

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES

Discourse of Ethnicity during 2007 and 2013 Presidential Political Campaigns in Kenya

Francis Kariithi

Lecturer, Department of Language, Linguistics and Literature, Kisii University, Kenya

Abstract:

The paper has evaluated the nature of Discourse of Ethnicity during 2007 and 2013 Presidential Political Campaigns in Kenya in Raila Odinga's political utterances from two main newspapers, Daily Nation and The Standard. The utterances that formed the basis of the study were those that featured in the said newspapers five months before 2007 and 2013 General Elections. Raila Odinga has been in Kenya's political arena for a long period of time and commands a huge following; hence, the reason of weighing in his political utterances. The motivation behind this undertaking is anchored on one critical observation in which Kenya is considered to be among other democracies in Africa which are highly ethnicized in which ethnic discourse can easily infiltrate utterances of politicians during presidential campaigns. Ethnicity as a problem in Kenya is highly entrenched and can easily be reproduced and re-enforced disguisedly during political campaigns; more so, during presidential campaigns.

Keywords: Discourse on ethnicity, discourse – historical approach, ethnic identity

1. Introduction

Presidential campaigns in Kenya on the wake of repealing of Section 2 A of the Constitution in 1992 up scaled political competition pitting tribal kingpins across the country, hence tilting political landscape at the behest of one ethnic affiliation; since then, multi-party politics in Kenya have been the main stay of politicians with discourse of ethnicity finding its way in tribal party politics. Since general elections in Kenya are held every five years, the nature of presidential campaigns is always cutthroat where different political parties engage in serious political campaigns employing all manner of strategies with an aim to whipping the electorate to subscribe to the party's ideologies. In Kenya, one of the strategies that have aptly been employed by politicians is use of discourse on ethnicity as a strategy which is perceived as ideal; since installation of the president to such a position is assumed to be a profitable undertaking to the community. In view of the aforementioned, this paper intends to analyze Raila Odinga's discourse on ethnicity during presidential campaigns in Kenya in the run up to 2007 and 2013 general elections. The study will rely on this politician who predominately featured in various campaigns with his utterances in two main dailies epitomizing the need for undertaking the study. The data to the study will be the utterances for the aforesaid politician in the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers five months each before the said elections. In essence; the investigation is being undertaken with a view to establishing how discourse on ethnicity was engaged by the said politician in an effort to dissuade voters not fall victims of politicians invoking ethnic identity to galvanize their support but on the other hand employing a tactical strategy to have his quest fulfilled by the same ethnic groups. The study employs Discourse – Historical Approach because politics happen to be historical in nature.

1.1. General Objective

The general objective of the study is to analyze discourse on ethnicity during presidential campaigns in Kenya five months before 2007 and 2013 elections by targeting Raila Odinga who featured prominently during the said campaigns.

2. Literature Review

One of the major challenges that continue to bedevil African countries is the high level of ethnic fragmentation and how to design power and resource distribution frameworks that guarantee inclusivity for all segments of the society. Although literature has paid sufficient attention to the role of ethnicity in the politics of ethnically fragmented societies, not much focus has been put on the perils of ethnic politics (Asingo 2018:98 Kenya Humans Right Commission Documentary). He quotes Bulmer (1986) who opines that, the term *ethnicity* refers to 'a collectivity within a large society which has real or putative common ancestry, kinship and physical appearance'. In a view to underpinning his observation; Asingo above; goes for Easterly and Lavine (1997: 1219) observation who posit that; Africa, ethnicity is the most salient social cleavage. In fact, it is noteworthy that, 'fourteen out of the fifteen most ethnically heterogeneous societies in the world are in Africa. Accordingly, Kenya has forty-three ethnic groups thus making it the third most ethnically fragmented society in sub-Saharan Africa after South Africa and Chad. With these hard facts on ethnicity in connection to Kenya political terrain; ethnic political discourse has always found itself playing out during presidential campaigns.

In his study on Varieties of Ethnic Politics and Ethnicity Discourse Pieterse (1993:3) observed that the most extreme view in regard to ethnic groups is to treat ethnicity as another form of resource mobilization-portraying them as

forms of interest groups. While affirming his point he refers to Brass (1991:15) on Ethnicity and Nationalism who presents a theory of ethnic identity formation and mobilization in terms of elite competition; where he says in a nutshell, "The cultural forms, values, and practices of ethnic groups become political resources for elites in competition for political power and economic advantage. Brass (1991:25) posits that ethnic communities are created and transformed by particular elites in modernizing and in postindustrial societies undergoing dramatic social change'. In a situation like Kenya, tribal identities have been used by politicians more so during presidential campaigns with a view to consolidating support flanked by ethnic blocs.

