

**AN ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSAL STRATEGIES IN THE CAMPAIGN
MANIFESTOS OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN THE 2022
GENERAL ELECTION IN KENYA**

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**A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award
of the Degree of Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics of Masinde Muliro
University of Science and Technology**

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my father Richard Angachi Makabira and my late mother Rose Athieno Kasala, my son Jayden Wayne Onyango - my source of joy and encouragement, family and friends. Thanks for your immense support, love and support during the whole period of my studies.

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ABSTRACT

Manifestos in political discourse are a key component of the democratic process regionally and internationally. They play are used to present the candidates ideologies, present policy packages and articulate the vision, values and policies of the political parties and the candidates. Internationally campaign manifestos are used to present the party's ideological position and educate voters who make informed choices. Regionally campaign manifestos are designed to allow candidates and parties to address issues common to the citizens. The presidential candidates often design their campaign manifestos using creative language which unravels the significance of discorsal strategies as a means of communicating messages on the envisaged plans of developing the nation once elected to office. This study explores the discorsal strategies employed in the manifestos of presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. Discorsal strategies are particularly key in manifestos as they help the presidential candidates to express their commitment to specific policies, and further convince the targeted voters on the viability of policies and visions of their political parties. This study sought to explore how particular discorsal strategies are used to frame political agenda and thus evoke specific emotional responses. This study was guided by the following objectives : to describe discorsal strategies employed by the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya, determine the contribution of discorsal strategies in the articulation of political agenda in the campaign manifestos of presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya and examine the extent to which the CDA accounts for the use of discorsal strategies to unravel power dynamics and ideologies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The study applied the Critical Discourse Analysis, a theoretical framework by Fairclough (2001), whose studies are geared towards uncovering, revealing or disclosing what is implicit in relation to discorsively enacted dominance or underlying ideologies. The study adopted a descriptive research design. Qualitative data was collected from printed manifestos, thematically classified and analyzed based on the CDA model. Purposive sampling was used to select specific sections of manifesto texts with analyzable discorsal strategies. Data was collected using a data extraction tool which was used to extract discorsal strategies from the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election. Focus Group Discussions were also used to collect qualitative data for the study. The data was coded into discorsal categories such as multi-textual levels of persuasion discourse, metaphors, repetition and symbolism. The qualitative data was analyzed thematically using textual analysis. The findings show that discorsal categories are key in expressing ideologies, power dynamics and persuade the voters in manifestos texts. The results also indicated that presidential candidates in the 2022 election in Kenya used particular discorsal strategies in passing messages of nation building and opinions on uplifting the welfare of the Kenyan citizens. This study points out the significance of the use of figurative language, emotional appeals and the framing of promises. The manifestos also manifest personal inclusion and exclusion, collective identity, action-oriented language and legitimation structures to unravel ideologies, power dynamics and power realities in campaign ventures. The study also pointed out that discorsal strategies contribute to the effectiveness in the presentation of messages and persuasion of voters. The CDA as the theory underpinning then study centrally shapes ideologies and power relations through language choices. This study makes a scholarly contribution in the field of political discourse by underscoring the role of discorsal strategies in constructing opinion shaping messages. The findings will help political actors design campaign tools that provide a basis for presenting ideologies, educate the voters, help present government projects to the citizens and persuade them to vote.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Candidates: The individuals who presented themselves and were fronted by political parties to vie for election to the office of the president of Kenya in the 2022 general elections.

Discourse: The structured communication influenced by language choices made by the presidential candidates to exercise power and how it enhances the shaping of the message and voter's engagement by appealing to their emotions

Discoursal strategies: These are techniques employed by the presidential candidates used in the writing of the campaign manifestos to enhance effective communication messages and persuading the voters.

Ideology: A set of ethical deals, principles, doctrines or symbols of a political party as stipulated in the campaign manifestos that explain how society should work and offers some cultural blue print for a certain social order.

Manifesto : A public declaration of policy and aims, especially one issued before an election by political party or the presidential candidate to inform the voters on the candidate's vision, ideologies with an intention to persuade the voters to support them in an election.

Persuasion : The action or process of the presidential candidates influencing the voter's beliefs, attitudes and behaviours with an intention of appealing to their emotions.

Strategy: This refers to the deliberate plan of action employed by the presidential candidates with a n aim to frame their political agenda, mobilize voters to vote for them and influence their opinion over issues presented.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ALU	:	Azimio La Umoja One Kenya Alliance manifesto
AP	:	Agano party Manifesto
CDA	:	Critical Discourse Analysis
DTA	:	Democratic Turnhale Alliance
FDGs	:	Focus Group Discussions
IEBC	:	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KK	:	Kenya Kwanza Manifesto
RP	:	Roots Party Manifesto
SWAPO	:	South West Africa People's Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The present study investigates the discourses strategies manifestos in the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. This chapter covers the background to the study on the discourses strategies used in campaign manifestos. It also presents the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions that guided the study, scope and limitations and the justification of the study.

1.2 Background to the study

The elections in Kenya takes place within the multi-party democracy and presidential system framework as stipulated in the constitution of Kenya. The elections are organized by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). Elections are held to elect candidates to the elective positions such as the president, governors, senator, members of county assemblies, women representatives and members of county assemblies. The current study focused on the presidential election .The race had four candidates: Raila Odinga, David Mwaure, William Ruto and George Wajackoya were cleared by IEBC vie in the August 9th 2022 general election. A campaign period was set aside and manifestos were used by the presidential candidates to present the visions, plans and seek to influence specific groups of voters.

Elections in East Africa represented by five countries Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania ,Burundi and Rwanda reflect a country's political system and culture .The presidential candidates draft manifestos that reflect the country's status in economic, social and political matters and promises and strategies to improve the lives of the citizens. Richard, Fagan and Clancy (2024) argue that global elections as reflected in the year

2024 across sixty countries had the presidential candidates reflecting on economic concerns, functioning democracy, climate change and international conflicts.

1.2.1 Role of campaign manifestos in political discourse

An election manifesto is an intended policy document written by a political party at the beginning of an election campaign (Robertson, 2004). Manifestos bear a broader meaning covering all statements of political intent, and in some cases a call for action in a revolutionary situation. Soule (2006) opines that manifestos are well known to the electorates, since most of them cast their votes for a particular party depending on the policies outlined in party's manifesto. This is the main reason why some voters read manifestos by themselves, as others still rely on other individual to read to them. In political discourse, manifestos are used by political actors to serve as calls for action that could in turn bring change to the nation.

Manifesto texts are structured by focusing on the creative use of language in a manner appeals to voters' emotions and rallies the voting to cast their ballot in favour of candidates for particular parties (Arlow, 2024). The campaign manifestos are used by political actors as key vehicles of communication to present their ideologies and policies thus, creating a connection with voters. Campaign manifestos are therefore designed with eye-catching visuals and branding in order to appeal to the readers and enhance interpretation and understanding of the message (Thackery &Toye,2019).

Campaign manifestos are indeed essential to the political actors and the electorate as they are used as a platform for the political leaders to communicate their goals, formulating and strengthening community affiliations, presentation of policies and the political agenda for a nation (Ehineni,2014). This was evident from the analysis of the

campaign manifestos used by the four presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya where each of the manifestos was uniquely designed to stand out from the rest in terms of the use of catchy headings and sub-headings, the use of pictures for illustrations, distinct colors for each political party.

1.2.2 Role of discorsal strategies in political communication

Political actors use words to maintain power, shape public opinion and govern beliefs of the voters (Van Dijk,2006).This is achieved by using various strategies and techniques to present their ideologies and attempt to persuade the voters.

Discorsal strategies entail linguistic and rhetoric elements that influence meaning, shape the perceptions of the listener or the reader in order to achieve particular communicative goals. The writers of manifestos persuasively use discorsal strategies to inform the audience about ideologies, political agenda and plans of candidates for elective positions. Taiwo (2014) asserts that language used in manifestos is uniquely designed to present certain messages, foreground ideologies to the voters and persuade them, so that parties gain the support of the masses. Discorsal strategies are also used to shape power relations through language use.

In political discourse analysis the analysis is done in the linguistic and semiotic perspectives where language symbols and communication strategies which are key in shaping political narratives and influence public opinion (Rayendra ,2024).The current study focused on the analysis of discourse and lexical techniques employed in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya to shape political narratives and influence the opinion of the voters on presented ideologies.

1.2.3 Overview of political landscape during the 2022 general election in Kenya

The general election in Kenya was held on 9th August 2022, where Kenyans voted into office candidates for different electoral posts as stipulated in the constitution. The voters elected different leaders for the elective posts such as the president, governors, senators, members of the National Assembly, women representatives and members of county assemblies. This study focused on the presidential candidates. The presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya campaigned using political parties as vehicles to help them present their ideologies to the voters. The presidential elections were highly competitive as evident during the party nomination process where we had four presidential candidates vying and the rigorous campaigning period.

The political parties which fielded presidential candidates were: Roots Party- George Wajackoya, Azimio La Umoja One Kenya Alliance –Raila Odinga, Agano Party- David Mwaure and Kenya Kwanza Coalition-William Ruto. The political parties branded themselves using different colors. For instance, Kenya Kwanza branded itself in yellow and green, Azimio la Umoja One Kenya Alliance used the blue and orange colours, while Agano party used purple and blue. Roots party branded in Orange and red. Each of the presidential candidates had a slogan: George Wajackoya, '*Tingiza mti* (shake the tree)', Raila Odinga '*Inawezekana* (it is possible) Agenda', William Ruto 'Bottom up economy' and David Mwaure '*Badilisha*'(change).

The IEBC set out the campaign period from February 2022 to August 2022 a duration of six months before the polling day. The candidates used this period to campaign and

present their development agenda to the voters so as to solicit their votes. This election filled vacant political positions: the presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, members of county assembly and women representative offices. As expected, these elective posts were highly competitive; hence each candidate sought to have the right branding that would attract the voters' choices. The candidates and their political parties employ a number of campaign strategies to win the masses. Such strategies include the use of political speeches, debates, manifestos, party slogans and banners. Public rallies are ultimately used to present the agenda of the candidates to the voters. The current research focused on the analysis of the manifesto texts as one of the campaign tools used by the four presidential candidates who vied in the 2022 general election in Kenya. This study sought to examine the language used in the campaign manifestos of the presidential candidates and its contribution in shaping the presentation of policies, the interpretation and the level of persuasion that manifested.

Several studies have been conducted in this perspective. Bathlomeos (2016) conducted a stylistic and rhetorical analysis of the 2014 election manifestos of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and the Democratic Turnballe Alliance (DTA). The study found that both parties relied heavily on rhetorical and stylistic devices such as metonymy, symbolism, metaphor, repetition, foregrounding, collective memory, references to past achievements, indirect promises, identification, and personification. The deliberate use of these strategies was intended to strengthen emotional appeal and secure the electorate's support. Bathlomeous's (2016) study is similar to the current study as they both look at the role of linguistic strategies in appealing the voters and shaping their opinions. However, the current study foregrounds discursual strategies as central mechanisms through which presidential

candidates package ideologies, frame political agendas, and endeavor to persuade the electorate. Masiolo (2013) examined the manipulation of words, terms and idioms in the context of political discourse. The findings revealed the use of linguistic strategies in the framing of political narratives, promoting specific ideologies to the voters and shaping public perceptions. Political actors manipulate words, terms and idioms to influence the voters' opinion and in seeking support. This study is similar to the current study as it examined how language choices are used to present ideologies and shape perceptions of the voters. However, the current study focused on the use of discursal strategies in framing political agenda, framing ideologies and persuading the voters by influencing their opinions.

Another related study by Khaemba (2024) examined the power of words in political discourse of the general election in Kenya. The findings of the study pointed out strategies like attributes, nomination, prediction, argumentation and self –serving biases that seek to persuade the electorate. This study is similar is to the current study as it analyzes the role of language in presentation of political agenda by the presidential candidates in order to persuade the electorate. The current study deviates and investigates the role of discursal strategies in presentation of ideologies, framing of promises to influence the voters' perception.

Jonyo (2012) analyzed the language used by Raila Odinga in the presentation of ideologies, identity and power relations in his manifestos and speeches. The findings indicated that Raila Odinga heavily used linguistic resources such as choice of words and rhetorical strategies to achieve the discursive aims of packaging ideologies, construction of the candidates' identity, while establishing and maintaining power dynamics. This study is similar to this study as it discusses the influence of linguistic

choices used in manifestos to create identities, shape ideologies and persuading the voters. The current study differs from Jonyo's (2012) study insofar as it dwells on the use of discursial strategies in framing promises, uncovering underlying power dynamics and realities in a bid to convince the electorate to support the party's policies and visions.

Another related study by Nadeem et al. (2014) explored the agenda of political parties hidden in their manifestos through grammatical and lexical features. The objective of using the features was to foreground the target messages and evoke the emotions of the voters and gain their support. While the study by Nadeem et al. (2014) focused on the use of grammatical and lexical features, the current study investigated discursial strategies as devices used in manifestos of the presidential candidates to shape ideologies, unravel power dynamics and evoke emotions of voters.

A similar study by Ataa (2016) conducted a critical discourse analysis of the 2016 manifestos of the National Democratic Congress (NDC) and the New Patriotic Party (NPP). Through CDA, the findings revealed that both parties relied on the use of persuasive strategies such as blame, contrastive use of indigenous linguistic lexemes, comparison; and linguistic features such as nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives. The parties employed the strategies to persuade the voters to support the political parties and vote for their candidates based on ideologies. While the study by Ataa (2016) analyzed the use of persuasive strategies in manifestos, the current study foregrounds the use of discursial strategies in manifestos to frame political agendas with an intention to evoke the emotions to persuade the electorate.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The 2022 general election in Kenya was highly competitive as witnessed during the campaigning and the voting period. The candidates used campaign manifestos as tools of shaping the political agenda to communicate their visions, policies and promises to improve the citizens' welfare once elected in office. The presidential candidates designed their campaign manifestos using communicative strategies to convey ideologies, reinforce their thoughts and arguments with an intention to persuade the voters. Past studies on political discourse focused on linguistic and rhetorical strategies and examined their influence on shaping political agenda. However, a noticeable gap exists on the scholarly analysis of discourse employed in the manifesto texts in relation to how particular discursal strategies employed in the manifestos and their role as central mechanisms through which presidential candidates package ideologies, frame political agendas, influence public engagement and persuade the electorate. The current study fills the gap by investigating the discursal strategies were used by the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya to frame ideologies, convey intentions, obligations and promises and voter appeal There is need to establish how the discursal strategies are used to unravel power dynamics and power realities in manifesto texts.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The study was guided by the following research objectives:

- i. To describe discursal strategies employed by presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.
- ii. To determine the contribution of discursal strategies in the articulation of

political agenda in the manifestos of presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

- iii. To analyze discorsal strategies that unravel power dynamics and underlying ideologies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

1.5 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions.

- i. What discorsal strategies are evident in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya?
- ii. What is the role of discorsal strategies in articulation of political agenda in the manifestos of presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya?
- iii. What discorsal strategies are used in unraveling power dynamics and ideologies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya?

1.6 Scope and limitations of the study

This study focused on the analysis of discorsal strategies used in manifestos of presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. During the election a number of elective positions were vacant and had to be filled. These are the president, governors, senators, members of the National Assembly, women representative and

members of the members of the county assembly. The candidates used manifestos as a campaign tool to present their ideologies and persuade the electorate. The study analyzed the manifestos of the presidential candidates, and not any other candidates vying in the elections during that period. The manifestos selected were for the year 2022 and limited to the geographical area of Kenya. A number of campaign texts such as party slogans, speeches, banners, manifestos and political tweets are written during the campaign period, but the study only focused on manifestos, thus excluding other political texts.

The research centred on the examination of how discoursal strategies were used to articulate political agenda through the manifesto texts. The study was guided by Fairclough's (2001) theory, which discloses what is implicit in linguistic blocks within the precincts of three-dimensional approach that covers the text, its production and context. A number of linguistic strategies were used in the manifestos but the study was limited to those which articulate political agenda. This study sought to contribute to the knowledge of persuasion in political discourse by confirming that discoursal strategies can be used to articulate political agenda in political communication tools.

The current study employed a pragmatic approach in analysing the discoursal strategies used to articulate political agenda in the manifestos of presidential candidates in the Kenyan political context. This approach is motivated by the fact that linguistic strategies in a written text are expressed by use of personal pronouns, modals and syntactic structures to create expressive rapport between the writer of the manifesto texts and the intended readers.

1.7 Justification of the study

Manifestos play a critical role in political communication. Political actors employ linguistic strategies to present diverse ideologies to the voters. The language choices utilized by the political actors are evident in the linguistic strategies employed in the writing of the manifestos. Existing scholarship on language strategies used in by the political actors in the manifestos points to the use of linguistic, discursive and stylistic strategies. Sarvat (2015) analyzed the relationship between power and ideology in a manifesto; and reveal how ideologies are constructed and deconstructed through the relationship between power and language. Jonyo (2012), on the other hand, analyzed the language used by Raila Odinga in presentation of ideologies, identity and power relations his manifestos and speeches. Reyes (2008) focused discursive strategies in Chavez political discourse: voicing, distancing and shifting but focused on the linguistic and paralinguistic features used to manipulate the addressee. Batholmeus (2016) analyzed the stylistic and rhetorical strategies in the 2014 election manifestos of SWAPO and DTA parties and focused on the use of collective memory, past achievements, persuasive attacks and self-praise which are entirely for persuasion purposes. This underscores the importance of making a discursal analysis of manifestos used in the Kenya 2022 general election in Kenya to establish how language choices shape political ideologies and influence the reception of the message. Consequently, it is necessary to objectively interpret the power realities and dynamics underlying the discursal strategies articulating political agenda presented in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The research findings, therefore, significantly contribute to bridging the gaps of the need for research in the area of application of discursal strategies in political

communication, and establish their role in shaping visions, policies and promises that impact on voter behavior.

1.8 Significance of the study

This study is significant to political communication insofar as it enriches knowledge on political discourse in terms of discursive strategies used in manifestos as effective tools for presenting ideologies and policies of political actors. Linguistic devices are crucial for the impactful presentation of the intended political message, particularly discursive strategies articulating political agenda, by helping to frame content that determines the emotional appeal that predicts the voting patterns based on the voters' reception of messages from their preferred candidates.

This study provides practical application of Critical Discourse Analysis theory in uncovering the role of language in building ideologies, power dynamics and how they shape the political discourse by helping to uncover what lies beneath a political text in revealing the emotive use of language. The findings of the study could be useful to speechwriters in bridging the gaps between construction of the intended messages and the reception of the targeted audiences.

The research also contributes to scholarly output in the field of political discourses.

1.9 Chapter summary

This chapter has outlined the background to the study in relation to discursive strategies in a text and the discursive strategies used to articulate political agenda based

on previous studies. It provided a foundation for assessing whether discursal strategies are relevant in unravelling underlying structures, ideologies and persuading the electorate. This chapter also provided an overview of the statement of the problem, research objectives and research questions, the scope of the study and justification of the study. The chapter also looks at the significance of the study to the research. The next chapter discusses literature review and the theoretical framework that guides the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents relevant literature on the research variables. The chapter particularly reviews the literature on language of politics, discursal strategies, the contribution of discursal strategies in the articulation of the political agenda, and how the CDA accounts for the use of discursal strategies in articulating power dynamics and power relations. Additionally, this chapter the tenets of the theoretical framework that underpins this study are discussed.

2.2 Language of politics

Language is an important phenomenon in delineating the power relations between the dominant segments of society represented by the political actors and the subordinates represented by the voters. David (2014) points out that language is considered a powerful tool that is deliberately employed by politicians to influence the electorates on the choices they make at the ballot. Politicians utilize the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and textual devices to achieve their goal of positively influencing the masses (David, 2014). Politicians manipulate language to their advantage in order to easily win the favour of voters. Such language used by political actors in both oral and written forms of discourse is highly structured in the various contexts of manifestation. While the study by David (2014) analyzes language choices in relation to the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and textual devices which are deliberately constructed to manipulate the electorate, the current study foregrounds the use of discursal strategies in framing ideologies of the political players and shaping their

opinions in the realization of their political goals.

According to Aboh and Aduk (2017), a political activity does not exist without the use of language, and this implies that language and politics are inseparable. The political sphere is replete with emotive rhetoric in the presentation of manifestos. Wilson (1990) draws attention to the manipulative power of language used in political discourse, and affirms that people have to be persuaded to adopt a particular system of beliefs and actions. Thus, language facilitates social order to lure masses into supporting particular political parties. Aboh and Uduk (2017) further avers that a linguistic activity can become a political activity, and this is only possible when the political goal tallies with linguistic choices made. In essence, the choice of words used by a politician reflects the attitude, beliefs and values towards the persons' events. The goal of the candidates in using a political manifesto is to persuasively sway the opinion of the electorate. In this regard, style and linguistic choices are regarded as prominent tools in the entire communication process (Edem, 2019). This study considered the choice of words as one of the discursal strategies identified from the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

A study by Malande (2013) on language used by politicians concludes that a politician based in East Africa has the ability to invent, re-invent, shift, twist and manipulate multilingual terms thus, highlighting the inter-connectedness between language and politics in East Africa. This justifies the use of particular language choices made by political actors in presenting messages to the voters with an intention of informing and persuading them. Butt et al. (2004) assert that language in political discourse can be used to establish ideologies through the speakers' choice of words. For instance, the

use of pronoun assigns participant roles. Butt et al. (2004) further argue that the use of language necessitates choices between different modes of meaning. These choices are made at all levels of language. Malande (2013) notes that language choices; multilingual, political, syntactic, semantic and ideological are key. Thus, they inform the creation and selection of Kenyan political party tools. This is evident at all levels of language used in the creation of party tools such as the party names, colour, party slogans and symbols used by Kenyan political actors. The current study draws from the study by Malande (2013) on the specific language choices made by presidential candidates in the writing of the manifestos used in the 2022 election in Kenya.

According to Schaffer (1996), language plays a crucial role in politics, as every political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled and influenced by language. Language therefore plays a key role in communication activities such as elections, debates, legislation and discussions in political discourse. Political actors use language as a powerful tool to advocate their political agendas and promote specific ideologies. This is achieved by politicians strategically using carefully selected words, terms, and idioms, all aimed at shaping public perception, garner support from the electorate and persuading the voters to vote for them.

A related study by Masiolo (2013) examined language used by politicians used during the electioneering period in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The findings of the study indicated that language used by the politicians is meant to influence public opinion and advance political goals of the players. The language used by politicians portrays a number of features which relate to the message, its presentation and the reception by the audience. Dylgjeri (2014) argues that framing of political narratives is impactful when expressed in meticulously selected lexical items. Political communication

notably takes a number of forms such as political speeches, media interviews and political talk shows, manifestos and political slogans. The mode of communication employed is entirely the use of words exhibited through framing of political narratives. The study by Dylgjeri (2014) is similar to the current study as it investigated the framing of political narratives in political discourse. However, this study diverges insofar as it foregrounds the framing of promises as a discursual strategy, and examines how this contributes to the articulation of the political agenda in the manifesto texts.

Al-Faki (2014) notes that political discourse is utilized in different forms which include the written or spoken language, verbal or non – verbal forms employed in politics. These forms stir the emotions of the audience to affect their opinions and emotions. Politicians particularly use emotionally charged language to evoke specific feelings and dictate biased attitudes among voters. Emotional appeals, such as fear, hope, and patriotism, are commonly employed to rally support and create a sense of belonging and loyalty to their political ideologies. Like the study by Al-Faki (2014), the current study investigated the use of emotional appeals to evoke specific feelings and attitudes in the manifesto texts as an aspect of political discourse. The current study explores other aspects of the emotional appeals as a central mechanism through which presidential candidates frame political agenda, package ideologies and attempt to shape the electorate's opinions and choices.

According to Heyes (2002), identity politics is politics based on particular identity traits such as ethnicity, race, nationality, religion, denomination, gender and sexual orientation.

In politics, identity is exhibited when politicians use language to appeal to specific ethnic, religious, or regional groups. Identity in politics can be labelled to an individual or to a group which encompasses shared identity and interests which politicians use to consolidate support from particular voter segments. The study by Heyes (2002) focused on how the identity of an individual or a group in politics is created in order to consolidate support from the voters. Apart from gaining support, the current study investigates identity as a discursal strategy, and examines its role in contributing to the political agenda.

Lin (2011) argues that persuasion is a key element in political context. For example, during election campaign rallies the audience reactions such as clapping and booing provide an important barometer of their popular appeal to the message presented to them. Hence, politicians are often aware of the value of using rhetorical devices in evoking applause to elicit agreement reactions from their audience. The political actors employ rhetorical devices, such as repetition, exaggeration and metaphor to reinforce key messages and create memorable slogans. These persuasive techniques leave a positive impression on voters and sway their decision-making. Whereas Lin (2011) emphasized on the persuasive role of the rhetoric strategies in political contexts to reinforce messages and evoke emotions, the current study analyzes discursal strategies used in the campaign manifestos of the presidential candidates as a mechanism of establishing the authority of the candidates over the voters.

Van Dijk (1985) and Atkinson and Heritage (1985) argue that discourse is a form of social action and interaction. The written forms, such as the manifesto texts in the present study, are considered forms of social and political action, and that simply put, doing text and talk covers more producing or perceiving discourse in political context

by a multiplicity of political actors. In political discourse, there exist levels of political actions that help shape the political context. The contexts are key in determining language choices made by political actors in the course of communicating agenda.

The study by Van Dijk (1998), which investigated how language choices made by political actors are shaped by the context and target audience, is similar to the current research on account goal-oriented language use. Thus, this study investigated how language choices function as discursal strategies in packaging political agenda, revealing the identity of the candidates, appealing to the emotions of the electorate.

Van Dijk (1996) argues that political discourse analysis should focus on specific discourse structures which satisfy the criteria for effectiveness in persuasive communication. Ultimately, these structures are key in accomplishment of political actions. The levels and dimensions in political actions include the following structures and strategies as highlighted below:

2.2.1 Topics

Political discourse exhibits politics which is the central topic. Van Dijk (1997) suggests that when topics are viewed as semantic macro-propositions, the relevant participants in such propositions are usually limited by the context of actualization dependent on political actors. Van Dijk (1997) further argues that the political actors themselves decide on how to frame their opinions about societal issues affecting the electorate and how the issues could be addressed. There are central concerns of Van Dijk (1997) which influence the current study. First, most of the topics are about the plans that are future oriented and thus make announcements or promises about future actions. Secondly, the plans will be actualized when the political actors are elected to office. In addition, these plans are

restricted or understood to revolve around political actors and political events in the public sphere, particularly those requiring collective decision making, policies, regulation and legislation. Similarly, Lycan (1994) suggests that events and actions discussed in political discourse may be necessarily the case in the past or future actions or obligatory, wished or regretted. Topics discussed by the political may have more general persuasive function of appealing to the emotions of the reader. According to Van Dijk (1995), a topic in political discourse may feature evaluation. This includes descriptions and reference to politicians, public figures and organizations, as well as their actions, which are instigated by politically and ideologically based opinions and attitudes. The political aspirants promise to formulate policies and make political decisions that will benefit the country and all citizens.

2.2.2 Lexicon

Herman (1992) defines the lexicon as a list of words that are used in a language or professional jargon. Herman (1992) further notes that levels of lexical choice and variations are evident in political discourse. Political communicators select specific words that unravel ideologies and political agenda. The choice of words may have a positive or negative impact depending on the context and the relationship between the addressor and the addressee. For instance, opponents or enemies may be described using negative words such as ‘pair of terrorists’ while the addressee is viewed positively as ‘the freedom fighter,’ hence a pair such as ‘the freedom fighters’ vs ‘the terrorists’ (Halmari ,1993. This stance gives a basis for the analysis of the choice of words as one of the discursal strategies used to articulate political agenda in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in 2022 general election in Kenya.

