

**FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE 2018 UHURU-RAILA  
HANDSHAKE DISCOURSE IN KENYA**

**BY  
JUDE ABADE**

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**DECLARATION**

This thesis is my own original work and has not been presented for award of degree in any institution.

**Jude Abade**

MA/FA/00004/017

Sign..... Date.....

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as the University Supervisors

**Dr. Pamela A. Oloo**

School of Arts and Social Sciences

Department of Linguistics

Maseno University

Sign..... Date.....

**Dr. Jackline Okello**

School of Arts and Social Sciences

Department of Linguistics

Maseno University

Sign..... Date.....

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to Nancy, my mother; Sarah, my wife; and children- Francis and Nancyangel

## ABSTRACT

In Kenya, the Uhuru-Raila handshake on 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 elicited diverse discourse. Both the print media and the populace were replete with the discourse on it. This particular handshake ostensibly surpassed the traditional social purview of handshakes as polite greetings. Its conceptualization by Kenyans definitely eluded the precinct of handshakes as greeting occurrences hence the extensive discourse on it. This necessitates an examination of its linguistic aspects by undertaking a functional linguistic analysis of the prevailing discourse on it in Kenya's print media and amongst Kenyans. The study objectives are to: examine how the print media exploits lexical choices to propagate concepts on the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse in Kenya, determine the relation between syntactic structures and social cohesion in the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse and evaluate the effect of the Uhuru-Raila handshake on the perception of Kenyans in the handshake discourse. The study was guided by Systemic Functional Grammar theory by Halliday (1975). The theory tenets are: the ideational metafunction, interpersonal metafunction and the textual metafunction (Halliday, 1975). The tenets were used in qualitative data analysis. The interpretation of lexical items was context based. Analytical research design was adopted in the study. Study population comprised 10 Bunge La Mwananchi (People's Parliaments) in Kisumu City, which was the bedrock of opposition politics in the 2017 general elections and 732 dailies covering the period between 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 and 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2019 (*The Daily Nation* and *The Standard Newspaper*). The research instruments considered were extraction guide and interview schedule. Validity and reliability of research instruments were guaranteed through pilot studies. Sentences and lexical items from the news reports and editorials from the dailies and responses from the respondents formed the units of analysis. Saturated sampling was used to arrive at 21 extracts from the editorial and news sections of the two dailies. Ten informants were arrived at through purposive sampling of the 10 Bunge La Mwananchi in Kisumu City. The findings were that the print media in Kenya purposely employed lexical choices to propagate diverse ideas on the handshake: agreement, conflict resolution, political co-operation, peace, harmony, attitudes, betrayal, reconciliation, threat, conspiracy, revenge, opportune moment to fight corruption, a license to form new political alliances, mitigation measure against political violence and economic growth on the Uhuru-Raila handshake; syntactic structures were intentionally configured to foster social cohesion in the country by the print media; and handshake has had significant influence on the perception of Kenyans on socio-political issues. The significance of the study are: handshake should be a key component in conflict resolution attempts in the future and the print media in any jurisdiction should intentionally configure sentences and exploit lexical choices to promote any matter of national interest.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>ANC</b>	-	Amani National Congress
<b>DN</b>	-	The Daily Nation
<b>IEBC</b>	-	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
<b>KANU</b>	-	Kenya African National Union
<b>NASA</b>	-	National Super Alliance
<b>ODM</b>	-	Orange Democratic Movement
<b>SN</b>	-	The Standard Newspaper
<b>SFG</b>	-	Systemic Functional Grammar

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background to the study**

The section comprises communication, discourse, Bunge La Mwananchi (People's Parliament), statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, justification of the study, scope of the study and theoretical framework. It generally provides a reflection of the knowledge gaps and focuses on the uniqueness of the study. It also outlines the context of the study in a brief manner.

This segment delves into details on the notion communication, discourse, Bunge La Mwananchi (People's Parliament), statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, justification of the study, scope of the study and theoretical framework.

#### **1.1.1 Communication**

Adler & Towne (1978) posit that "communication originates as mental images within a person who desires to convey those images to another" (p.1). Mental image is simply whatever idea that a speaker wishes to communicate to their target or perceived audience (Ibid). In a communication process, an individual who conveys the message to the target audience is referred to as a sender. The sender ensures that he/she delivers his/her message in forms that are intelligible to their audience (Ibid). The intelligible forms can be lexemes, pictorials, acoustic devices or sensory information. Meaning is usually embedded in the forms (Ibid).

The process of making messages intelligible is called encoding (Adler & Towne, 1978). Upon encoding, the sender sends the message to the receiver. This can be achieved verbally, in writing or through use of pictures and other non-verbal modes of communication like touch and gestures (Ibid). The receiver decodes the message immediately he/she receives it. This basically involves interpreting the message. If the

receiver's interpretation is consistent with that the sender meant, then communication is said to be effective (Ibid). Metts (2004) supports this assertion when he posits that "communication is based on a process in which messages, whether intentional or unintentional, create meaning." It follows that the role of a communication analyst is to immerse himself/herself in the communication process and assume the position of a receiver for him/her to correctly assign meanings to messages conveyed by the sender. It is in this light that the researcher assumes the role of a receiver in the communication process in order to decode messages conveyed by Kenyans in the handshake discourse so as to create meaning(s).

### **1.1.2 Discourse**

Carter (1993) provides three elucidations of the notion discourse. He first points out that discourse denotes the topics or forms of language employed in particular situations. In this regard, there could be religious discourse, social discourse among others. He further argued that the notion discourse is sometimes used to refer to that which is uttered whereas the term text is used to refer to that which is presented in writing. Nunan (1993) corroborates this view when he asserts that the notions are intertwined but are usually considered different. Tinceva (2015) asserts "many linguists maintain the distinction between the notion of text as a physical product and of discourse as a dynamic process of expression and interpretation" (p.16). Beaugrande & Dressler (1981, p.23) outlines the following qualities of text "cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality." Carter (1993) adds that discourse is any instantiation of language use in a natural setting. Trask (1999) further elucidates that discourse is not limited to a language user; any instantiation of language use constituting two or more individuals also merits being considered a discourse.

According to Schiffrin (1994), discourse is an autonomous linguistic unit that serves a specific function. Sentences are the fundamental constituents of discourse (Ibid). Discourses are usually categorized based on functions associated with them, for instance, religious discourse and social discourse (Ibid). Brown and Yule (1983) corroborate her view when they argue that discourse analysis is an attempt to investigate the specific language function. Van, Bongaerts, Extra, Van Os & Janssen-Van (1984) emphasizes the significance of context in the analysis of discourse. Adedun and Baidoo (2004) also argue that discourse exists in a definite context and carries meaning. Manusov and Milstein (2005) further acknowledge the importance of context in interpretive study when they contend that to do so “requires greater awareness (and framing) of the event itself and the cultural and political climates in which the media accounts are embedded”. As such, context becomes a key element in this study if it were to realise its objectives.

