the civil service.

ISO QMS standards are a reflection of global consensus on good management practices that
focus on ensuring quality and customer focused service delivery. Through the standards, we make
our systems predictable and therefore reliable. The standards are therefore a useful intervention
in tackling shortcomings in public service delivery that have in the past constrained Kenya's
growth for development.

Members and Gentlemen: It is always refreshing when a public agency excels alongside private
sector institutions in areas that have hitherto been the preserve of the corporate world. With the
ever-growing demands arising from the global competitiveness, only those who will adopt high
quality standards will endure the storm. The certificates you have just received are a clear
testimony that the Government is steadily assuming a central role in revolutionizing service

delivery in this country for the benefit of all Kenyans. With this trend, a new culture is taking root in public service to ensure that those who do not conform to the agreed standards are naturally weeded out.

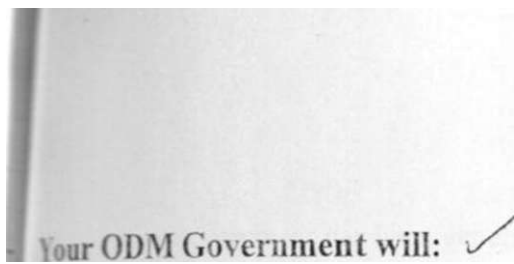
The ISO standards are very close to my heart having been part of the team that participated at the inception of ISO certification in this country back in my days at the Kenya Bureau of Standards. ISO means Standards and *Standards mean Business*.

As a Ministry mandated to provide leadership on policy formulation, planning and implementation of the Vision 2030, the Ministry of Planning has done well to recognize the contributions that standards can make to the arduous task of nation building. The fact that the Ministry of Planning is domiciled under my office makes it even the more exciting for me to preside over this landmark achievement.