2.2.3 Syntax

Syntax is the structural organization of elements like words or morphemes not their inherent meaning (Larroque, 2023).It is an orderly arrangement of parts considering the system of rules that govern how words and phrases are combined to form meaningful and well-structured sentences. In the field of discourse, syntax focuses on aspects of structure such as word order and punctuation used by the speakers and writers to convey meaning. In political discourse, a number of syntactic variations are employed. These include appropriate placement of word words and phrases, syntactic structures such as the use of active and passive sentences (Van Dijk ,1996).

According to Larroque (2023) syntactic structures constitute semantic units which help in emphasizing the specific meanings of the word that present the interests of the speaker or the writer. The current study considers sentences as communicative units which help in the framing of ideologies in a manner that persuades the voters.

2.2.4 Rhetoric

Rhetoric strategies in political discourse are used for persuasive purposes. The strategies play a significant role in political communication. In political analysis rhetoric is viewed in in terms of specific speech genres or as a set of techniques, often limited to oratory, aimed at persuading an audience during deliberation processes (Martin, 2013).

According to Sulaiman and Kudu, M. Z (2023), rhetorical strategies are a significant aspect of political analysis and can contribute to understanding the operation of political power in society. They are used to enhance meaning and appeal to the emotions of the audience in a bid to influence their opinions about the candidate.

Another related study by Mensah, Sarfu-Adu and Afful (2018) investigates rhetoric elements in campaign discourse. This study concludes that parties and candidates used rhetorical strategies such as repetition, promises, coinages and religious allusions to appeal to the audience's emotions. It is further noted that the manipulation of logic is intended to shape the opinions of the voters, and influence their choice of whom to support in the election. The study also revealed negative attacks on the opponents, for example, thorough the use of propaganda, attacks on the parties of opponents, fallacies and exaggeration in order to paint an adverse picture of the opponent and consequently influence the voters' choices at the ballot. While the study by Mensah, Sarfu-Adu and Afful (2018) emphasizes the role of rhetorical strategies in persuading the electorate, the present one focused on the use of discursal strategies in the manifesto texts of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

2.2.5 Local semantics

Semantics in a text relates to textual meaning that accrues from systematic interpretation. Van Dijk (1995) suggests that meanings in political discourse reflect political contexts in which they are used. Local semantics denotes political organizations, and the actions and decisions of political actors. The meanings brought out in political contexts include issues such as matters of social and public concern, as well as common interests and struggles such as national policies, national security, welfare of the state, health, national and international policies (Gamson,1992). The current study, similarly, looks at the fundamental contribution of discursal strategies as part of the means by which political actors, particularly the presidential aspirants and their sponsoring parties, align their ideology to the aspirations and interests of the target voter population. The linguistic resources in the manifesto texts play the emotive

function of language in projecting subjective bias that persuasively appeals to the masses- a critical prerequisite for victory at the ballot.

Adedimeji (2005) points out that language and politics meet at the threshold of power. In this regard, political discourse is usually the exchange of perspectives between politicians and also their parties, on what they believe could bring societal progress. The discourse generally entails discussing common issues such as health, education and agriculture that affect the citizens, and the pragmatic steps they intend to take in addressing the issues once elected to office. According to Beard (2000), studying political language is to know how language is creatively utilized by those who desire to gain, exercise and keep power. Lakoff (1990) opines there exists an intertwined relationship between language and politics. In this vein, Lakoff (1990) points out that language is a powerful tool in politics, and that language is power; politics assigns power, power governs how people talk and how they are understood. Lakoff (1990) further notes that political manipulation by political actors depends on the use of language. Local semantics is key to this study as it aids in the interpretation and understanding of meanings elicited in the discursal strategies employed in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

The studies of Michira (2014) point out that language used in politics especially during the campaign period and concluded that politicians is highly manipulative and deviates from the normal everyday discourse. The findings identified rhetorical devices; lexical items, grammatical units and symbolic feature. The aspect of manipulation is enhanced through political language is a tool which political leaders use to achieve their political agenda and desires. Michira (2014), argues that manipulation helps in the building of intimacy and trust between the addressor and the addressee.

Political actors employ manipulation as a strategy to exercise control over the electorate, in which politicians take advantage of the social context to manipulate, and even deceive people through their use of language (Ojo,2015). This is achieved through linguistic manipulation which involves the conscious use of language to control the others, as any form of political address- spoken or written, is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make important voter decisions that favour the political actors (Ojo, 2015).

Literature on language of politics therefore provides a background on the choice of language in a manifesto basing on form which is highly structured and persuasively manipulative at targeting the voters. It gives a guide on instances of linguistic strategies to consider in the identification and analysis of discursal strategies used in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 election in Kenya. The discursal strategies in the current study are anchored on the stylistic use of language and are firmly interwoven in the tenets of the CDA theory, which unravel power dynamics and realities.

2.3 Significance of political manifesto in the electoral politics.

In an election process political actors use campaign manifestos as tools to make public declarations of the political parties they are vying to present party policies and to rally the support of the voters. Dalton et-al (2011) opines that during elections parties fight elections rallying behind a manifesto that is used in laying down policy priorities and positions, and a team of leaders committed to them and plans that they will implement when they win in an election. Dalton et al (2011) further states that political parties use manifestos as a compendium of valid party position on how they view real world

issues and guidelines on bringing the desired change which will be advantageous to the voters.

Manifestos are important in streamlining the campaign activities in the election. This easens the candidates work during the campaigns. The activities performed by political parties and the candidates are guided by the manifestos as they are supreme as the only authoritative source of party policy in the context of a campaign.

Similarly Klingemann et al.(2006) justifies that a manifesto is unique in its composition as being the only authoritative party policy statement approved by an official convention such as parliament or congress.

Manifestos play the role of a campaigning tool. Dalton et-al 2011) argue that in campaigns the political parties and candidates provide the voters with printed copies of the manifestos to target voters .The voters are able to identify with the ideologies, policies and visions of the political parties and make informed choices.Furthermore,Paxton and Haddan (2024) suggest that manifestos are an important electoral tool in election as parties use them to influence how people vote with an intention to try and win elections by gaining support from the voters.

2.4 Discoursal strategies used in manifesto texts

Effective communication is key in message presentation, its interpretation and its reception by the listeners or readers (Brownell, 2012). In the realm of political discourse, the central messages passed revolve around the presentation of ideologies and persuasion of the voters. Thus, the use of discoursal strategies as creative language are

key attributes that enhance message clarity and influence the readers' emotion. Arlow (2024) defines discursal strategies as techniques that enhance effective communication in political discourse, and are also key mechanisms for conveying information and persuading the readers or listeners on the political choices to make at the ballot. Van Dijk (2003), on the same note, opines that political communication uses discursal strategies of manipulation, legitimation and consent as discursive ways to indirectly influence the mind and the subsequent actions of the people in the interest of the powerful. The writers of manifestos therefore employ discursal strategies in packaging the agenda and ideologies of the political actors in order to shape the opinions of the readers. According to Pennycook (2003), the writers of election manifestos employ the use of discursive resources in order to establish and maintain power relations. The rhetoric strategies evident in the manifestos texts with necessarily evoke the emotions of the readers. Suddaby and Greenwood (2005) argue that rhetoric strategies are ways in which agents configure their language in an intentional manner, by using rhetorical devices which form patterns that persist over time and are consistently employed across different situations and texts.

The concept of shaping political agenda in manifesto texts is demonstrated by the use of discursive strategies, whose main aim is to persuade the reader to accept the writer's thoughts over an issue of discussion. Clearly then, discursive strategies impact on the message delivered and the reactive actions taken by the readers or listeners. The main reason for communication in political discourse is to inform, enlighten, promise, entertain and persuade the electorate (Abuya,2012).Similarly Alo (2012) points out that persuasion mainly involves the use of linguistic devices with an intention to

persuade the audience. This is in line with the use of discursal strategies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya with an intent to frame ideologies, convey intentions, obligation and attempt to persuade the voters.

Moloi and Bojabotseha (2014) critically analyze the manifestos used in the national election manifestos by the African National Congress (ANC). The manifestos were used for elections of the years 1999, 2004 and 2009. Their analysis in the study, which focused on intertextuality and interdiscursivity, reveals that the manifestos incorporated multiple voices and texts. These strategies were strategically employed in the manifesto texts to reinforce the party's authority by highlighting both past achievements and future commitments aimed at improving the lives of South Africans. The study further notes that the political candidates in their presentation use voice to stamp authority on the voters, while engaging the opponents. While the earlier studies analyzed intertextuality and interdiscursivity to reveal multiple texts, this study foregrounds the use of discursal strategies to articulate political agenda through the positive packaging of ideology in the manifesto texts of 2022 presidential election in Kenya.

As observed by Wodak (2005), discursive strategies are viewed as a systematic way of using language. The strategies are adapted by writers to serve broader purposes such as social, political, psychological or linguistic aims. The discursive strategies employed, thus, take the notion of self- presentation and negative other- presentation based on the construction of 'Us' and 'Them'. Wodak (2005) identifies a number of discursive strategies which include: predication, intensification, referential nomination, argumentation and perspectivation. The current study is similar to

Wodak's (2005) which focusses on the systematic use of language used to realize certain goals, such as the passing of messages and persuasion the readers.

A related study was by Reyes (2015) examined how linguistic variables are employed strategically in various instances of political communication to present different levels of intimacy in relation to a continuum between contextually and formality. Reyes (2015) explains how language use in society acts as an instrument of control, hence the notion 'from words to action.' The linguistic choices made by politicians, in terms of the speeches delivered, can either distance themselves from the audience or build intimacy. Politicians and their teams of speech writers choose a path depending on the 'message' developed around the political persona and the personality of the candidate. The findings of the study by Reyes point out the dominant linguistic variables such as: choice of words, syntactic structures, semantic and pragmatic meaning as well as the multi-textual levels of persuasion discourse. The current study is similar to Reyes (2015) study on the use of linguistic variables that help build intimacy with the target reader of the manifesto texts. Notably, however, this study entirely focused on examining choice of words, syntactic structures, semantic and pragmatic meanings, and multi-textual levels of persuasion discourse as discursal strategies for shaping political agenda in manifesto texts used in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

Similarly, Reyes (2014) argues that politicians construct political talks with two goals in mind: to fit their own political agenda in the communicative event and show authority over topics debated and secondly to obtain support from the majority of the audience by appealing to their emotions. Reyes (2014) analyzed linguistic variables used in the political speeches of Joe Biden, George W Bush, Sara Palin and Barack Obama. The findings indicated that the candidates used what the study considers as linguistic

variables such as emotions, hypothetical future, rationality and voices of expertise to achieve political goals of delivering political messages and building intimacy between the speaker and the listener. While Reyes (2014) emphasized on the impact of linguistic variables on the message delivery and intimacy building, the current study focused on the role of discursal strategies in packing ideologies for voter appeal.

Another related study by Kondowe (2019) investigates the use of voice and voice projection techniques in a political speech. The study concludes that a political speech is highly authoritative, persuading, converging and highlighting. The study found out that a speaker uses voice projection to effectively present their ideas on development to the people in order to influence the audience to vote for them. The study further avers that the speaker employs a number of voice projection strategies in his speech. While Kondowe (2019) emphasizes on voice projection strategies like accommodation and authority strategies to discursively impose power to their readers and listeners through discourse, the current study discusses how power relations and power dynamics are imposed on the voters by the political actors. The current study diverges on its examination of how discursal strategies are used in manifesto texts to assert power realities and power dynamics on the citizenry as evident in the political agenda. The studies by Wodak (2005), Reyes (2014), Reyes (2015) and Kondowe (2019) are, thus, hinged on discursive strategies as key elements used by writers of political discourse to express the ideology of parties and aspirants. The linguistic choices, in this regard, enhance clarity in the communication of political agenda. The discursal strategies used in the manifesto texts unravel the adversarial power asymmetries in society, and how the players in politics seek to resolve them through ascension to the apex of political office.

The use of discorsal strategies has a rhetorical effect to the readers or listeners. A number of scholars addressed the use of rhetorical strategies in the manifestos, and their the impact on the message and the readers or listeners. Bathlomeos (2016) investigated the stylistics and rhetorical strategies in the 2014 election manifestos of South West African People's Organization (SWAPO) and Democratic Turnballe Alliance (DTA). The study found out that both parties used metonyms, symbolism, metaphors, repetition, foregrounding, collective memory and collective memory. The parties in this study further use past achievements, indirect promises, identification and personification to emotively appeal to the electorate. The current study, on the other hand, investigates discorsal strategies and their role in packaging ideologies presented in the manifesto texts of the 2022 presidential candidates.

The present study analyses of the political agenda in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya as articulated by discorsal strategies. It particularly unravels how particular discorsal strategies are used to shape political agenda in appealing to the voters' emotions. The articulation of the political agenda of various political parties helps reveal the candidates' voice on key issues affecting a nation, and the prospective solutions through the democratic ballot.

Mutz et al (1999) argues that since persuasion in political process is socially acceptable, there are always attempts to attract people to one side or another. It means that political speakers tend to attract the attention of the audience or the addressees by employing persuasive strategies. A number of studies have been carried out on how discorsal strategies are effectively used in manifesto text for effective message delivery and persuasion of the readers. The analysis of discorsal strategies focuses on the use of key strategies such as the use of emotive language, inclusive language,

repetition, symbolism and metaphors reflected in the choice of linguistic strategies.

Sharndama and Mohammed (2013) conducted a stylistic analysis of the political campaign posters and slogans in Yola Metropolis of Adamawa State of Nigeria. The findings of the study revealed that political campaign posters are an essential visual communication means that the political candidates use in seeking votes. The study found out that various linguistic components are used in campaign posters. Slogans, for instance, are an important means of communicating messages. As embodiments of political candidate's ideologies and mission, they play a persuasive role of evoking the emotions of the electorate. The study by Sharndama and Mohammed (2013), therefore, focusses on the stylistic analysis of linguistic components as persuasive tools. However, this study foregrounds discursal strategies as central mechanisms through which presidential candidates package ideologies and frame political agendas in a bid to persuade the electorate.

A related study by Adab (2022) investigated the use of the discursive strategies in Ben Ali's speech and the findings indicated that the speech depended on the power of words rather than the power of arms. The findings revealed the use of referential, predicational, perspectivation, argumentation and intensification to entice the audience to build faith and hope in the new administration. While Adab (2022) emphasized on the use of linguistic expressions to influence the reader's emotions to vote for particular political candidates, the current study examines the use of discursal strategies by presidential candidates to package ideologies in the manifestos in a way that influences the choices of electorate at the elections.

A similar study by Martin (2015) investigated the role played by the Communist

Manifesto, which exposed a hidden civil war between social classes, a scenario that exhorts its readers to take sides with the participant whose interests it promotes. The results indicated that the manifesto persuades the audience to relate with it and adopt what it suggests. The manifesto uses argumentative strategies to capture the attention of its audience, and reasons with them about the current circumstances in the social context to make them support a specific cause. Martin (2015) concludes that the appealing strategy used includes combination of topics of cause and effect in the order of what needs to be said. Whereas Martin (2015) emphasized the use of argumentative strategies to capture the attention of the audience, this study analyzes the functionality of discursual strategies in shaping the messages presented and their reception by the electorate.

2.5 Contribution of discursual strategies in articulation of political agenda in the manifesto texts

This section discusses the contribution of discursual strategies in articulation of political agenda in political discourse. The presidential candidates employed a number of discursual strategies to present ideologies to the voters. These include persuasive and rhetorical structures, framing of promises, personal and collective identity, emotional appeals and the use of action-oriented language. This study sought to examine how particular discursual strategies contribute to the articulation of the political agenda as part of the electioneering process.

Political actors employ persuasive and rhetoric strategies to reinforce key messages that persuade the electorate. Lin (2011) argues that in political discourse such as election campaign rallies, political actors use rhetorical strategies to evoke the voters'

subjective emotions. Persuasion appeals to emotions by selectively taking either the positive or negative stance. ChingKo (2015) suggests that as far as emotions are concerned, there are positive as well as negative elements of pathos that are used to persuade an audience. Negative emotions elicit fear, anger, sadness, sympathy, while positive emotions include happiness, hope and satisfaction. Our current study sought to establish the role of rhetorical strategies such as the use of metaphors in the articulation of political agenda. Huckin, Andrus, & Clary-Lemon, 2012 conclude that the CDA aligns itself with this tradition in attending to purpose, situation, genre, diction, style and other rhetorical variables. This justifies the contribution of persuasion and rhetorical strategies in constructing the social authority of the candidate in an election. The strategies enhance the effective presentation of diverse political ideologies to the target voters in manipulating them to vote in certain patterns that favour the political actors.

Personal and collective identity construction is expressed through the use of personal pronouns 'I' and 'We'. This is evident in the manner in which the candidates express themselves in conveying their experiences, perspectives and emotions. According to Karapetjana (2011), politicians use personal pronouns as a means constructing their identities and that of their opponents. The pronoun 'I' shows that the politician is showing personal commitment, responsibility and participation in delivering on the promises in an election. The use of 'I' helps the speaker or writer to convey ideologies to the voters and build trust among the electorate. The pronoun 'we' shows that the politicians want to share responsibility as they interact with the audience. According to Fairclough (1989), the 'inclusive we' involves the reader as well as the writer.

The use of personal pronouns in a text helps to effectively establish a connection

between the speaker or writer and the audience. The pronoun 'I' is used to emphasize the individual's perspective and experiences in order to build intimacy with the target electorate, while the pronoun 'we' brings out a sense of shared identity and belonging to the same socio-political ecology with the voters. According to Nadeem et al. (2014), a pronoun used in a text, as a pronominal choice, has a direct link with cognitive manipulation. Personal pronouns have a stronger link with the connection of influence, authority and solidarity (Nadeem et al., 2014).

Payne (2006) notes that verbs are words that describe visible events that produce changes in the world. The use of action-oriented words is emphasized using strong verbs that add weight to the message being communicated. Serf and Karmapa (2013) studied "Language at war" and examined six speeches of George Walker Bush and Barack Obama. The finding of this study indicate that Bush and Obama projected terrorism negatively while anti-terrorism was projected positively by carefully selecting emotionally linguistic expressions.

Abdul-Fattah (2001) suggests that modals auxiliary verbs in a text serve a number of functions. They are specifically used to seek permission, make requests and offer, proffer tentative invitation and express general possibility and suggestion. A related study by Ehenini (2014) investigates the use of modals in Nigerian manifestos. In the findings of this study, Ehenini (2014) concludes that modals such as 'can', 'will', 'shall' and 'must' are used in manifestos to make promises, to persuade, demonstrate political will and solicit public support. The modals used in manifestos function as rhetoric elements to persuade the voters. They contribute to the voters' appeal through the expression of shared values and the creation of a sense of urgency and excitement. Thus, modals present ideologies in a manner that establishes authority, conveys

confidence and builds trust in the audience through the use of the authorial voice (Humphrey et al., 2014).

Emotional appeal is a persuasive technique that targets the emotions of the audience in order to evoke feelings that will influence their attitudes, beliefs or actions (Brader,2006). Ataa (2016) analyzed the language choices by NPP and NDC manifestos that focus on the stylistic and rhetorical strategies. Ataa (2016) suggests that the writers of the manifestos use emotive words as a strategy to arouse pity or fear in the voters as a way of appealing to emotions of the readers so they gather wider support. The use of emotional appeals in manifesto texts evokes specific emotions in the audience. These emotional appeals target the voters for their positive consideration at the ballot.

Ali (2025) examines the framing of political promises in Joe Biden's acceptance speeches and concludes that the words and expressions used in the speeches are carefully selected to address ideologies of the political class. Framing of promises in the manifestos shapes the presidential candidates authoritative voice, which assists in establishing the writer's authority over the voters (Humphrey et.al.,2014). Proper framing of promises contributes to the articulation of persuasive voice, which dictates the voter's reception of the messages delivered.

2.6 Discoursal strategies that unravel Ideologies and power dynamics in manifesto texts

According to Robbins and Judge (2017), power dynamics refers to the capacity to use power to influence, and the ability of such influence to act in accordance to the influencer's desires. Ideologies, on the other hand, are systems of beliefs and values

that can legitimize power structures (Alo, 2012). Cited in Robbins and Judge (2017), French and Raven (1959) analyse the complexities of power and conclude that there are five categories of power dynamics. These include: referent, expert, legitimate, coercive and reward power. It is likely that a single document, such as the political manifesto texts, could build from a number of these categories of power dynamics. Therefore, the CDA tenets unravel ideologies and power dynamics inherent in the manifestos of the presidential candidates.

According to Fairclough (2001), CDA examines how language is used to construct, maintain and challenge social inequalities and power relations. CDA investigates how dominance is created through language, and consequently helps expose ills such as injustice, inequality and power abuse in society. The tenets of the theory are centered on the social problems purportedly addressed by the content of the manifestos. Such issues include corruption, injustice, inequality and poor governance reflected in the language choices made by the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

Van Dijk (2003) points out that CDA focusses on uncovering the discursive means of mental control over the masses and portrays a critical stance against the powerful and elites. Thus, CDA accounts for how power relations are shaped in diverse domain-based contexts and also maintained through discursive practices. The theory is key in the current study, as it reflects the manipulative role of linguistic discursive strategies in creating and perpetuating power polarities through the emotive function of language.

CDA studies are geared towards uncovering, revealing or disclosing what is hidden

beneath in relations of discursively enacted dominance or their underlying ideologies (Fairclough, 2001). The strategies of manipulation, legitimation and the manufacture of consent are among the discursive ways used to influence the mind indirectly, and thus influencing the actions of the people in the interest of the powerful. The CDA framework unmasks the underlying ideologies in the manifesto texts as key components of the political landscape. CDA also reveal the power undercurrents expressed in the manifestos through the use of strategies that emotively engage the electorate.

A number of scholars have used the CDA theory to analyze manifestos. A study by Nyako (2013) examines the concepts of language, power and ideology in selected speeches of the presidential candidates John Dramani Mahamas and Nana Akufo – Addo within the CDA armpit. The findings of this particular study reveal the heavy use of persuasive strategies such as intertextuality, speech acts, self-projection and the use of literary devices to persuade the audience and influence the voters' support. While Nyako (2013) focuses on persuasive strategies, the current study foregrounds the use of discursal strategies to present ideologies to appeal to the emotions of the electorate. This study focused on the analysis of the following discursal strategies: inclusion and exclusion in political discourse, voice construction and legitimization strategies.

The CDA tenets accounted for the ideologies and power realities beneath the discursal strategies employed in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. Language in political discourse plays a key role in creation of relationship between the political actors and the electorate. Inclusion and exclusion get manifested through the use of particular words and phrase, in which

members of a group are either involved or avoided altogether. According to Martin and Wodak (2003), CDA examines the opaque as well as transparent structural relationship of dominance, discrimination, power and control. It thus uncovers the relationship between discourse and power.

Discoursal strategies, as an aspect stance on issues of common interest, helps shape the message and persuade the voters. Indeed, voice construction and actualization within the CDA unravels ideologies and power dynamics in the political material such as slogans, banners, taglines, speeches and manifestos. Wodak (2013) further argues that CDA aims to investigate social change and analyze social inequality as expressed through language. CDA, in the context of the current study, analyses how language is used to exert power, maintain social hierarchies and promote specific ideologies.

Legitimization strategies entail the use of discourse to justify or validate actions, policies or social structures. These are shaped using language which acts as a powerful tool that asserts power. According to Van Dijk (2003), CDA focuses on group relations of power, dominance and inequality, and the way these are reproduced or resisted by group members through the use of language as social practice.

2.7 Theoretical framework

This section focuses on the application of Critical Discourse Analysis theory Fairclough (2001) in the discoursal analysis of the political agenda in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. CDA theory was propounded by Fairclough (1989) as an interdisciplinary approach used to analyze the role of language - written, spoken or visual, and its role in the construction of knowledge, ideology and power. There have been revisions of the theory over time, as

evident in the works of Fairclough (1993), Van Dijk (1993), Fairclough and Wodak (1997) and Fairclough (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis takes an inter-disciplinary approach to the study of texts. It entails analyzing details of a text such as the linguistic components and the semiotic details with the aim of interpreting the contexts in which the particular texts are written (Andrus, Huckin and Clary-Lemon, 2012).

Van Dijk (1993) suggests that the primary focus of CDA is the analysis of both written and spoken texts to identify the origins of dominance, inequality, and bias. It investigates how these resources are produced through power dynamics in particular social settings. This means that CDA theory is an analytical research approach that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequalities are enacted, reproduced, legitimated and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (Van Dijk, 2015). According to Rodgers (2004), discourses used are always socially, politically, racially, and economically loaded. Therefore, CDA aims at analyzing discourses to account for certain uses of language in both social and political contexts they occur. According to Michira (2013), CDA theory is a key focus of political discourse analysis because it provides a framework for analysis of elements of political discourse such as power relations, and their implication to the political actors and the audience. The CDA theory was ideal for the study because it provides the ideal framework for analysis of discursive strategies articulating political agenda in the manifesto texts, and unravelling power dynamics underlying the texts. The application of CDA, as a theory for analyzing discursive strategies, was motivated by the observation by Michira (2013) that CDA provides a guideline on how to critically analyse all forms of discourse in order to expose the actual messages being sent across by the writer or speaker, as well as the context within which they are created.

Critical Discourse Analysis is applicable in political Discourse because it plays a key role in analyzing how language packages messages in a text, and further investigates how the texts affect the listeners or the readers within a given context (Evans, 2013). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) and Van Dijk (1995) carried out studies on Critical Discourse Analysis and highlighted the key tenets of CDA. Firstly, CDA addresses social problems, and consequently considers power relations as discursive in their social orientation. Furthermore, discourse is interpretive, as the link between text and society is mediated. Again, discourse intertwines society and culture in the construction and representation of social realities such as political hierarchies that form part of what the current study dealt with.

CDA has a number of tenets under it. A number were applicable to this study as discussed. CDA examines how language is used to convey and promote specific ideologies, often without explicit awareness. Alo (2012) argues that no text is ideologically neutral, which implies that language use in texts helps to package and promote specific ideologies. According to Patridge (2006), Critical Discourse Analysis may include a detailed textual analysis involving explanation and interpretation of linguistic forms in broader contextual ecosystems. Patridge (2016) further opines that textual analysis is ideal in decoding and uncovering underlying ideologies denoted by particular linguistic features of a text. This tenet was applicable to this study as aided in the analysis of ideologies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

According to Van Dijk (2013), discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. CDA, therefore, enhances a theoretical interpretation of the meanings and effects of language use, and explaining how these meanings largely contribute to social

structures and power relations. This tenet was relevant in as it helped in interpreting extracted manifesto texts with discursal strategies and unraveled the meaning and interpretation of visions, policies and promises made by the presidential candidates.

CDA addresses social problems such as race, discrimination, injustices and more. It examines how language is used to create, maintain, or challenge power structures, and analyze social problems such as gender-based violence, racism, inequality, while providing guidelines on how social problems could be discerned and addressed through concerted advocacy campaigns Fairclough, Mulderring and Wodak (2011) Ultimately, discourse and society complementarily provide a platform for collective social consciousness for the realization and condemnation of the injustices such as inequalities caused by power misuse. Power, in this regard, is not simply a matter of force, but is also a social phenomenon that maintained and exercised through strategic communication (Fairclough,1993). The tenet on CDA addresses social problems helped to unravel the social problems such as corruption, injustice and inequality addressed by the presidential candidates in the extract of manifesto texts with discursal strategies.

Another tenet CDA examines power relations that exist in discourse (Fairclough and Wodak ,1997).Discourse is, therefore, considered a site where power is enacted and negotiated. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), CDA accounts for the production of texts by answering the questions of ‘how’ and ‘why’ specific features are produced in a text. Language is then analysed in terms of its use in discourses such as political speeches, news texts, advertisements and manifestos texts (which are at the centre of the current study). In the political contexts, language in its function is replete with manipulation of the recipients by the political actors. Notably, language is creatively

constructed to appeal to the thoughts and emotions of the voters. Through CDA, such manipulative language in political discourse is uncovered (Joseph, 2006). The tenet on CDA examines power relations presented by the presidential candidates in the manifestos used in the 2022 general election in Kenya as evident in the discursive strategies employed.