In his research on *The Political Uses of Race and Ethnicity: Ethno-Racial References in the 2014 Toronto and 2015 Chicago Municipal Elections* Doering (2015) found out that candidates engaged race and ethnicity in five ways; invoking ethno-racial stratification or cultural symbols and practices, cited endorsements from ethno-racial leaders and organizations, used heritage languages, and visually represented members of ethno-racial groups. The use of ethno-racial references was shaped mainly by three factors: the demographic composition of the polity (the ward or the city), the field of contenders, and narratives about the character of ethno-racial politics in the two cities. Accordingly; Black and Latino candidates in Chicago primarily mobilized perceptions of exclusion, discrimination, and conflict to promise political leadership in fighting these injustices. Doering (2015) goes on to say, in Toronto; candidates of all backgrounds portrayed immigrant ethnicities as a valued source of culture and symbolically included these groups in the political process. To this end; considering racial and ethnicity back to back, similar features in relation to whipping ethnic emotions in line with presidential campaigns in Kenya, ethnic political discourse is teased out.

According to Onyango (2008:2), the roots of ethnic discourse after the 1997 general elections that put Kenya into the tragic books of ethnic conflict are long and they can be traced back in 1963, when the question of ethnic conflict and ethnic discourse was inextricably linked to power in the politics of Kenya. In essence this paper discussed ethnic discourse related to four contentious issues that were linked to power: Presidential election rigging, amnesty for post-election violence offenders, resettlement of IDPs and portfolio sharing. It is clear from this scholar's discussion that this paper ventilated on ethnic discourse that was related to ethnic conflict that was mainly pegged on struggle for power. Onyango (*ibid*) posits that there was a consensus alliance called National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) which crumbled mid-stream leading to serious fallout between the Kikuyu (that had the presidency) on one hand and the Luo and the Kamba on the other with the duo accusing the Kikuyu of not honouring a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), that had been signed (before the 2002 elections) on the understanding that a Luo (Raila Odinga) would be given the position of the Executive Prime Minister and a Kamba (Kalonzo Musyoka) was to be given a powerful position in the post election government culminating to the present day acrimony pitying major tribes in Kenya during general elections. In regard to the aforesaid; this paper intends to undertake a comparative analysis on political ethnic discourse topic utterances of Raila Odinga in 2007 and 2013 captured in the two main newspapers in Kenya namely, Daily Nation and The Standard.

3. Research Method

This research used descriptive research design to investigate the language and discourse patterns of Raila Odinga during the period under study. The data that was targeted emanated from the aforesaid politicians' utterances in the two main newspapers in Kenya; Daily Nation and The Standard excerpts obtained from Kariithi (2015) study on *Ulinganuzi wa Usemi wa Kisiasa katika Kampeni za Urais Nchini Kenya Miezi Mitano kabla ya Chaguzi za Mwaka wa 2007 na 2013* (Comparative Discourse Analysis During Presidential Campaigns five Months before 2007 and 2013 Elections).. According to Orodho (2003) descriptive surveys are used in descriptive studies to allow researchers to gather information, summarize, present and interpret for the purpose of clarification. In essence purposive sampling was used to sample texts from the two newspapers confining that exercise to ethnic utterances that featured in the said newspapers five months before 2007 and 2013 general elections.

Since the research attracted a comparative kind of study data analysis employed graphs to backup findings for ease of variation on the two periods that the study relied on. Since the research was historical in nature, Discourse Historical Approach was used to determine how the discourse strategies conceptualized the three politicians in relation to their utterances in the said newspapers.

In this analysis a number of discursive strategies are used, these are: referential strategies, predicational strategies, argumentation strategies, perspectivation strategies and intensifying or mitigation strategies (Onyango 2008 quoting; Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 45-85).

Referential strategies are strategies in which one constructs and represents social actors, in-groups, out-groups by ways of reference tropes, biological, naturalizing, depersonalizing, metaphors, metonymies as well as synecdoche. Predicational strategies are for example, the stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form of implicit or explicit predicates (Onyango 2008; quoting Reisigl and Wodak 2001:45). Argumentation strategies are constituted by topoi and fallacies, through which positive and negative attributions are justified. These are content related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion. Under argumentation strategies, we also have fallacies. In argumentation, fallacies are violations against rules for rational disputes and constructive arguing that allow for characterizing and discerning reasonableness in critical discussions (Onyango 2008; quoting Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 70).

Perspectivation/framing or discourse representation are the means that speakers express their involvement in discourse and position their point of view in the reporting, description, narration or quotation of discriminating events or utterances (Reisigl and Wodak 2001:45 quoted by Onyango 2008). "Discriminatory nominations, predications and argumentations, can, for instance be realised from an I-perspective, she-/he perspective or we-perspective; they can be

framed by direct quotation, indirect quotation or free indirect speech and so on' (Onyango 2008; quoting Reisigl 2007:383).