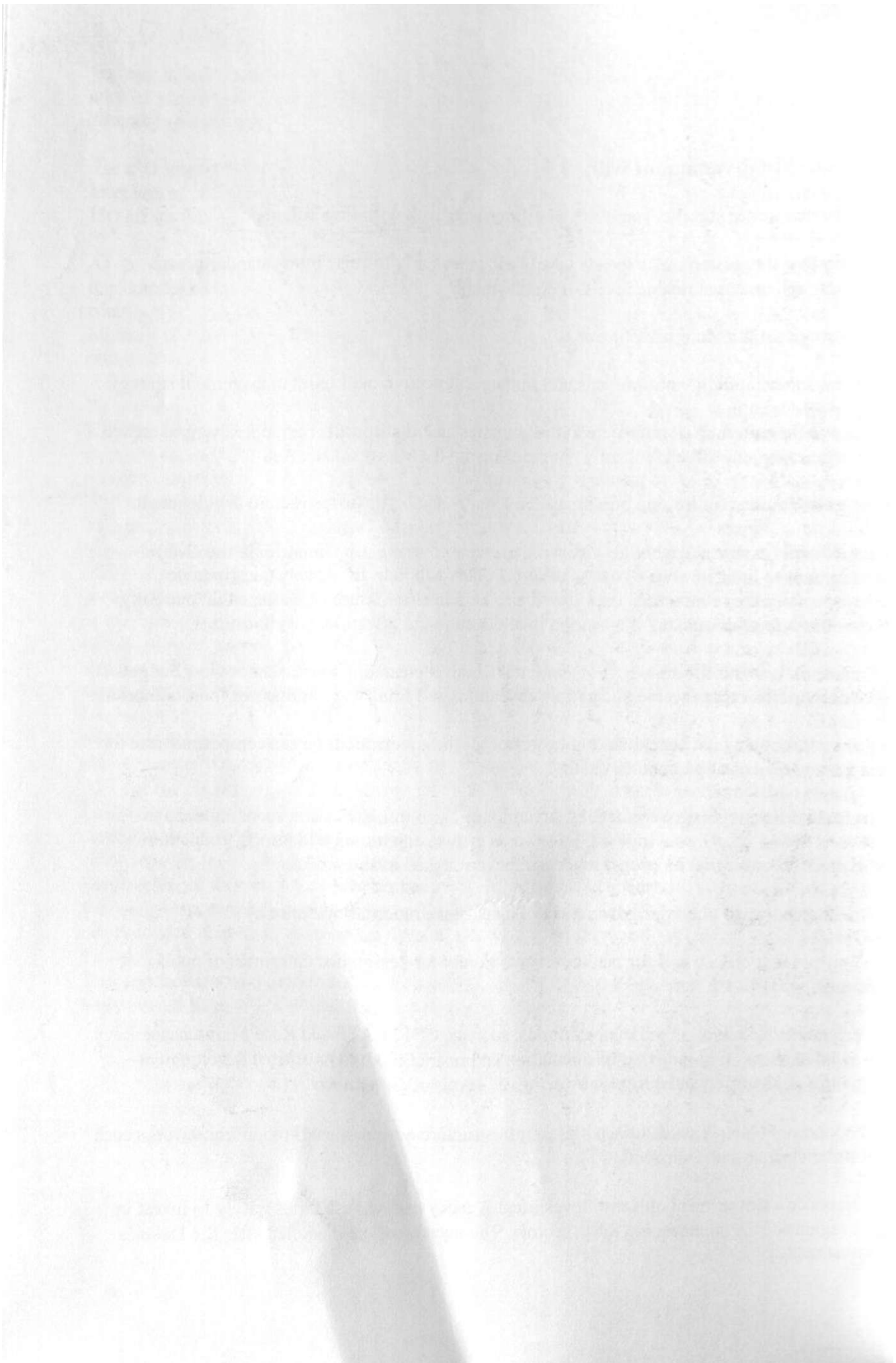
By attaining this ISO QMS 9001:2008 QMS Certification by SGS Kenya Ltd, the Ministry and KIPPRA have demonstrated that with proper leadership, dedication and teamwork a lot can be achieved in the public sector. I wish to commend the Management and staff of both the Ministry of Planning and KIPPRA, for your demonstrated commitment to serve Kenyans and urge you to leverage this important milestone to chart the way forward towards realization of the Vision 2030. We must not waver from our strategic objectives. However, a little word of caution: I know the road to the system certification was long and rough. Earning the *SGS Certification* and *UKAS Quality Management* Marks, which you can proudly flaunt from today, is certainly no easy achievement. But this certification is merely half of the victory. You must now consolidate these gains and live up to the expectations of this certification to ensure that, the effort which you invested in the lead up to certification is sustained. This initial step must translate into the delivery of Results for Kenyans. I pledge the Government's support for all your efforts in this regard, and assure you of my personal commitment to better service delivery for all Kenyans. Nevertheless, as one of the pioneers of ISO certification in Government, I challenge you to get the message of Standards to public sector boardrooms. Let it be known that time is running out. As I directed during my address at the official release of the Performance Evaluation results for Public Agencies last April, 2010, all Public Agencies should begin the process of ISO certification and ensure that they are fully certified by 2012. A lot remains to be done within ongoing government-wide reforms in the context of the new Constitution of Kenya. We as Government should take lead in spearheading these reforms. This will only be possible if preceded by public service reforms. Let ISO QMS certification be the mustard seed that will mushroom into a culture of quality and efficiency in Government business.

This certification promises immense rewards for our various publics, which mirror the strategic objectives of Kenya's Public Service Reforms, namely:

- Entrenching good governance practices, ethics and promoting transparency and accountability;
- ISO standards instill discipline, promote public trust and confidence,