CDA has a range of methods and approaches of studying linguistic analysis of texts as proposed by a number of scholars such as Van Dijk (2013), Wodak (2011) Bloor and Bloor, Fairclough. Critical Discourse Analysis has a number of approaches used in analyzing literature. These are the Socio-cognitive approach by Van Dijk, the three-dimensional approach by Fairclough and discourse historical approach by Wodak (2011).

Discourse-Historical approach entails analysis of discourse in relation to periods of time. Wodak (2002) argues that discourse-historical approach views discourse as a form of social practice. CDA analyses societal problems and for clear understanding on an investigation, the researcher integrates varied methods and theories. This tenet justifies that all discourses are historical and therefore can only be understood with reference to their context (Wodak, 2009). This implies that discourse is connected in relation to periods of time, what is happening now is related to what is happening before. Similarly, Wodak (2001) argues that the identity of politics on all levels involves the inclusion of past events, past experiences and future visions of life.

Socio-Cognitive Approach by Van Dijk perceives discourse as a form of social practice. not focus on discursive practice. According to Van Dijk (2001) social cognition mediates text and society. He further argues that CDA needs to account for

various social cognitions that are shared by social groups, institutions and organizations (Van Dijk,2000).CDA therefore, accounts for the relations between social groups in relation to language use resulting to dominance and inequality.

Another approach is the three dimensional approach by Fairclough (2014).This approach has three levels of discourse analysis: the text; spoken or written, its production, consumption and distribution of the text, and a socio cultural practice. Fairclough further notes that the three dimensional framework is ideal in analysing a text and discourse as it looks at the linguistic description of the formal properties of the text, its interpretation of the relationship between discursive process and explanation of the relationship between discourse and social and cultural reality.

A number of scholars used Critical Discourse Analysis theory to analyze manifestos. Ataa (2017) analyzed the 2016 manifestos of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), The New Patriotic Party (NPP). These studies discuss the rhetorical and persuasive strategies employed by the political parties in their campaign manifestos. Critical Discourse Analysis theory was employed in the comparative analysis of the texts. From the study by Ataa's (2017), it is evident that CDA, the theoretical framework underpinning the current study, aptly explores how language could be manipulated by political.

Another related study by Sarvat (2015) analyzes the how language is used in the construction of ideologies in political texts using CDA and focused on Dijk's Socio-cognitive model. This study reveals that parties build their ideologies based on appropriate choice of the notion of positive self –image of 'US' vs 'THEM'. The study by Sarvat (2015) demonstrated that CDA was employed in the investigation of

power dynamics and ideologies beneath political texts. This study is similar to the current study as it employed the use of CDA as the theory underpinning the study in the use of language in analysis of construction of ideologies in political discourse. While Sarvat (2015) applied the Dijk's Socio-cognitive model in analysis of ideologies, the current study was guided by the tenets of CDA framework in the analysis of discursive strategies framing of ideologies in manifesto texts.

A related study was by Wang (2010) employed CDA in the analysis of Barak Obama's political speeches in order to unravel the elicited instances of transitivity and modality. The findings reveal the connection between language, ideology and power. This study concludes that the tenets of CDA provide guidance on how language choices package ideologies and power in order to persuade the electorate. Another related study by Moloj and Bojabotseha (2014) analyzes three African National Congress (ANC) manifestos: the ANC's 1999, 2004 and 2009 national election manifestos using the Critical Discourse Analysis theory. The researches reveal a heavy use of multiple texts in projecting particular political perspectives. In this regard, a production of multiple texts used in the manifestos asserts authority to the electorate.

A similar study by Nartey and Yankson (2014) examined the semantic underpinnings of modals in the manifesto of a Ghanaian political party (New Patriotic Party NPP) in 2012. The study relies on CDA as a theory to explain the placement of modals in expressing certain positions on political agenda. The findings reveal that modal auxiliary verbs are able to unravel the divergent shades of meaning typical of political discourses. Nartey and Yankson note that modals are deployed in manifestos to indicate a sense of intention, promise, obligation and necessity. While this study investigated the semantic underpinnings of modals in manifestos, the current study

investigates the modal auxiliary verbs as discursal strategies used to frame ideologies in the manifesto texts of the presidential candidates.

Like the studies by Ataa (2017), Nartey and Yankson (2014), Sarvat (2015), Moloji and Bojabotseha (2014) and Wang (2010), the current study analyzes the tools used in political discourse in packaging ideologies in political agenda. The discursal strategies examined within the CDA theory unravel the functionality of language in shaping the political agenda and enhancing effective communication modes between the political actors and the target electorate.

2.7 Shortcomings of the Critical Discourse Analysis

In the course of using CDA as a theory a number of shortcomings were identified.

According to Fairclough and Wodak (2001), CDA examines power relations that exist in discourse. CDA analyzes how manipulative language and how it is used in political discourse by the political actors to suppress the audience who are viewed as inferior thus the rise of inequality in the society. CDA targets how voice of the elites in enacting, sustaining and legitimizing power thus ignoring the voice of the subjects. The shortcoming was mitigated by the researcher using the CDA framework by analyzing the discursal strategies identified in the context of the political actors and the voters.

Another shortcoming is that mostly the researchers take political stance. This indicates that before the researcher decides to use the CDA as a research framework he or she knows the position the argument will take. In most cases in political discourse the CDA analysts select data and critique it to ascertain their beliefs for instance

Analyze how political actors manipulate language to oppress their subjects. This weakness was mitigated by the researcher taking a neutral stand on presented arguments.

The researcher faced the challenge of subjectivity in interpretation which implies that the analysis is heavily influenced by the researcher's perspective, background and the theoretical framework. For instance this study checked to confirm the use of discursive strategies in manifesto texts to frame ideologies and persuade the voters. The researcher mitigated this by being objective.

2.9 Chapter summary

This chapter provided an overview of studies with regard to language of politics, discursive strategies in manifesto texts, contribution of discursive strategies in articulation of political agenda and the ideologies and power dynamic underlying the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Literature on the relevant tenets of Critical Discourse Analysis, the theory underpinning the study, was also provided. The next chapter concerns the methodology that guided research for the current study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents details on the research design, study area and the study population. It also discusses the sampling size and sampling technique employed in the study. The sources for the primary data and the instruments of data collection and research instruments are described. It also describes the validity and reliability and the data analysis process. Finally, the ethical considerations that guided the research are explained.

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted a descriptive research design. According to Creswell (2013), a descriptive research design is used to systematically collect data and account for given phenomenon, situation or population under study. According to McCombie's (2023), the research design answers the questions of what, where, when, and how, but not the why questions. A descriptive research design is used to examine the situation involving identification of attributes of a particular phenomenon based on observation (Creswell, 2013). The research design was appropriate for the study because it entailed the systematic identification, description and analysis of discursal strategies articulating political agenda in manifestos of presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. Furthermore, descriptive research was instrumental in determining and unravelling ideologies and power dynamics evident in the manifestos presented by the presidential candidates.

3.3 Study area

This research is drawn from the geographical region of Kenya. The manifesto texts, the linguistic units for the current study, are political documents for the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The researcher extracted the discoursal strategies used to articulate voice.

3.4 Population of the Study

The target population for the study were the four manifestos used by the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The study examined the manifesto texts by looking at the discoursal strategies that run through them. The linguistic units of analysis for the study comprised of words, phrases and sentences that manifested discoursal strategies. The current study considered a number of linguistic units. The multi-textual levels of persuasion discourse, lexical choices, repetition, symbolism and modal auxiliary verbs formed part of the units. In addition, the study treated sentences as communicative units, and also dwelt on the framing of promise, inclusion and exclusion in political discourse, voice construction, emotional appeals and use of figurative language. To obtain the linguistic data under investigation, at least the third lexical item would be gathered from each of the purposively sampled linguistic units. The respondents of this study were political agents and voters.

3.5 Sampling technique and sample size

The selection of an appropriate sample size is crucial in assessing the researcher's ability to generalize findings statistically and analytically (Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). The researcher used census sampling to select the manifestos where all the campaign manifestos of the four presidential in the 2022 general election provided

data. Purposive sampling was used to extract discursal strategies. The presidential manifestos have a large textual volume, and only areas of interest by the researcher were selected. Purposive sampling enabled the selection of the specific discursal strategies and establish their role in presentation of ideologies and determine their rhetorical impact in articulating political agenda.

The researcher collected 300 linguistic units comprising lexical items, phrases and sentences. The collected items were selected based on the fact they communicate ideologies content related to political discourse. Systematic random sampling was used to determine the sample size where every third member was picked to make a total of 100 units of analysis. The saturation point was reached once the data began exhibiting repetitiveness. The collection of data from the manifesto texts met the inclusion criteria. The researcher used a data extraction tool to extract discursal strategies as indicated in appendix 11. The data extraction tool guided the researcher on items to be included as the data collected. The inclusion criteria considered the relevance to discourse in the political agenda. Linguistic units were included if their content demonstrated instances of political discursiveness. The discursal strategies were aligned with the objectives of the study in analyzing the discursal strategies in the manifestos to unravel their persuasiveness.

This study used a total of twelve respondents in the identification and discussion of the discursal strategies used to articulate political agenda in the manifesto texts. The criteria for selection was: Be aged 18 years to 55 years, both male and female gender were considered. The participants were also voters from the locality who had elementary education and had been involved in political activity as political agents or

party activists for presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

3.6 Primary data

The primary data for the study were the written manifestos texts for the four presidential candidates in the Kenyan 2022 general elections; Raila Amollo Odinga (Azimio La Umoja One Kenya Alliance), David Mwaure Waihiga (Agano Party), William Samoei Ruto (United Democratic Alliance) and George Wajackoya (Roots Party). The study used all the four manifestos for the 2022 presidential election in their latest versions. The researcher downloaded the manifestos from the websites of the political parties that presented the four presidential candidates - Azimio la Umoja's manifesto (n.d), <https://odm.co.ke> Agano party (n.d) [www.aganoparty](http://www.aganoparty.org) of Kenya.org), Roots Party. (n.d). [www.rootspartyof Kenya.org](http://www.rootspartyofkenya.org)) and United Democratic Alliance. (n.d). <https://uda.ke>.

All the manifesto texts have detailed sections detailing what the candidates intend to do for the electorate in terms of development once elected into office. The detailed plans are divided into key sections with sub-titles. The researcher ran through the four manifestos, selecting sections with particular discursal strategies articulating political agenda and extracting them for in-depth analysis.

3.7 Data collection and research instruments

The data for the study was downloaded from the official political party's websites, The researcher used other sources such as online journals on elections, recent publications on elections and the library to collect data for the study.

The study employed the use of a data extraction tool as a data collection instrument. The researcher designed the data extraction tool which was used to collect qualitative data related to discursual strategies, identified as multi-textual levels of persuasion discourse, choice of words, semantic and pragmatic meanings, repetition and metaphors. The other devices were symbolism and syntactic structures, modality, action-oriented language, inclusion and exclusion in political discourse.

The researcher also employed the use of focus group discussions (FGDs) to collect data. The researcher designed FGDs in relation to the study's objective of analyzing discursual strategies in manifesto texts. The participants selected were voters and had knowledge on election manifestos. The FGDs were used to extract local words used in the manifesto texts.

An informative guide with open-ended questions was used to guide the FGDs in relation to the research questions. The researcher recorded information gathered from the FGDs sessions to get feedback on the questions asked. Words collected from the local language were translated into English and subjected to analysis and interpretation.

3.7.1 Focus Group Discussions

According Tavakoli (2012), a Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) is a form of group interaction in which a group of participants is engaged on topic provided by the researcher. A Focus Group Discussion typically consists of 6-12 participants. The FGDs were coded as FGD1 and FGD2. This study employed a qualitative research design using focus group discussions to explore the use of local words and pronouns from the manifesto texts. A total number of two focus groups were engaged, each

group consisting of 6 participants. The researcher purposively selected the participants for FGDs. The discussants were agents of political parties with proficiency in English and Kiswahili languages.

The findings from the discussions were recorded in form of notes by the researcher. This method enabled the collection of relevant data aimed at addressing the research questions. The collected data on local words was transcribed to English. Data analysis involved textual analysis through the coding of the data based on recurring themes related to political and social contexts.

3.8 Data analysis and presentation

The data collected in the study was subjected to textual analysis which is a research technique that involves close reading and interpretation of texts to understand their meaning structure and the social and cultural contexts that shape them (Jockers, 2013). The purpose of textual analysis is to make a qualitative assessment of data with an intention to explore the meanings and interpretations of communication, such as the underlying values, beliefs, and assumptions that shape the content. The researcher employed textual analysis to analyze discursal strategies such as persuasive and rhetorical structures, framing of promises, personal and collective identity and action oriented language to establish their contribution to articulation of ideologies and persuading the readers. Textual analysis was key for the study as it helped to uncover the underlying ideologies and power dynamics beneath the discursal strategies.

The researcher used qualitative research approach for data analysis and it underwent a number of steps. These include thematically classifying data by grouping similar recurring elements that uncover the patterns in discourse in extracted texts as illustrated

by Critical Discourse Analysis theory helped in the analysis and discussion on how discursual strategies unravel power dynamics and power relations as exhibited in manifesto text.

3.9 Validity and Reliability

Validity refers to the degree or extent to which a research study assesses the construct it intends to assess. It consists of the procedures utilized to verify the credibility and precision of findings (Creswell, 2014). Qualitative validity enables the researcher to use particular procedures to verify the correctness of the findings (Gibbs,2007).

According to Tavakoli (2012), the validity of qualitative data depends on the integrity of the researcher, comprehensiveness, breadth of the data collected, the individuals involved and also the degree of triangulation involved. A number of steps were taken to ensure the validity and reliability of the findings of the study. First the researcher ensured that the downloaded the manifestos from the presidential candidate's party's websites and hard copies from collected from the political party's offices were the actual ones used for the 2022 general election in Kenya. The researcher sought peer review from a colleague at (Masinde Muliro university of Science and Technology majoring in applied linguistics at PhD level) and an expert (University lecturer in Language) to review the study to validate its findings and provide constructive criticism in order to ensure that the findings were in line with the research objectives. Reliability was achieved by documenting the research procedures undertaken systematically in carrying out the research and the data collected.

3.10 Ethical considerations

The researcher observed the research ethics throughout the research process. Ethical considerations were adhered to in line with Babbie (2010) & Barasa (2017) who assert that it is vital that ethical concerns being an integral part of the research process be taken into consideration to make the process acceptable. Prior to the research the researcher sought approval from the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, a research permit from the ethical review committee and research permit from National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI) that monitors all researches to ensure their credibility. These approvals ensured compliance with ethical guidelines and research protocols. Confidentiality of the data collected was adhered to, where the data was stored in an encrypted file only accessible by the researcher. The participants were assured that their identity would not be disclosed. Furthermore, the researcher adhered to other scholarly conduct such as avoiding plagiarism and acknowledging the sources of other works related to this study by using complete references and proper citation.

3.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter looked at the descriptive research design which was used to analyse linguistic stylistic devices articulating political agenda in the manifestos of the presidential candidates. This chapter addressed the sampling technique where purposive sampling was applied to a sample size of four key areas of the manifestos for presidential candidates. Primary data for the study were the four manifestos of presidential candidates downloaded from the presidential candidate's party's websites: <https://odm.co.ke>, www.aganoparty, www.rootspartyofKenya, <https://uda.ke>.

Analysis of data was guided by the tenets of critical analysis theory by (Fairclough's, 2001).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents research findings, their interpretation and discussion. It focuses on the discussion of the discursive strategies identified in the manifestos of the four presidential candidates in the Kenyan 2022 general election in Kenya. The discursive strategies were identified, thematically classified and analyzed using textual analysis and guided by Critical Discourse Analysis theory. The discursive strategies in each manifesto are analysed and discussed in relation to the articulation of the political agenda, their effect on message delivery and how they appeal to the electorate's emotions. This chapter is structured into three sections, each addressing each of the three objectives that guided the study as stated in section 1.4. The first section identifies discursive strategies used in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The second section focuses on determining the contribution of discursive strategies in articulation of political agenda. The articulation of the political agenda is meant to help deliver ideologies and persuade or influence the voters into selecting a particular presidential candidate. The third section discusses the discursive strategies that apply to hidden power dynamics and underlying ideologies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

4.2 Discursive strategies used in manifesto texts

The current study focused on the description of discursive strategies extracted from the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

Van Dijk (1995) opines that discourse analysis uncovers how power is viewed as a matter of force, and that it is exercised and maintained through language and communication through strategies of manipulation.

The following discursual strategies were identified: multi-textual levels of persuasion discourse, choice of words, repetition, metaphors, symbolism, semantics and pragmatic meanings and sentences as communicative unit. Data were collected by use of a data extraction tool, and discussed using FGDs. The data was categorized based on the identified linguistic strategies, and a systematic analysis and interpretation within the CDA framework. The table below shows the data coding and categorization based on themes:

Table 4.1: Coding Scheme for discursual strategies

Code	Category
1. Multi-textual levels of persuasion discourse	strategies used in persuasion
2. Loan words	Use of words from another language
3.Emotive language	Use of words that have more emotional weight
4.Sentences as communicative units	Group of words that carry meaning
5. Simple sentence	A sentence with a single clause with a single independent Clause.
6. Compound sentence	A sentence that consists of two or more clauses joined by a coordinating conjunction.
7.Choice of words	Words one uses from vocabulary
8. Pronouns	Words that replace a noun or a noun phrase in a sentence.
9. Verbs	Words that show the time when an action is done.
10.Aderbs	Words that modify verbs
11. Semantic and pragmatic meanings	Refers to meanings of words used in a context

12. Metaphor	Association of likeness between two objects
13. Repetition	action of repeating words, phrases or sentences to emphasize a point
<u>14. Symbolism</u>	<u>The use of images to represent ideas.</u>

(Source: Field Data, 2025)

The extracted discursal strategies are identified and discussed in the subsections that follow below:

4.2.1 Multi-levels of persuasion discourse

This section examines multi-levels of persuasion employed in the manifesto texts, focusing on how language is used to enhance clarity of the message, promote understanding and further appeal to audiences through the use of loan words and emotive language.

4.2.1.1 Use of loan words.

This section looks at the use of loan words from Swahili language and are familiar to the audience. The local words are meant to enhance clarity of the message and build communicative relationship between the presidential candidates and the voters.

Data was sourced from excerpts of manifestos of the four presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The discussants 1,2,3,4,5 and 6 from the FGD 1 provided information on local words collected from the manifesto texts and provided their interpretation in relation to discursal strategies. The participants' engagements were recorded and transcribed. The manifestos downloaded from the party websites were written in English with some words and phrases written in Kiswahili. The loan words identified from the manifestos include:

Datum 1: ALU manifesto

Azimio la ugatuzi (commitment to devolution)

Datum 2: KK manifesto

Mama mboga (vegetable seller)

The use of local words by the writer were from Kiswahili – a Kenyan national language. The words were deliberately used to communicate messages in a language most voters understood. Commenting on the language used in writing manifesto, Sarvat (2015, p. 376) argues that “A greater number of the participants of political texts are those group members whom the party politics attempt to influence by presenting before them a strong political agenda against the opponent.” The writer of the Azimio La Umoja manifesto uses the words *Azimio La Ugatuzi* (Commitment to devolution) to address the citizens of Kenya on the benefits of the devolution as a system of governance. Devolution, as a system, has enabled the division of power between the national government and 47 county governments. The tenet of discourse is discursive or explanatory (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) was applied in explaining the candidate’s commitment to participatory democracy at the devolved level of government. Data on the use of loan words and their impact on the message delivered on the voters was collected using an FGD as illustrated below:

Moderator: List loan words from the Swahili language from the Samples of ALU manifesto provided and in your opinion how effective are they in message delivery and persuading the voters?

Discussant 1: From the sample of the sections of the manifesto that I have read, the words from Kiswahili are: *Azimio la ugatuzi* (Commitment to devolution), *Azimio la Jitihada* (commitment to our efforts) *shahada la Jitihada* (award for our efforts), *Azimio la kina mama*

(commitment to the role of women), *Azimio la ukulima* (commitment to farming)

Discussant I FGD 1 confirmed that the ALU manifesto used the words *Azimio la ugatuzi* to inform the readers in a language they understand on that he is committed to ensuring devolution is successful owing to its benefits to the citizens such as: promoting equitable development, improve public service delivery in the fields of health, the improvement of roads and enhancement of citizen participation in governance. Ataa (2017) argues that political actors use local words to assure readers that the political player depicted in the manifesto understands or can speak some of the native languages of the people, and shares the same experiences as the target voters. The use of local words enables the candidates to advocate for decentralization of power, which enhances accountability from several individuals as opposed to the national government where power and control of resources is concentrated in an individual.

Van Dijk (2003) opines that CDA addresses power relations and underlying ideologies. The tenet of ideology and power relations with the constructs of language was applied in examining the power structure and power relations that exist in the Kenyan political landscape. The writer points out the division of executive and legislative arms of government between the national and county levels. The use of the local words *Azimio la ugatuzi* (commitment to devolution) helps uncover the ideologies of equitable distribution of resources and accountability in leadership. The candidate uses the words familiar to the voters as a significant strategy of enhancing citizen participation in governance that aims to help in economic development (Alpha Nur et.al 2024).

Textual analysis revealed the candidate in datum 1 addressed the theme of accountability in leadership where leader's excesses are put in check. The need to change and the urgency

for action to improve the key sectors of the economy such as ‘economy’ and ‘leadership’ is evident as the candidates uses the Swahili phrases such as: *Azimio la ugatuzi* (commitment to devolution) which implies bringing services closer to the people. The candidate uses the local words as a rhetorical strategy to evoke the emotions of voters by presenting promises in a language they can easily relate to. The writer used a passionate tone articulated by the use of local words to persuade the readers thus, gain support.

The Kenya Kwanza manifesto used the loan words *mama mboga* which translates to vegetable sellers. The CDA tenet on discourse is discursive and explanatory (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) was applied in explaining the candidate’s use of the Swahili words ‘*mama mboga*’ as a symbol of a common citizen who works hard by doing menial jobs to contribute to the growth of the economy. The data of the local words was collected using the FGDs as illustrated below:

Moderator: List words from the Swahili language from the Samples of MANF 2 provided and in your opinion how effective are they in message delivery and persuading the voters?

Discussant 2: Looking at the sample, I have the local words used in the manifesto are: *mama mboga* (vegetable sellers), *watu wa boda-boda* (motorcycle riders), *jua kali* (artisans), Kenya Kwanza (Kenya Comes first).

Discussant 2 in FGD 1 confirmed that candidates used the loan word from Swahili as a strategy of coming to the level of the local citizens, who are the majority of the voters. This consequently assures them that he understands what they are going through, and that he is ready to initiate and improve their welfare. The word *mama mboga*, represents

the position of women in society. The candidate uses the word *mama mboga* to appeal to emotions of women and gain their support at the ballot. According to Van Dijk (2003), CDA uncovers what is hidden or implicit in discourse. This tenet investigated the meaning beneath the words *mama mboga* which represents the informal sector in employment that contributes to the economy through blue-colour jobs such as artisans, motorcycle riders and. Wodak (1997) opines that CDA accounts for how language reflects and reproduces social relations and ideological underpinnings. The ideologies presented by the candidate harp on the role of women in economic growth in rural settings, pointing out that women play key roles in wealth creation and equity in nation building.

The manifesto text for the datum 2 revealed that the candidates used the Swahili words to address the themes of economic change and the position of women in the society. The need to of change and the urgency for action to improve the key sectors of ‘economy’ and ‘leadership’ is evident as the candidates use phrases such as: *mama mboga* (vegetable seller). The candidates used the rhetorical strategies such as symbols to help the voters create a vivid memorable picture of local development, and the involvement of the proletariat in grassroot economic models. The use of loan words, therefore, acts as a persuasive tool that articulates the passionate tone employed by the candidate. It is also used to appeal the voters’ emotions, and shapes their opinions on the issues presented by the candidate in a manner that influences the voting patterns.

4.2.1.1 Emotive language

The writers of the manifestos use emotive language to appeal to the readers’ emotions. In political discourse, political actors strive to woo the voters who make choices of selecting the winning candidate. Instances of emotive language were identified in the

manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The use of emotive language arouses feelings of pity and fear in order to appeal to the voters' emotions.

The instances of emotive language identified from the manifestos include:

Datum 3: AP manifesto

I bwana badilisha will **fix** this nation.

Datum 4: RP manifesto

We will **hang** the corrupt, people found **guilty** of **corruption** and **stealing** public resources

The writer of the Agano Party manifesto uses the words 'fix' and 'nation' as a strategy to win the attention of the voters. The candidate used the words to evoke positive feelings among the voters. This was a strategy to inform the voters that he has observed the country and experienced a number of problems that need to be solved. The use of such words is meant to evoke the emotions of the readers. AL-Faki (2014) suggests that political discourse - written or spoken language, verbal or non-verbal, is to stir the emotions of an audience and influence their opinions and attitudes. Van Dijk (2003) points out that through CDA, one uncovers the discursive means of mental control and social influence, focusing on revealing strategies of manipulation, and its indirect influence on the minds of the target recipients. This tenet was applied in examining the candidate's use of language to demonstrate state of the nation of Kenya which indicates the hardships the people are experiencing and how they made the country an uncomfortable place for them as a result of bad governance from former regimes. The

candidate uses the emotive words 'fix' to indicate the presence of a problem that needs urgent action to be taken and thus, reassures the electorate by assuring them of hope for a better future through promises and plans as evident in manifesto texts. The writer in the AP manifesto uses the word 'nation' to indicate a sense of belonging, thus invoking a sense of unity and collective purpose where the presidential candidate and the voters commit to working together to bring the desired change. The word 'nation' also creates a collective identity which indicates that the voters are expected to participate in the solving the issues that affect the nation, thus promoting unity. Ataa (2007), in this regard, opines that the writers of manifestos use emotive words to evoke of the emotions disillusioned and suffering electorate, and further point out the urgency to elect leaders who could initiate the much-desired improvement.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that CDA addresses social problems. This tenet relates to the candidate's motivation in addressing the problems affecting the populace. The candidate offers oneself as the best suited agent of change in solving the myriad socio-economic problems, such as corruption, unemployment that bedevil the voting locale. Studies by Van Dijk on CDA (2003) reveal that CDA uncovers what is hidden or implicit. Therefore, it focusses on strategies of manipulation, legitimation, manufacture of consent and discursive ways to indirectly influence the people's thinking and actions in the interest of the powerful (Van Dijk, 2003).

The citizens of Kenya expect development in key areas - education, agriculture, health, industrialization and trade in order to improve their lives. Thus, discourse in manifesto texts pragmatically conveys ideology and power relations within the constraints of language in promising proactive measures to solve problems (Van Dijk,2003). The word 'fix' as used in the manifesto reflects the authority of the

candidate to provide solutions the issues that affect the citizens. The political party, through its candidate, therefore, assures the electorate of one's ability and capacity to 'fix' bad governance, corruption, poor roads, high taxation and decline in industrial growth.

The Roots Party manifesto uses the emotive words 'hang', 'guilty', 'corruption,' to point out the societal values and matters of social justice. To fix problems identified leaders in authority found guilty of committing offences will be punished to win public confidence. The use of the emotive words vividly exposes the ills such as corruption, tribalism, stealing, drug peddling, and points out how they adversely affect the growth of the nation. Studies by Van Dijk (2003) on CDA reveal that CDA uncovers what is hidden or implicit, and thus focuses on strategies of manipulation, legitimation, manufacture of consent and discursive ways to indirectly influence the thinking and actions of the people in the interest of the powerful.

The RP manifesto addresses the themes of social inequalities, corruption, justice and nationalism to discuss the state of the nation, and uses the rhetoric strategies of emotional language to evoke the emotions of the voters. The passionate tone evident in the manifesto serves to sway the opinion of the voters to support the candidate and sponsoring political party. This is indeed demonstrated through the use of phrases such as 'fix' to illustrate the urgency of delivering on the promises.