The last strategies are, intensification strategies on one hand and mitigation strategies on the other. Both of them help to qualify the epistemic status of a proposition by intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of racist, anti-Semitic nationalist or ethnicity discourse (Onyango 2008; quoting Reisigl and Wodak 2001:45). The former can be seen in hyperboles such as "very" and "absolutely". The latter can be seen utterances like "yes, but" (Onyango 2008; quoting Reisigl 2007:383).

4. Findings and Discussion

In order for our study to establish a firm ground to dissect Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto and Raila Odinga utterances in the Daily Nation and The Standard newspaper in the wake to the general elections of 2007 and 2013 we begin by relying heavily on how the ground was during 2007 election by citing Onyango (2008). The study will thereafter depart from the aforesaid scholar and confine itself to the said politicians' utterances. In view of that, the present ethnic situation in Kenya is a result of significant processes from the near and remote past if Onyango (ibid) is anything to boggle our memory.

Onyango (2008) posits that ethnic discourse of disparagement was covert in the public but in private it was more overt and marked outright disparagement. Phones were largely used to rely SMS, making it a remarkable medium. There were a number of messages but one of the classical examples used by the said scholar to illustrate his point was the message by ODM supporters targeting the Kikuyu which was circulated and said:

A Deadly Mountain Flu known as PNU, which affects the brain, has been reported in Central Kenya. The region is under quarantine. People in other parts of Kenya are advised to take ODM pills. One full orange for 3 months to avoid infection.

This was coded ethnic discourse clearly being directed to PNU which was seen as a Central Kenya affair. To this end, PNU was mainly seen in terms of the Kikuyu ethnic group who are the leading inhabitants of Central Kenya. Secondly, PNU was also seen as a negative thing (flu or disease) that is associated with Mount Kenya region. This was a referential strategy that associated PNU stronghold with a disease. This is mainly rooted in the GEMA mega-ethnicity that had its stronghold in the Mount Kenya region Onyango (2008).

Onyango (ibid) sees that from an argumentation point of view in that, associating PNU stronghold with a disease depicts the topos of harmfulness, because, diseases are associated with harm to normal well being. Accordingly, many Mount Kenya out-groups any time the mountain is mentioned, the bell that rings are that of GEMA, because all the conglomerate ethnic groups of GEMA come from around Mount Kenya, namely, the Kikuyu, Embu, and the Meru. This message played vital role of disparaging GEMA and ended with a fallacy cushioned in persuasion, in line with the spirit of campaign. People were persuaded to take a full orange for three months to avoid being infected with the flu. The explicit message here was that people who were targeted by the message were to remain steadfastly in ODM during the whole period of the campaigns (shown by the three months). The issue of quarantine was also a persuasive strategy that appealed to audience of the message to keep off PNU. The idea of full orange was very precise to ODM's party symbol that was a full orange. ODM-K's party symbol was one and half oranges (Onyango 2008:8-9). Onyango (ibid) gives a message against the Luo ethnic group which read:

Do you want to be ruled by Luo to take us back to joblessness? Safeguard the Kingdom. Let us ALL come out and give all the votes to Kibaki so that we are not ruled by an uncircumcised man who will make us wear shorts and plunder all our wealth. It's your vote that will prevent our country from going back to Egypt. May our God bless you.

This message is an example of revisited ethnic stereotype that was coined against the Luo during the colonial period. While quoting (Ochieng 1975), Onyango (ibid) observed that, during the colonial period, careful social engineering came up with ethnocentric labels that labelled the Kikuyu as cheeky, the Luo: genetically lazy and the Maasai as trustworthy albeit trustworthy natives. Thus, this according to the SMS was the right place to place the "the Luo to take us to joblessness" referential strategy in the above discourse. In the question of the Luo not being circumcised lies the topos of not being ripe to lead. The Luo do not traditionally circumcise their male, the inner groups that supported PNU traditionally circumcise their male. The question of male circumcision has been a very intriguing point in ethnic discourse that is associated with top leadership (Onyango 2008:8-9).

The idea of "putting on shorts" can be seen in the context of "boyhood". Generally, it is boys and not men who are associated with shorts from majority of Kenyan context an observation that understood in relation to this scholar's discussion on circumcision above. "Going back to Egypt" is taken from the Bible, a Holy Book. Egypt is associated with the suffering of God's chosen people. In this text, therefore, we see a fallacious campaign maneuver that was sought to associate ODM leadership with suffering that was befalling GEMA. The issue of revering PNU in SMS was seen in the urge to safeguard the "kingdom", which was in fact a mega- ethnic kingdom. The use of ALL in capital letters was populist and a persuasive appeal (Onyango 2008:12).