- I • Ensure economic stability retains low inflation.
- Ensure that the government spends wisely and taxes fairly to raise living standards and achieves high and sustainable levels of employment.
- J • Encourage savings and investments.
- ! • Renew external debt commitments and initiate an effective debt relief management strategy.
- j • Improve the outreach of micro-credit programmes and monitor all credit operations to ensure their efficiency and effectiveness by operationalising the Microfinance Act.
- ' • Formulate policy for issuing benchmark Sovereign Bonds for Infrastructure development.
- Immediately undertake a budget cleansing exercise covering all Ministries in the Central Government to look for overall national savings. This will help to identify questionable debt, especially the commercial ones. It will also help in elimination of wastage that currently occurs through procurement, duplication in allocations, and questionable allocations.
- Concurrently, with the above action, undertake budget cleansing exercise to review budgets of state corporations that receive budgetary subventions and finally the budgets of local authorities.
- Ensure through a cost benchmarking exercise that the government pays a competitive rate for goods and services at guaranteed quality.
- Increase efficiency in government by streamlining ministries and spending units to between 18 and 25. The savings will go towards growth enhancing and priority reduction activities. The non-priority programmes will be terminated in the process.
- Commercialise all non-core government or quasi-governmental operations.
- Eliminate first class travel for public servants except for designated categories of public officials.
- Streamline the operation of devolved funds, such as, CDF, LATF and Road Maintenance Levy to avoid duplication in project implementation and restrict them to prioritised development activities as identified and designed by devolved levels of government.
- Encourage Public-Private Partnerships in infrastructure development through frameworks such as Build Operate and Transfer (BOT).
- Introduce a Government of Kenya Investment Agency that will use funds wisely to invest in the region and the continent in growth sectors. The agency will be modelled after the Dubai's investment agency.



The Kenyan Government has been generously assisted by various development partners in providing assistance to the very poor, such as the Orphans & Vulnerable Children Cash Transfer programme and the Hunger Safety Net Programme delivering guaranteed cash transfers to chronically food-insecure households. We appreciate with these programmes and pledge to scale-up the efforts of our key development partners by extending the programmes so that social protection investment contributes to overall economic growth.

Our Commitments:

We will achieve stable economic growth averaging not less than 10 percent annually.

We will pursue policies for equitable distribution of income, wealth and resources.

We will maintain a healthy balance of trade and payments position.

We will maintain macro-economic stability of employment, interest rates and prices in line with an ever growing economy.

We will optimize the collection of VAT, Customs & Excise Co-ordination and PAYE through efficient administration.

We will introduce a social protection programme for the very poor households by providing monthly cash transfers. This will reduce current poverty and inequality by providing a minimum level of income for extremely poor families and break the

inter-generational transmission of poverty. This will be ODM Government's flagship poverty reduction programme called, the "Uzawa Programme".

We will craft policies that protect and promote the livelihoods and welfare of the poorest and most vulnerable people. The objective of our social cash transfer scheme is to contribute to national efforts to reduce poverty and hunger in ultra poor households, increase school enrolment and attendance and improve the health, nutrition, protection and well-being of orphaned and vulnerable children and the very old.

We will create a new Ministry of Social Development in the Office of the President which will be the programme's policy and supervision agency. It will establish basic programme architecture, learning from other countries, such as, Brazil, South Africa and Malawi that have successfully implemented cash transfer programmes. The new Ministry will focus on "how we get the right people into the programme (targeting) as well as monitoring, oversight and evaluation. It will ensure graduation from poverty.

We have identified a large amount of savings through budget cleansing and streamlining operations which will fund our pledges in this manifesto.



- . Your Presidential Candidates
- . Your Political Parties
- . Your Views

CHAPTER FOUR

CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR EMPLOYMENT

The Challenges:

Unemployment is the greatest hindrance to our development at all levels - in families, regionally and nationally - in our country. Long years of economic decadence, dilapidated infrastructure and unfavorable macro economic policies have led to least job creation for the freshly-trained youth and other skilled as well as semi-skilled population.

Furthermore, the systematic policy of downsizing by the private and public sectors due to the economic turn down of the 1990s and pressure from international financing agencies, respectively, made the already bad state of unemployment in the country worse.

The foregoing challenges are compounded by a very unstable, under-developed and under-funded small and medium size enterprises (SMEs) sector. The successive governments have made little well-spelt-out and sustained efforts to promote and tap the potential of SMEs. This has been the case despite SMEs' important role in the creation of employment opportunities and promotion of innovation and entrepreneurship, particularly among the economically marginalized - youth and women.