4.2.2 Choice of Words

The choice of words in language use is a powerful means of communicating specific positions and stances in political discourse. The current study explored how particular words are selected to serve as discursal strategies that articulate political agenda in

the manifesto texts. Under choice of words, the study considered three-word categories- pronouns, verbs and adverbs, presented in the sub-sections that follow:

4.2.2.1 Pronouns

Discussant 7 and Discussant 8 from FGD 2 confirmed the use of personal pronouns in the manifesto texts

The pronouns identified from the manifestos include:

Datum 5: ALU manifesto

I envision a fresh thrust into rebooting our country, one not just occasioned through the electoral cycle but one that heralds a new and distinct way of governance.

Datum 6. K K manifesto

We aim for high quality of life and economic inclusion for marginalized hustler. The examples above reveal that all the presidential candidates used personal pronouns ‘we’ and ‘I’ to package the ideologies presented to the voters. The candidate in the Azimio La Umoja manifesto used the personal pronoun ‘I’ to convey an individual voice and responsibility to solve the issues affecting the voters. According to Beard (2000), the pronoun ‘I’ is used to express personal opinions. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. To this end, the use of the pronoun ‘I’ to expresses the individual perspective on matters of political governance.

Participants in the research discussion provided insights into the use of pronouns in political manifesto texts as presented below:

Moderator: What is the role of the personal pronouns identified in relation to creation of identity.

Discussant 12. From the manifesto texts, the candidates use pronouns to construct identity. The candidate uses the pronoun 'I' to talk about their ability to deliver on the promises, and the pronoun 'we' to talk about himself and the voters working together to improve the country.

Discussant 12 from FGD 2 confirmed that the use of the pronoun 'I' helped to establish the candidate's willingness to revive the country's leadership by initiating radical changes. This accounts for the candidate's ability to express oneself positively, and thus committing oneself to the task ahead. According to Karapetjana (2011), the speech and self-expression of politicians are part of their personality and a way of expressing themselves. The use of personal pronouns constructs either positive or negative identities of themselves and their opponents. According to Allen (2007), pronouns in discourse are used to influence the thinking and choices of the audience. This involves constructing or maintaining a sense of affiliation and loyalty between the audience and the particular community.

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that CDA examines how language is used to convey and promote specific ideologies, often without explicit awareness. Ideologies are systems of beliefs and values that can legitimize power

structures. This tenet, therefore, unravels ideological power dynamics in the manifesto texts used in the study. From the CDA perspective, the use of the pronoun ‘I’ reflects the underlying ideologies in the manifesto texts. For instance, in the ALU manifesto, the candidate uses the pronoun ‘I’ to express the need for good governance, and the call for accountability on the part of the elected leaders, so that they are kept in check to remain answerable to the citizens who voted for them.

The writer of Kenya Kwanza manifesto uses the personal pronoun ‘we’ to create a sense collective responsibility of the candidate and the citizens in ensuring provision of quality life to all the citizens of Kenya, including the marginalized groups. Thus, the interpretation of the meanings of pronouns in context contributes to social structures and power relations (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). The data presented below supports the assertions on the use of pronouns.

Moderator: Which personal pronouns are used in the manifesto texts to show inclusivity, and what is their impact on the message?

Discussant:10. From the manifesto texts, the pronoun that shows inclusivity is ‘we’

Discussant 10 from FGD 2 confirms that the candidate uses the pronoun ‘we’ to express inclusivity of other members in the plans to improve the welfare of the citizens. By including the ‘hustler’ tag which represents the low-class citizens, the manifesto seems to promise the engagement and participation of the ‘hustler’ - down-trodden in the development plans. The pronoun ‘we’ helps to creates a positive personality of the candidate. According to Karapetjana (2011), the use of speech and self-expression of politicians are part of their personality. The use of personal pronouns, therefore, constructs either positive or negative identities of the politicians and their opponents.

Notably and from the above the examples, the candidate portrays oneself as the best option for working together with the citizens to bring about the desired change. Van Dijk (2003) suggests that CDA examines how language is used to convey and promote specific underlying ideologies and power relations, often without explicit awareness. This assertion uncovers the power of the candidate's use of the pronoun 'we' to demonstrate power relations and collective solidarity. Politicians use the inclusive pronoun "we" when they want to share responsibility and associate with their followers (Beard, 2000). As illustrated, the candidate in the KK manifestos uses the pronoun 'we' to motivate the voters to participate in economic actions that will help improve their lives such as agriculture, trade, industrialization and education. This collective participation thus involves the rich and the 'hustlers', perceived to the low-level earners.

The manifesto texts effectively express the themes of nationalism, unity and the need for good governance and economic growth. The candidates present the ideologies using a visionary tone that is expressed in phrases such as 'we aim' to point to the future prospects. The use of inclusive language evident by use of the pronoun 'we' in the KK manifesto points to collective responsibility of the candidate and the voters to perpetuate the desired change, hence enhancing the theme of unity.

4.2.2.2 Modal auxiliary verbs

Modal auxiliary verbs, simply referred to as modals, are helping verbs that modify the main verb by expressing a range of meanings, such as possibility, ability and obligation, by a writer or speaker. The modal auxiliary verbs identified from the

manifesto include:

Datum 7: AP manifesto

Uphold the right of each family to enjoy a life of quality and believes that the quality of life of each family **must** be the core business of each activity of the government in power.

Datum 8: RP manifesto

ONE ACRE of Bangi =KSH 16 million per year. Roots Party **will** make enough money from Bangi to pay off Kenya's DEBT in I year. TAXES collected from Bangi **will** fund Kenya's ENTIRE BUDGET at 3.3 Trillion.

The Agano Party manifesto uses the modal auxiliary verb 'must' to express the necessity to uplift the quality of life experienced by the family units. The modals are used in a text to enhance meanings being addressed by the writer or the speaker. Nartey and Yankson (2014) and Nadeem et al. (2014) argue that modal verbs have hidden meanings. They further maintain that modal verbs are employed in political manifestos, purposely to make promises, commitments and persuade. The modality around the verb purposely grips the emotions of the target readers of the manifesto texts by expressing assurances, certainty and commitment to improved changes. In this regard, the government has the responsibility of providing for the citizens, so that each family leads quality life. The modal 'must' is, therefore, used to express high commitment to this provision (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014).

The writer of the Roots Party manifesto uses the modal 'will' to express the candidate's intention to pay off the country's debt that has crippled the economy. Nartey and Yankson (2014) argue that modals are deployed to indicate 'a sense of intention, promise, obligation and necessity in a conscious, and that it is also a strategic attempt to persuade the electorate. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. They further explain that CDA involves interpreting the meanings and effects of language use, and accounting for how these meanings contribute to social structures and power relations. The use of modal 'will', thus, expresses a sense of commitment to improve the economy of Kenya by introducing bhang farming, which has a high economic value. The funds raised from the sale of bhang will be used clear the nation's debts. The RP manifesto presented above uses the modal 'will' to assert authority in the way the policies of economic change are articulated to the targeted voters. The candidate proposed economic empowerment through legalization and commercial farming of cannabis, commercial farming of snakes and youth and women empowerment all aimed at improving the quality of life. From the analyzed data, it is clear that societal power relations in the use of the modal 'will' indicates the candidate's promise of the desired change through the ballot.

From the manifesto texts, the candidates effectively combine the themes of economic change and responsible planning by use rhetorical strategies that articulate futuristic engagement on matters affecting the nation. The modal verbs 'must' and 'will' indeed express the visionary tone with the compelling call for change for future development.

4.2.2.3 Adverbs

Adverbs are words that modify verbs. The adverbs help in the identification of the time, place and manner in which an action takes place. The current study focused on the use of adverbs of time and manner. The adverbs of time are important in a text as they establish a clear timeline of events.

The adverbs of time and manner identified from the manifesto include:

Datum 9: ALU manifesto

It is projected that the flat glass market in East Africa will exceed Ksh 24 Billion (USD 235 million) **by 2024**.

Datum 10: KK manifesto

By the year **2027**, we envision to absorb all graduates from historically marginalized areas into the work force.

The Azimio La Umoja manifesto uses the adverb of time ‘by 2024’ to identify the particular time when the candidate foresees the development project being completed. The adverb of time ‘by 2024’ is used by the candidate to point out the urgency of growth in the flat glass market, projected to rise in profits by the year 2024, which is two years from 2022 – the year of election. The discursive use of the adverb **by 2024** emphasises the urgency of action in order to boost the confidence of the voters in the candidates and the political parties. Van Dijk (2003) opines that CDA examines how language is used to convey and promote specific ideologies, often without explicit awareness. It explains the authority the candidate has on initiating change in the flat

glass market in East Africa, by ensuring conditions for manufacturing and trade are favorable for maximized profits by the year 2024. This reflects the urgency delivering the promise of economic growth on matters of

The manifesto texts interpretively give specific periods of time within which the candidate is expected to absorb all the jobless graduates from past as indicated by the adverb. Indeed, the impact created by adverbs of time on meaning gives the voters clear assurances that action is expected to be immediate. Ideologies, as systems of beliefs and values, legitimize power structures that offer pragmatic solution within clear time frames expressed in the manifestos. It also revealed the candidate as being authoritative in issuing the promise to the voters by assuring the voters about the 2027 as the time frame for absorbing all the marginalized.

4.2.3 Sentences as communicative units

According to Clinton (2024), a sentence is the largest grammatical unit made up of one or more clauses. A sentence is a basic unit of language used for communication to express a complete thought and convey information. Sentences act as communicative units that convey complete thoughts as a way of passing information. This current study examined the simple sentences and the compound sentences as communicative units in the manifesto texts.

4.2.3.1 Simple sentences

A simple sentence is a sentence with one independent clause and consist of a subject, a verb and may include an object. The use of simple sentences helps a writer convey a complete thought directly to the readers and improve comprehension as they are

enable the messages to be easily processed.

The representative simple sentences identified from the manifestos include:

Datum 11: AP manifesto

I will stamp out corruption in agriculture.

Datum 12: RP manifesto

We will create states

The Agano Party manifesto uses the simple sentence to present the message on clearing corruption from the agriculture sector. The sentence conveys a straight forward action plan against corruption which remains a problem in agriculture. Taller man (2022) argues that a simple sentence consists of a single idea. The manifestos by the presidential candidates are constructed to communicate issues of immense interest to the voters. Such issues include corruption which has adversely affected production of food and raw materials industries needed to improve peoples' welfare. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that CDA closely examines social problems. This implies that CDA is concerned with how discourse reflects social inequalities and injustices. In the context of the manifesto texts in this study, the theory aptly explains how language is used to create, maintain, or challenge power structures and social problems. The AP manifesto points to corruption as an indicator of moral decadence in society. The candidate is authoritative in giving direction on how the corruption menace in agriculture will be tackled once the candidate is elected.

The Roots Party manifesto uses the simple sentence ‘we will create states’ to convey a simple action of decentralizing leadership to parts of the country. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), discourse analysis being interpretative and explanatory tends utilize sentences to convey complete thoughts on issues affecting the voters and provide solutions that require participatory engagement. The data revealed the candidate’s discussion on the type of leadership experienced by the people and the impact on the citizens. The candidate promises to embrace inclusive leadership that will bring resources and development to the people. The use of simple sentences, therefore, helps to enhance the clarity of the message on the need for people-centred leadership.

Van Dijk (2003) opines that CDA examines how language is used to convey and promote specific ideologies, often without explicit awareness. It exposes the ideologies presented by the candidate on equality in governance and the power relations of democracy that promotes the people’s voice on nationalism. The simple sentences employed in the RP manifesto effectively present development related themes whose actualization is dependent on political formations. The simple sentence therefore becomes the means by which the manifesto texts express the messages of hope with impactful clarity.

4.2.3.2 Compound sentences

The presidential candidates use compound sentences to persuade the readers of the manifestos to support them. The manifesto texts revealed the following compound sentences:

Datum 13: ALU manifesto

Kenya's wealth belongs to the people of Kenya and must therefore be grown and shared equitably among all people of Kenya.

Datum 14: KK manifesto

Most members of hustler nation are young and energetic, but lack avenues to make real money.

The writer of the Azimio La Umoja manifesto uses compound sentences to pass multiple ideas of the wealth belonging to the people of Kenya, and the idea of equality in the distribution of the resources. This assertion points out the candidate's intention to ensure that the national resources are shared with equality among the people, thus promoting fairness. In effect, discourse addresses the issues of social inequalities and injustices as notable social problems. This assertion reveals the candidate's use of complex sentences to expose the underlying issue of unequal distribution of the national resources caused by the past regimes. The manifesto texts further reveal the economic imbalance that results from unequal opportunities in wealth creation.

The Kenya Kwanza manifesto uses compound sentences to present the ideas of the majority of the citizens in Kenya who are young and energetic, but originate from poor backgrounds. The candidate points out that most citizens in the working age category cannot access resources to enable them create wealth. Within the tenet of discourse as social power, the candidate asserts, through the manifesto, that the problems affecting the nation as result from power inequalities. From the data collected, inequalities in resource distribution and economic imbalance leaves the

majority of the citizens poor. The data analyzed reveals the candidate's ability to point out the imbalances in the society in people accessing resources.

The KK manifesto demonstrates themes of poor governance, economic imbalance and nationalism using rhetorical strategies such as symbolism to evoke emotions of the voters, and point out the urgency of the 'hustlers' to take action of creating wealth. The use of the passionate tone as revealed in the use of the phrases 'all Kenyans' and 'hustler nation' is inclusive language that calls for the unity of the citizens.

4.2.4 Semantic and pragmatic meanings

The present study investigated the interpretations of linguistic discursual strategies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. Semantic choices of particular words, phrases and sentence bring out interpretations in discourse. The manifesto excerpts that illustrate pragmatic interpretations are shown below:

Datum 15: AP manifesto

The state of affairs has led to such hopelessness, anger, depression, ill-health, insecurity, deaths and such oppression, cries and sorrow as were experienced by the children of Israel while in captivity in Misri (Egypt) as recorded in the book of Exodus.

Datum 16: RP manifesto

We will Legalize Bangi. One Acre of Bangi = Ksh 16 million per year. Roots Party will make enough money from Bangi to pay off Kenya's DEBT in I year. Taxes collected from Bangi will fund Kenya's ENTIRE BUDGET at Ksh 3.3 trillion.

The Agano Party manifesto depicts the suffering of citizens under the current regime. This

suffering is compared to what the biblical children of Israel experienced while in *misri* (Egypt). This strategy helps the citizens create a vivid picture of the state of affairs in the country and evoke the emotions of the voters in mobilizing them to act and bring about the desired change. Van Dijk (1995) argues that CDA addresses problems such as moral decay in society. These known social ills such as corruption, fraud, misuse of power and tribalism are committed by those in power. The candidates, through the manifesto texts, therefore, position themselves as saviors who could curb these vices and improve the welfare of the citizens.

The Roots Party manifesto depicts the state of affairs in the country. The country is thus overwhelmed by heavy debts, a situation that affects the funding of the budget and consequently, hinders provision of services to the citizens. Wodak (2001) notes that CDA analyzes the use of language to shape social relations. This justifies why the language used the context to express the inequalities evident in the society. Such inequalities include accrued debts as a result of poor governance and planning. The manifestos are futuristic in promising to initiate and actualize economic improvement by paying off debts and strategic planning through formulating policies that target the inequalities.

From the manifesto texts above, the candidates address the themes of poor governance, the need for economic development and moral decay. The candidate uses rhetoric strategies such as symbolism to show the suffering of citizens of Kenya such as heavy debt, which results in underfunding of the budget. The candidates use inclusive words such as ‘we’ in the manifestos to mobilize the citizens to work with the leaders in the spirit of collective responsibility.

4.2.5 Repetition

From the data collected, it was evident that words, phrases and sentences were repeated by the presidential candidates in passing messages on development.

Instances of repetition identified are:

Datum 17: ALU manifesto

our commitment, provide, the *Azimio* government

Datum 18: KK manifesto

hustler, dynasties, *mama mboga*, *watu wa boda*,

The AP manifesto uses repetition to emphasize the commitment of the *Azimio* government to improve the welfare of the citizens once elected in office. According to Dijk (2003), CDA uncovers what underlies discourse in reflecting diverse socio-cultural spaces. Its tenets explain the functionality of the repeated words in the manifesto, such as ‘our commitment’, ‘provide’ and ‘Azimio government’ to deliver realistic promises and assure the voters that his government will be accountable to the people. This helps build trust between the candidate and the voters. The study finds that the repetition of the word ‘provide’ points out the commitment of the government to offer services to the people in order to promote societal growth. In this regard, Ataa (2017) argues that repetition of words, phrases and sentences in a political manifesto helps draw the attention of the readers to the current issues in the country. Wodak (1997) acknowledges the role of CDA in uncovering ideologies and power relations. The data collected revealed that the repetition of the words ‘commitment’, ‘provide’ and ‘Azimio government’ uncovered the ideologies of provision of government services, and

accountability by government functionaries. Repetition in linguistic units, therefore, creates rhythm that arouses emotions of the readers. Ataa (2017) concludes that the use of the lexical, semantic and the syntactic repetitions is meant to arouse the emotions of the readers of the manifesto.

The writer of the Kenya Kwanza manifesto repeats the words hustler, dynasties, *mama mboga*, *watu wa boda*. The discursive and explanatory features of discourse within the constructs of language use reveal that the words ‘hustler’ *mama mboga* (vegetable seller) and *watu wa bodaboda* (motorcycle riders) are repeated to emphasize that ‘hustler’ represents the low class, while ‘dynasties’ represent rich ruling families that have remained in power for long. The tenet of power relations manifests in depicting an unequal society of class conflict. The long-standing social problems are therefore accounted through the use of repeated words ‘hustler’, ‘dynasties’, ‘*mama mboga*’ (vegetable sellers), ‘*watu wa boda boda*’ (motorcycle riders). The ideologies of economic imbalance and poor governance were analyzed by the CDA tenet on CDA does ideological work (Van Dijk,2003). The words ‘*mama mboga*’ (vegetable sellers) and ‘*watu wa ‘boda boda* ’ (motorcycle riders) appeals to the emotions of the low-class citizens which should motivate their course for political action.

The writers of the manifesto texts above present the themes of corruption, poor governance, accountability and inequality, issues which are likely to affect the voters directly. The candidates employ the passionate tone, which evokes the emotions of the voters, thus shaping their opinion on the need to bring about the desired change through the ballot.

4.2.6 Metaphors

Politicians use metaphors to characterize themselves and their opponents. Metaphors appeal to people and groups with diverse interests (Milne, Kearins, & Walton, 2006). The manifesto texts give concrete ‘labels to abstract ideas put across to the voters. The data extracted the following metaphors identified from the manifestos:

Datum 19: AP manifesto

The **rotten potatoes** in the tax collection cost a nation an upward of 200 billion shillings per year.

Datum 20: KK manifesto

Tingiza mti (shake the tree)

The Agano Party manifesto uses the metaphor, ‘rotten potatoes’ to imply something that has gone bad, and consequently lost public value. According to Fairclough (1989), a metaphor is a means of representing one aspect of experience in terms of another. For example, ‘Rotten potatoes’ in datum 19 above refers to people who are not productive in the department that deals with tax collection. Their corrupt dealings have led to a reduction in the tax collection of tax by 200 billion per year. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), the construction of discourse presents hierarchical power relations that shape interactional realities. In the context of the current study, the authoritative power of the candidate to fire unproductive staff at the tax collection departments reflects the utilization of the relations in shaping society. In this regard, the metaphor ‘rotten potatoes’ in AP 19 above, depicts moral decay that depicts institutional corruption. This has consequently led to the underfunding of the budget which affects the timely completion of projects like road construction, health,

industrialization that could spur economic development.

The Kenya Kwanza manifesto uses a slogan '*tingiza mti*' (shake the tree) in the manifesto. The metaphor *mti* (a tree) reinforces the need for forceful action that could bring change in the country. Van Dijk (2001) notes that CDA uncovers what is hidden, and thus unravels the meaning of the metaphor *tingiza mti* (shake the tree) to call for the initiation of actions that challenge the status quo in key sectors of the economy. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), discourse packages ideologies such as change, transformation and good governance to unravel power dynamics such as legitimized authority. The candidate promises to initiate change in the way governance propels development. The metaphor '*Tingiza mti*' (shake the tree) has the persuasive power of language which evokes the emotions of the voters and shaping their opinions.

From the manifesto texts for datum 19 and 20, the candidates effectively present the themes such as transformation, good governance, corruption and economic imbalance, with the complementary support of rhetorical strategies such as metaphors to strengthen the message presented. The use of the metaphors initiated the confrontational tone which invokes the sense of determination and urgency to take action.

4.2.7 Symbolism

Symbolism is used by writers to enable a reader create mental pictures of the message which enhances the communication of the intended messages (Oson, 2022). A number of symbols are used in the manifestos of the presidential candidates for the 2022 general election in Kenya.

Datum 21: ALU manifesto

Manufacturing as the **driver of economic revolution** is envisaged to spur growth of all sectors.

Datum 22: KK manifesto

The focus will be opening tenders to *mama mboga* (vegetable sellers) and *boda boda* (motor cycle riders)

The writer of the Azimio La Umoja manifesto uses the symbol, ‘driver of economic revolution’ to indicate that the manufacturing industry is a key area that could help move other key areas of the economy to spur economic growth. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) opine that CDA examines how language is used to convey and promote specific ideologies and power relations. The candidate, in the manifesto texts, portrays economic growth evident in the increase production, employment opportunities, tax collection as only possible through progressive engagement and participation of the citizens. The current study found authoritativeness of the candidates in delivering the promise of initiating economic revolution hinged on bringing about the desired change in the country.

The Kenya Kwanza manifesto used the symbols, ‘*mama mboga* (vegetable seller) and *boda boda* (motorcycle riders) to represent the majority low class citizens. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) note CDA accounts for problems affecting the nation. These problems include corruption, unemployment and insecurity. The candidate considers oneself an agent of change in solving the problems. CDA concluded that there exist classes in the society: the rich and the poor as exhibited in their lifestyle. Wodak

(1997) acknowledges the role of CDA in uncovering ideologies and power relations. Economic empowerment is meant to boost the low-class citizens by providing financial boosts, low taxation and incentives to improve their profits. Power relations, therefore, explore good governance where the candidate desires to uplift the welfare of the citizens.

In the above manifesto texts, the candidates present the themes of good governance, corruption and economic empowerment to point out the issues affecting the lives of the citizens. The candidates employ the use of symbolism, which acts as a rhetoric strategy that strengthens the message and the need for action. The use of symbols evokes the passionate tone which mobilizes the voters to take action that embraces investment opportunities promised by the prospective government.

4.3. Contribution of discursal strategies in articulation of political agenda

The second objective of this study sought to determine the contribution of discursal strategies in the articulation of political agenda in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The CDA provides the framework for analysing extracted discursal strategies and ascertaining their role in articulating political agenda. Van Dijk (1988) argues that language choices reflect power dynamics, and also reinforce social and language structures. This justifies the role of discursal strategies in unraveling power dynamics in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The current study focused on a number of discursal strategies, and particularly examined their contribution to articulation of political agenda: The strategies identified and discussed were: rhetorical and persuasive strategies, framing of promises, personal and

collective identity construction, action-oriented language and modality.

4.3.1 Persuasive and Rhetorical Strategies

Abuya (2012) states that the main purposes of communication in politics are to persuade, entertain, promise, enlighten and inform. Language, therefore, becomes the link to people's hearts in politicking. The messages constructed are shaped in a manner that appeals to the emotions of the voters. This is achieved by use of persuasive and rhetorical strategies. Rhetoric refers to the art of using various techniques to persuade other people, and make them believe what the communicator believes. In political discourse, political actors employ the use of rhetoric to persuade the voters, and thus gaining their support (Al- Faki,2014). The presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya use rhetorical and persuasive strategies with to connect with the voters. This study focused on the use of imagery in the manifestos.

The instances of imagery identified from the manifesto texts include:

Datum 23: AP manifesto

However, all this is useless unless we cut the head of the head of the **snake** swallowing our wealth.

The candidate in the Agano Party the word 'snake' as an image to represent something destructive, which needs to be destroyed starting from the head which represents the top. According to Van Dijk (2015), This tenet used in unravelling the ideologies beneath the imagery which depicts corruption, misappropriation of government resources and moral decay. The tenet on discourse is discursive and explanatory

investigated the meaning of the image 'snake' symbolizes deceit in political discourse. It implies the candidate pointing out how corrupt dealings by individuals, institutions affect lead to a decline in wealth growth thus depleting wealth hence, affecting service delivery. Rhetorical strategies are employed by writers or speakers to persuade their audience to accept their arguments on an issue (Ataa,2017). The candidate uses imagery to persuade the voters on the need to fight corruption from the top, that represents our leaders down to the citizens. The use of imagery in the manifesto texts helps to shape the candidates' visionary voice which helps present a picture of a desired future free of corruption which has greatly affected the rate of economic growth. The use of imagery helps build the credibility of the message, thus building the voter's confidence in the candidate.

Datum 24: KK manifesto

The freedom manifesto

The writer of the Kenya Kwanza manifesto used the imagery, 'freedom manifesto' to indicate that he is bringing forth a manifesto that is meant to liberate the citizens of Kenya and free them from the problems they are face due to bad governance. Wodak (2001) points out that CDA deals with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, power and control manifested in language use. By uncovering the power beneath the imagery 'freedom manifesto,' which symbolizes breaking the chain of suffering and being liberated ready to begin a new journey, the manifesto text signals the likely shifts in the agenda of governance. This portrays the power of the metaphor to appeal to the emotions of starting a new journey of being

liberation among the electorate. It indeed helps create a sense of urgency in addressing the challenges through the right political choices.

From the manifesto texts, the candidates are able to express the themes of freedom and misappropriation of resources to present the state of affairs in the country. The use of rhetorical strategies such as imagery, shown in datum 23 and datum 24, helps in strengthening the candidates' call for action of initiating change in the key sectors of economy, and thus improving their welfare. The use of imagery contributes to the shaping of the passionate tone of urgency of change, and evoking the voters' emotions, so that they are inspired to bring the desired change through the ballot.

4.3.2 Framing of Promises

Promises in political discourse are used to make or show commitment of accomplishing a task in future, and further build trust between the political actors and the voters (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). The presentation mode relies a lot on appropriate framing. Language thus plays a key role in the framing of manifestos which determines the reception and effect of the message. The presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya employed the use of promises as a strategy to articulate political agenda in key areas such as education, agriculture and health, and further offer solutions to the hindrances of development.

Instances of framing of promises identified from the manifesto texts include:

Datum 25: ALU manifesto

We will deploy motivated teachers to deliver quality education that prepares our

children to succeed in a modern global world.

Datum 26: KK manifesto

We will redistribute eating opportunities to all economic classes in this country.

From the examples above, the candidates deliver the promises on key issues affecting a nation in order to build trust with the voters. The writer of Azimio La Umoja manifesto issues a promise on improving the quality of education in the country. The current study revealed that the candidate issues a promise of ensuring that the beneficiaries of the education system of the country acquire the 21st century skills that are marketable in the job market across the world. This enhances equality and fairness to all the citizens as education is considered the means by which the citizens are united as people with a common identity. Bathlomeos (2016) posits that promises made in the manifestos of SWAPO and DTA seek to improve the services offered, as new strategies to improve the quality of services are explored.

Wodak (1997) further posits that CDA looks at how language reflects social realities and ideological underpinnings. The candidates' promises of unifying the society through education and promotion of good morals among the citizens reinforce the need of fairness and equality in resource distribution. Wodak (1997) acknowledges the role of CDA in uncovering ideologies and power relations. Humphrey et.al. (2014) suggests that voice is a persuasive style that communicates the author's stance towards events reported by an author. The study reveals that the candidates' use authoritative voice amplifies orderly action taken by other government agencies to employ

teachers; it shows that power is decentralized. In the use of discursual strategies, promises are key in establishing trust and credibility, and shaping the perception of the audience on the message presented. The ideologies of nationalism, equality and economic empowered through employment are largely presented in the manifestoes. The framing of the promises helps to shape commitment as a way of mobilizing voters for action. Through the promise on education, the candidates demonstrate the tone of their urgency in acting on the promise.