Having fore grounded on how intricate the campaigns were behind the scenes, our discussion henceforth confines itself on the utterances of Raila Odinga in the Daily Nation and The Standard newspaper five months in the wake to the general elections of 2007 and 2013. In Kenya, like many other democratic societies, elections are in particular crucial moments for politicians to invoke ethnic identities with one single agenda of reigniting a historical occurrence that electorate may be privy to. Johnstone (2008:230) observed that political speeches, advertising campaigns, and many other genres of discourse are judged by what they are intended to do and whether they succeeded in fulfilling their producers' purposes. Going by this scholar's observation it is undeniably in order to opine that, Raila Odinga's utterances captured in

the Daily Nation on 23rd August 2007 from a historical point of view was meant to paint a grim picture of how ethnicity was rife and eating into the very delicate Kenya's fabric of nationalism.

May the spirit of Waiyaki wa Hinga, Harry Thuku, Dedan Kimathi and J.M. Kariuki descend upon ethnic chauvinists who have not yet seen the light, and liberate them from their negative ethnicity, and imbue them with a new spirit of nationhood.

For Raila Odinga to invoke these kinds of utterances, he intended to castigate the GEMA community from where the said historical heroes hailed from. Interestingly, Kenya had had other heroes and heroines from other communities whose contribution towards liberating Kenya from the yoke of colonialism would have not gone unrecognized; from Kalenjin community was Koitalel arap Samoei, the Giriama had Mekatili wa Menza, the Gusii had Sakawa, the Kamba had Masaku. In essence, virtually all communities in Kenya had heroes or heroines who would have been referred to by the said politician. In line with many politicians' utterances in political rallies; this was unchallenged ethnic claim-maker that was employed cleverly for one obvious reason, to invoke social identities of other communities in Kenya against the GEMA to propel his desire to mobilize political support. By painting the GEMA community in bad light in regard to ethnicity; Raila Odinga knew too well that all the other communities, historically had tasted a Kikuyu president and without much belaboring his narrative would have worked for him. This was a referential strategy referring to the remnants of Waiyaki wa Hinga, Harry Thuku, Dedan Kimathi and J.M. Kariuki just to mention a few as ethnic chauvinists and intended to blur the support that they may have attracted from other communities and in so doing he may have ended persuading them.

According to Doering (2015:9) candidates can invoke an ethnic group's social aspirations for upward mobility and in the process portray themselves as ethnic trailblazers. Raila Odinga in his own wisdom exhibited this art perfectly if his utterances in the Daily Nation on 3rd December 2007 is critically dissected. In his quest for unearthing historical injustices meted against the Maasai; Raila was cleverly whipping the emotions of the Maasai to buy into his discernment.

The historical injustice meted against them (Maasai), have not been addressed properly. Their land was reduced by 60% when the British evicted them to create room for settler ranches, confining them to present day Kajiado and Narok Districts

Technically, this was an affront attack against previous governments which were headed by presidents from communities that were disinterested in the well being of them (Maasai). As a political leader, Raila was deliberately inducing if not reigniting ethnic conflict between the Maasai and inhabitants from other communities who owned large tracts of land in areas perceived to be predominately a preserve for them (Maasai). Jenkins (1994:214) cited by Doering (2015:9) referred to this kind narrative as "calculus of politics"; since such avenues were always envisaged when such ethnic discourses were in no doubt to work in their favor. In his paper on "Politicization of Ethnic Identity in Kenya: Historical Evolution, Major Manifestations and the Enduring Implications (Kenya Human Rights Commission)' Biegon (2018: 14) observed that; ethnic identity has long been regarded as –a powerful force in the politics of many countries. Across the world, and certainly in Africa, ethnic identity is frequently used or manipulated by political elites to achieve or pursue partisan ends. This practice is what is commonly referred to as –politicization of ethnic identity or simply as –ethnic politics; being a strategically rational behavior involving the contingent (as opposed to the reflexive) activation of objective ethnic markers by political elites to form groups, define group interests, and organize collective action to advance political goals. To this end, as a powerful force in Kenya politics; Raila was simply partaking in Maasai ethnic identity to manipulate their mindset in order to galvanize his support in Maasai land. This may be considered to be a form of "metaphorical utterance' depicting the Maasai as a community who were still under the yoke of neo – colonialism; albeit Kenya's independence road map.

From historical perspective Raila Odinga employed referential strategy with a motive to tease out how tribalism was balkanizing the country making it unredeemable if that trend was not halted. Raila's point of view was simple; that we were not yet where we had aspired to be as a society, attributing that in a disguised manner in his premise to deliberate exclusion by certain known communities. Standard newspaper on 15th December 2007 had Raila's utterance which was precisely urging Kenyans to bury tribal politics bringing on the fore, "us' versus "them' ideology. From his perspective, he was underscoring one thing; the rest of Kenyans needed to ensure that they all receive a fair slice of the pie-partaking in the position of the presidency.