Crystal (1992) refers to discourse “as continuous stretch of, especially spoken, language larger than a sentence, often constituting a coherent unit such as a sermon, argument, joke, or narrative” (p.25). Adedun & Baidoo (2014) also suggest “that interviews be considered discourses since they are whole independent units.” The argument informs the current study that seeks to evaluate the impact of the Uhuru-Raila handshake on the socio-economic and political perceptions of Kenyans by carrying out informal interviews amongst the participants in the Bunge La Mwananchi (People’s Parliament) in Kisumu City in the western part of Kenya.

### **1.1.3 History of Bunge La Mwananchi (People’s Parliament) in Kenya**

Bunge La Mwananchi (BLM) is social organization that emerged in the 1990s in Nairobi. It offers ordinary people in towns a platform to deliberate on socio-economic and political issues in the country. The deliberations further inform the uniform decisions on such

issues. The very first BLM sessions were held at Jeevanjee Gardens at the point where Queen Victoria's statue is situated (Gachichi, 2014).

Bunge La Mwananchi social organization later spread to major towns such as Mombasa, Kisumu, Eldoret, Nakuru and Kakamega (Kimaru & Rasmussen, 2010). There is no permanent membership to People's Parliament and joining and participation rest upon an individual's willingness (Ibid). The deliberations on socio-economic and political issues in the country take place daily in the BLM (Ibid). As such, the Uhuru-Raila 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 handshake could not have escaped such deliberations. This makes Bunge La Mwananchi ideal for investigating the effect of the handshake on socio-economic and political perceptions of Kenyans in the handshake discourse. The current study focuses on handshake discourse in the Bunge La Mwananchi within Kisumu City in western Kenya. The city was seen as the bedrock of opposition politics in the 2017 general elections. It witnessed violent demonstrations in the 2017 electioneering period that saw several people killed or injured , roads blocked, tires burned on the streets, people of different gender sexually abused and life generally disrupted (Gathoni, 2018). The specific locations where there are BLMs in Kisumu City are Nyalenda, Manyatta, Kondele, Central Business District (CBD), Nyamasaria, Koyango, Kibuye, Mamboleo, Loves Bar and Car Wash. The participants in these BLMs are normally drawn from various parts of the city. This makes the BLMs heterogeneous organizations.

#### **1.1.4 An Overview of Kenya's 2017 Presidential Elections**

According to the Carter Center Report (2018) on Kenya's 2017 general and presidential election, the 2017 elections were held on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2017. The country's electoral body, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), officially released the outcome of presidential election on eleventh of the same month notwithstanding electoral malpractices alleged by National Super Alliance (NASA). Mr Kenyatta emerged the victor

with 54 percent and Mr. Odinga was second with 44.74 percent. On 18<sup>th</sup> August, 2017 Raila and NASA challenged the electoral process at the Supreme Court of Kenya. On 1<sup>st</sup> September, 2017, the court gave its verdict that invalidated the presidential elections. It cited an infringement on constitutional obligation in the tabulation that elections should be conducted in “simple, secure, transparent and verifiable” manner. It ordered for a fresh presidential election in sixty days time.

As per Carter Center Report (2018) on Kenya’s 2017 general and presidential election, the presidential rerun was scheduled for 26<sup>th</sup> October, 2017; however Mr. Odinga declared that he would not participate in the election on 10<sup>th</sup> October, 2017. His decision was informed by inadequate changes on the country’s electoral system and purported undue advantage that the incumbency would be accorded. He told his supporters not to participate in the election. His call was pervasive due to the ethnic nature of the political formations in Kenya. Kheri (2017) asserts that one of the major political problems in Kenya is mobilization hinged on ethnicity. His supporters heeded his call and this only served to fracture the country further. Nevertheless, the election was held although legitimacy issues arose. The IEBC pronounced Uhuru Kenyatta the victor with 98.27 and was sworn in on 28<sup>th</sup> November, 2017. Despite the swearing in of Uhuru Kenyatta, politically related violence never ceased. This put into jeopardy the operations of judicial system, media and civil society that expand democratic space in any jurisdiction. The country was deeply divided along political affiliations of the citizens. In a nutshell, the general ramification of the 2017 presidential election was a shattered social fabric in the country.

### **1.1.5 History of Handshake**

The origin of handshake can be traced to the 5<sup>th</sup> Century BC in Greece. It served as a mark of peace indicating that those involved were unarmed. In the Roman epoch, it entailed

seizing each other's hands to ensure they had no dagger in their sleeves (Andrews, 2016). In other words, the handshake was used to symbolize peace and security. Andrew (2016) further asserts that the handshake began AD 1000 to AD 1450 in Europe. Knights performed the handshake as a security measure to ensure the other person did not have harmful objects. Over time, shaking of hands evolved into polite greeting (Andrews, 2016).

Bremmer & Roodenburg (1991, pp.176-177) points out that:

*Shaking hands goes back to the sixteenth century at least. But its history is far from linear; from that century on an intriguing development ensued. The gesture was gradually displaced by more hierarchic ways of greeting or taking leave and even became polemical instrument in the hands of Quakers against all deference and worldly vanity. Then, as manners were relaxed, the handshake became popular again: first in England and possibly in the Dutch Republic, spreading later to France and later to Russia.*

Quakers embraced handshaking due to its simplicity that matched that of a Christian. They perceived handshake as a symbol of friendship and a sign of respect that can be displayed to man unlike head baring that they felt was to be accorded to God only. They also believed handshaking did away with social strata amongst them. Quakers' view mirrored Schiffrin (1978) opening handshakes between friends that cemented interpersonal relationship between individuals involved.

Schiffirin (1978) posits that handshakes play a key role in controlling and sustaining human interactions. She considered handshake as a sign of permission to occupy each other's personal space. Handshake thus conveys a message to the interactants. It can also initiate and propel social interactions between those involved. She further grouped handshakes into three categories: "opening handshakes, closures and collapse handshake." "Opening handshake" creates room for future interaction between those involved, for instance, an introduction between individuals who are interacting for the very first time. "Closures"

show that the interaction between parties involved has come to an end and also creates room for future engagement. “Collapse handshake” constitutes introduction and bidding bye at the same time such as handshakes between politicians and the mass in a political arena.

Schiffirin (1978) categorized the handshakes depending on the situational contexts. Nevertheless, the handshakes can also be classified based on the manner in which the shaking is done by the participants involved. This result into the following types: limp/wimpy cold fish, the bone crusher, the gratitude handshake, the sympathy handshake, the pumper and the gripper. The limp/wimpy cold fish handshake indicates that one is disinterested in the interaction. Such individuals tend to enjoy being by themselves. Bone crusher handshake indicates that one is out to make the other feel uncomfortable by exerting unnecessary pressure during the handshake with the aim of exercising authority over the other. Gratitude handshake involves placing hand on top of someone’s during the handshake. It is normally done to show appreciation for task well executed. The pumper handshake is done by moving the other’s hand quickly up and down. The gripper handshake takes place when an individual with whom one is shaking hands is hesitant to release the other’s hand. This handshake is viewed as an encroachment into one’s personal space by Hall (1959).