The writer of the Kenya Kwanza manifesto makes a promise on redistributing 'eating' opportunities to all the people. As discussed in FGD session, 'eating' transcend the simple feeding act and portends fairness devoid of favouritism. Wodak (1997) points out that CDA analyzes how language constructs social relations in the society. The current study reveals the inequalities that exist between the rich and the poor as a result of poor governance. Those in power use their positions and offices to amass wealth through corrupt dealings and while the poor remain poor due to limited opportunities. The discussion in the FGD aver that the act of 'eating' carries the connotative satire of corruption and inequalities in the distribution of public resources based on ethnic idiosyncrasy. Studies by Van Dijk (2003) reveal that CDA involves interpreting the meanings and effects of language use, and explaining how these meanings and effects contribute to social structures and power relations.

The current study critically evaluated the candidate's use of language in establishing trust among the voters through promises to uplift the standards of the poor majority. On the notable promises is the provision of wealth creating opportunities through financial services that could help establish businesses. Humphrey et.al (2014) suggests that voice is a persuasive style that communicates the author's stance towards events

reported by an author in presenting the political agenda. This study established that the framing of the promise helped articulate the candidate's authority on the urgency of delivering the promise of equal wealth creation opportunities and mobilizing the voters in the creation of wealth. This helps emphasize the need for economic empowerment, as it articulates the persuasive voice which is strategically used to manipulate the emotions of the audience. Al-Faki (2014) suggests that political discourse, written or spoken language, verbal or non-verbal, is used to stir the emotions of an audience in shaping their opinions and attitudes.

As revealed in the manifesto extracts for datum 25 and datum 26 above, the candidates address the themes of inequality, good governance, education and promotion of unity as a means of addressing the situation in the country. The candidates address the broad audience by using phrases such as 'country' and 'global world.' They also use inclusive language to enhance a sense of collective responsibility in improving the quality of education and creating wealth. This stance of inclusivity is realized through the use of phrases such as 'we' and 'our' in the framing of promises.

4.3.3 Personal and collective identity construction

Identity construction is a process where individuals or groups or individuals articulate their values, beliefs and goals defining who they are and what they stand for. In political discourse, identity can be individual or collective. According to Heyes (2000), identity in politics is based on ethnicity, race, nationality, religion, denomination, gender and sex orientation. Language use plays a key role in the creation of identity. Pronouns form a core part of a person's identity. They are a means of concealing elements in a situation. A writer or a speaker uses them to reveal the

responsibility a speaker wants to assume regarding a particular idea. The data on personal pronouns is present follows:

Moderator: List the personal pronouns used in the manifesto text

Discussant 9: The personal pronouns I see are: 'I', 'We'

Discussant 9 in the FGD 2 identified the personal pronouns, 'I' and 'We' from the manifestos.

The manifesto texts with personal and collective construction are illustrated below:

Datum 27: ALU manifesto

I firmly believe that the idea of devolution in Kenya has the transformative potential of rich mineral mines, abundant oilfields and other traditional markers of a nation's affluence.

Datum 28: KK manifesto

We shall not allow scarcity to be an issue in a country like ours where lakes and rivers burst their banks, yet desert nations have found ways to direct every drop to their people for consumption and production.

Moderator: What is the role of pronouns in constructing identity of the candidate

Discussant 12: From the manifesto texts, the pronouns are used to construct identity.

The candidates use the pronoun 'I' to talk themselves delivering the promises.

Discussant 10 from the FGD 2 confirmed the use of personal pronoun 'I' to create

identity in the Azimio La Umoja Manifesto text. The presidential candidate in the ALU manifesto uses the personal pronoun 'I' to address his personal responsibility of bringing about the desired change in the country through devolution in ensuring equal distribution of resources. The pronoun 'I' shapes the personal identity construction. Bello, (2013) points out that the pronoun 'I' is used as an exclusive pronoun. It is used by the speaker presenting the message to the audience. This study established that the personal pronoun 'I' emphasizes on individuality. Here the presidential candidates express his personal thoughts on the idea of devolution being fruitful and it has facilitated equal distribution of resources such as minerals and oilfields. The data revealed the pronoun 'I' contributed to the shaping of perception of the candidate alone over an issue excluding other members of the society thus, contribute to the notion of exclusivity. Bramley (2001) suggests that politicians use the pronoun 'I' to express their own view point about an issues and it highlights a person's good qualities and achievement.

The data collected using FGD on pronouns revealed the following:

Moderator: Which personal pronouns are used in the manifesto texts to show exclusivity and what is their impact on the message?

Discussant: From the manifesto texts the pronouns that show exclusivity are: I showing that it is an individual' responsibility to improve the country.

The discussant number 11 in the FGD 2 confirmed that the pronoun 'I' is also used to make promises and commitments by an individual in excluding others. Wodak (1997) points out that CDA uncovers power realities in a text. This tenet unraveled the use

power of personal opinions on devolution and equitable distribution of resources to shape the speaker's authoritative voice that appeals to the emotions of the voters thus, shaping their opinion over devolution.

The Kenya Kwanza manifesto used the pronoun 'we' to point out that it is a collective responsibility of the candidate and the voters to handle the problem of water scarcity in the country. Kazemian and Hashemi (2014) on the use of inclusive pronoun 'we' suggest that it includes the audience as well as the speaker. Van Dijk (2003) points out that CDA reveals what is hidden beneath a text. This study revealed the use of pronoun 'we' to portray the aspect of collective responsibility of the candidates and the voters to act on a common cause which involves putting measures in place to prevent water scarcity as water is a basic commodity that ensures healthy citizens. The pronoun 'we' creates an inclusive identity which promotes a sense of belonging. Van Dijk (2003) notes that CDA uncovers what power relations and ideologies. The data collected reveal that the pronoun 'we' was used to the candidate point out the candidate's desire to form an inclusive government of the citizens and the leaders. This study established the power beneath the pronoun 'we' to which evoke the emotions of the voters through persuasive voice that assures the voters of a sense of belonging in the government and their participation in solving problems affecting a nation.

As revealed in the manifesto texts above the candidates addresses the themes of economic empowerment, governance and initiating development projects as a means of addressing the situation in the country and the areas that need to be improved. The candidates used a visionary tone to paint a picture of desired projects in future and mobilize the voters to work and bring the desired change. The candidate used inclusive

language expressed the words ‘we’ to enhance a sense of collective responsibility by measures in place to prevent water scarcity.

4.3.4 Action-oriented language

Actions in a language are presented using verbs. Actions in Verbs are words used in a sentence to show the actions performed by the subject and the tense which indicates the time when the action is performed. Tense is syntactically marked as present, past or future. According to Payne (2006), verbs are words that describe visible events that produce changes in the world. Action-oriented language is realized through action-oriented verbs. In the current study, the action-oriented verbs are analyzed to ascertain their contribution in the articulation of political agenda in the manifestos of the presidential candidates for the 2022 general election in Kenya.

The instances of action-oriented language are identified below:

Datum 29: KK manifesto

The Ministry of Health in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture will develop and **implement** a national diet and regulation for food production, handling and distribution.

Datum 30: AP manifesto

My government will move with speed to **establish** state fertilizer plants and ban the import fertilizer plants a gravy train for most politician.

From the above examples in 28 and 29, it is evident that the presidential candidates use action-oriented verbs in the presentation of their ideologies to the voters. The

Kenya Kwanza manifesto uses the verb **'implement'** to point out the steps to be taken by the government to execute the projects, such as establishing a national diet and regulation for food production, handling and distribution in conjunction with the ministries of health and agriculture in order to improve the key sectors of the economy. This current study reveals that language choices are meant to foreground the action denoted by the verb. According to Payne (2006), verbs are words that describe visible events that produce changes in the world. In the context of the current study, verbs help shape the ideologies presented by the candidate on economic growth, which involves key sectors such as agriculture, health and trade. The candidates, in the current study, use action-oriented language to assert their authority on the desire to initiate development for progressive change in the society. In AP 30 above, verb 'establish' is used to influence the opinions of the voters on ideologies, and thus articulating persuasive voice that appeals to the emotions of the voters.

It is further notable that the Agano Party manifesto in datum 30 above uses the action-oriented verb **'establish'** to express the candidate's urgency and desire to create a fertilizer factory in order to make fertilizer affordable to the farmers. This in turn is expected to increase production of food and raw materials, and therefore lower fertilizer prices as compared to imported fertilizer. Within the precincts of CDA as noted by Van Dijk (2003), the candidate uses the verb 'establish to shape the candidates' authoritative voice over the electorate by imposing some form of control development by promising to put up the fertilizer factory. Humphrey et.al. (2014) suggest that voice is a persuasive style that communicates the author's stance towards events reported by an author. The candidate asserts present the power vested in the government to exercise authority in establishing a fertilizer plant and banning

importation of fertilizer. The tenet of power relations is discursive, which implies that power is enacted and maintained through manipulative strategies within the CDA framework. (Van Dijk,2003) examined the use of the word ‘establish’ to create a sense of assurance to the voters on the accomplishment of a project that is meant to benefit them. The verb ‘establish’ is a persuasive technique that aims to convince the voters to support the party’s policies and visions, and consequently enhance the confidence of voters in the candidate.

From the examples in the manifesto texts, the candidates address the themes of agriculture and health, as the areas that need improvement. Part of the measures to address these areas include initiating a national diet, regulating food production and starting a fertilizer factory to improve food production for the welfare of the citizens. The candidates largely use a visionary tone to paint a picture of desired projects in future by using the words ‘will’ to bring out the urgency of the message and mobilize the electorate to bring about the desired change through the conscientious voting. The candidates address a broad audience in order to enhance the unity of the nation. The use of the terms such as ‘national’ and ‘government’ paints a picture of inclusive relationship which calls for solidarity among different groups.

4.3.5 Emotional appeals

Emotional appeals are used to express feelings which are aimed to persuade an audience. Emotional appeals are meant to create close relationships between the speaker or the listener. The current study investigated the use of emotional appeals to emotions as a discursual strategy to articulate the political agenda in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general elections in Kenya. AL-Faki (2014)

concludes that any form of language used within the political context has influence on the emotions of an audience, as it affects their opinions and attitudes. The writers of the manifestos employ the use of anecdotes and metaphors as discursal strategies.

The metaphors identified from the manifestos include:

Datum 31: KK manifesto

It is integral to our philosophy as Hustler Nation that all Kenyans should access **eating opportunities**.

Datum 32: AP manifesto

The presidential candidate narrates the story of David at the battle field and the giant enemy Goliath. With no prior military training or the soldier's army, he confronted the giant armed only with a slingshot and a stone and he killed the Philistine single-handedly and fed his flesh to the birds.

The writer of the KK manifesto uses the metaphor, 'eating opportunities' to indicate the need for access to opportunities that enhance development. The metaphor 'eating opportunities' points to the availability of wealth creating opportunities to voters, who could access and utilize such opportunities to better their lives. The candidate uses the metaphor 'eating opportunities' to promise wealth creation opportunities, and give assurance for equal accessibility of avenues that could improve the living standards of the citizenry. The articulation of the political agenda by use of strong promissory declarative statements help to build the confidence of the voters in the candidate. Wodak (1997) posits that CDA interprets power ideologies by reflecting the social and political issues as constructed in discourse texts such as the ones considered for the present study. This study examined the candidates' use of a visionary tone to paint

a picture of the desired future of equality in accessing wealth creation opportunities. The promise frame in turn evokes the emotions of the voters in shaping their own opinions thus, influencing their choice of leaders. It focusses on the strategies of manipulation, legitimation of consent and other discursive ways of influencing the mind. The metaphor 'eating opportunities' is therefore used as persuasive strategy to appeal to the 'hustlers' who represent the masses and help create a sense of urgency and excitement.

AP manifesto uses an anecdote of David and Goliath. He assigns himself the role of youthful David fighting against his opponents to defeat a Goliath. In this context, 'corruption' is compared to Goliath that must be fought in order to liberate the country. Fairclough (1997) suggests that CDA vouched for language used in conformity to the norms of the society. The candidate's use of the anecdote to point out the challenges faced in the society, such as corruption as represented by Goliath. The magnitude and enormity of the problem in society is reflected in the gigantic size of Goliath. The use of the anecdote of David and Goliath contributes to the articulation of the critical voice by the candidate in highlighting the problems addressed in the manifestos. The thematic problem areas include poverty, corruption, insecurity and injustice. According to Van Dijk (2003), CDA uncovers the discursive means of mental control and social influence. It is noted that the framing of David's struggle and the resultant victory is equated to the suffering the people of Kenya. This was a strategy to appeal to voters' optimism that the voter will triumph against the numerous that face society through the ballot.

As revealed in the manifesto extracts above, the candidates address the themes of corruption, injustice, economic empowerment as a means of addressing key areas of

public service delivery. The candidates employ rhetorical strategies such as metaphors and anecdotes to add weight to their argument in a way that evokes the voters' emotions. The candidates use the passionate tone to reflect the urgency of solving issues at hand, such as diversifying economic activities and change in leadership by electing new politicians to office, in order to realize the desired change. The candidates use inclusive language to enhance a sense of collective responsibility to create wealth and exercise accountability by use of phrases such as 'our' in delivering the promises.

4.3.6 Modality

Modality refers to the use of modals auxiliary verbs. Abdul-Fattah (2011) opines that, unlike the primary auxiliary verbs, modals express a network of different modalities, even with the same modal auxiliary verb, dependent on the different discursual contexts. Modals are key elements in revealing the author's intention in relation to the message being communicated.

Instances of modality used in the manifesto include:

Datum 33: ALU manifesto

All citizens **should** enjoy the right to Accessible, Quality and Affordable health care.

Datum 34: RP manifesto

Parts of the constitution that do not work **will** be suspended.

From the examples above, the candidates use the modals 'should' and 'will' to present their intentions to the voters. The Azimio La Umoja manifesto uses 'should' to 'point out the need of all the people to enjoy quality and affordable health care. The use of

modals in discourse aids by adding meaning. Narthey and Yankson (2014) conclude that modals are used to indicate intention, promise, obligation and necessity in a conscious and strategic attempt to persuade the electorate. Narthey and Yankson (2014) further point out that the modal 'should' is obligatory, thus expressing a strong desire. The candidate uses the modal 'should' to bring out his obligation or responsibility to ensure the health sector is well catered for.

According to Wodak (1997) CDA explores language as a social action and produces ideologies. Clearly, the use of the modal 'should' expresses the author's political voice, an ideal means of asserting his authority over the subjects. The writer of ALU manifesto uses the modal 'should' to indicate the necessity all citizens to have access to quality health care. The CDA uncovers the power relations beneath a text, focusing on the manipulative role of language (Van Dijk, 2003). In this regard, the persuasive power of the modals articulates the persuasive voice and helps shape the opinions of the voters in mobilizing them for action.

The Roots Party manifesto uses the modal 'will' to express the willingness of the candidate to accomplish the promise of dropping parts of the constitution that are not working, and adapt only the ones that serve the common good. According to Newson (2008), the modal 'will' is used to express strong intentions, certainty, determination and promises. The candidate's use of the modal 'will' shows the candidate's strategy and willingness to initiate change in leadership. This will be instantiated by using only parts of the constitution that are productive to the citizens. This helps to boost the voters trust and confidence in the leadership style of the candidates seeking elective political positions.

The candidates address the themes of health and accountability in governance as a means of addressing key areas that need attention once elected in office. The candidates use the passionate tone to reflect the urgency of solving issues such as improving the health in the leadership that is accountable the voters. The candidates use the modals ‘will’ and ‘should’ as a persuasive tool to evoke the emotions of the voters, and consequently shape their opinion.

4.4 The underlying power dynamics and ideologies beneath discursal strategies

The third objective of this study is discursal strategies that apply hidden power dynamics and underlying ideologies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The study was guided by Critical Discourse Analysis Framework. CDA framework aptly explores how language is used to create, maintain and challenge power relations. It helps to understand how social contexts reflect and reinforce political ideology. The CDA tenets guided the current study on the textual analysis of the discursal strategies used in the manifesto texts such as inclusion and exclusion in political discourse, voice construction and representation of social actors. The other discursal strands with demonstrable influence of language use are power and ideological positioning, as well as hegemonic and counter hegemonic narratives.

4.4.1 Inclusion and exclusion in political discourse

The instantiation of political discourse construction of language and messaging to contextually suit different audience groups, considering the regional, cultural and demographic variations within each country (Van Dijk, 2003). This is key in ensuring appeal and relevance to diverse voter groups. Inclusion and exclusion in political

discourse, as a discursual strategy, refers to methods or approaches used by political actors in political discourse and policy-making. Wodak (2013) notes that CDA examines how language is used to create and maintain social power dynamics, including how it excludes or includes certain groups in political discourse. The current study focused on the analysis of inclusion and exclusion strategies in order to establish their role in articulating power and ideology in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya.

The instances of inclusion and exclusion in political discourse include:

Datum 35: ALU manifesto

It is integral to **our** philosophy as Hustler Nation that **all Kenyans** should have access to the eating opportunities the dynastic regimes have always enjoyed with their families and friends

Datum 36: AP manifesto

I will introduce legislation to ensure that **firms which employ youths and women** get significant tax, breaks, and are given priority when it comes to issuance of government tenders.

From the examples above, the candidates employ the use inclusive and exclusive strategies in framing their ideologies. According to Van Dijk (1985) and Atkinson & Heritage (1985), discourse is a form of social action and interaction. This justifies why framing in manifesto is key to the presentation of ideologies to enhance interaction of the politicians and the voters. The methods used to present ideologies by the voters may be inclusive or exclusive depending on the linguistic strategies employed

The Kenya Kwanza manifesto uses the inclusion strategy, which involves ensuring that the hustlers also have access to 'eating opportunities' are available to both the rich and the poor. This is likely to enhance wealth creation by all, and hence improve the economy. The present study focused on the use of universal framing, which is a strategy that entails appealing to a broader audience that is targeted to benefit from the policies presented. Van Dijk (2003) CDA uncovers ideologies and power relations and ideologies in a text. Such ideologies of equality and nationalism are interpretable from the use of the words 'our' and 'all Kenyans,' which, in the context of the manifestoes, implies equal opportunities for all in the creation of wealth. Inclusion in the KK manifesto is articulated using the linguistic units 'our' and 'all Kenyans.' This creates a sense of shared identity and collective responsibility. The candidate uses the words to indicate that it is a shared goal to ensure all citizens access equal opportunities of wealth creation. The use of inclusion discourse helps shape the candidate's authoritative voice that shapes the actions he intends to take to ensure the welfare of all citizens is improved, without social discrimination. The tenet of the power relations concerns the constructs of language within the CDA framework (Van Dijk,2003). This is ideal in building trust and confidence in the voters and also in articulating the persuasive voice to appeal to emotions the voters.

The Agano Party manifesto employed the use of promises to introduce legislation to ensure that firms which employ youths and women get significant tax breaks, and are given priority when it comes to issuance of government tenders. This is an exclusion strategy, where the candidate focuses on prioritizing specific groups of individuals from the voters, and leaving out the rest who do not benefit from the policies proposed by the candidate. The candidate offers tax reliefs only to firms that employ the youth

and women. This, in effect, leaves out other groups like the men, the old people and children from benefiting from the tax regimes. Wodak (2001) opines that CDA reveals relations in society focusing on inequalities. The present study, therefore, reveals that inequality in the society is shaped by the political voice that directs development projects to only the youth and women.

4.4.2 Voice construction

According to Bakhtin (1986), voice in a text plays an important dialogic role. It pumps life into characters, their consciousness and their intentions. When voice is used in political discourse, it helps in shaping the manifesto in terms of ideology presentation. The current study assessed the use of voice construction as a discursual strategy to present ideologies to the voters, and unravel power dynamics beneath the voice construction strategies. The study indeed focused on the use lexical choices, active voice and figurative language as voice construction strategies.

4.4.2.1 Lexical choices

According to Herman (1992), the lexicon is a list of words that are used in a certain language or profession. Lexical choices depend on the relationship between the addressor and the addressee. This study investigated the role played by lexical choices in the construction of voice.

The instances of lexical choices extracted from the manifesto texts include:

Datum 37: ALU manifesto

Manufacturing is as the **heart of economic revolution** which is a key pillar of the *Inawezekana* agenda.

Datum 38: RP manifesto

We will **farm** snakes. One test-tube of snake poison—Ksh 600,000/-We will use snake farming to **fund** our **EDUCATION budget**.

From the examples above the candidates used specific words and phrases in presentation of their ideologies to convey certain messages.

The writer of the Azimio La Umoja manifesto used the words and phrases ‘manufacturing’, ‘heart of economic revolution’ to stress on the importance of the manufacturing industry to the people. The data extracted reveals the candidate’s presentation of the ideology on economic growth that the candidate promises to the voters. The candidate used the authoritative voice to give his opinion on the manufacturing industry and its role on the economy of the country. The power dynamics that the use of expressions such as ‘heart of economic revolution’ help shape the persuasive voice of the candidate in the manufacturing industry. This helps evoke the emotions of the voters, and as a result shape their opinion on the candidate.

The RP manifesto uses the words ‘farm’, ‘fund’ and ‘education budget’ to stress on the importance of education to the citizens of Kenya. The data collected established the candidate’s presentation of the ideology of economic empowerment realized through agriculture, where the candidate proposes to introduce snake farming which is profitable as One test-tube of snake poison—Ksh 600,000/. From this manifesto, the proceeds from the snake-sales will be used to fund the education budget, and ensure the provision of quality education to the Kenyan learners. Van Dijk (2003) argues that CDA reveals power structures in the society. The use of the words ‘farm’ ‘fund’ and ‘education budget’ reveals the vision of the candidate. Language usage, in

this instance, paints desirable vivid pictures of the progress of the nation in terms of economic development.

4.4.2.2 Use of grammatical structures

This refers to the rules that govern the formation of words and sentences in a language.

This study focused on the use of sentences in the active voice and ascertained their role in voice construction.

The grammatical structures identified from the manifestos include:

Datum 39: KK Manifesto

The Hustler nation will also seek to formalize the previously informal employment sector through registration and appropriate taxation of *jua kali* industry to include artisans, *boda boda* (motorcycle) operators, salonists and stylists, hawkers and general traders and other persons employed as casual and day labours in Kenya.

Datum 40: AP manifesto

I will make sure that the wastage and corruption in the health sector comes to an end. I will terminate corruption inspired contracts in government.

From the examples above, the presidential candidates use active voice to present their promises to the voters. The writer of the Kenya Kwanza manifesto promises to formalize the informal sector which is largely despised by the voters as a low paying sector. He, therefore, promises to re-brand it and make it profitable. The sentences in the active voice present the candidate's position on the improvement of the informal sector. This study analyzed the ideology of economic empowerment. The political voice creates a sense of urgency in formalizing the informal sector and making it

productive. This study explains the use of the active voice in evoking the emotions of the voters through the use of verbs such as ‘seek’ and ‘formalize.’

The Agano Party as indicated in datum 40 manifesto above promises to improve the health sector by preventing wastage that results from corruption. Fairclough (2001) opines that CDA focusses on analysis of strategies of manipulation, legitimation and underlying ideologies. These tenets help to uncover the ideologies underlying the active voice, and further unravel the ideologies on presentation of government policies and accountability by detailing the plans of eliminating ills such as corruption. This study examines the assertion of authority exhibited by the candidate’s use of active voice to demand change in the health sector in order to improve the welfare of the citizens.

4.4.2.3 Figurative language

According to Suszynska (2016), figurative language refers to words or groups of words that exaggerate or alter the usual meanings of the component words. This study investigated the use of metaphors as illustration of the figurative language techniques and their functionality in unraveling ideologies and dynamics.

The metaphors identified from the manifestos include:

Datum 41: AP manifesto

The **rotten potatoes** in the tax collection cost a nation an upward of 200 billion shillings per year.

Datum 42: KK manifest

As many obstacles have been places in the path of **hustlers** and **dynasties** in the

examples above the candidates used metaphors to present ideologies to the voters. According to Lackoff (1990), metaphors are not just linguistic devices, but they are also fundamental cognitive structures that shape how we understand the world.

The Agano Party manifesto used the metaphor, 'rotten potatoes' to refer to the decay in the tax collection department that has affected the economy of the country. According to Van Dijk, CDA uncovers what is hidden or implicit, and that meaning is embellished in the metaphorical interpretation of certain language choices. The meaning of the metaphor 'rotten potatoes' is interpreted to refer to the corrupt practices in the department of tax collection and reveals impact of such practices to the economy. The metaphor builds the candidate's authoritative voice that gives the candidate power and authority to initiate change in the tax collection strategies in order to prevent further loses that affect the economy.

The Kenya Kwanza manifesto used the metaphors, 'hustler' to refer to the poor in society, while the metaphor, 'dynasties' refer to the rich and in power. The use of metaphors in the manifestos unravels the ideologies of economic empowerment. The present study examined the authoritative voice portrayed by the candidate in persuading the voters on the need for initiating change in society, where the gap between the rich and the poor is narrowed by ensuring equality in wealth creating opportunities. The data extracted for the present study reveals how language use variously depicts the images of the rich and poor in shaping power dynamics in society. Suszynksa (2016) notes that figurative language expresses meaning through writing that is easier and more relatable to the reader through the use of metaphors. This projects the persuasive power that underlies the strategic use of language in the manifestos.

4.4.3 Legitimation strategies

These refer to the linguistic and rhetorical strategies that are used in political discourse to justify actions, ideas or behaviors and justify validity. Vaara et al (2024) asserts that legitimization is the deliberate use of language to develop, maintain, or change perceptions of legitimacy among specific audiences. The current study focused on the use of discursive positions which justify the identity acquired by an individual in an attempt to validate actions. This study entirely focused on the delegitimization of alternatives.

The instances of delegitimization of alternatives identified from the manifesto texts include:

Datum 43: AP manifesto

Today, I stand as one of the 4 candidates cleared to run for the 5th President of the Republic of Kenya. Of these four candidates ,2 of them have fought in Kenya's army (Government) before. They have had opportunity to slay the giant-the Goliath called corruption. The other one is more of a joker than a leader is in the intelligence, because he never retires from intelligence. Kenyans do not quite know who he is and his relationship with other two of my competitors. As Kenyans. we have waited in faith for almost 60 years-for the liberation of our nation from the snares of corruption.

Wodak (2013) notes that CDA shapes ideologies and power structures that influence perceptions, opinions and legitimizing certain actions. From Datum 43 the Agano party this study established the ideologies of poor governance exhibited by former regimes who for almost 60 years have failed to liberate the nation from the snares of corruption. From the example above, it is clear that the candidate uses the strategy of

attacking the credibility of his competitors in the election. Sarvat (2015) notes that the relationship between power and language has the capacity to re-shape the existing ideologies hinged on politics and social realities. This study established that the candidate uses the delegitimization strategy to package himself as the best in providing solutions to the challenges that Kenyan face from the corruption menace. The use of delegitimization of strategy has the persuasive power to influence and appeal to the emotions of the voters, thus shaping their opinions on whom to vote for.

4.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented, analyzed and discussed the data obtained for the study. The data was analyzed descriptively using textual analysis. The findings are presented in text form, and a table provided. The chapter further makes a thematic analysis and classification of the extracted discursial strategies and provided a theory guided discussion in addressing three objectives of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provided a summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study drawn from the three objectives. The study was guided by objectives as: to describe discursive strategies used in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya, to determine the contribution of discursive strategies in articulation of political agenda in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya and to analyze the extent to which critical discourse analysis accounts for the use of discursive strategies in unravelling power realities and power dynamics in the manifestos. The study was guided by the tenets of the Fairclough's (2001) CDA theoretical framework.

5.2 Summary of the Findings of the Study

This study analysed discursive strategies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The study adopted a descriptive research design. The data for the study was collected by extracting discursive strategies from the printed manifesto texts using an appropriate data extraction tool. Purposive sampling method was used to collect the required data by sampling out portions and sections of the manifesto texts with particular discursive strategies. The qualitative data was thematically classified and analysed using the content analysis. The study was guided by Critical Discourse Analysis theory. The summary of the findings is derived from the study objectives.