We want to bury politics of ethnicity and give every community equal chance to have a stub at the presidency. It should not be a reserve of certain families.

Raila Odinga's rhetoric prior to the election was very clear as to who his audience were. Going by the fact that apart from other communities, Kikuyu and Kalenjin had led the country as presidents and therefore the rest (forty tribal groups) needed to organize themselves along ethnic lines and defend their ethnic interests, a tactic that has always been used by ethnic political kingpins across the world. Barasa (2014:57) quoted Bichang'a (2010); Oloo (2008) and Ogola (2008) who were of the opinion that political rhetoric went beyond identifying groups and their interests to denigrating particular ethnicities by using familiar stereotypes of their qualities or behavior. What can be picked from the aforesaid statement leaves no doubt of what these scholars were underpinning; Kikuyu and Kalenjin behaved weirdly by clinging on and assuming that the presidency was a preserve of the two communities. Referentially, the two communities are identified to as tribalists; but this politician mitigates his face threatening act by toning his political diatribe against the Kalenjin and assigns his attack to "families' in reference to the late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta (First President of Kenya) and the late Daniel arap Moi (Second President of Kenya). Raila Odinga's tactical maneuver was aimed at disassociating the entire Kalenjin community owing to the fact that William Ruto who had detached himself from Daniel arap Moi political whims and majority of the Kalenjin community were backing his bid for presidential candidature in the 2007 general election.

Raila Odinga's political art attests to one observation; ethnicity portrays and reinforces the importance of organizing an aspirant's principles of political behavior in line with prevailing factors.

While advancing their opinion in regard to coercion, politically; Chilton and Schöffner (1997:212) posits that political actors often act coercively through discourse in setting agendas, selecting topics in conversation, positioning the self and others in specific relationships, making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to at least temporarily accept in order to process the text or talk. These scholars' observation meshes well with Raila Odinga's utterance above, "We want to bury politics of ethnicity" clearly exposes Raila Odinga's standpoint in regard to his inclinations; among the resources of English it is the pronouns *I, you, we, they* (and their variants) that have a special function in producing a social and political "space" in which the speaker, the audience, and others are "positioned" (Chilton and Schöffner 1997:217). This politician (Raila Odinga) demarcates his audience political space by using their ethnic marker as a reason for their seclusion in matters president; hence, an earnest appeal for them to discern that fact and unite for the good of them all. In regard to, "should not" Raila Odinga is positioned as someone who gives order; in an attempt to classifying speech acts; Searle (1969) quoted by Chilton and Schöffner (ibid) distinguished the following, which can be seen to have direct relevance to political discourse: *representatives* (truth claims), *directives* (commands, requests), *commissives* (promises, threats), *expressive* (praising, blaming), *declaratives* (proclaiming a constitution, announcing an election, declaring war). Raila Odinga's utterances were weighty from historical perspective and undeniably propagated for renewed political jigsaw culminating to the slaying of politics of ethnicity in Kenya.

In reference to Discourse Historical Approach, Barasa (2014:71) said that this kind of undertaking considers intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between, texts genres and discourses as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organization or institution and situational frames. Barasa (ibid) quotes Wodak (2000) who contends that while focusing on all these relationships, we explore how discourses, genres and texts change in relation to socio-political change. In view of the above, this study targeted to analyse Raila Odinga's utterances in the Daily Nation and Standard newspapers during 2007 and 2013 presidential campaigns to tease out how they are linked to each other. The linkage in this context is in reference to discourse of ethnicity and what it entailed because his ethnic support in 2007 was to some extent different from 2013.

During 2013 presidential campaigns, Raila Odinga's ethnic political onslaughts was aimed at Jubilee Coalition flanged by Uhuru Kenyatta as the aspirant for president alongside William Ruto as his running mate (deputy president). Ironically, William Ruto had withdrawn his support for Raila Odinga for Uhuru Kenyatta a move that rubbed Raila Odinga the wrong way for portraying itself as a latent political espionage against the earlier. In the Daily Nation on 24th February 2013 Raila Odinga's utterance depicted picture of a democrat and a kingmaker.

Compared to my rivals in Jubilee who have been dividing Kenyans along tribal lines, I am the only one who can unite the country. I have sacrificed a lot politically for the sake of this country. In 2002, I said Kibaki *Tosha*; not because he was a Kikuyu but because he is Kenyan.