There are cultural variations in handshake, for instance, in South Africa handshakes may be light or firm depending on the individual one is shaking his hands. Individuals from rural set ups tend to use two hands while handshaking. In the handshake between men and women, men normally wait for women to initiate the handshake by extending their hands first. Handshakes may be accompanied by hugs if the handshakees know each other (Cultural Atlas, 2015). In Morocco, the handshakes are generally gentle and only people of the same gender shake hands (Gould & Cheng, 2018). In Kenya, holding right hand



with the left one while handshaking is a sign of respect for an elder or senior person (Scroope, 2018)

The handshake is near universal behaviour in western societies and sometimes constitutes social interaction (Hall & Hall, 1983). Chaplin, Phillips, Brown & Stein (2000) further opine that “handshaking is a common greeting behaviour and is often one of the first observations that individuals make of each other upon meeting” (p.1). The handshake, thus, may be a basis for some of the initial impression that an individual forms about another. Huwer (2003) adds that observers of handshakes can ascribe varied interpretations to the events and this validates handshakes as gestures that can convey numerous messages. Manusov and Milstein (2005) study of the 1993 Rabin-Arafat handshake revealed that the act of handshaking can represent peace, optimism and event’s legitimacy. It is in this light that the current study endeavours to discern social messages formulated by Kenyans on the 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 Uhuru-Raila handshake in their discourse on the handshake.

#### **1.1.6 The Uhuru-Raila 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 Handshake**

The Carter Center report (2018) on Kenya’s 2017 general and presidential election revealed that political violence went on in the country months after the elections. In order to change the ugly situation, the political elites were under obligation to give prominence to the interest of the nation at large by creating room for meaningful engagement and reconciliation and forfeiting their individual and party interests. On 30<sup>th</sup> January, 2018, Raila swore himself as the “People’s President” at Uhuru Park to the dismay of his co-principals in NASA and diplomats. This unfortunately worsened the already dire political situation and created rift within Raila’s NASA coalition (Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°136, 2018). Slightly more than a month later, Uhuru and Raila, the antagonists in the presidential election, held a secret meeting at Harambee House on 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018. The

meeting between them was a vital instant remedy to the political violence that marred the country (Crisis Group Africa Briefing N°136, 2018). The hallmark of this meeting was the handshake between the two. The handshake was a momentous phenomenon that elicited diverse discourse on the event both in the print media and amongst Kenyans. It is thus imperative to undertake a communicative analysis of the discourse on the handshake with a view to investigating exploitation of lexical choices in its representation; the handshake's effects on perceptions of Kenyans and relation between sentence structure and social cohesion in the discourse rendition.

### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Handshake is a universal greeting behaviour between individuals in a social situation. The handshake ceases to be an interpersonal activity when it is preceded by phenomena such as wars and political turmoil. In Kenya, the Uhuru-Raila handshake on 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 has elicited diverse discourse on the event both in the print media, particularly on news and editorial sections of the newspapers, and amongst Kenyans. This particular handshake ostensibly surpasses the traditional interpersonal social realm of handshakes owing to the diverse discourse around it. It is thus imperative to undertake an analysis of its discourse rendition to investigate mental images associated with the handshake by Kenyans who were polarized along political formations of at the moment; pro-NASA and pro-Jubilee. This necessitates an examination of the linguistic aspects pertaining to the handshake, especially lexical choices and sentence structures, in the prevailing discourse on it in the print media and amongst Kenyans with a view to finding conceptions formulated by Kenyans on the handshake, determining impact of the handshake on perception of Kenyans and assessing the role of the print media in promoting social cohesion in the textual rendition of the discourse on the handshake..

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The following questions guided the study:

- a) How do the print media exploit lexical choices to propagate concepts on the Uhuru-Raila handshake in Kenya?
- b) What is the relation between sentence structures and social cohesion in the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse?
- c) What are the effects of the Uhuru-Raila handshake on the perception of Kenyans in the handshake discourse?

### **1.4 Objectives**

The general objective is to determine ideas and perceptions emerging from the Uhuru-Raila handshake and to establish how social cohesion is built in the handshake discourse.

#### **1.4.1 Specific objectives**

- a) To examine how the print media exploits lexical choices to propagate concepts on the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse in Kenya.
- b) To determine the relation between sentence structures and social cohesion in the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse.
- c) To evaluate the effect of the Uhuru-Raila handshake on the perception of Kenyans in the handshake discourse.

### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

The findings of the study would give further insights into the interpretation of the handshake in political context and provide an insight to the media practitioners on the power of lexemes in shaping the behaviour of the general public especially after a tumultuous political phase.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The study confines itself to the phase between 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 and 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2019. This phase has been characterized by the discourse on the Uhuru-Raila handshake as the agenda in Kenya's media. Sentences that formed the primary data were extracted from the news reports and editorial segments of *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard Newspaper*. "Linguists are likely to break a discourse into sentences. There are no grammatical rules that would make one sentence construction dependent on another, hence, there would seem to be no need to consider units larger than that. Linguists would have little interest in a list of words" (Krippendorff, 2004, p.98). This was realized through the use of an extraction guide. In addition, participants in Bunge La Mwananchi (People's Parliament) in Kisumu city were interviewed to assist in achieving objective three of the study.

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

Modern linguistics can be looked at in two dimensions; formal linguistics and functional linguistics (Caffarel, 2006). Formal linguistics confines itself to language rules while informal linguistics views language as a resource (Ibid). Halliday (1978) referred to functional linguistic and formal linguistics as "inter-organism" and "intra-organism" perspectives respectively. The "inter-organism" dimension delves into language as a social activity while "intra-organism" deals with cognitive aspects of language as advanced by syntactic theories. The two major dimensions to language are complementary (Caffarel, 2006). Functional based grammar theories later emerged from formal linguistics (Caffarel, 2006). They include generative semantics in 1960s, formal theories that were semantically inclined like Phrase Structure Grammar and Lexical Functional Grammar in 1970s and Head Driven Phrase Structure in the 1980s (Ibid).

Prague School linguists such Vilem Mathesius are credited for starting interpretation of language function prior to World War (II) (Caffarel, 2006). They delve into "extrinsic

function” (general function of language) and “intrinsic function”-rules governing language structure (to use Martin (1990) terms). The major significance of “intrinsic functionality” is the focus on “textual” function (to use Halliday’s (1978) terminology). The Prague School advanced their work post World War (II) (Caffarel, 2006). The Prague School influenced works of many European functionalists: Andre Martinet (1930s), Simon Dik’s (1978), Dutch School of Functional Grammar and French Functionalists like Claude Hagège (1985) and Pottier (1992). Halliday’s Systemic Functional grammar was also influenced by the Prague School (Ibid). Systemic Functional grammar aped “meaning-based contextualism and systemic-structure” developed by J.R. Firth (1968) in the 1930s-1950s in Britain. The premise that context is key in determining meaning in language use is what distinguishes Systemic Functional Grammar from other language theories. The present study finds Systemic Functional Grammar Theory ingenious for this study and thus adopts it.