5.2.1 Discoursal strategies used in manifestos texts

The first objective sought to describe the discoursal strategies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. This study identified discoursal strategies in the manifesto texts and analysed them as guided by CDA tenets.

The discoursal strategies identified include: multi-levels of persuasion discourse which entails the use of loan words, emotive language, choice of words, semantic and pragmatic meanings, sentences as communicative units, repetition, metaphors and symbolism. Analysis of the data collected was done by use of textual analysis revealed that the use of local language was evident across the four manifestos all the candidates used words from Swahili language to help the voters understand policies and ideologies presented by the candidates. The local words help establish rapport with larger population.

The use of emotional words has a rhetoric impact on the audience that is exposed to the manifesto texts. The candidates strive to outshine the rest as the presidential race is highly competitive. The simple sentences and compound sentences are used to package ideologies and political agenda. The presidential candidates used choice of words as a strategy to pass messages and persuade the readers of the manifestos.

The study identified personal pronouns 'I' and 'We' and the modals 'will', 'shall', 'should' and 'must' in messaging on themes in the manifestos. The candidates also used adverbs to modify the verbs that expressed the time and manner in which actions would be performed.

Repetition to emphasize key themes presented to the voters such as corruption, agriculture, education and health. Metaphors were used appeal to the emotions of the electorate and influence their opinion in making decisions at the ballot. and groups with diverse interests and they convey a multiplicity of connotative meanings

The discorsal strategies in the four manifestos are functionally used to persuade the voters to favour particular candidates at the ballot. The candidates make emphatic declarations on promises and assurances for improved condition in the wake of certain political dispensations. They are assertive in showing timelines for their future accomplishments in creating rapport between the candidates and the voters.

5.2.2 Contribution of discorsal strategies in articulation of political agenda

The second objective of the study was to determine the contribution of discorsal strategies in articulation of political agenda in the manifestos of the presidential candidates for the Kenyan 2022 general election. The study revealed that the writers of manifesto texts used discorsal strategies express their personal views, authoritativeness and presence in the texts. Discorsal strategies play an important role in articulating political agenda through presentation of ideologies, reveal power dynamics and convince voters on the party's policies. The four presidential candidates use discorsal strategies, particularly persuasive and rhetorical strategies, personal and collective identity construction, promises and emotional appeals. The discorsal strategies contributed to the articulation of political agenda. The strategies also uncover power dynamics and power relations in the manifesto texts as presented by the presidential candidates.

5.2.3 The underlying power dynamics and ideologies beneath discursal strategies

The third objective is discursal strategies that apply to hidden power dynamics and underlying power ideologies in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The analysis of the discursal strategies used in articulating was guided by Critical Discourse Analysis as the theoretical framework. CDA accounted for the language choices made, and how they impact on the message presentation and reception by the readers. Political realities of inclusion and exclusion in political discourse are foregrounded in voice construction and legitimization strategies in the manifesto texts. The tenets of Critical Discourse accounted for the use of discursal strategies to articulate power dynamics and ideologies in manifesto texts through its production and the context of realization.

5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations were formulated in accordance with the study objectives:

- i) The political actor should embrace the use of discursal strategies to enhance the interpretation of the message to the voters so as to make informed choices on which candidate to support basing on the agenda presented.
- ii) Language choice should be major factor to consider in presentation of campaign tools. This is line with the packaging and presentation of the message is key in preparation of campaign tool. This is important on creating the political actor's identity, enhance interpretation for meaning

and perform the rhetoric function which shapes the emotional appeal of the message.

- iii) Textual analysis provides an ideal framework for understanding the key elements that shape a manifesto. These are the themes, rhetorical strategies, tone and audience engagement. They help to critically analyze the manifestos hence understanding of the objectives behind the political actors drafting it. This can be applied to analysis of other campaign tools.
- iv) There need to embrace the use of discursal strategies articulating political agenda in other campaign tools other than the manifestos for example the speeches, debates, political banners, posters and slogans. This will enhance the shaping of the messages and their presentation as writers embrace the use of rhetoric and persuasive strategies. These are key in creating a lasting impact of the message.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The study suggests the followings areas for further research

- i) There is need for research on the manifesto content and what the candidate delivers in in speeches during campaigns. This could be achieved through the use of in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)
- ii) It is suggested that a study be carried out on translation strategies used in the manifesto texts of the presidential candidates and analysis of the versions written in English vis a vis the translated manifesto texts.

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Appendix I. FGDs Guide

Thank you for finding time to fill this questionnaire

The purpose of this FGD is to get your views on discursal strategies in manifesto texts for the presidential candidates used in the 2022 general election in Kenya. Any information that you give will be treated with confidence and will only be used for the success of this academic research.

Part 1: welcome and introduction 20 min

Researcher introduces the focus group facilitators. Request permission to record the session.

Explain purpose of the focus groups. Review ground rules:

Please be candid no names will be used in our results, report and no one will have access to our recordings,

One speaker at a time,

Respect one another's opinion and

We have specific questions and a limited amount of time, so please don't be offended if we have to move the conversation on, we will reserve at the end for any other questions or comments from you all.

Appendix 2: Research Questionnaire for Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)

1. Information on use of local words

1. Can you identify the local words from Kiswahili used in the manifesto texts?

2. What is the impact of the local words on the message presented by the presidential candidates?

2. Information on the use of pronouns

1. List the personal pronouns used in the manifesto texts

2. Which personal pronouns are used in the manifesto texts to show inclusivity and what is their impact on the message?

3. Which personal pronouns are used in the manifesto texts to show exclusivity and what is their impact on the message?

4. What is the role of pronouns in constructing identity of the candidate?

Appendix 3: The recorded FGDs responses.

Moderator: Poses a question from the FGD guide.

Can you sample out a list of words from the local language (Kiswahili) from the Samples of MANF1, MANF2, MANF 3 and MANF4 you have and in your opinion how effective are they in message delivery and persuading the voters?

Discussant 1: From the sample of the sections of the manifesto that I have the words from Kiswahili are: *Azimio la ugatuzi* (Commitment to devolution), *Azimio la Jitihada* (commitment to our efforts) *shahada la Jitihada* (award for our efforts), *Azimio la kina mama* (commitment to the role of women), *Azimio la ukulima* (commitment to farming, *fukuza njaa* (eradicate hunger). The presidential candidate was able to deliver his message successfully to the voters by pointing out the key areas such as devolution, agriculture and the role of women building where he promised to work on once elected in office. The use of the words from the local language that is well known to voters contributed to the candidate persuading the voters, thus gaining their support.

Discussant 2: Looking at the sample I have the local words used in the manifesto are: *mama mboga* (vegetable sellers), *watu wa bodaboda* (motorcycle riders), *jua kali* (artisans), *Kenya Kwanza* (Kenya Comes first). The words reveal that the presidential candidate used the words to reach the common citizens represented by the *mama mboga* (vegetable sellers), *watu wa bodaboda* (motorcycle riders), *jua kali* (artisans). The words were meant to gain their support by assuring them he intended to improve their lives. The

use of the words Kenya Kwanza (Kenya comes first) show that the candidate had the interests of the state coming first.

Discussant 3: I can see the words *Tingiza mti* (shake the tree), *bangi* (bhang). According to my understanding the presidential candidate used the words *Tingiza mti* (shake the tree) the candidate meant to bring changes in all sectors of the economy to have a better country. The words

bangi(bhang) was meant to persuade the voters that though bhang is illegal he will make it legal since it is has a high economic value.

Discussant 4: From the extracts of the manifesto I can see the words *Azimio la viwanda* (commitment to industrialization), *Azimio La Wanaichi* (commitment to citizens), *Azimio La Uwajibikaji* (commitment to accountability), *maji kwa kila boma* (water to every home), *baba care* (father's care) .The presidential candidate articulated the voice in his manifesto by using local words to show his commitment to bettering the lives of the citizens by uplifting their lives by offering basic commodities like water. He also assured them of being accountable during his governance.

Discussant 5: From the portions of the manifestos I have the words from Kiswahili are *badilisha* (change), *wanjiku* (common citizen), *bwana badilisha* (a man of change). In my view the presidential candidate used the words *badilisha* (change) and *bwana badilisha* (a man of change) to give the voters hope of bringing change in the nation in all key sectors of the economy thus making their lives better. The word *Wanjiku* (common citizen) was used articulate the message that all citizens are important in the n

Discussant 6: I can identify the words *pesa kwa vijana* (money to the youth), Kenya Kwanza (Kenya first). The use of the words contributed to the presidential candidate use the words *pesa kwa vijana* (money to the youth) was used intentionally to appeal to the youth to support him by promising them that he will improve their living standards by ensuring they have money. In my opinion the words *Kenya Kwanza* (Kenya comes first) was to show that the candidate showed that he had good plans to develop the country.

Discussant 7 The personal pronouns in the manifesto excerpts I have are: my our, we

Discussant 8 The personal pronouns in the manifesto excerpts I have are: my I, you

Discussant 9 The personal pronouns I see are: I, we

Discussant 10. From the manifesto texts the pronouns that show inclusivity are: we, us showing that the presidential candidate and the voters will work together.

Discussant 11. From the manifesto texts the pronouns that show exclusivity are: I showing that it is an individual's responsibility to improve the country.

Discussant 12. From the manifesto texts the pronouns are used to construct identity. My thoughts are the candidates used the pronoun 'I' to talk about himself delivering the promises and the pronoun 'we' to talk about himself and the voters working together.

APPENDIX 4: THE INCLUSION CRITERIA

Author: Christine Omusula Angachi

Objective: To identify discursal strategies articulating voice in the manifestos of the presidential candidates in the 2022 general election in Kenya. The items to be included should meet the following criteria:

- Relevance to discourse and voice.
- Relevance to discursal strategies such choice of words, multi-textual levels of persuasion discourse, semantic and pragmatic meanings, sentences as communicative units, modality, persuasive and rhetorical strategies.
- Relevance to the study's objectives.

APPENDIX 5- APPROVAL FROM NACOSTI



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: 288582
Date of Issue: 10/May/2025

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Ms. CHRISTINE ANGACHI OMUSULA of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, has been licensed to conduct research as per the provision of the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 (Rev.2014) in Kakamega on the topic: An Analysis of Voice-Articulating Stylistic Devices in the Manifestos of Presidential Candidates for the Kenyan 2022 General Election for the period ending : 10/May/2026.

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APPENDIX 6- APPROVAL FROM DIRECTORATE OF POST GRADUATE STUDIES MMUST



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Directorate of Postgraduate Studies

Ref: MMU/COR: 509099

23rd April, 2025

Christine Omusula Angachi
LAL/G/01-70191/2020
P.O. Box 190-50100,
KAKAMEGA.

Dear Ms. Angachi

RE: APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL

I am pleased to inform you that the Directorate of Postgraduate Studies has considered and approved your Masters proposal entitled "*An Analysis of Voice-Articulating Stylistic Devices in the Manifestos of Presidential Candidates for the Kenyan 2022 General Election*" and appointed the following as supervisors:


1. *Dr. Atichi R. Alati* -MMUST
2. *Dr. Bernard Mudogo* -MMUST

You are required to submit through your supervisor(s) progress reports every three months to the Director Postgraduate Studies. Such reports should be copied to the following: Chairman, School of Arts and Social Sciences Graduate Studies Committee and Chairman, Language and Literature Education Department. Kindly adhere to research ethics consideration in conducting research.

It is the policy and regulations of the University that you observe a deadline of **two years** from the date of registration to complete your Masters thesis. Do not hesitate to consult this office in case of any problem encountered in the course of your work.

We wish you the best in your research and hope the study will make original contribution to knowledge.

Yours Sincerely,

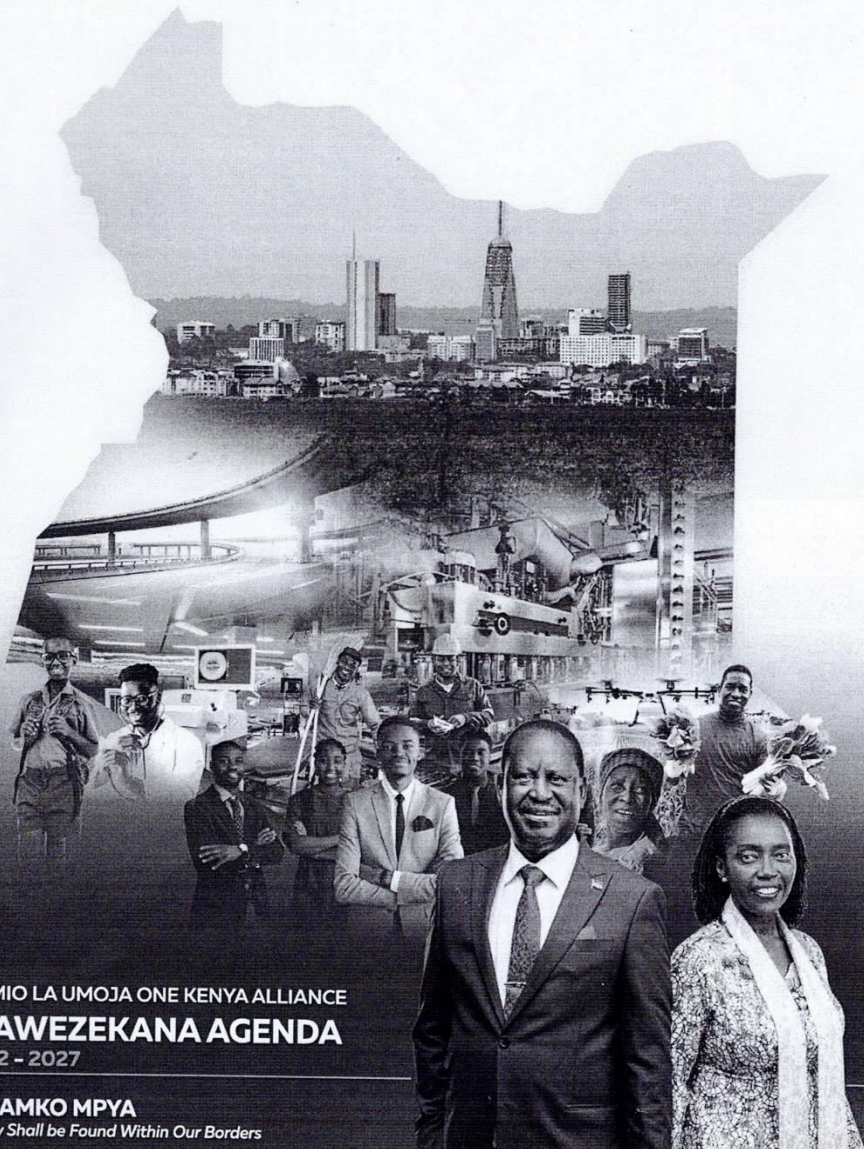

Prof. Kennedy Bota
DIRECTOR, DIRECTORATE OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
DIRECTORATE OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES
P.O. Box 190, KAKAMEGA (K)

APPENDIX 7 AZIMIO LA UMOJA ONE KENYA MANIFESTO

AZIMIO LA UMOJA ONE KENYA COALITION

#INAWEZEKANA



AZIMIO LA UMOJA ONE KENYA ALLIANCE
INAWEZEKANA AGENDA
2022 - 2027

MWAMKO MPYA
Plenty Shall be Found Within Our Borders

Foreword

BY H.E. RAILA A. ODINGA

Let all with one accord in common bond united,

Build this our nation together and the glory of Kenya

The fruit of our labor

Fill every heart with thanksgiving

Dear Kenyans,

This is about Hard and Honest work. This is about restoring Dignity. This is a fresh start. ***Mwamko Mpya!***

I envision a fresh thrust into rebooting our country, one not just occasioned through the electoral cycle but one that heralds a new and distinct way of governance. What we are part of is something much more triumphant: an awakening of the people. We are most fortunate to witness yet another rare moment in history when we get to experience what can be achieved when citizens in common bond united, coalesce around an idea, and especially an idea whose time has come.

Azimio la Umoja ni Azimio la Wananchi!

This manifesto which we submit here today, NI AGANO- our social contract with the people of Kenya. It embodies the hopes and aspirations of our people, and outlines how they would like the business of government to be transacted on their behalf.

We, as the servant-leaders whom you have chosen to advance your agenda, and to be the custodians of the promises contained in this contract, reiterate our

solemn commitment to transforming our society, and creating a robust nation founded on equity, shared prosperity, social justice, and cohesion. The agenda articulates our intention to establish an “UTU”-based society, a responsive system of governance, that heeds to the summons of our times.

of AZIMIO policies, administrative actions to ensure that

Kenyan people are at the centre of planning and execution. We will achieve this through three main approaches: first, by ensuring that the economy is re-engineered for wealth creation through manufacturing, production and increased

investment in home-grown industries in all counties; second, by addressing people’s welfare through social protection programmes, preservation of

the environment and sustainable use our natural resources and thirdly by ensuring that all Kenyans have unfettered access to basic public goods like education, healthcare, food and nutrition, water and sanitation and are cushioned from such

vagaries of nature as climate change.

drivers for “Made in Kenya” initiative,

c. Creating an enabling environment for climate-smart agriculture, for improved livestock farming and for growth of the blue economy,

d. Mainstreaming and harnessing ICT towards a digital economy

e. Improving the ease of doing business by making our country an attractive investment destination to both local and international investors.

2. Zero-tolerance to corruption;

3. Commitment to addressing the high cost of living of all Kenyans;

4. Free Education for all

5. Universal quality healthcare for all

6. Food security, safety and nutrition for all

7. Making every Kenyan feel secure and safe at home, in communities, rural areas, towns and cities

8. Provision of sports and recreation facilities for emotional, physical, mental, social, moral growth and development of people

9. Creating an enabling environment that fosters respect for faiths, cultures and communities

10. Improved comprehensive foreign policy that would promote Kenya’s political, social, cultural and economic interests abroad

11. Promoting good labor relations and protection of right of workers

12. Promoting free and independent media as key elements of our democratic governance Our vision for Kenya, and the commitments articulated here, encompass:

a) UTU - in recognition of the inherent value, dignity, and sanctity of the life of each and every Kenyan;

b) Empowerment in celebration of the hard work of Kenyans and creating an environment in which their efforts will reap benefits and enable a decent standard of living; and

c) Inclusiveness for all Kenyans across our Great Republic.

All this is possible through: Economic Revolution; Social Transformation; and Good Governance

Inawezekana!

Raila Odinga

AZIMIO LA UMOJA ONE KENYA ALLIANCE

INAWEZEKANA AGENDA 2022 - 2027

Foreword

HON. MARTHA W. KARUA

Dear Kenyans,

Kenya is a rich country, blessed with diversity and talent. A great land that is full of promise for its people future generations.

In this moment of our story of building the Kenya we want, we have before us a grand opportunity. An opportunity as the great people of our country, to join hands and make what will hopefully be a lasting contribution to uplifting our lives, to advancing our common interests, and to add to the abundance of our common wealth.

We have an opportunity to animate the intentions that underpin our social contract as a people. An opportunity to enrich the quality of life of every citizen, and to ensure that every citizen of our great Republic enjoys the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship.

We are at a delicate moment of our history, a moment that calls for leadership that is people centered, a leadership that views things with a social justice lens. It is a moment that calls for leaders with a shared history of fighting for the rights of the people, for democracy and the rule of law, leaders with a shared

Raila Amolo Odinga, for the many years I have known him, has had a vision for this country. Yes, we have found ourselves in opposing sides, however I have never doubted his conviction to the fight for Kenyans and work hard towards a better future for all. His History is our shared history. Our journey today, as Azimio La Umoja Coalition is not just an aspiration of Rt Hon. Raila and I, but the aspirations of the people of Kenya.

We seek office not for self-gratification but from a deep sense of duty and commitment to our country to build on and advance the incomplete dream of transformation envisaged in our constitution.

In the Inawezekana agenda, we pledge to honour these commitments guided by our national values and principles of leadership. Together we will work towards actualizing the dreams of our democratic nation: recognizing the everyday hardworking Kenyan, encompassing the diversity of cultures that so enrich our

Nation.

"We seek office not for self-gratification but from a deep sense of duty and commitment to our country... "history of sacrifice and servant leadership to band together once again to advance the collective agenda of Kenya.

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TEN-POINT AGENDA

Azimio Zetu

1. AGENDA 1: Azimio la Ugatuzi

Offering support services to help cushion them from the

This includes increasing devolved resources and advancing a “One County, One Product” programme.

Devolution has the potential of transforming each county through the exploitation of their respective resources for both domestic and external markets.

“One County, One Product” is premised on manufacturing and value addition as the engine for wealth creation and employment to achieve double digit economic growth rate.

The National Government will provide material and technical support to each county government for vibrant industrialization. To foster growth of manufacturing, the AZIMIO commitment will be to undertake specific measures to improve the investment climate.

AGENDA 2: Azimio la Jitihada

Manufacturing as the driver of economic revolution is envisaged to spur growth of all sectors of the economy hardships of their losses.

Interventions will include: Progressively aiming for gender parity in appointments, and at the very least adhering to the 'two-third gender' rule. Appointing women to Improving access to government guaranteed funds and affordable credit to women. Enforce the 'not more than one third gender rule' in elective or appointive bodies as provided for in the Constitution with the

view to achieving gender parity. Enhance capacity of young women in entrepreneurship, credit management, financial management, digital skills, mentorship, marketing and record keeping. Increase the uptake of TVET by young women in informal settlements and rural areas. Facilitate local manufacture of sanitary towels for school going girls and ensure that every public school

is provided with sanitary towels. Establish incubation centers for businesses targeting women in rural areas

2. AGENDA 3: Azimio la Kina Mama

Women constitute more than half of the country's population. Their potential contribution to the economy is therefore enormous. Gender equality and empowerment have received increased attention in recent years. Despite a progressive Constitution that promotes gender equality and women's empowerment, gender equality remains elusive.

Azimio la Kina Mama will focus on the true multipliers of wealth in our community-our women. The programme will unlock access to financing for women-led businesses and provide support for women on other enabling factors such as access to assets for production, land tenure and proportional representation at all levels

of government. Address the plight of widows and single mothers through financial literacy programs, reduction in the cost of healthcare and education.

3. Azimio la Ukulima

The ultimate objective is to generate agricultural bounty to feed the people of Kenya - the Fukuza Njaa agenda. The AZIMIO commitment is to create an enabling environment for climate-smart agriculture, agro- processing, improved livestock farming and growth of the blue economy. In undertaking this, the AZIMIO government will factor in climate change adaptation and mitigation to support and help realise high agricultural productivity across the nation. We will commercialize large scale arable but idle government land into productive agricultural enterprise

4. Azimio la Uwajibikaji

Custodians of power must be accountable for the mandate bestowed upon them by the electorate. The cornerstones of this agenda

5. AGENDA 5: Azimio la Viwanda

encompass battling corruption, and ensuring efficiency and optimality

Manufacturing is at the heart of the economic revolution which is a key pillar of the Inawezekana Agenda. Manufacturing complemented by agriculture, livestock, the blue economy, and ICT as the key engines for the envisaged economic revolution and the apparatus for development. These sectors shall jump-start and turnaround the economy.

Global manufacturing technologies are fast changing. This provides an opportunity to invest in emerging technologies which will provide employment opportunities to Kenya's young population, such as micro-chips which are already manufactured in Kenya.

The manufacturing sector shall produce input materials like steel, copper, and glass for further processing into finished products, and secondary production of goods like engineering manufacturing machinery, transport and agricultural machinery, tools and implements to be applied in the mechanization and automation of agriculture, livestock, blue economy, mining and processing.

Manufacturing shall also be the focal point for achieving efficiency and increased productivity by MSMEs, as well as the creative and sports industries. Likewise, manufacturing will be a user of MSME products.

Manufacturing complemented by agriculture, livestock, the blue economy and ICT shall also spur and accelerate economic activities including entrepreneurship, economic growth and sustainable development to create decent and well-paying job opportunities.

The manufacturing sector will in turn be spurred by education and knowledge; ICT, research led technological revolution; efficiency in resource allocation; availability of affordable fuel,

energy, transportation and raw materials; innovative financing and investment; along with revitalized foreign trade and

economic diplomacy.

in Public Service Delivery. Essentially it is about Good Governance. This will help ensure that all the gains of the economic revolution are secured, and that the

environment is even more conducive for

productivity and investments. Corruption and inefficient public service delivery and finance management undermine development and the ability of government to provide services to its citizens. This happens when opportunities and resources meant for public services are diverted from the intended use, there is inducement for service, and abuse of office, amongst other vices. The fight against corruption is an integral part of leadership ethos and principles of governance

6. Waste not a Single Child”

Education is non-negotiable. The AZIMIO programme will be an aggressive scheme to ensure that all, not some of our children, get rightful access to quality education. We will deploy motivated teachers to deliver quality education that prepares our children to succeed in a modern global world. No child shall be left behind. We commit employ all qualified teachers who are currently unemployed.

This programme shall also deploy an affirmative action initiative dubbed, the Baba Kubadili Plan, for marginalized areas especially Northern Kenya.

A multi-agency body will spearhead the process to ensure no young Kenyan is locked out of

the education system.

7. Baba Care’

Baba Care primarily focuses on social protection and transformation, and secondly upscaling Universal Health Coverage to Universal Health Care. All citizens should enjoy the right to Accessible, Quality, and Affordable Healthcare. As regards social protection and transformation: A nation’s greatness is judged by how it treats its most vulnerable in society. Inua Jamii

is a social protection programme that will deliver Kenya Shillings Six Thousand (Ksh6,000/=) per month to each of the two million most needy and vulnerable households. Not as a handout, but as an investment and a foundation for a new transformational value-chain that will also trigger economic activity and create thousands of localized small-scale businesses and enterprises across the country. This will lead to millions of jobs and the eventual development of a thriving middle class.

INVESTING IN THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

Our Commitment

1. A people-centered governance system in which politics and the economy serves the needs of the people, promotes their dignity and puts public interest first.
2. A national economic revolution that will increase productivity, enhance inclusivity, promote shared prosperity, reduce unemployment, eradicate poverty, foster wealth creation, and lower the cost of living.
3. Promote civic competence, and a national character anchored on our national values and principles.
4. Introducing new social protection programs in education, health, social security and, enhancing existing social protection programs to inject efficiency, transparency and accountability.
5. Ensuring the sustainable use of natural resources while protecting the environment and building resilience for climate change.
6. Deepen devolution and expand its gains
7. Building on existing government programs and projects, aligned to Vision 2030.

A GATEWAY AND MANUFACTURING HUB FOR EASTERN AND CENTRAL AFRICA

Kenya's geo-strategic location in Eastern and Central Africa, offers tremendous opportunities, including a vast market for goods and services made in Kenya. The

AZIMIO commitment is to promote, expand, and establish local industries that will serve this expansive region and capitalize on the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCTA)

This regional market which includes Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Rwanda, Chad, Central Africa Republic, The Republic of the Congo-

Brazzaville, Burundi and The Democratic Republic of the Congo currently has a population of over 400 million people which provides a tremendous market for locally manufactured industrial and consumer goods. The AZIMIO commitment includes cooperating with other governments in the region to develop infrastructure for transportation of goods and services and create a land bridge connecting the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean, opening up the interior of the continent and reducing logistical challenges that add to the costs of goods and products.

2.1 Economic Revolution for Shared Prosperity

Kenya's wealth belongs to the people of Kenya and must therefore be grown and shared equitably among all the people of Kenya. The economy must work for the people. The AZIMIO commitment will be to pursue a revolutionary economic framework to deliver more jobs

for the youth, create inclusive wealth, reduce over reliance on imported products, ensure shared prosperity and poverty reduction, protect the environment, use natural resources sustainably and mitigate effects of

climate change.

The AZIMIO movement considers manufacturing complemented by agriculture, livestock, the blue economy, and ICT as the key engines for the envisaged economic revolution and the apparatus for development.

These sectors shall jump-start and turnaround the economy.

Global manufacturing technologies are fast changing. For example, in the automotive industry technology is shifting from manufacturing of combustion engine vehicles to electric engines. This provides an opportunity to invest

in emerging technologies which will provide employment opportunities to Kenya's young population, such as micro- chips which are already manufactured in Kenya.