In addition to the ambivalent SMEs official policy, high levels of illiteracy, especially in the countryside, limited retraining opportunities for people who want to change their skills from what they already have and lack of viable structures to assist job seekers make our unemployment situation extremely complex.

Finally, the prohibitive cost of doing business in the country due to the high cost and unreliable supply of electricity as well as underdeveloped road and railway networks have thwarted any attempts at job creation by both domestic and international investors.

Our Commitments:

We will implement policies that reduce barriers to work - including education, skills and training - to create an adaptive, flexible and productive workforce.

We will pursue active labour market policies - providing tailored and appropriate help for those without work, to prevent long term detachment from the labour market.

We will help youths and adults without work and with poor employability skills into sustained employment.

Speech by the Prime Minister Right Hon. Raila Amolo Odinga, E.G.H., M.P., During Vision 2030 Launch

Speech by the Prime Minister Right Hon. Raila Amolo Odinga, E.G.H.,
M.P. During the Official Launch of the Kenya Vision 2030 and
the First Medium Term Plan 2008-2012, on 10th June 2008, KICC,
UNARY HALL, NAIROBI

Mr Excellency the President, Hon. Mwai Kibaki, C.G.H., MP
HOD. Ministers,
Members of Parliament,
Members of Diplomatic Corps,
Public servants present,
Distinguished guests,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I would like to start by stating how pleased I am to be here on this momentous occasion of the launch of Kenya Vision 2030 and its First Medium Term Plan. This Vision is intended to help the Kenyan Nation emerge in the First quarter of this century as a prosperous modern nation offering opportunities for all Kenyans. The motivation for all of us here should therefore be to see ourselves as agents of change, which we all as Kenyans are yearning for. At this historic moment, let me add that this is an onerous task which we as leaders must believe in, and actively take part in and above all spare no effort to ensure it succeeds.

As noted by earlier Speakers, the preparation of the Vision document has involved experts and consultation with all stakeholders in all corners of this Republic. As Kenyans we must therefore join together as a team, irrespective of our ethnic, racial, or religious backgrounds, or our status in the society, or our political and other social affiliations. Everyone of us must now stand to be counted since this critical document reflects the transformation and change we all believe in. Our differences should therefore not be allowed to stand in the way as the Vision is a reflection of the Future of this country and also paves the way for the generation that will move this country forward.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as the occupant of the Office that co-ordinates the Ministerial activities, I am particularly keen to see to it that all Ministries dutifully implement the flagship projects selected in both the Vision 2030 document and First Medium Term Plan, as well those that will be implemented in the subsequent MTPs. All involved must demonstrate peak performance as they do so. You must be both innovative, forward looking and above all use diligence and ingenuity as you implement the selected priorities. The "enabling sectors" which have been selected as the foundation must be put in place without further delay. This calls for reforms and change in the way we do business particularly in building our infrastructure. I am glad to note that the private sector has pledged to support us in the process of doing this. I have always been a strong believer in private and public partnership when it comes to infrastructure. And I call upon our partners and friends to also use their resources, ideas and networks to help Kenya improve its infrastructure.

1 tECH TO PARTY CONFERENCE BY RT HON RAILA ODINGA, EGH, MP,
I \NDER OF THE ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT - NAIROBI, JANUARY 12,
1 912

I -m happy to see you in the New Year. I want to wish each of you, your families and your party
I choice a very happy and rewarding 2012.

I : meet at a moment of hope. Hope that change for the better can come for our party after the
jjcessful grass root elections of last year.

I .' :ons of people took part in the contest; a tribute to the democracy gaining roots in our party,
-rem those elections, we emerged stronger and energised.

. ngratulate each of our new officials for the dramatic campaign and your victory to secure the
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• ou are pioneers in the positions you hold. You are beneficiaries of the constitution your party
' -ght for. Your generation and your gender look up to you to make a difference. I want to see
DU exercise your power and influence.

And I assure you of my total support as your leader. I also want to thank you our MPs and NEC
members for the support for me and our party.