### **1.7.1 Systemic Functional Grammar Theory (SFG)**

The primary interest of Systemic Functional Grammar theory is in how language users produce messages to pass their intended meanings to their recipients. The theory has three central tenets: ideational metafunction, interpersonal metafunction and textual metafunction. These tenets are interdependent (Lin & Peng, 2006). Caffarel (2006) asserts the metafunctions allow for realization of diverse meanings: ideational helps in realization of human experiences through text, interpersonal enables realization of interpersonal functions through text and textual helps in realization of harmony between message conveyed through the text and situational context.

#### **1.7.1.1 Ideational Metafunction**

Language makes it possible to interact with diverse experiences of human beings through texts and clauses and specific lexicogrammar resources of any language are designed for

ideational metafunction (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The ideational function is premised on transitivity system. The basic unit that carries meaning in the transitivity system is the clause. The clause shows the ongoing, task being executed, the prevailing condition among others (Yumin, 2007). The transitivity system entails “six processes: material process, mental process, relational process, verbal process, behavioural process and existential process.”

Material processes show activities which are executed like digging, jogging and mopping (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The integral constituents of these processes are action verbs (like punish, clean, wipe), an actor (subject/doer) and goal (direct object). Actor is the doer of action. Goal is the direct object of the verb. For instance, *Sarah is cleaning the room*. Mental process indicates what we experience through our senses such as “perception” (view, observe), “reaction” (dislike, enjoy) and cognition (understand, recognize). The process has two constituents- sener and phenomenon. Sener is the participant who does the “sensing” whereas the phenomenon is what is sensed by the sener. For instance *I (sener) detest tribalism (phenomenon)*.

Relational process classifies and assigns identity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In this light, the process can be subdivided into two categories –“attributive clause and identifying clause”- which serve the aforementioned functions, respectively. The constituents of attributive clause are carrier and the attribute. On the other hand, the constituent of identifying clause are identifier and identified. For example, *A majority of Kenyans (Carrier) are Christians (attributive clause)* and *The continent is Africa (identifying clause)*. Verbal processes indicate what is uttered. Verbs such as lament, tell, claim, proclaim and say are often used. Its constituents are “sayer, receiver and verbiage” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). For instance, *John (sayer) told Mark (receiver) to clean the room (verbiage)*

Behavioural processes represent normal functions of human beings and what goes on in an individual's mind (like sleeping, yawning, frowning and contemplating) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Whoever undertakes what is represented in the process is referred to as the behavior. Existential processes indicate that an entity is present or available (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The entity that exists is referred to as an existent. For instance, *there is book on the table*.

Material process, mental process, verbal process and relational process are the prime processes in English language (Matthiessen, 2015). For the current study, the six processes were considered since they all communicate new messages and unfamiliar to the receiver. This involved identifying relevant clauses from the handshake discourse and grouping them accordingly as per the six transitivity processes and analyzing the clauses (data) in line with the constituents of the process types to determine the ideas formulated on the handshake and its perceptual impact. As the discourse on the handshake renders reactions, cognitions, perceptions and utterances on the handshake, words are inherent component of this process. As such, the researcher discerned the ideas and perceptual issues emanating from the handshake discourse using both interpersonal metafunction and ideational metafunction.

#### **1.7.1.2 Interpersonal Metafunction**

The interpersonal metafunction enables language users to perform certain tasks as they use language in their social interactions like making a request, imploring, pleading and commanding (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Zhuanglin (1988) adds that interpersonal metafunction indicates how language can be used to show social relations between interlocutors involved in any social interactions. Interpersonal metafunction is made clear through mood and modality.

Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) propose that “for an understanding of the range modal meanings in a language to be achieved, there must be an understanding of the diachronic development of modal elements” (p.177). They divided modality into the following categories: “epistemic, agent-oriented, speaker-oriented and subordinating” (Bybee et. al, p. 177). Epistemic modality entails possibility and probability. There is also inferred certainty which is used when a speaker justifiably believes a statement is true. For example, *there must be someone at home*. Subordinating clause refers to “the use of modality in subordinate clause” (Haan, 2004, p.8). For example, *although she was tired, she managed to complete the task*. Agent-oriented modality is where the agent is influenced by either internal or external circumstances to perform a task (Haan, 2004). Examples of this modality are obligation (*all students must sit end term exams*), necessity (I need to take lunch), ability (*she can sing*) and desire (*they want to go home*). Speaker-oriented modality refers to where a speaker gives an order or permission for an action to be executed (Haan, 2004). It includes “directives, imperatives, prohibitions (negative imperatives), optatives (wish and hope), admonitions (warnings) and permissions” (Haan, 2004, p.8)

“Mood is the morphological verbal category which expresses the modal value of the sentence. It is the grammaticalized expression of modality, just as, tense is the grammaticalized expression of time” (Haan, 2004, p.12). Some of the moods are: indicative mood (is used for real events that have occurred or are ongoing) for example, *she has left for home*; subjective (is used for events that may, will or should take place), for example, *she will go home tomorrow*; and imperative mood is used to give direct command), for example, *Go home!* (Haan, 2004)

Interpersonal metafunction was considered alongside ideational metafunction in handling objective two of the study that focused on how sentence structures would foster social



cohesion in the handshake discourse. Relevant clauses were identified and grouped into six processes within ideational function. Thereafter, the structure of each clause was analyzed according to theme position, processes inherent in the verb phrase and rheme position to determine how social cohesion is enacted through the clauses.

### **1.7.1.3 Textual Metafunction**

Textual metafunction does not serve any specific functions in as far as language use is concerned. However, it makes it possible for ideational and interpersonal metafunctions to be realised since it enables creation of coherent and cohesive discourse through which both ideational and interpersonal functions become realities (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). “Cohesion is a syntactic organization where sentences are arranged in an integrated manner to produce discourse, both in terms of grammatical levels and certain lexical levels” (Latifah & Triyono, 2020, p.6). Halliday & Hassan (1976) argue that elements of cohesion can be categorized into two; grammatical cohesion and lexical cohesion. Elements of grammatical cohesion include “reference, substitution, ellipsis and conjunction” (p.4). Elements of lexical cohesion include “synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms, repetition and equivalence” (p.4).

Coherence is the semantic relation between parts of the discourse. There exist two types of coherence, namely the signified coherence, and non-signified coherence (Baryadi, 2002). “The signified coherence is the semantic connection between the parts of the discourse whose expression is marked by conjunction. Whereas, the non-signified coherence is the semantic relationship between parts of a discourse that is not textually marked but can be understood from the relations between the elements” (Baryadi, 2002. P.34). There cannot be any language use without the inclusion of textual metafunction since it breathes life into a discourse (Zhuanglin 1988). It is possible to distinguish texts based on textual harmony despite similarities in ideational and interpersonal metafunctions (Ibid). We can

only share our human experiences and engage in meaningful social interactions with others when language is used as a text. Text creates harmony between language use and its context of usage (Ibid). As such, the textual metafunction was not used in handling any specific study objectives but rather considered key in identifying relevant discourses for the study.