The manufacturing sector shall produce input materials like steel, aluminium, copper, and glass for further processing into finished products. Additionally, our commitment is to promote secondary production

of goods like engineering manufacturing machinery, transport and agricultural machinery, tools and implements to be applied in the mechanization and automation of agriculture, livestock, blue economy, mining and processing.

Manufacturing shall also be the focal point for achieving efficiency and increased productivity by MSMEs, as well as the creative and sports industries. Likewise, manufacturing will be a user of MSME products.

Manufacturing complemented by agriculture, livestock, the blue economy and ICT shall also spur and accelerate economic activities including entrepreneurship, economic growth and sustainable development to create decent and well-paying job opportunities. Manufacturing is thus the cornerstone for Kenya's economic liberation and for improving the people's living standards.

The manufacturing sector will in turn be spurred by education and knowledge; ICT, research led technological revolution; efficiency in resource allocation; availability

Of affordable fuel, energy, transportation and raw materials; innovative financing and investment; along with revitalized foreign trade and economic diplomacy

2.2.1 Fisheries and Blue Economy

Blue economy refers to the sustainable use of ocean and other water resources for economic growth, employment creation, food production and improved livelihoods, while preserving the health of the eco-system. The sector has unfortunately been relatively undeveloped despite its centrality to economic development. According to the World Bank, the sector already supports an estimated two million people directly and indirectly as fishers, traders, processors, input suppliers, merchants of fishing accessories, and providers of related services. It plays

an important role in job creation, income generation, nutrition and food security

The blue economy identified as a priority sector under Kenya's Vision 2030 development agenda.

THE DIGITAL ECONOMY

Rapid economic growth can easily be realized by leveraging on technology and BIG DATA. With increased access to mobile devices, Kenya can take advantage of ICT which will directly impact on job creation, GDP growth, workforce transformation and emergence of new services and industries.

To improve access to Government Services, we will provide a centralized data exchange. The purpose of this unified data exchange is to provide a gateway through which different Ministries; State Departments etc. can exchange data. The data exchange will provide improvements around how Kenyan citizens can create, share and find information, collaborate with each other and access the tools needed to get services across all Government arms from birth.

In today's society, ICT has enabled new forms of work and how people work and interact with each other. In order to support this new form of structure, we can create jobs by;

- Enhancing Capacity and thus upscaling our ICT labor pool with appropriate ICT skills that will give Kenyans a competitive advantage.
- Investing in infrastructure to enable connectivity to ICT resources and services
- Providing an enabling environment that creates employment opportunities and increases labor market flexibility.

Our Opportunities

To achieve this rapid change, we intend to focus on;

1. The opportunity for Intellectual Property (IP) to serve as a source of income for businesses through licensing, sale, commercialization, and generally monetizing IP assets and protected products or services.
2. The opportunity for capacity building and skills development
3. Enhanced Access to Government Services
4. Job Creation
5. Connectivity
1. The opportunity to urgently address the high cost of living
2. The opportunity to grow and stabilize the economy
3. The opportunity to create employment
4. Increasing demand for affordable credit
5. The opportunity to leverage Kenya's well-established capital markets as a Global Financial Center
for the region
6. Diverse opportunities for investment in government and business across all sectors of the economy
7. The opportunity offered by having the most vibrant financial market in the region
8. The opportunity to improve monetary and fiscal policies to improve revenue mobilization, reduce government expenditure, lower interest rates, reduce inflation rate, reform tax regime, manage national debt and stabilize foreign exchange

Our Commitment

The Azimio commitment is to advance a raft of progressive policies, key among them being: monetary; fiscal; income; growth; stabilization; employment.

Other areas of intervention include: aggregate expenditure, government expenditure, savings, investment, tax revenues, non-tax revenues, exports, imports, and balance of payments. Our commitment is to:

1. Create an enabling macro and micro economic environment to spur productivity, creation of employment opportunities, and inclusive wealth creation for shared prosperity
2. Scale up strategic policy interventions to ensure stable, predictable and sustainable interest rates, inflation, foreign exchange and access to credit
3. Ensure the cost of living is manageable – provide an enabling environment to access food, clothing, shelter and other basic needs at affordable prices
4. Develop prudent mechanisms to ensure Kenya has manageable and sustainable debt now and in the future
5. Eliminate chronic current account and balance of payments deficits;
6. Promote a national savings culture
7. Promote fiscal discipline in government
8. Reinstatement of the National Economic and Social Council (NESC) already established by an act of Parliament
9. Develop a budget framework that is aligned to the goals of the AZIMIO manifesto
10. Use the capital market to finance development initiatives and stabilize government expenditure
11. Scale up productivity and efficiency of national and county governments

2.3.1.1 Monetary Policy

1. Control and maintain inflation at manageable levels
2. Promote interest rates that encourage savings and spur demand for credit in the private sector

3. Maintain an exchange rate consistent with production- based and export-driven economy (this a market driven process)

2.3.1.2 Fiscal Policy

1. Undertake efficient revenue mobilization
2. Utilize and manage public funds prudently
3. Implement fiscal measures that will improve disposable income, consumption expenditure, savings, and investment
4. Strengthen the institutional and human capacities of audit and independent bodies

2.3.1.2.1 Public Expenditure

1. Review policy, legal, institutional and regulatory frameworks in order to promote fiscal discipline
2. Undertake a comprehensive public expenditure review to establish cost benchmarks for core government functions
3. Apply mechanisms that would ensure “value for money” and efficient use of public resources
4. Undertake public disclosure of all government revenue
5. Establish a framework for balanced budget and expenditure
6. Establish high level oversight over fiscal agenda by creating a budget office in the Office of the President
7. Apply a responsible budgeting model that encourages and rewards performance and prudent use of public resources
8. Prepare a comprehensive annual budget for each level of government
9. Use supplementary budgeting only for addressing emergencies under Article 223 of the Constitution
10. Reform the Public Internal Audit function to create effective framework for strengthening public expenditure controls
11. Improve frameworks for executing budgets
12. Strengthen the national planning function to ensure streamlined implementation of government programs and efficient budgeting including allocation of resources to priority sectors

13. Strengthen the role of the national treasury in accordance with Article 225 of the Constitution

14. Promote local content in purchase of goods and services

15. Promote opportunities for youth, women, minorities and PWDs to participate in public tenders

16. Deepen reforms towards public procurement; more emphasis on PPPs as a framework

2.3.1.2.2 Tax Reforms

1. Review the tax policy, legal, institutional and regulatory framework, anchored on best practice principles and to promote tax stability and predictability

2. Establish linkage between tax policy and national goals

3. Undertake reforms in the tax regime so as to make taxation fair, equitable, inclusive, efficient, effective, predictable and sustainable

2.3.2 Trade and Investment Climate

2.3.2.1 Trade

Formal and informal trade contributes approximately 10% of GDP and 10% of formal employment. Wholesale, retail and international trade has been among the most rapidly expanding sub-sectors of the economy since trade was liberalized in the 1990s.

Domestic and international trade is an integral part of a growing economy providing foreign exchange, generating employment and creating wealth. With globalization the opportunities for expansion of trade in goods and services is growing. In addition, Kenya has signed several bilateral and multilateral trade treaties ensuring access to new regional and international markets.

Our Opportunities

1. Great potential for local manufacturing, and local use as well as export of value added processed high

value products

2. The opportunity for policy, legal, institutional and regulatory reforms to improve sector efficiency and productivity

3. The opportunity to develop trade and economic diplomacy

4. Availability of regional and international markets for Kenyan products
5. The opportunity presented by continued elimination of non-tariff barriers to intercontinental trade through established regional and continental economic blocs
6. The opportunity presented by Kenya signing diverse treaties that present a very good foundation for regional, continental and international trade
7. The opportunity to leverage on improved investments in transport infrastructure to increase trade within the region

Our Commitment

1. Create an enabling business environment to ensure competitiveness
2. Address barriers to regional and international trade through effective diplomacy and trade representation
3. Harmonize taxation and commercial regulation policy across counties
4. Promote value addition locally for products destined for local consumption and export.
5. Promote Buy Kenya Build Kenya Agenda
6. Promote at least One Product per County Agenda
8. Implementation of the National Integrated Export Promotion Strategy
9. Enhance the capacity of Kenyan foreign missions to prioritize the promotion of trade of Kenyan manufactured products as a key area of engagement

2.3.3 Transport, Infrastructure and Logistics

All productive activities require efficient transport and logistics. Transport infrastructure facilitates internal and external connectivity for the movement of people, goods and services.

Our Opportunities

1. The opportunity to harness the high demand for transport, infrastructure and logistics services
2. The opportunity to harness the demand for efficient mass transit systems in

cities and major urban areas; Nairobi Metropolitan area that includes satellite towns in Kiambu, Kajiado and Machakos counties needs an efficient mass transit system

3. The opportunity to develop and implement new technologies in payment and public management
4. The opportunity to utilize innovative financing instruments for long term infrastructure financing
5. The opportunity to harness the growing private sector investment appetite in infrastructure, transport and logistics
6. The opportunity to strengthen policy, legal, institutional and regulatory frameworks to improve the performance of the sector
7. The opportunity availed by the African Continental Free Trade Area and the commitment of regional economic blocs to regional integration across Africa.
8. The opportunity to increase recognition of the importance of integration of land use planning and transport and infrastructure
9. The opportunity to apply environmental sustainability strategies in transport and infrastructure development to ameliorate the impact of climate change
10. The opportunity presented by increased demand for labour intensive construction methodologies for employment creation

APPENDIX 8 KENYA KWANZA MANIFESTO





Preamble

Kenya is a nation of peasants and poor folk whose true potential has been wasted by dynastic governments, where corruption as an income opportunity is criminalized among the poor but allowed for the wealthy. Our Kenya Kwanza government will open the floodgates of corruption to all hustlers.

The reality of Kenya today is that of an increasing wealth divide with the rich growing richer and the poor growing poorer, a scenario of a few dynastic powers earning through corruption while the poor are prohibited. With our slogan "kazi ni kazi", we believe that tenderpreneurship, profiteering, tax evasion, brokerage, among other hustles should be recognized. Every hustle matters, including those which the dynastic powers today term as "illegal".

The trickle down economic model of previous administrations has failed to realize the true economic potential of Kenya. That is why the Kenya Kwanza Alliance has chosen to instead work on and implement the bottom-up economic approach to jump start the economy and see more opportunities reach the hustlers. We will redistribute eating opportunities to all economic classes in this country. Instead of eating happening from top to bottom, we will invert the pyramid and ensure eating opportunities are accessed from the bottom-up.

The bottom-up economic model will focus on opening up tenders to mama mboga and watu wa bodaboda in four key areas of national development namely (i) Universal Health Care, (ii) Manufacturing, (iii) Food Security and (iv) Affordable Housing. Opening up deal-making to hustlers in these critical sectors and their adjacent fields such as innovation, finance and banking and education will enable the hustler nation to realize its full potential and earn a good living from the government, the same way dynastic powers have been doing since independence. It is integral to our philosophy as Hustler Nation that all Kenyans should have access to the eating opportunities the dynastic regimes have always enjoyed with their families and friends.

William S. Ruto

United Democratic Alliance (UDA)
Kenya Kwanza Alliance Nominee,
President, Republic of Kenya

Geoffrey Rigathi Gachagua

United Democratic Alliance (UDA)
Kenya Kwanza Alliance Nominee,
Deputy President, Republic of Kenya

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1. Background

1.1. National Profile of Hustler Nation

Kenya's national population has been recorded at over 48 million people with over 85% identifying as members of Hustler nation. These are boda boda operators, mama mboga, jua kali artisans, factory workers and day laborers working in all sectors from large industries to small holder operations. While the hustler nation is responsible for Ksh. 1.5 trillion collected annually by the Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA), the vast majority of the national budget is directed at grand projects whose beneficiaries are the rich dynasties who control those tenders. Our idea as Kenya Kwanza is to open up access to those tenders to the hustlers.

Compound Most members of hustler nation are young and energetic but lack avenues to make real money. The wider picture is one of despair as many obstacles have been places in the path of hustlers by dynasties to keep them blind to real money-making opportunities.

It is with this realization that Kenya Kwanza Alliance vows to put the true hustlers first in division of the national cake. We must make difficult decisions to pause developments in some regions which have clearly been enjoying the national cake for a longer time than others so that we can focus on others for the good of all Kenyans. Power must be shared from those who have had it the longest to those who deserve it the most, from communities that have in the past been favored to those who have been overlooked. ①

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2. Introduction

The 5 Point Agenda for Change in Kenya's Hustler Nation

- I. Redistribution of Resources and National Development Investment Capital from previously over invested regions such as Central Kenya, Nyanza, Nairobi and Coast Region so as to open up opportunities for marginalized regions such as North-Rift, South-Rift, and the Northern Frontier District.
- II. Provision of Universal Health Care tenders with a Bottom Up approach of selecting suppliers - it is time for mama mboga, to make real money.
- III. Re-Organization of Manufacturing and Jobs creation to bring down the big companies that profit from hustlers; it is time for small hustlers to access 80% of the funding and policy attention. We will also increase tax revenue collection from both large-scale corporations and the new brand of empowered hustlers.
- IV. Re-investment in bread basket areas of Lower Rift Valley region and Western Kenya region to increase food security while since Central Kenya and Nyanza have benefited enough from favourable agriculture policies in the previous regime.
- V. Re-distribution of land and relocation of populations from dense population centers eg Rift Valley region.

The Legacy Projects

These are the projects that will mark the legacy of our first term in office. The implementation will be overseen by Kenya National Development Authority (KNDA) to be established in the new government structure.

- I. Population redistribution and land reallocation targeting the Rift Valley region - people will be encouraged to vacate the region and offered land elsewhere, enabling the Rift Valley to reclaim its position as the bread basket of the country.
- II. Creation of local security forces to improve grassroots security.
- III. Construct 10 mega dams and entrust the procurement and management of the projects to hustlers with relevant education but couldn't access jobs - under our Kenya Kwanza government, experience will no longer be a factor in recruitment and this policy will be encouraged across the board including in private sector.
- IV. Pesa Kwa Vijana wealth reclamation and redistribution schemes which will target wealthy dynasties for wealth and land redistribution so that our young people can have starting capital and access to land to build their own futures.



3. Our Pledges for Sustainable Development

3.1 AGRICULTURE AND LAND USE AND DEVELOPMENT

3.1.1. Situation Analysis & Current Challenges

Agriculture and fishing are the main sources of food in Kenya produced by the hustler nation. While the previous administration embarked on a mammoth transport infrastructure project focused mainly on Central Kenya, Coast region and Nyanza Region led by the trickle-down economic model, the bottom-up approach recognizes that a new plan is necessary to unlock Kenya's true economic potential in agriculture and fishing.

There has been too much focus on tea and coffee. Farmers in regions that grow these two have been coddled excessively by the government and have over-benefitted from minimum guarantee returns while farmers in regions that deal with other crops which are key for food security have been neglected. There is need to rectify this situation. In the spirit of economic inclusion, we call this the "farasi angoje punda" strategy,

which will see marginalized crops and regions get the policy and subsidy attention that they richly deserve.

While Kenya's overall production has been on the increase, statistics show that the increase has been concentrated in already over populated regions such as Nyeri, Murang'a, Nyandarua, Kiambu, Nakuru, Kisumu, Mombasa and Nairobi regions just to name a few.

The increase in population in already over populated regions is squeezing the little space of arable land suitable for both cash crop and food crops production.

Population relocation from densely populated regions to less populated regions is a key project under Kenya Kwanza Alliance to relieve pressure on overpopulated agricultural land and spur population growth and urban development in under-developed regions of Mandera, Laikipia, Kajiado and Kilifi. The first phase will target the overpopulated regions of Kiambu for relocation to Kitui County.

3.1.2. Nationalization of Agriculture Sector

A National Resource Utilization and Distribution survey will be commissioned and conducted within the first six (6) months of forming government under the Ministry of Devolution to map current distribution of social amenities and institutions such as schools, hospitals, police and administrative centers and match them to per capita spending from the county and constituency development funds availed from the National Treasury over the previous administration. Priority will be given to previously ignored regions in line with the "farasi angoje punda" philosophy. Regions like Central Kenya which have, through accidents of fate and deliberate government policy, been favoured over others will be put on a temporary pause as the country reorganizes and resets its priorities to target other deserving regions.

For a Bottom Up approach to be implemented successfully under our administration we understand that difficult decisions must be made and implemented by the entirety of the Hustler Nation more so balance in distribution of population and the effort made in individual investment in land use and achieving food security.

We commit to undertake radical reforms to the agriculture sector and food production including introduction of strict controls to pricing and supply of farming implements to a newly classified 'food stuff production' class within the hustler nation. The production of farm to table food products will be a State led and State Organized sector overseen by the Ministry of Agriculture with all food producers i.e. farmers and livestock rearing individuals being registered, licensed, compensated and authorized

by the State so as to monitor and regulate food production, storage, sale and distribution to the majority population of Hustler Nation. This bottom-up approach to agriculture ensures standardization and regulation of the entire production chain. It is part of our philosophy as Hustler Nation that the State needs to exert more control for anything

tangible to be done. The current state of affairs is a state of confusion introduced by the Constitution of Kenya, 2010, and is one of the key reasons behind our principal William Ruto's objection to that Constitution. The State must not be hampered in the exercise of its duties and must have the powers, authority, and goodwill from the people and fellow institutions to implement its policies with no interference.

It is our vision that in two years, the farming class will have been fully nationalized and working hand in hand with the government by receiving directives on what to plant, how to plant it...

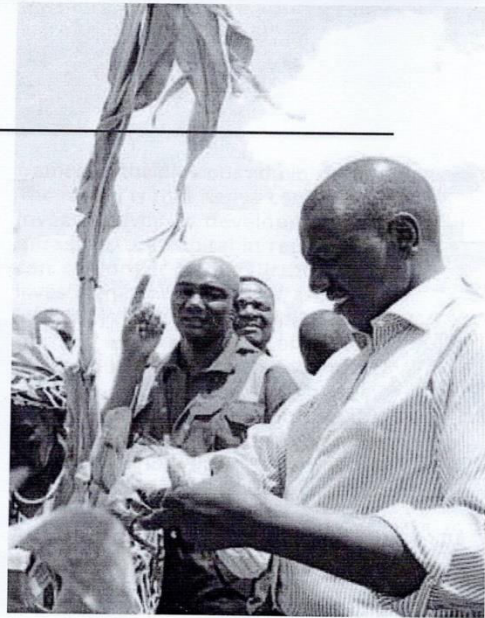
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The Ministry of Health in conjunction with the Ministry of Agriculture will develop and implement a national diet and regulation for food production, handling and distribution. Kenya is suffering food insecurity due to the open-market policies which allow each farmer and trader in the agricultural sector to do as they please. We believe there should be effective controls placed on the entire agricultural sector from the bottom-up. Farmers must not be allowed to follow their own whims but must be under strict control.

The Government will prioritize the nationalization of maize farming, rice farming, wheat farming and beef and dairy cattle rearing within the first nine (9) months with all small scale (1/8 acre and below), medium scale (10 acres and below) and large scale (above 10 acres) farmers and livestock rearers of the named foods being required to register with the local County administration on the type and number of crops and/or animals they are in possession of and any chemical or natural farm implements or supplements have been used on their crop or livestock.

All produce classified under the nationalized list of foodstuff products shall be sold to the State through the relevant Ministry of Agriculture authority at prices determined at the State's discretion.

The Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Lands will conduct a land use survey within the first twelve (12) months of the administration to determine the best use of Kenya's vast



land resources and identify the regions best suited for food production and livestock.

It is our vision that in two years, the farming class will have been fully nationalized and working hand in hand with the government by receiving directives on what to plant, how to plant it and eventually have an assured market in the hustler government which will buy all the farmer's produce at a price set by the government and sell it to Kenyans.

In order to streamline sale and distribution of farm supplements and implements, the government will oversee all direct sale of fertilizer, pesticides and veterinary medicines to farmers with existing salespersons and middlemen being absorbed into the national framework of unified and standardized supply network.

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All existing sales persons in franchised establishments such as local agrovets and shops will sell their existing shops and stock to the government before receiving authorized registration as government sales agents. All stocks and supplements will be supplied from the Ministry of Agriculture. All veterinary doctors and farm supplements sales persons will have to register and receive operating license from the Ministry of Agriculture so as to keep a national register of persons employed within the agriculture sector.

All cash crop production in the Hustler Nation will be nationalized with compensation of farmers to be determined by special committee created by the Ministry of Finance and including Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Labor. All farmers working in production of cash crops will be registered and licensed under the Ministry of Finance under the 'Special Export Products' Department which will be commissioned. All unions and special factory representative groups such as KTDA and KETEPA will become defunct and disbanded.

3.1.3. Population re-distribution & relocation Schemes

It is present reality that historically developed centers in Kenya continue to enjoy diverse population growth while less developed and marginalized regions experience sustained population decline. This trend has continued despite the narrative that devolution would spur development and population in outpost regions as

framed by the previous administration. The reality is that Kenya continues to invest heavily in development and infrastructure capital in regions that can no longer admit further social investment while critical infrastructure installed in further marginalized regions become white elephants and under-utilized due to inadequate foot traffic.

The simple fact of the matter is that Kenya needs population reorganization and change in priorities for hustler nation to achieve Kenya's true potential.

A National Resource Utilization and Distribution survey will be commissioned and conducted within the first six (6) months of forming government to determine the most suitable regions for excess population relocation.

It is unreasonable, in any progressive mind, for certain regions to have vast under-utilized land while millions of Kenyans are jammed up in over-populated regions.

The survey will also identify land suitable for development projects such as construction of hydro- electric dams and irrigation schemes to boost energy generation. We have already identified 10 Mega-dam locations in Nyeri, Meru, Kirinyaga, Kiambu and Nairobi counties. We will build and operationalize these dams in six months' time, having had considerable success in doing the same in Aror and Kimwarer.

While embarking on these development projects will lead to unavoidable displacement of people, it will also

necessitate much needed population re-distribution from the over populated Central Kenya region.

The government will create irrigation settlement schemes in Kilifi, Marsabit and Laikipia Counties where each displaced household from Central Kenya will be allocated 1/8 acre of land and a six-months stipend at an amount to be determined at the State's discretion.

The first phase of the excess population relocation will target creation of Kilifi Irrigation and Settlement scheme in Kilifi County.

At the same time, the Laikipia Urban Affordable Housing Scheme-Nanyuki will be commissioned and developed near Nanyuki town in Laikipia County.

These twin settlement areas will be designed to absorb the first excess population tranches from Kiambu County with mapping of participating residents beginning in Githurai, Juja, Githongoro and Muchatha-Banana areas.

3.1.4: Land reform & regulations

Historically, land in Kenya has been an emotive issue with cultural and personal ties such as inheritance, sustenance and property ownership.

It is time to change our thinking and regulation on the land issue starting with laws and institutions with oversight authority on matters land.

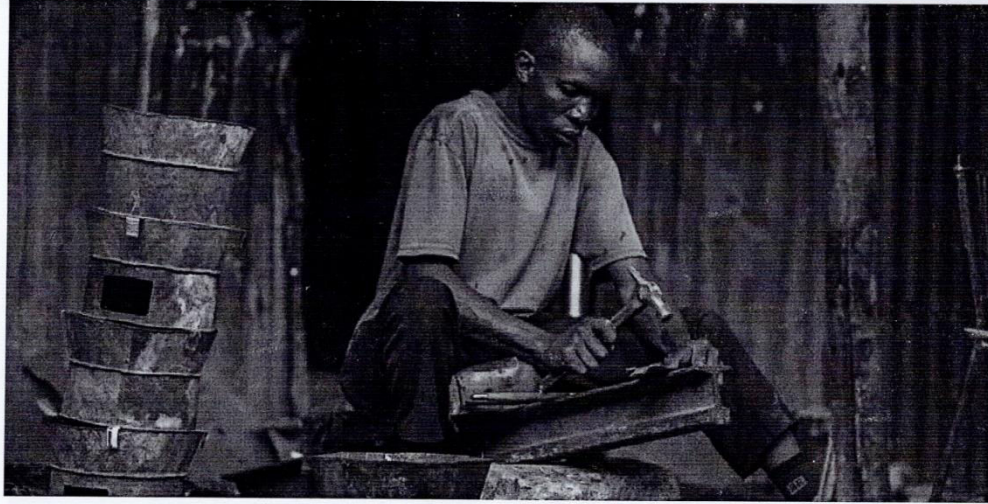
It is for this reason that the National Land Commission will be disbanded within three (3) months of forming government and replaced with a public-private Land Adjudicating corporation with membership from private companies selected at the state's discretion.

This Land Adjudication corporation will be in charge of zoning forests, ravines, game parks and nature reserves for relevant development programs as authorized by the Ministry for the Environment, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Labor and State Department for special programs and national development along with relevant Ministries and local authorities.

The Land Adjudication Corporation will also be responsible for classification, declassification and reclassification of protected lands from public development and sale to public/private development schemes.

Furthermore, legislation will be introduced to the Houses of Parliament seeking to outlaw the ownership of large land estates (10 acres and above) under single member/individual ownership without express permission – the decision on whether the ownership of large tracts is justified will be at the State's discretion. Such lands may be confiscated by the State for later distribution as may be determined by a caretaker committee appointed by the head of state and an advisory committee.

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3.2 Manufacturing, Trade and Jobs

3.2.1 Situation Analysis & Current Challenges

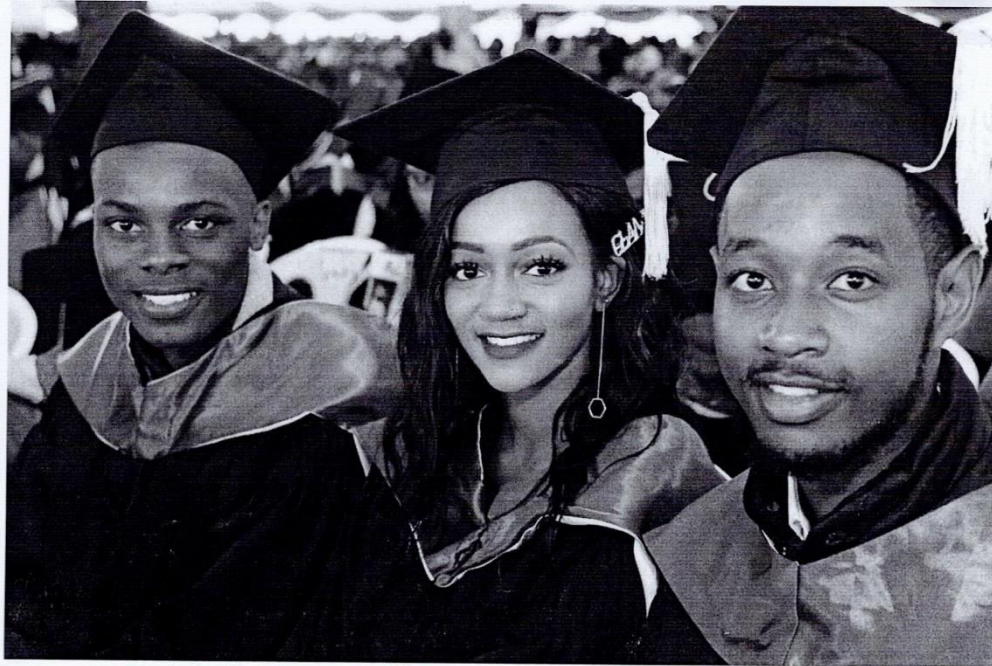
Majority of Kenya's work force is made up of hustler nation who are either employed in macro-corporations or small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). While this historically made up more than 70% of Kenya's work force, it has proven unsustainable in the long run with rates of unemployment particularly for youth, women and special interest groups on the rise over the previous administration.

Under our Hustler's government, classification of workgroups will be implemented to ensure that all possible vacancies in employment in both public and private institutions are registered with the government through the Ministry of Labor and all workers in Kenya will be registered with a government-recognized trade union and issued with a worker's union number for ease of tracking employment record and career progression.