This narrative was reproduced, having featured in 2007 ethnic discourse; it swiftly and tactfully positioned itself ones again in 2013 presidential campaigns. The "us" and "them" narrative played out where Raila Odinga alluded to his standpoint when little was expected from him. He insinuated that he did not derive his support by diving Kenyans as it was witnessed from Jubilee Coalition proponents and bragged as having exhibited that fact in the year 2002 when he proclaimed *Kibaki Tosha* (Kibaki the right choice – former president of Kenya 2002-2012). This was a classical form of *individual* ethnic endorsement which is a common phenomenon in Kenya political hegemony more importantly where party coalitions become vehicles of political struggle. Doering (2015:16) observed this as a problem with individual endorsement since it cannot be unclear whether the individual in question is endorsing a political candidate as a member of her ethnic group or as an individually determined voter. This observation differs with Raila Odinga's endorsement to some extent; he had positioned himself in that space as a seer of the future and a bringer of good tidings to all who were to position themselves as those who listens, take orders, take advice or accepts the "facts" (Chilton and Schöffner 1997:16-17). Therefore, as an Individual endorser; Raila Odinga meticulously added his ethnic marker to his proclamation in order to emphasize its specific ethnic character that has been the basis of coalition formations in Kenya. As a matter of fact, historically; presidential political endorsements in Kenya skew towards one's ethnic affiliation because this is what commands voting pattern in the long run.

Another analogous position could have been that of language; Doering (2015:17) posits that language can be a defining feature of ethnicity, accordingly; as a sense of shared ethnic identity it often emerges through migration, when individuals leave their nation and speech community. With the formations of coalitions, formation of ethnic political migration is realized. With this kind of occurrence, individual endorsement may be seen to encompass all those ethnic groups behind the endorser making language to be perceived as an important marker of ethnicity. This was a referential strategy pointing to his opponents in all these instances as ethnic chauvinists who could only realize their dreams by clinging on ethnic tags. The strategy acted as a disparagement salvo that meant to persuade the in-group and to denigrate the out-group behavior Ethnic discourse virtually played out in an unexpected tempo in 2013, but each opposing forces with Raila Odinga disassociating himself from such undertaking; ironically, Raila Odinga's coalition (NASA) National Super Alliance was made up of the following communities, Luo and Gusii (Nyanza Region), Luhya (Western Region), Mijikenda (Coastal Region), Kamba (Western Region); all these were among the major communities in Kenya. Jubilee coalition was made up of the Kikuyu, Embu, Meru (GEMA- Mount Kenya Region) and the Kalenjin (Rift Valley Region). His utterance as captured by The Standard on 15th February 2013 was keenly calculated to fit into discourse frames.

The Jubilee leaders are busy banding ethnic figures, but I am telling them they will be surprised by the outcome of the election. The country is for all of us.

For us to have a grip of what Raila Odinga's ethnic discourse entailed, we invoke Biegon (2018:14) who says that, ethnic politics is a sub-set of *identity politics* which may be organized around any of the following identity markers: race, religion, gender, age, ethnicity, and so forth. Biegon (ibid) quoted Oloo (2010) who said that, ethnic politics is animated by the claim that it –represent[s] and seek[s] to advance the interests of particular groups in society, the members of which often share and unite around common experiences of actual or perceived social and economic injustice, relative to the wider society of which they form part of and exist. We share this idea with a view to teasing out Raila Odinga's standpoint. By insinuating that Jubilee leaders (Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto) were *busy banding ethnic figure*, was in no doubt that the kind of politics they were riding on stemmed from ethnic identity markers. Raila Odinga appears to have arrogated himself the role of anti ethnic political crusader by reminding the so-called Jubilee leaders and the 42 tribes across the country that Kenya was for all of us. In a nutshell Raila Odinga was disparaging Jubilee coalition outfit by referentially referring to them tribal kingpins. The utterance above can be given meaning because they are consistent with our political background knowledge and values, given the nature of Kenya political culture in relation to presidential political campaigns. Raila Odinga positioned himself as a politician who could study Kenya's political background who could give lucid opinion with an aim to tilting presidential politics to his favor; hence, *they will be surprised by the outcome of the election*. The utterance was unequivocally persuading his supporters to remain on course on the other hand a strategy to reaching out to those voters who were still undecided on which coalition to back. We can allude that, Raila Odinga's linguistics choice in the utterance was undeniably functioning in an informed political strategic manner, given the culture and history of Kenya political terrain.