#### **1.7.1.4 Chapter summary**

The chapter has exhaustively delved into communication, discourse, Bunge La Mwananchi (People's Parliament), statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, justification of the study, scope of the study and theoretical framework.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents already existing literature that is related to the present study. It is intensive and extensive since it serves to situate the study within the larger context of investigation. It is organized into the following sub-sections: contextualized concepts derived from the handshake, sentence structures and social cohesion and handshake and perception.

#### 2.2 Contextualized concepts derived from handshakes

Fieschi (2016) posits that the handshake between Prince William and the Indian Prime Minister, Narendra Modi; where the imprint of Modi's grip on Prince's hand once retracted left white marks that remained for a little too long represented a number of abstract concepts. *The Times of India* reported that Modi was "strong of heart." Others directly referred to this as sign of his "reproductive fitness" and *Daily* suggested that Indians like the fact that their Prime Minister is "tactile." The Indians significantly used positive adjectives to describe their Prime Minister's grip on the Prince. This gave their Prime Minister positive attributes. Their conceptualization of the event gave their Prime Minister a more positive evaluation than the Prince. The individuals involved in this handshake are prominent political figures in their respective countries, Britain and India. The countries have never experienced any form of violence and are not in opposition to each other. The present study endeavours to investigate further other lexical items employed by Kenyans to highlight underlying concepts in the Uhuru-Raila 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 handshake discourse that was preceded by a political violence at intranational level, amongst Kenyans.

Fieschi (2016) further opines that in the *Gulf Times* the handshake between Prince William and Prime Minister Narendra Modi was perceived as an aggressive gesture, a ‘death grip’ designed to affirm not only fitness, but superiority: a display of aggressive masculinity designed to highlight the meekness of a pale and sunburnt Prince; and, more obviously politically, a turning of the tables in terms of power. Power issues cannot be ignored where politicians are at the core of a phenomenon. In the particular handshake, Prime Minister Modi is perceived as one out to prove he is superior to Prince William. This study has borrowed from the study and attempts to look at how both President Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga are perceived across the political divides in the country after the handshake in line with the power issues.

According to Gumperz (1982), frames “enable us to distinguish among permissible interpretive options ... [and the] typifications reflected in ... interpretive frames derived from previous interactive experience are the foundations of the practical reasoning processes on which we rely in the conduct of our affairs” (pp. 21–22). Manusov & Milstein (2005) add framing is the universal way of interpreting texts. The manner a text or discourse is presented is key in order to discern possible interpretations inherent in them. This is deemed important and the researcher seeks to investigate underlying ideas on the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse based on Systemic Functional Grammar theory.

Burgoon (1991) asserts that handshake conveys formality and receptivity/trust. She carried out experiments to investigate the following: “What relational message interpretations are associated with the nonverbal variables of touch, proximity, and posture?”; “Which forms and levels of these nonverbal variables function to produce similar interpretations?” and “How communicator and relationship characteristics moderate interpretations?” In a nutshell, the participants involved are perceived as exercising some sense of decorum. The present study moves a step further to investigate how context of the handshake

influence the perception of formality issues. The Uhuru-Raila handshake was preceded by violent political confrontations between Jubilee and NASA supporters in the country, Kenya.

Schiffrin (1981) postulates that handshake can be a public gesture of reconciliation. It signals a renewal of the mutual access which had been disturbed by the occasion of disagreement. In other words, handshake may simply represent a restoration of friendly relations. This is particularly true about the parties involved in the handshake. This study finds this significant and moves a step further to investigate whether a political gesture such as handshake between political antagonists that was preceded by chaotic elections also translates into reconciliation amongst their followers or otherwise in a country, in this case, Kenya.

The handshake is an instance of what Watts (1992) referred to as a social behaviour that is predetermined by a social group whose objective is to place individuals involved in it at the same social level. Watts' assertion is important to this study since it seeks to establish the social impressions assigned to the two leaders post the handshake across the political divides. In particular, the social impression assigned to President Uhuru by NASA followers and to Raila Odinga by the Jubilee followers and Kenyans at large. This study embraces the ideational metafunction, a tenet of Systemic Functional Grammar, towards this end.

Chaplin et al. (2000) opine that "handshaking is a common greeting behaviour and is often one of the first observations that individuals make of each other upon meeting." This is in reference to the opening handshake where either of the parties can make positive or negative evaluation of the counterpart as shy, committal, non-committal, extrovert and so forth. They carried out an experiment and their findings were: first and foremost, there is a

direct co-relation between an individual's handshake and their personality. For instance, those with firm grip handshake are considered gregarious, open-minded, confident and courageous. Second, their study also revealed that it is only in women where there exists a direct co-relation between a firm handshake and open-mindedness. Women who are open-minded tend to have a firmer handshake than those who are not. Their findings were exclusive to the impression of the parties involved in the handshake. This research deviates from their study by looking at the impressions formed by groups that are not involved in the handshake, in particular, both President Uhuru and Raila's supporters and Kenyans at large.

A handshake may predict whether someone will show up for their next appointment with you or not (Bernieri et. al., 2011). In other words, the handshake may indicate one's level of commitment to a task that has been co-initiated. Huwer (2003) argues a firm handshake is normally witnessed between individuals who have agreed on a particular thing. The consensus that exists between individuals unconsciously compels them to focus more on their interaction. President Uhuru Kenyatta and ODM leader Raila Odinga engaged in a closed door meeting at Harambee House, the President's office, which culminated into the nine point agenda as the components of their memorandum of understanding that were symbolically crowned by the handshake. This study finds earlier studies significant and seeks to investigate whether supporters of both President Uhuru Kenyatta and ODM leader Raila Odinga are also committed to the handshake or not.

The findings of Manusov & Milstein (2005) study of 1993 Rabin-Arafat were that "the handshake represented peace, optimism, legitimacy of the process and those involved in it, agreement, violence, betrayal and emotions or attitudes" (p.9). They noted that the representations are not universal but contextualized and the meanings were distinct in every text. The wider scope ascribed to the handshake, specifically on the representation

of emotive responses, mirror how media can reveal to the mass the diverse interpretations that can be given to a particular phenomenon of a major public interests (Manusov & Milstein, 2005). This study has borrowed heavily from their study. Both handshakes were preceded by violence though at different levels. The Rabin-Arafat handshake was preceded by international conflict between Israel and Palestine whilst the Uhuru-Raila handshake was at intranational level between NASA and Jubilee supporters. The current study moves a step further by investigating what handshake represents at intranational level.

### **2.3 Sentence structure and social cohesion**

Hall (1883) as cited in Briggs and Cobley (1989) notes that representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. He asserts representation involves a deliberate effort to choose lexical items and organize language structures with the sole purpose of presenting a definite meaning. Jarongo (2008) adds that other than language being a means of expressing ourselves, it is also a device for influencing our perception of the events in the society. Umeogu and Ifeoma (2012) further delve into this when they state that representation brings human beings to reality and language makes this possible. One understands their real world through images, texts and signs. Cheeseman, Lynch & Wills (2014) assert that in 2013 elections in Kenya, media was offered guidance on “setting agenda right, avoiding words that are alarming, and (ensuring that) different voices are given an opportunity to speak” (p.12). By avoiding alarming words, the media used words that promoted peace in the country. This measure was ingenious in containing violence in 2013 elections. This study moves a step further to examine how the media, in particular, print media has attempted to promote unity amongst Kenya in presentation of handshake discourse being acutely cognizant of the animosities that characterized the 2017 elections.