We have been through tough four years.

Many times we had to make compromises.

Many times we pushed unpopular programmes that were necessary for the future of our nation. I
don't take for granted that support that brought us this far.

That support was never in vain. It gave the party significant successes on our election promises.

We never wavered in the quest for a new constitution. Thanks to our steadfastness, our country
got a modern, progressive and liberating constitution in 2010.

A new constitution was our number one election promise.

In 2007 we told Kenyans that we were the party of Devolution.

In our manifesto, we said, and I quote, "We will reform the system of governance to empower
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Millions of people took part in the contest; a tribute to the democracy gaining roots in our party. In those elections, we emerged stronger and energised.

I congratulate each of our new officials for the dramatic campaign and your victory to secure the positions you occupy.

In particular, I want to thank the women and youth leaders.

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VII

"... disperse power to communities and engage our people in active citizenship by involving them directly in the management of their neighbourhood and the services they need."

I thank you for your steadfastness. Devolution is a central pillar of the new Constitution.

I have steadily pursued the Green Energy Agenda. We have championed conservation of the environment.

I have stood up for the preservation of our water towers.

In the course of these initiatives, the future of our rivers and lakes, the future of our people, looks more assured than before.

We will continue to be the voice of women and youth in and outside government.

We have mainstreamed the involvement of the private sector in public policy formulation. Our country is all the richer because of these steps.

We are party to the massive investment in infrastructure that has taken shape in the last four years. Infrastructure was our key pledge in 2007.

In each of these areas, challenges remain.

The old order is still trying to claw back the gains. They are fighting Devolution. They are trying to deprive the County government of money and other resources.

They are trying to kill the Senate. They want to criminalize guarantees to our mothers and sisters to have the right to safe motherhood.

We must stand as a party today, and all this year and tell them: NEVER. WE SHALL NOT ALLOW!

Across the nation, across class and across gender, ODM is once again present to represent all Kenyans.

Our task is to ensure that this Party becomes the Government of our country next year.

To realise this goal, we need unity of the party on this last leg.

On issues that matter to the party and the future of Kenya, we must speak with one voice from the Indian Ocean to Lake Victoria, from Mt Elgon to Mt Kenya.

Being an election year, and as the party to beat, we are going to have a lot of mud thrown our way.

The aim will be to have us go down with the others who are on their way down and out.

be your duty as leaders to help wananchi separate fact from fiction, lies from truth.

... re your task explain what the party position has been on the various issues they will be from the graveyards to antagonize us.

-e pany headquarters will soon get a new life with election of national officials.

.. expect the secretariat to furnish the leaders with timely and relevant information for vvard transmission to supporters.

_ have heard the party's plan of action that begins in the coming weeks.

i- counting on you to put your energy behind the party to ensure the success of these pgrammes.

: remain the mainstream political voice in the country today. We must use this privileged ...ion to stand up for wishes of the vast majority.

: must speak out for Kenyans when their interests are threatened by the entrenched interests hold them back.

•\$ important, we must-use our mainstream position to ensure that this country works together -ier for our citizens to succeed.

• e need to consistently remind Kenyans that divided we fall.

DM must stand against divisjons along ethnic, regional, party and religious lines.

♣ - stand for the unity of the nation that we are sure to govern next year.

Asa party...

'...e have am a good race.

V» - <;ive kept ihe faith.

e must roll up our sleeves and prepare for the next big agenda for a Kenya we want to govern.

ror this party, in this coming election, that big agenda is... Number one, JOBS; number two, : JOBS; number three, JOBS.

. am confident Kenyans will give us a chance.

Thank You. God bless you.