The support that Raila Odinga enjoyed from the Kalenjin community in 2007 presidential elections; historically has been none of the other, he was christened *arap Mibei* by the Kalenjin meaning he who come from the water; but to contextualize it 'lake'. The support was marshaled by William Ruto who had severed his ties with the late president Daniel Toroitich arap Moi; who till then was unchallenged Kalenjin kingpin in the Rift Valley region. With late president Daniel Toroitich arap Moi having retired, William Ruto's undetected effort saw him wrestling the purported kingpin mantle from him (Moi) who was still enjoying a sizable support from this community. So, in 2007 William Ruto threw his support behind Raila Odinga under Orange Democratic Party (ODM) while late president Daniel Toroitich arap Moi directed his energy behind retired president Mwai Kibaki under Party of National Unity (PNU). In 2013 Raila Odinga and William Ruto political marriage ended unceremoniously prompting William Ruto to marshal his support behind Uhuru Kenyatta. With this unprecedented phenomenon, in the offing, Raila Odinga support in Rift Valley region plummeted to a level that was unredeemable. In the Standard 6th October 2012 newspaper Raila Odinga's utterance was meant to douse that narrative by squarely attributing the support he enjoyed as being propagated by the community itself.

Others think I cannot go to the Kalenjin without them. Even in 2007, it is the community itself that drove them to support me because they loved me. This time round it is not going to be any different. Needless to say, Raila Odinga historically acknowledged the role of identity marker as a crucial aspect in presidential election, a fact that individual ethnic kingpins had thrived on politically since the repealing of the Section 2A in the Constitution of Kenya then. "Others' is a referential strategy pointing them in bad light (Kalenjin political class-but to be precise and to contextualize it, William Ruto). The reason behind such utterances never played out yet late president Daniel Toroitich arap Moi was supporting retired president Mwai Kibaki in 2007 elections. Raila Odinga's appreciative accolades towards the Kalenjin community support attests to the fact that; ethnicity as marker has historically thrust aspirants' quest for this coveted presidential position in Kenya.

For completeness of summary, Raila Odinga's tactical move resonates well with our observation that; there are a number of features that are always present in societies in which ethnic politics is deeply embedded. Here, the focus is on one major feature; that is, political coalitions draw majority of their support from ethnic identities with promises to advance the interests of that specific ethnic group, and by extension; to counter the interests of perceived –enemy ethnic groups. With presidential aspirants playing the ethnic card, almost everything else in the political arena ends up taking an ethnic flavor. Raila Odinga lucidly disguises his ethnic card by applauding the community and sarcastically, downplays his nemesis role in marshaling him his ethnic identity support.

To wrap up our analysis; we postulate that, the study relied on graphs as means to comparing Raila Odinga's discourse topic on ethnicity in 2007 and 2013. Kastlelec and Leoni (2007) observed that, graphs are superior at displaying confidence intervals for parameter estimates (and thus their uncertainty) and for making comparisons across models. They believed that scholars who were to follow their advice were likely, both understand their data better and present their empirical results more clearly to their audience, thereby increasing the value and impact of their research. In line with this observation, the graph below assisted us in showing the correlation between his 2007 and 2013 utterances. The number of counts on Raila Odinga utterances was more in the wake to 2013 general election as opposed to 2007. This study settled for a few utterances for the purposes of the analysis but the actual count is well outlined in the graph.

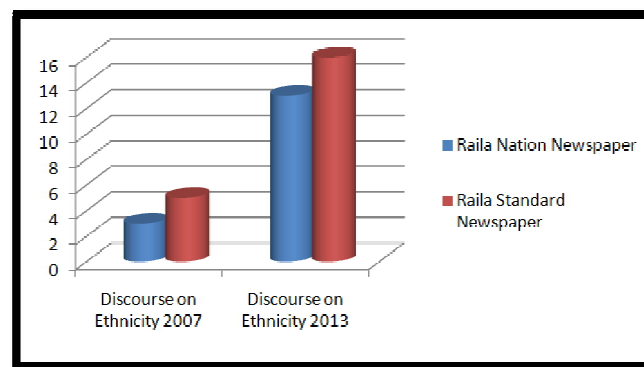


Figure 1: Raila Odinga Topic on Discourse of Ethnicity in 2007 and 2013
Researcher's Analysis 2020

We would like to conclude by confining ourselves to the following underlying premise in regard to the probable reason of Raila Odinga coming out subtly to anchor his political discourses on topic on ethnicity in a dissimilar promptitude. First, it is most likely that owing to the fact that the challenge that he presumed to have been facing from his opponent was negligible bearing in mind that the Kalenjin community was behind him; so were majority of Luhya community, Mijikenda, Kisii, Somali community and the entire Luo community from where he hailed. Second, Raila Odinga viewed his opponent from Party of National Unity (PNU) as the sick man in the dual in terms of the support he was enjoying from the voters across the country since to say the least; PNU was a Mount Kenya outfit which enjoyed negligible support from major communities in Kenya. Owing to this probable reasons, Raila Odinga stepped up his ethnic diatribe onslaught against Jubilee Coalition because it appeared to be enjoying some sizable ethnic support from various community in Kenya.