Hudson as cited in Jarongo (2008) argues that “language creates the reality it seeks to describe and it is a way of representing the world” (p.28). He adds that the way language represents the world has an impact on how we perceive things. Therefore, the way we use language reflects on our habits and ideologies. As we put grammar into intentional use, we display our attitude and perform certain acts like vindicating others, blaming others for certain occurrences and bringing to the fore feature of particular phenomenon. If certain grammar of a language is consistently manipulated in a particular way, then it is likely to have an impact on the perception of listeners or readers. Wells (1986) supports Hudson’s argument when he says that through imagination, words are made richer and the arrangement of words into different patterns could influence a people’s world view. In 2013, the media deliberately left out contentious messages that could not conform to call for patience, calm and peace and this guaranteed the peaceful elections in the year (European Union Elections Observation Mission, 2013). In this regard, this study moves a step further to determine whether social cohesion is fostered by the print media in Kenya in the textual representation of the handshake discourse or otherwise.

#### **2.4 Handshake and perceptions**

Fieschi (2016) asserts that handshake can be taken as punctuation, as a pause, a significant moment of time imbued with significance. The 81-seconds handshake that occurred in Singapore between President Ma Ying-jeou of Taiwan and Xi Jinping of China is a perfect illustration of crucial political punctuation. By breaking records in terms of its length, the handshake between the two leaders, marking the first meeting between the two countries in 70 years, literally marked time. As cameras flashed and captured the awkwardness of the extended gesture, so did the likelihood of violence between the two countries recede. A denominator between the aforementioned handshake and the Uhuru-Raila handshake is that both were preceded by violence. The violence between China and Taiwan was at the



international level whereas in Kenya the violence was intranational between political antagonists, Jubilee supporters and NASA supporters, the main political coalitions at the time. There is therefore the need to investigating the perceptual impact the Uhuru-Raila handshake has had on Kenyans at intranational level.

When Iranians' President Hasan Roahani refused to meet former American President, Barack Obama, for a handshake; American experts termed the event a "historic non-handshake." They argued that possible future negotiations were severely destroyed by the non-handshake (Landler, 2013). In this respect, a handshake creates conducive environment for negotiations between parties involved in the act, especially the leaders. Schroeder, Risen, Gino, Norton (2014) support Landler's argument when they posit that handshaking positively influences co-operation and minimizes antagonism thus significantly impacts on the outcomes of negotiations. Handshaking positively influences the outcomes of integrative negotiations with shared outcomes by promoting openness amongst negotiators. Similarly, during distributive negotiation that is characterized with unequal information, handshake improves on honesty and leads to a fairer agreement. The current study moves a step further to investigate whether the same could be said about the subjects of the leaders involved or the observers of the phenomenon. This makes the present study significant as it seeks to investigate whether the Uhuru-Raila handshake led to the settlement of political differences between their followers; the Jubilee and NASA supporters.

Individuals who observe others perform a handshake in a business environment normally evaluate the association that is evident between the parties involved positively (Dulcos, Sung, Argo, Flor, Henry, 2012). The study indicated that handshake signifies a cordial relationship in a business environment. The current study deviates from the previous one by seeking to identify the perceptions that emanate from a political handshake like the

Uhuru-Raila handshake amongst their followers and the citizenry at large who might be apolitical post a divisive electoral process. There is evidence that handshaking significantly contribute to trust and formality in relationships (Burgoon, 1991). Burgoon's finding is exclusively about the relationship between the individuals directly involved in the handshake itself. The current study moves a step further by attempting to investigate the impact a handshake could have on the relations between the followers of once antagonistic political leaders within a country, especially after violent political confrontations.

A handshake that comes before an interaction between individuals normally has a positive impact on how the interactant view each other and significantly boost their interests to engage each other (Dulcos, Sung, Argo et. al., 2012). In this regard, a handshake is an impetus to social interaction between the parties involved. The present study seeks to find out if the same could be said about the social interaction between individuals who have close ties with those involved in the handshake. This therefore makes the present study important as it endeavours to investigate the influence the Uhuru-Raila handshake has had on the social interaction amongst their political followers.

## **2.5 Chapter Summary**

The chapter has extensively reviewed existing literature under the sub-headings, contextualized concepts derived from the handshake, sentence structures and social cohesion and handshake and perception. The knowledge gaps emanating from the literature review have been highlighted through the chapter.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The chapter focuses on research design, area of study, study population, sampling and sampling technique, data collection methods, validity and reliability, data analysis and ethical consideration.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

The study embraced the analytical research design. Kosterec (2015) asserts that the analytical design is used to collect and make clear information that is already available in known sources of information. Wayne and Stuart (2004) add that analytical research make use already available data and analyze them to make critical judgement data. The design was thus suited for this study since it was based on data extracted from the two leading newspapers in Kenya- *The Daily Nation and The Standard Newspaper*- in addition to data collected through interviews.

#### **3.3 Area of Study**

This was both a library and field research. The library research focused on the newspaper coverage of the discourse on the Uhuru-Raila handshake in Kenya. The focus was on national news and editorial sections of the two major dailies in the country- *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard Newspapers*. The news reports and editorials constituted the context units. “Context units are units of textual matter that set limits on the information to be considered in the description of recording units” (Krippendorff, 2004, p.116). The GeoPoll’s Media Measurement Service (2018) revealed that *The Daily Nation* has a 40 percent market share while *The Standard Newspaper* has a 20 percent market share in Kenya. Cumulatively, the two papers command more than 60 percent of the market share

in Kenya. This makes the two dailies the dominant ones, hence, most appropriate for this study since they are more likely to be accessed by the general public than the rest.

The field research was conducted in Kisumu City in western part of the country. Kisumu was seen as the bedrock of opposition politics in the 2017 general elections. It witnessed violent demonstrations in the 2017 electioneering period that saw several people killed or injured, roads blocked, tires burned on the streets, people of different gender sexually abused and life generally disrupted (Gathoni, 2018)

### **3.4 Study Population**

The study population constituted 732 dailies (both *The Standard Newspaper* and *The Daily Nation*) covering the period between 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 and 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2019; and 10 Bunge La Mwananchi (People's Parliament) within Kisumu City. The specific locations of BLMs in Kisumu City are Nyalenda, Manyatta, Kondele, Central Business District (CBD), Nyamasaria, Koyango, Kibuye, Mamboleo, Loves Bar and Car Wash.