The Hustler nation will also seek to formalize the previously informal employment sector through registration and appropriate taxation of Jua kali industry to include artisans, boda boda operators, salonists and stylists, hawkers and general traders and other persons employed as casual and day laborers within Kenya. Everyone in the Hustler Nation will be taxed to ensure they are contributing their fair share to the nation building effort.

Expanding the tax base is key to the Hustler Nation bottom-up approach to the economy. Large pockets of Hustler Nation remain untaxed and undocumented. Under our government, there will be no section of the economy that goes scot-free. We will use the extra moneys from this thorough taxation to service the nation's heavy debt load. There may also be opportunity to provide social protection for select groups to be determined at the State's discretion.

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3.2.2. Education Sector reviews

An Education and Employment Committee will be commissioned within six (6) months of forming government to ensure students from historically marginalized areas have 100% transition from institutions of higher learning into employment in both formal and informal employment sectors. By the year 2027, we envision to absorb all graduates from historically marginalized areas into the work force. This policy is in line with our Kenya Kwanza philosophy of “farasi angoje punda”.

This policy draws from the conviction that some regions have lagged behind economically owing to education being concentrated in a few areas. For instance, most of the best schools in the country are concentrated around Nairobi and Central Kenya. Under our Kenya Kwanza

government, this discriminatory state of affairs will change. We will see to it that higher bursaries are awarded to the marginalized area and an appropriate reduction in bursaries to already developed and educated areas. We will also focus on building more schools and oversee transfer of skilled human resource from the over-educated regions to the under-educated regions.

The Education and Employment Committee will also provide transition for nationalization of all universities, colleges and polytechnics under private ownership to public ownership and oversight by the Ministry of Education. This is so as to streamline education materials and standardization of testing across the board so that some graduates do not receive unfair advantage over those in public run facilities.

The Education and Employment Committee will conduct a survey of workers and employment in Kenya across public and private institutions and report on sectors with excess representation and those with below optimum recruitment. A corresponding survey will be conducted in institutions of higher learning.

Education programs with surplus supply of students (in excess of industry needs) will be culled with lower performing students being re-distributed to programs with deficient supply. Those education programs with no distinguishable demand in the employment market will be scrapped so as not to waste time of students who will be left with unusable qualifications. There is no need for students to waste their parents' money doing courses that are not marketable. Under a Hustler government, there will be strict focus on job-providing courses.

Beyond reforms to higher education, we shall also institute mandatory conscription of all Kenyans aged 18-20 into the National Youth Service within the first twenty four (24) months from forming government. The NYS is an integral institution in instilling discipline and the spirit of public service into the youth and its temporary disbandment and partial re-introduction was a severe break in Kenya's nation building and moral reinforcement.

In the first phase of recruitment, all Kenyans aged 18-20 will be required to participate in two (2) years mandatory enlistment where they will provide nation building services in

major development projects such as construction, civil relief intervention, urbanization and beautification and public infrastructure expansion projects.

In the second phase of enlistment, all tertiary education level leavers (form 4 leavers) will be transitioned first into NYS for two years mandatory service before placement in Higher Learning institutions or further employment.

Kenyans who fail to meet the cut off points for enrolment into higher education will be absorbed into the National Police Service.

3.2.3. Free Market Liberation, Hawkers rights and Regulation Review

Majority of Kenyans rely on hustler nation operated sellers, a.k.a. hawkers and market vendors for their day to day needs. This is an incredibly rich, untapped source of taxation. As it is, hawkers are practically operating in the black market, as they are both undocumented and untaxed.

Effective upon assuming office, all hawkers and vendors will be required to register with the Kenya Revenue Authority and will be assigned identification numbers that will be for the purposes of tracking their compliance or noncompliance in paying taxes or following set regulations.

Special trader zones will be created within every major town and city in Kenya for hawkers to ply their trade. Each hawker will be assigned a stall

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APPENDIX 9: AGANO PARTY MANIFESTO

SPEECH & FORWARD

1. Good afternoon Kenyans.
2. As we say here in Kenya:
 - This is the day that the Lord has made and we shall be glad and rejoice in it.
 - God is good, All the time and All the Time, God is good and this is His nature.
3. I welcome you to my Manifesto Launch with my Running mate and also on behalf of Agano Party.
4. We plead with you and apologize a little because we could not and have not taken you to Bomas for this launch, Kasarani stadium or Kenyatta Convention Centre (KICC). The truth is, we could not afford. Even this venue, a volunteer met the cost for us. We are different. We are not state sponsored and are not using tax payers funds nor are we being sponsored by interest groups that want to mess our youth.
5. On 12th December, 1963, we, the nation of Kenya, gained our independence from colonialists. This is Fifty nine (59) years ago.
6. Like any other country which obtained its independence then and now, our founding fathers and mothers had great dreams and visions for this country, that Kenya would be a nation of justice, peace, justice, plenty and unity and all above would be tied at the hip by integrity. These English words easily translate into Kiswahili as a nation/nchi of UHAKI, UMOJA, UNDUGU, USAWA, UTAJIRI na UWAZI/UKWELI.
7. But Alas, 59 years after independence, this Kenyan Dream remains but a phantom, a hollow dream, a mirage.
8. Let me explain, 59 years of independence, we have the following experiences:
 - i) a high a cost of living as we have never experienced before,
 - ii) such high prices of essential foodstuff in difficult economic times as we are going through,
 - iii) such level of unemployment,
 - iv) and last but not least, such a high external debt.

THESE ARE OUR PLEDGES TO THE PEOPLE OF KENYA
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9. This state of affairs has led to such hopelessness, anger, depression, ill-health, insecurity, deaths and such oppression, cries and sorrows as were experienced by the children of Israel while in captivity in Egypt or Misri as it then was, as recorded in the Biblical Book of Exodus, Chapter 3.
10. How did we get here and where is here:
11. By our own estimates as a Presidential Candidate and our party, we think that:
 - a) In the last 5 years, Kenyans we have lost from corruption, both hard and soft corruption about Kshs.10 trillion. This is enough to pay the Chinese loan!
 - b)This in 10 years translates to 20 trillion
 - c) If you consider that the same leaders that are spearheading and leading my competition, whether they are doing so from the front, the middle or the back room, are the same faces that were in our government 20 years ago, then we consider that our Kshs. 20 trillion loss minimum would have been the same amount lost in the Coalition and in the past.
 - d) This gives a total loss in the last 20 years of about 40 trillion shillings.
12. Hang on there, we will tell you how we have arrived at this estimate figures arising from what Kenya has lost per day for the last 20 years.
13. How else did we get here? Kenya's and Kenyan's wealth stashed abroad, another very big elephant in the room!
14. In or about 2017/18, it was widely reported by reputable international groups and organizations, that wealthy Kenyans were hiding more than Kshs. 15 trillion in foreign banks. This again is twice the foreign or Chinese loan of Kshs.8.2 trillion
15. In his 2017/18 budget statement, the then treasury Secretary, Henry Rotich round about then gave Kenyans amnesty to return that money. To date we have never been told whether, that money was ever returned.
16. That wealth stashed abroad has been severally described as "black money" "ill-gotten trillions," money that has undercut productivity and development in Kenya", amount exceeds Kenyans annual budgets of Kshs.3.3. trillion by almost 10 times, illicit funds.

17. If in 2017/18, it was 15 trillion, we argue that five(5) years after the funds abroad is probably is Shs.20 trillion in year 2022. You know secrecy, absence of UWAZI and UKWELI have been the manner and method of our leaderships
18. If you add this Shs.20trillion to the other daily losses of Shs.40trillion, it is not too remote to estimate that our country has lost about Kshs.60 trillion in last 20years
19. Remember, these last 20-30years are the years when our competitors have been in power and years of mega scandals, such as: KEMSA, NYS, SGR, GOLDENBERG, EUROBOND, TRITON, CEMETRY, ANGLO-LEASING, AFYA HOUSE, CHICKENGATE, FIGHTER JET, NCPD, GRAND REGENCY, TURKWELL HEP STATION, NAVY SHIP, MAHINDRA, MAIZE, JAPAN SCANDAL, KIDERO, HELICOPTER SERVICING CONTRACT, HUSTLERS JET, RUARAKA LAND, KAREN LAND, LAPTOP TENDER and the list goes on.

Many years ago, a young man went out into a battlefield and found the warriors of his nation cowering at the sight and sound of a giant enemy who had been terrorizing them for days. Although he had been sent on a different mission, the young man dared to ask why there was no action on the battlefield. When he learnt of his army's predicament, he went out on a limb. With no prior military training, with no soldier's armour, and with NO FEAR, he confronted the giant. Armed only with a slingshot and a stone, David dared the Philistine. He promised that he would kill the Philistine and feed his flesh to the birds. And with the first stone from his artillery of 5, David felled the giant.

Today, I stand here with the same faith, the same resources and the same commitment. When we started our preparations for the elections on 9th August 2022, there were 59 of us. Today, I stand proudly as one of the only 4 candidates who has been cleared to run for 5th President of the Republic of Kenya. Of these 4 candidates, 2 of them have fought in Kenya's army (Government) before. They have had opportunity to slay the giant – the Goliath called corruption. The other one has who is more of a joker than a leader is in the intelligence, because one never retires from intelligence. Kenyans do not quite know who he is and his relationship with the other two of my competitors. As Kenyans, we have waited in faith for almost 60 years – for the liberation of our nation from the snares of corruption.

Today, I – David Mwaure Waihiga – stand here with my faith, my slingshot and my stone. I stand here with my experience with Kenya's legal and political system to launch the political manifesto that I believe will slay the giant, deliver Kenya and shepherd our beloved nation into a new and greatly anticipated destiny. I am different from the others. The Bible and I believe other Books state the same, refer to a leader of a nation as a shepherd.

In Psalms 78:72, it is recorded that David shepherded the Nation of Israel with integrity of heart and skillful hands. The unfortunate thing is looking at losses and scandals above, our leaders have stolen from the sick (KEMSA), from the poor (NYS) etc. Instead of shepherd leaders we have heard wolves leaders and these want to recycle themselves.

When we founded Agano Party in 2006, we founded it on the principles of upholding godliness as required by God our creator. Agano – the Swahili name for covenant – is drawn from God's model of relating to human beings. Relationship by covenant. Agano respects and acknowledges God as the centre of all good that the Agano government shall seek to achieve.

Last month, Kenya's Senate approved the revision of our debt ceiling upwards – once again, to 10 trillion shillings. In a country with a working population of approximately 17.4 million people, that is a whopping KES 574,713 per person. An astronomical figure, by any estimation. Why are we here? We are here because we have failed to do what God wants. We have:

- Systemized corruption – and allowed our leaders to pledge to root out corruption, without holding them to account
- We have turned a blind eye on scandals – and allowed leaders who can make a phone call, to let their participation in scandals be swept under the carpet
- We have allowed wastage – because we have continued to elect the same leaders even when they have exhibited poor stewardship of resources
- We have resigned ourselves to disappointment – when we have heard that our leaders have trillions stashed away in foreign bank accounts
- We have accepted bureaucracy a way of life – even when we know that it is this very bureaucracy that feeds the giant called Goliath
- We have systemized impunity – because our leaders have lived without accountability – and we have elected them. Over and over again.

THESE ARE OUR PLEDGES TO THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

I feel that we have been circling the same mountain for 59 years, and I am convinced that now is the best time to break the cycle – break the covenants that do not serve our nation and reestablish God's covenant with Kenya. I present myself as a steward of:

- Kenya's prophetic destiny – to steward us towards progressiveness
- Kenya's people – to steward them towards productivity
- Kenya's resources – to foster prosperity

Over the years, Kenyans have listened to many aspiring leaders make pledges that they do not know how to, do not intend to and DO NOT deliver. Over the past few weeks, I have listened to the manifestos of my competitors, and I have examined their pledges. My greatest question is, how will they do it? In a country already heavily burdened by debt, how will they bring in new money to pay their pledges to households with insufficient income? How will they root out corruption when they have been in the system – in different governments and did not do it then?

Today, in keeping with Agano's outlook since 2006, I will share – not my pledges, but our party's covenants to the people of Kenya.

Kenyans, we bring you the real change. Badilisha viongozi, Badilisha uongozi, Badilisha Kenya. Make Kenya a great and safe place to work and live.

I bring you the BADILISHA manifesto. This is the real solution. BADILISHA is about starting from a clean slate. Our country is under attack by the vicious termites of corruption. We have heard three Manifestos so far; the Rt. Hon. Raila Odinga, Deputy President William Ruto, and the Bangi, Snake, and Hyena Rubbish. However, all these manifestos are a big miss. Our country is under siege by a powerful and shameless cabal of thieves. In any sector we wish to change, we must deal with the thieves there. In Education, the thieves lost over 50 billion shillings last year. A further 100 billion, in modest terms, is lost to corrupt networks. We lose a further 240 billion shillings to corruption in the agricultural sector. Four trillion shillings are illegally laundered in Kenya annually. The thieves have hidden 5 trillion shillings abroad. Generally, it is said that close to 1.5 trillion

shillings is lost to corruption annually. Fellow Kenyans, the money is there. It is being stolen left right and center. And those who are stealing are your leaders. That is why their manifestos are silent on corruption. The Badilisha manifesto will drain the SWAMP! This is the Badilisha Manifesto. Every leader has a mission for his people. I, bwana Badilisha, will fix this nation. This is the real deal. My competitors have come out with bags of goodies. Kenyans have been promised mountains of money for this and that. However, all this is useless unless we cut the head of the snake swallowing our wealth. This snake is corruption! I will be that leader, nitamaliza hii kitu.

1. **STOP MONEY LAUNDERING.** 4trillion shillings are laundered by criminals in Kenya every year. Any illegal money that comes into this country will be become government property. Two billion shillings is lost every day. This comes up to 5 trillion shillings lost to thieves in and out of government. Corruption is the biggest and most profitable industry by our political leaders. I will stamp it out and return the wealth to “Wanjiku”
2. **Agriculture:** I will stamp out corruption in agriculture. Today we cannot grow enough food to feed ourselves. The president will be the minister of agriculture. This will be effected through constitutional changes. Badilisha will clean the mess that is the ministry of agriculture. I will:
 - (i) All ministry of agriculture employees will be vetted. This will include former Ministers, Permanent Secretaries, and Parastatal boards.
 - (ii) I will ban the importation of basic food commodities like maize, rice, meat, eggs, edible oils, and any other locally grown food. This will guarantee **maximum guarantee returns** for farmers. We will eat our own food first.
 - (iii) Arid and Semi-Arid areas will receive piped water for irrigation. In every county, I will establish special agricultural zones tailored along local potential.
 - (iv) The National Youth Service will be put to task growing food for the nation on government land.
 - (v) I will review and involve farmers in the marketing and value addition of produce including tea and coffee.
 - (vi) My government will move with speed to establish state fertilizer plants and ban the import of fertilizer, a gravy train for most politicians.

THESE ARE OUR PLEDGES TO THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

- (vii) State corporations like KTDA, KPCU, CEREALS board and others, will be run by directly elected representatives of farmers.

2. Health.

I will make sure that the wastage and corruption in the health sector comes to an end. I will terminate corruption inspired contracts in government. To this end:

- (i) My government will undertake a comprehensive audit of all running ministry of health contracts at the national and county levels, terminating all corrupt contracts and leasing agreements.
- (ii) I will conduct a lifestyle audit and vetting of all employees of NHIF. It is my belief that enough money can be saved in the fight against corruption in the health sector to provide free health to Kenyans. My government will hence subsidize NHIF contributions for every household Kenyan aged 18 and above.
 - (iii) My government will establish a National Health commission to tame rising health costs in both private and public institutions.

3. Education.

- (i) Roadside curriculum changes will come to an end.
- (ii) The Ministry of Education will be headed by an educational profession.
- (iii) I bring an end to the systematic meddling and strangulation of teachers unions by government.
- (iv) My government will guarantee free education at all levels, including significant tax breaks for firms that take fresh graduates for attachment and eventually employing them.
- (v) Free education from primary school to University will be complemented by a curriculum with appropriate skill sets at all levels of education.
- (vi) A moral component will be introduced in the curriculum.
- (vii) All teacher retraining and improvement will be done virtually at the cost of the government, where teachers will be digitally facilitated to undertake the refresher courses.

4. Justice, Law, and Order

- (i) My government will not only actualize the judicial fund, but ensure that it is adequate to fund the process of expeditious justice.

THESE ARE OUR PLEDGES TO THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

- (ii) All corruption cases will be handled expeditiously, within three months.
- (iii) The auditor general will be given prosecutorial powers.
- (iv) The ethics and anti-corruption court will also be given prosecutorial powers.
- (v) I will decongest prisons and improve the living and working conditions of correctional officers.
- (vi) I will ensure that the judiciary has the requisite manpower to conduct its core function, not limited to appointment of more judges magistrates, and ancillary staff.

5. Security

- (i) My government will ensure that promotions and remunerations in the National Police Service are driven by merit.
- (ii) I will improve the living and working conditions of our men and women in blue.
- (iii) My government will introduce comprehensive insurance cover for all our men and women in uniform.
- (iv) I will modernize our security forces to meet the challenges posed by emerging security threats, including terrorism and transnational crimes.

6. Youth and women.

- (i) I will introduce legislation to ensure that firms which employ youths and women get significant tax breaks, and are given priority when it comes to issuance of government tenders.
- (ii) My government will ensure that the corruption cartels gobbling up affirmative funds are rooted out and culprits prosecuted.
- (iii) I will ensure that laws are enacted that where the national assembly, after election, falls below the constitutional 1/3 either gender principle, the deficit will be filled from party lists as the case is with County Assemblies.
- (iv) My government will progressively work towards a merit driven youth and women affirmative program. The current situation where government affirmative actions are a preserve of relatives and lovers of the ruling elite will be past tense in my government.

7. Taxation.

2. Agano to the Family
3. Agano to Women
4. Agano to Youth
5. Agano to Persons Living with Disability
6. Agano to the County Governments
7. Agano to Workers
8. Agano to Business Owners
9. Agano to the Economy
10. Agano to Religious Institutions
11. Agano to the Environment
12. Agano to the International Community

I am convinced that Kenya has enough resources, willpower and the remarkable and invincible Kenyan spirit to triumph over everything that ails us, and to look forward with hope and commitment – to the achievements that we can attain together.

Badilisha kabisa clarion call-the 12 (Twelve) point People agenda.

Our clarion call is Badilisha Kabisa (total change)!

Let us change leadership, change how government works, change the laws and policies, “Badilisha Kabisa!”

Our covenant of change (Agano la mabadiliko) will thus be around the following key areas all of which have an impact on the family as demonstrated below



Agano Party's 12-Point Agenda

1. Our Pledge to the Family (Agano letu kwa Familia zote katika nchi ya Kenya)

- a) Create an office for the registrar of Families-Effective use of the data collected for the huduma number to refocus government planning to be family centered as opposed to individual centered planning
- b) Ensure that each registered family has at least one person who is employed
- c) Enhance Access to Health by:
 - a. Piecemeal UHC rollout based on disease and demography
 - i. Cancer, Accident victims & all forms of medical/non-elective surgery
 - ii. Waive medical bills for any person who dies in a government hospital
 - iii. Old persons above 70 years plus to access free medical services from Government institutions.
- d) Mandatory topic on Ethics and Environmental impact of every study/course being taught at all levels.
- e) We will incentivize religious organizations to lease out idle room capacity during weekdays for purposes of education.

THESE ARE OUR PLEDGES TO THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

- f) We will ensure the retention and re-entry of teenage mothers within the basic education system financed through the existing capitation budget in partnership with the media (carrying education content) and faith-based organizations (physical infrastructure)
 - g) We will make the security sector a place of pride to serve and a job that is highly esteemed by equipping it to serve more efficiently.
 - h) We will introduce community policing starting from the village council level.
- 2. Our pledge to the youth, Women & PWDs of Kenya (Agano letu kwa wanawake wote nchini Kenya)**
- a) Administratively implement the 2/3 gender rule in all appointive positions
 - b) Convene a bipartisan forum to champion implementation of the 2/3 gender rule in elective positions
 - c) Enhance AGPO reservation to youth, Women and PWDs quota to 40%
 - d) Sponsor legislative provision to make it mandatory for holders of substantive offices to have deputies from the opposite gender.
- 3. Our pledge to the Youth-Ibid**
- 4. Our pledge to PWDs-Ibid**
- 5. Our Pledge to the workers-Agano letu kwa wafanyikazi wote**
- a. General waiver of 50% PAYE
 - b. To cater to all, we will create a conducive environment for the private sector, individuals, and others to set up businesses thereby promoting entrepreneurship
- 6. Our Pledge to Businesses in Kenya**
- a) County and National government pending bills to be verified and converted to government bonds.
 - b) National government to check off pending bills bond payment from county disbursements
 - c) Local content bill to be enforced to ensure that all tenders below Kes1Billion are exclusively awarded to local companies
 - d) Enhance AGPO reservation limit from the current 30% to a high of 50%
 - e) Do away with the need for AGPO certificate
 - f) Do away with Tax Compliance Certificates for government tender application and empower all government agencies to make payments after deducting all taxes applicable.
 - g) Convene a tax reforms commission to simplify the tax laws in Kenya
 - h) Waive all tax penalties
- 7. Our Pledge on the Economy (Agano letu kuhusu Uchumi wa Kenya)**
- a) Move Asset Recovery Agency to the Presidency

THESE ARE OUR PLEDGES TO THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

- b) Devolve budgeting to the Village Councils as opposed to the Treasury or State House Budget office
- c) Go after the big fish of corruption and ensure they are subjected to the due process of the law
- d) Create a legal framework that will ensure Public Sector Audit General reports are prima facie evidence in abuse of office and misappropriation of funds.
- e) We will ensure the **Sh. 15 trillion stolen and stashed abroad is returned** to Kenya in consultation with all the concerned countries where these funds are.
- f) Village units will decide which projects they need the most and help in the choice of contractors to fulfill the same.
- g) Limit total loan repayments by government to Kes1 trillion. This will immediately release Kshs.350B to support government programs
- h) We will **urgently call for a meeting with our lenders to arrive at a fresh repayment plan** to ensure the country does not fall into debt distress.
- i) Make public all contracts with foreign entities starting with SGR, Nairobi Expressway, Mombasa, Lamu, Naivasha and Kisumu ports
- j) Devolve budgeting to the Village Councils-Anti thesis to Azimio' state house Budget office

8. Our Pledge to the Religious faiths

- a. We will Employ all clergy of registered churches as alternative dispute resolution officers in the same way as Kadhis
- b. Work towards a constitutional amendment to separate religion from state or cure the unequal treatment of religions by the 2010 constitution
- c. We will ensure KCCB/ NCKK/EAK/OAIC-K are members of the Nairobi Centre for Arbitration and designated chairs of this center
- d. All clergy from registered churches to be trained in alternative dispute resolution as government officers.

9. Our Pledge to the International Community

- a) Keep good international relationships
- b) Keep good regional relationships

10. Environmental Sustainability, Renewable Energy & Land Management

- a) Introduce a pollution tax users and manufacturers of any type of plastic item.
- b) Reserve garbage collection to companies owned by the youth groups in villages appointed by village councils

THESE ARE OUR PLEDGES TO THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

- c) KPLC to divest to distributing off-grid solutions like Solar & Wind turbines

11. Constitution

Respect and defend the constitution of Kenya 2010 and guard against attempts to mutilate it through un-procedural amendments

12. To the County governments-Agano letu kwa Ugatuzi

- a. Increase revenue allocation to counties to 40%
- b. Designate 10% of the 40% to go directly to the Village councils
- c. Convene a taskforce to study the possibilities of dissolving Nairobi County after this election so that post 2027 Nairobi governor be an appointee of National the president after elections and an automatic member of the cabinet

I, **David Mwaure Waihiga**, being the Presidential Candidate under Agano Party, do hereby pledge and commit to fully implement this manifesto as my promise to Kenyans.

Signed on this..... day of July 2022.

I, **Ruth Mucheru-Mutua**, being the Presidential running mate under Agano Party, do hereby pledge and commit to fully implement this manifesto as my promise to Kenyans.

Signed on this..... day of July 2022.

Agano Party Principles and value system

1. Agano party is founded on the principles of upholding godliness as required by God our creator.
2. Agano draws its name from God's model of relating to human beings. God-who is the source of all goodness and relates to human beings through a covenant –which is Agano in Swahili.
3. Agano thus respects and acknowledges God as the center of all good the Agano government shall seek to achieve.

Agano Party, our offer to and covenant with all the people of Kenya:

1. Uphold the sanctity of life from conception,
2. Uphold the sanctity of marriage between male and female



THESE ARE OUR PLEDGES TO THE PEOPLE OF KENYA

3. Uphold the family made of husband and wife or a single father or A single mother or a legally permitted guardian as the home of all children
4. Uphold the right of each family to enjoy a life of quality and believes that the quality of life of each family must be the core business of each activity of the government in power.
5. Uphold the right of families to worship as enshrined in the constitution and shall champion equal treatment for all legally registered religious societies in Kenya.
6. Bring meaningful change to the quality of life enjoyed by each family in Kenya.
7. Agano party is thus giving Kenyans a solemn covenant to change how government works and ensure the welfare of the family is the concern of each activity that the government undertakes. Each ministry or department and all government officials will have to show how their daily activities are improving the quality of life for the families in Kenya.
8. Indeed, our engagement with international partners shall stand guided by the same principle.

We pledge

1. To open up Agano Party to be the party of choice for aspirants aligned to Christian values
2. To ensure that Agano party becomes the political voice of the church to advocate, agitate and champion the inclusion and involvement of the church in government
3. To take and articulate the position of the church in important national and global issues of concern to Kenyan families.
4. That the Agano presidency will be a presidency of the people, by the people, and for the people.
5. To be the leadership that will slay corruption completely!
6. To bring money stashed abroad, to help pay off the stifling foreign debt.
7. To go for the big fish in corruption who have bled the country with impunity
8. To stop further public funds hemorrhage!
9. To top public sector resource wastage!
10. To put all funds recovered into productivity and development.
11. To ensure government services and delivery are felt right at the village Council level.
12. To ensure: Pesa Mashinani, Madaraka Mashinani!

APPENDIX 10 ROOTS PARTY MANIFESTO



THE FREEDOM MANIFESTO

TINGIZA MTI

THE 10 COMMANDMENTS OF FREEDOM

- I. WE WILL LEGALIZE BANGI**

ONE ACRE of Bangi= Ksh 16 million per year. Roots Party will make enough money from Bangi to pay off Kenya's DEBT in 1 year.
TAXES collected from Bangi will fund Kenya's ENTIRE BUDGET at Ksh 3.3 Trillion.
- II. WE WILL FARM SNAKES**

ONE test-tube of SNAKE POISON = Ksh 600,000/-, we will use snake farming to fund our EDUCATION budget.
- III. WE WILL EXPORT DOG MEAT**

ONE KG of dog meat is 6 TIMES MORE than the price of a kg of goat meat, Roots Party will LEGALIZE the export of DOG MEAT.
- IV. WE WILL HANG THE CORRUPT**

People found guilty of CORRUPTION and stealing public resources, will be sentenced to DEATH BY HANGING.
- V. WE WILL SUSPEND THE CONSTITUTION**

Parts of the CONSTITUTION that do not work will be SUSPENDED.
Roots Party will ask the people what they want.
- VI. WE WILL SHUT DOWN SGR**

In its place we will REVIVE the LORRY TRANSPORT system.
- VII. WE WILL WORK FOR 4 DAYS**

KENYANS will only work for FOUR DAYS in a 24-hour economy.
We will have a 3-DAY WEEKEND. Friday, Saturday and Sunday will be days of worship.
- VIII. WE WILL SHIFT THE CAPITAL CITY TO ISIOLO**

ISIOLO is at the CENTER of Kenya, and it has an INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT.
- IX. WE WILL CREATE 8 STATES**

Roots Party will create 8 REGIONAL STATES. Each will have a FEDERAL GOVERNMENT that will make decisions.

[Document correction](#)

FOREIGNERS have taken jobs that Kenyans can do. Roots Party believes in putting Kenyans first. Roots Party will DEPORT baseless foreigners in the FIRST 100 DAYS.