5. Conclusion

The study has attempted to analyze Raila Odinga's discourse on ethnicity during presidential campaigns in the wake to 2007 and 2013 general elections. In essence, the study compared those to period in close juxtaposition with one another with a view to understanding its historical eminence in the aforesaid politician campaigns. Going by this politician's discourse on ethnicity, we have established that elections are by and large decided by ethnic votes; hence, the reason of discourse of ethnicity playing out in the campaigns of the two periods precipitating different ethnic groups voting as a bloc. As noted, application of discourse of ethnicity; political landscape becomes frozen along an ethnic dimension with politicians marshaling their supporters around ethnic identities. With tribal kingpins invoking ethnic identities discourses, voters rally behind political elites from their own ethnic groups. Historically; traces and the emergence of ethnic politics goes back to the colonial period thus making Kenya one of the African countries with a deeply embedded practice of ethnic politics. Raila Odinga use of disguised discourse of ethnicity to pursue his goal and to strategically detach himself from being viewed as a tribal outfit is a clear indicator that ethnic identity is the springboard from which presidential aspirants galvanize their support. The study underscores that; it is near impossible for presidential candidates to discuss Kenyan politics without reference to the notion of ethnic identities.

6. References

- i. Barasa, N. (2014). Discursive Strategies in Kenya's 2008 Post-Election Consultation Discourse. Laikipia University. Nyahururu, Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- ii. Bichang'a, W.N (2010). The Discursive Construction and Interpretation of Kenyan Newspaper. Egerton University, Unpublished MA Thesis.
- iii. Brass, P. R. (1991). Ethnicity and Nationalism: theory and comparison, New Delhi, Sage
- iv. Brookhiser, Richard 1991 The way of the WASP, New York, Free Press.
- v. Chilton, P. & Schäffner, C. (1997) Discourse and Politics in van Dijk, T. A.
- vi. Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction Vol 2. London: Sage.
- vii. Doering, J. (2015) The Political Uses of Race and Ethnicity: Ethno-Racial References in the 2014 Toronto and 2015 Chicago Municipal Elections. Martin Prosperity Institute, University of Toronto
- viii. Johnstone, B. (2008). Discourse Analysis (2nd Ed). Australia: Blackwell Publishers.
- ix. Karithi, F. (2015). *Ulinganuzi wa Usemi wa Kisiasa katika Kampeni za Urais Nchini Kenya*
- x. *Miezi Mitano kabla ya Chaguzi za Mwaka wa 2007 na 2013*. Laikipia University. Nyahururu, Unpublished PhD Thesis.
- xi. Kastellec, J., and Leoni, E. (2007). Using graphs instead of tables in political science. *Perspectives on Politics* 5, 755-771.
- xii. https://www.google.com/?gws_rd=ssl#q=using+graphs+instead+of+tables+in+political+science.
- xiii. KHRC, Kenya Human Rights Commission (2018). Ethnicity and Politicization in Kenya. Biegon, J. Politicization of Ethnic Identity in Kenya: Historical Evolution, Major Manifestations and the Enduring Implications. Printed on May 2018, ISBN: 978-9966-100-39-9

- xvii. KHRC, Kenya Humans Rights Commission (2018). Ethnicity and Politicization in Kenya. Asingo, P. O. Ethnicity and Political Inclusivity in Kenya: Retrospective Analysis and Prospective Solutions. Printed on May 2018, ISBN: 978-9966-100-39-9
- xviii. Onyango, J.O. (2008). *Ethnic Discourse on Contentious Issues in the Kenyan Press after the 2007 General Elections*. Presented at 12th General Assembly, CODESRIA.
- xix. Ochieng' W.R., 1975, "Tribalism and National Unity.' In A. Ojuka and W.R.
- xx. Ochieng (eds.). *Politics and Leadership in Africa*. Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House
- xxi. Oloo, A. Party mobilization and membership: Old and new identities in Kenyan politics in K Kanyinga & D Okello (eds) *Tensions and reversals in democratic transitions: The Kenya 2007 general elections* (2010) 31, 33.
- xxii. Oloo, O. (2008). Democratic Consensus Vs Reactionary Counter-Discourse,
- xxiii. Nairobi: indymedia Kenya Approaches, Nairobi: Acts Press.
- xxiv. Orodho, A. J. (2003) Essentials of Education and Social Sciences Research
- xxv. Methods. Nairobi: Masola. Publishers.
- xxvi. Pieterse, J. N. (1993) Varieties of ethnic politics and ethnicity discourse.
- xxvii. University of California: Santa Barbara.
- xxviii. Reisigl, M. na Wodak, R. (2001) *The discourse- historical approach (DHA): history, agenda theory and methodology*. In R. Wodak na M, Meyer (Eds). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2ed). London: SAGE.