### **3.5 Sampling and Sampling Technique**

This study employed purposive sampling for both the dailies and the informants. Through purposive sampling, the researcher was able to collect data that were in tandem with the study objectives. Purposive sampling falls under non-probability sampling method. "Non-probability methods cannot be used to make statistical inferences about the population from which they are drawn. In choosing to adopt non-probability method, one must therefore accept that statistically rigorous representativeness is not a primary issue in the research design" (Rice, 2010, pp.232). Purposive sampling was used to arrive at 70 dailies from the parent population of 732 dailies (both Daily Nation and The Standard Newspaper) that had relevant information pertaining to the Uhuru-Raila handshake. The dailies considered either had Uhuru-Raila handshake in the national news section or in the editorial sections. This was in line with Hill (1998) assertion that within the range of 30 to

500 the use of a sample size of approximately ten percent of the parent population is recommended. For the field research, the researcher purposively sampled the leader of each of the ten Bunge La Mwananchi in Kisumu City-Nyalenda, Manyatta, Kondele, Central Business District (CBD), Nyamasaria, Koyango, Kibuye, Mamboleo, Loves Bar and Car Wash- to serve as an informant. Therefore, a total of 10 informants were considered. This is consistent with Buchstaller and Khattab (2018) assertion that linguistic study can obtain a lot of information by depending on a small number of informants.

“Saturated sampling is whereby the sample size is dictated by theoretical saturation and researchers cannot make judgment regarding sample size until they are involved in data collection and analysis as the data will dictate the sample size” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p.212). Saturation is the level whereby neither new information nor new themes arise in the data (Ibid). 21 extracts with relevant information on conception and socio-economic issues emanating from the 2018 handshake discourse in the dailies were obtained through saturated sampling from the national news and editorials sections of the dailies. This was in line with Krippendorff (2004) argument that units cannot be predetermined. They arise during reading and heavily depend on the analyst’s competence as a reader. As the reader marks out the units, he/she inadvertently create the units.

### **3.6 Data Collection Methods**

The study applied two methods of data collection: interviews as well as corpus compilation. “Interviews primarily entail posing questions and getting responses from the interviewees” (Kabir, 2016, p.211). Interview falls under the rubric of qualitative data collection method. Therefore, the method is crucial in assessing impact of something since it provides information that enables a better comprehension of factors responsible for the observed behaviour and evaluating transformations in perceptions (Ibid). The method was appropriate for gathering data useful in handling objective three that sought to evaluate the

effect of the handshake on the perception of Kenyans in the handshake discourse. The researcher carried out semi-structured interviews and had in formal interview sessions with the respondents. Interview schedule was developed and used as data collection instrument by the researcher.

“A corpus is a compilation of texts that have been gathered for a specific reason” (Cheng, 2011, p.12). According to Ngula (2018) the two most common types of corpora are a generalised corpus and a specialised corpus. A general corpus consists of diverse text forms like sign language, written and spoken text or even both and covers a larger geographical scope, for instance, national and regional language (Ibid). On one hand, a specialised corpus consists of one form of a text like newspaper editorials, religious discourse and business advertisements (Ibid). Koester (2010) adds that the specialised corpus enables a close tie between the corpus and context where the texts presented in the corpus were generated. The corpus compiler doubles up as the analyst and enjoys a greater familiarity with the context (Ibid). Accordingly, the specialised corpus was considered the most appropriate for the study since the researcher was doubled up as the corpus compiler and the analyst. The researcher designed an extraction guide and used it as a data collection instrument. Through the instrument, a corpus was designed for the study. The extraction guide set out a parameter on what sentences were to be extracted from the dailies. Firstly, sentences that contained nouns, verbs, adjectives and verbs used in relation to the Uhuru-Raila handshake. Secondly, clauses in material process, relational process, mental process, behavioural process that contained cohesion as a message.

### **3.6.1 Interview Schedule**

The researcher employed semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted in June, 2022. The researcher joined the various BLMs as a participant for two days. The researcher familiarized himself with the participants. The researcher identified the

respective leaders of the BLMs; sought their consent to participate in the study. Upon being granted consent, the leaders were pulled aside from the BLMs where there was minimal distraction. The interview sessions were then conducted for 10-15 minutes. The informants were asked primarily open-ended questions. Creswell (2012) suggests use of exclusively open-ended questions in interviews since they are primarily qualitative. Grinnell (1993) asserts that “open-ended questions are designed to permit free responses to questions and they do not incorporate any particular structure for replies” (p.287). The researcher recorded each interview session using a tape recorder to collect verbatim data. The data collected primarily served to corroborate data collected from the two dailies (*Daily Nation and The Standard Newspaper*) on perceptual impact the Uhuru-Raila handshake had had on Kenyans.

### **3.6.2 Extraction Guide**

Extraction guide was employed in collecting secondary data. The data were in the form of sentences extracted from the national news and editorial sections of the two major dailies (*The Standard Newspaper and The Daily Nation*). This involved, firstly, a robust reading and re-reading of national news reports and editorials of the two dailies. The researcher marked out sentences in the content of national news reports and editorial sections of the major dailies that captured relevant data as per the extraction guide. The sentences were then extracted. This was followed by a corpus compilation.

### **3.7 Validity and Reliability**

“Validity is the degree to which a research instrument measures what it is supposed to measure” (Kimberlin & Winsterstein, 2008, p.3). On one hand, “reliability refers to a measurement that supplies consistent results with equal values” (Blumberg, Cooper & Schindler 2005, p.11). For the purpose of ensuring that formal interview as a data collection instrument is valid and reliable, the researcher employed triangulation and

respondent validation as proposed by Torrance (2012). Four residents of Kisumu City were purposively chosen and interviewed as per Gay and Airasian (2003) proposal. Their responses tape-recorded, transcribed, analysed as per objective three of the study that was intended to establish the effect of the handshake on perceptions of Kenyans in the handshake discourse. A similar procedure was repeated after two weeks with the same respondents. Neubauer & Hofer (2022) suggest that a two week-interval is satisfactory for a test-retest. The findings of the two occasions were compared and found to be consistent; hence, demonstrated to the researcher that formal interview was a valid and reliable method of collecting data for the study.

For the extraction guide, two pilot studies were conducted to test its reliability and validity. In the pilot studies, the researcher robustly read and re-read national news reports and editorials of *The Star Newspaper* that featured handshake in March, 2018. The researcher marked out sentences in the content of national news reports and editorial sections of the newspaper that captured relevant data as per the extraction guide. This was followed by corpus compilation. The data collected was analysed as per objective one and two. The findings marched the study expectations as per the objectives. The researcher was thus able to confirm the validity of the corpus compilation as method of collecting data. A similar research was conducted in April, 2018 and the findings were consistent with the first study. Similarly, the researcher confirmed the reliability of the method. The researcher thus collected data, pre-tested data, analyzed the data and drew conclusions on lexical choices and sentence configurations in the handshake presentation in the handshake discourse in the newspapers.