A f p e r ^ v x V I I t

lie following is a full speech of Kenya's PM Raila Odinga durine the TM .
nsrimtion- g a u n n g t h e Promulgation of the new

PEECH BY THE RT. HON. RAILA ODINGA, PRIME MINISTER n. r u t PUBLIC OF KENYA, DURING THE ENACTMENT OF A NEW CONS , FOR KENYA AT UHURU PARK, NAIROBI; AUGUST 27, 2010

jut Excellency the President,

ar Excellencies Heads of State and Government

ur Excellencies the ambassadors;

umbers of the diplomatic Corp;

izers and friends of Kenya:

Today, we mark the end of one journey, as we embark on the beginning of another.

in the Fourth of August this year, Kenyans stood one by one in the solitude of the polling
oths and voted in favour of a new national Constitution. In that moment, so fleeting and yet so
aoric. decades of struggle for a better future were finally rewarded.

The Fourth of August will go down in history as the date on which we, the people of Kenya,
medamore united nation, and established the groundwork for justice, unity and the lull
essings of liberty for ourselves and for posterity.

No one could have thought that out of the bitter harvest of the disputed election and the v
iolence it pitted our people against each other just two years ago. we would be witnessing today the
rth of a national unity that has eluded us for more than **40** years.

Today, we close a long chapter in our history. We put repression, exclusion and heroic struggle
behind us once and for all. We have opened a clean new page in our book. On that page, we
*gin writing the story of an equal and just society.

we gather here now to ratify the pledge we made to ourselves and to the world, that Kenya shall
~~redem~~ herself and extend the frontiers of democracy and freedom. This freedom has eluded us
for more than forty years. Each time we came close to attaining it, it slipped from our grasp.

Each time we missed it; ever-greater repression seemed to replace the justice we sought.

^But atime comes in the life of every nation when citizens have to choose between the status quo
^ a future that is full of promise.

h dedicating this Supreme Law, we pay our respects to those who walked this land before us.

^o saw its beauty, and who fought for fulfillment for all its citizens.

. remember Pio Gama Pinto, Josiah Mwangi Kariuki, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, Alexander Wang Arap Muge, Masinde Muliro, George Anyona, Katama Mkangi, Jean Marie Seroney, Juv Okullu, among many others who struggled for this day to come but did not live to see it.

We honour Kenneth Matiba, Charles Rubia, Martin Shikuku, Wangari Maathai, Chelagat Mutai, and the Young Turks of the Second Liberation who pushed us closer to this day.

These are but a few of the Kenyan patriots who sacrificed to make today a reality. At great risks to their lives, they challenged dictatorship.

They paid great prices to liberate our country from impunity. Collectively, we owe them a debt of gratitude. In the words of the late Sir Winston Churchill... "Never have so many, owed so much, to so few..." We thank and honour our President, Mwai Kibaki, who has today signed into law what we endorsed on the Fourth of August.

In 1992, when multiparty politics were restored to our country, Mr Kibaki joined hands with the Opposition. Ten years later, he led our country into a new era and towards the Constitution that we now unveil.

We thank the Grand Coalition Government for pulling together to deliver this critical item of our National Accord. We salute the women and the youth of Kenya for their heroic participation in the rebirth of our Nation.

We owe gratitude to His Excellency Dr Kofi Anan, a true friend of Kenya, and the team of Eminent African Personalities who stood with us at our lowest moment in our history and helped us trace our way back into sanity.

We proclaim this new Supreme Law in the firm belief that lasting peace and security and prosperity for all can only come if we all enjoy freedom and justice as equals.

The promise of this new beginning will be challenged by our traditional enemies; corruption and negative ethnicity. We must be vigilant and stop corruption from stealing our future and negative ethnicity from weakening our nationhood.

To those in charge of public affairs, may public service be what it is; public service; not self-service. This new beginning must mark the end of shallow political partisanship and herald the start of mature competition among political parties.

To all the people of Kenya, I say, thank you for taking your destiny into your own hands.

Among us today are representatives of the international community, some of whom have stood with us in good and bad times as we have continued our search for these new laws. We thank you. This Constitution is our humble contribution to the culture of democracy and human rights worldwide that you represent.

It **is** our solemn pledge that never again shall the laws of our land divide and authorise the repression and oppression of our people.

I have never said this with a fuller heart: God bless you all, and God bless Kenya.

Thank you.

-Prime Minister Press Service (PMPS)