### **3.8 Data Analysis**

Data obtained was qualitatively analysed using content analysis. “Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other



meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 36). Data analysis was done systematically by the researcher. The first step involved reading over the extracts from the two dailies and listening to tapes recorded during interview sessions. The content of the tapes were then transferred to paper in writing (transcribed) and this was followed by rigorous reading over the written transcripts. The next step entailed organizing the data collected as per the study questions and information sought. The next stage involved finding and organizing conceptions into codes or categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives and material processes. Then, the various categories identified were grouped into overarching themes, particularly, lexical choices and conceptions on the Uhuru-Raila handshake, sentence structure and social cohesion and handshake and perception. Specific themes were discerned. Finally, the researcher revisited the literature from related studies and compared researcher’s findings to identify differences and similarities to enable the researcher offer an explanation for his findings. The findings were then presented in prose.

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

The researcher sought ethical clearance from Maseno University Ethics Review Committee. The researcher sought consent from the respondents who were actively involved in the study. All the participants were informed that they were at liberty to informed consent and participation was premised on willingness and no one would be penalized for declining to take part in the study. In addition, they had the freedom to withdraw their participation. The researcher explicitly informed the participants that collected data would solely serve pursued research questions and would remain anonymous to everyone except the researcher. The respondents were also made aware of the researcher’s intention to tape-record the interview session as a method of collecting verbatim data.

The participants were enlightened on the expected benefits of the research to linguistics as a social science by contributing new knowledge and that there would be no direct benefit to the participants. The respondents' anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed by using pseudonyms in terms of letters of the alphabet in the data collection. The researcher assured the respondents that there would be no discomfort and harm meted upon them physiologically, emotionally, socially and economically. The researcher endeavoured to acclimatize himself with the norms and customs of the communities involved in the field study. The data collected was transcribed, typed and saved in a computer folder with a password security. The hard copy forms of the data were permanently destroyed.

### **3.10 Chapter summary**

Aspects of research methodology, in particular, research design, area of study, study population, sampling and sampling technique, data collection method, validity and reliability, data analysis and ethical consideration have been clearly outlined in the chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 Introduction

The focus of the chapter is on presentation of data, data analysis and discussion. It is organized into three sections. These are lexical choices and concepts on the handshake, syntactic structure and social cohesion and handshake and perception. The chapter organization is informed by the study objectives: to examine how the print media exploits lexical choices to propagate ideas on the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse in Kenya, to determine the relation between sentence structures and social cohesion in the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse and to establish the effect of the Uhuru-Raila handshake on perception of Kenyans in the handshake discourse.

#### 4.2 Lexical choices and concepts on the Uhuru-Raila handshake

Analysis in this section is premised on data apro-pos of objective one that was to examine how the print media exploits lexical choices to propagate ideas on the Uhuru-Raila handshake.

In natural language generation (NLG), “one of the crucial decisions to be made is lexicalization: selecting words that adequately express the content that is to be communicated and, if represented, the intentions and attitudes of the speaker” (Stede, 1993, p.2). He further adds that the words we choose to express our messages usually have embedded implicatures that can alter the general message. Jarongo (2008) adds that the power inherent in a word depends on how the word is used. As such, a word can have diverse meanings depending on its usage. Derewianka (1990) adds that when analyzing discourse based on the ideational metafunction, verb processes, participants and circumstantial adjuncts should be considered. In this regard, the current study examines how the print media in Kenya has used various word classes, particularly nouns, verbs and

adjectives, to propagate diverse ideas on the Uhuru-Raila handshake as presented in the analysis below.

#### **4.2.1 Nouns**

Nouns essentially denote objects (person, animals, countries, water bodies, things, and place) (Langacker, 2002). The nouns considered for this study represent the conceptualization of the Uhuru-Raila handshake by Kenyans as captured in the discourse on the handshake in the two major dailies in the country (*The Standard Newspaper* and *The Daily Nation*). The following nouns were identified in relation to the Uhuru-Raila 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 handshake.

1. *Leaders* react to surprise *unity deal*. **(1SN)**
2. ...*the handshake* signaling a *truce* between him and the Jubilee Party leader. **(2SN)**
3. *Opposition leaders* are hiding behind the *pact* between opposition chief and President Uhuru. **(3SN)**
4. It is upon them to take their new-found *rapport* a notch higher... **(4SN)**
5. *Leaders* accuse Odinga of *dishonesty*... **(DN)**
6. ‘This new *marriage* between the two men is not in good faith,’ said the 48-year old... **(13DN)**
7. ...*the country* has experienced immense *tranquility*... **(16DN)**
8. *We* agreed with *my brother* Uhuru to bring to an end this adversarial politics. **(8DN)**
9. “*Victims of ‘state brutality’* are however pessimistic about the ‘*bromance*’ between the two...” **(14DN)**
10. ...*Mr. Odinga* has set *a trap* for Jubilee to disintegrate before 2022. **(17DN)**

*Sentence 1: Leaders react to surprise unity deal (ISN)*

<i>Leaders</i>	React	To	<i>surprise unity deal</i>
Actors	Material Process	Circumstance	Goal

In sentence (1) *leaders (actors)* who are political, religious and community leaders express diverse opinions on the *surprise unity deal* (goal). A clear distinction on the handshake is highlighted by the political class which has viewed the handshake in both positive and negative light. For instance, Raila’s decision to have a unity deal with President Kenyatta is viewed as an act of betrayal of the other NASA principals. NASA is the coalition vehicle that brought together ODM Party, Wiper Party and FORD Kenya prior to the 2017 general elections. On the other hand, some politicians consider the deal key for socio-economic development of the country. Community leaders as well consider the handshake good for the country, especially, Kikuyu and Luo council of elders. These are the communities from which the President and ODM leader Raila Odinga come from respectively. They have even urged the other NASA co-principals to support the deal. By having *surprise unity deal* as the *goal* of all the *actors*, the reporter intends to make it clear to the general mass that the handshake stands for agreement between President Uhuru Kenyatta and ODM leader and by extension their supporters notwithstanding the diversity of opinions on it by Kenyans. Respondent C corroborates the idea expressed in sentence (1) in his verbiage *the handshake* (actor) *united* (process) *the country* (goal). The act performed by the handshake is bringing unity in the country. This is essentially an agreement amongst the citizens. This is consistent with Manusov & Milstein (2005) study of Rabin-Arafat 1994 handshake that revealed that handshake represents agreement. As such, a handshake between political archrivals that is by preceded violence is synonymous with an agreement.

Sentence 2: ...the handshake signaling a truce between him and the Jubilee Party leader.

(2SN)

<i>The handshake</i>	Signaling	<i>a truce</i>	between him and the Jubilee Party leader
Actor	Material Process	Goal	Circumstance

In sentence (2) the handshake is the *actor*, it has been personified by the reporter and given the ability to signal a truce. The truce is the *goal* of the actor in this case the handshake. The lexical item *truce* has the denotation an “agreement between enemies or opponents to stop fighting for an agreed period of time.” The reporter uses the material process *signaling* in progressive aspect to show that the action performed by the handshake would go on for unspecified period. That is, showing the agreement between President Uhuru and ODM leader to bring to a halt a fierce political confrontation between Jubilee and NASA supporters. This period of no political confrontation is intended to outlive the phenomenon. Respondent C echoes the stance in sentence 2 when he asserts in the verbiage that *politically, it has cooled temperatures*. The *temperatures* metaphorically refer to political animosities witnessed in the country between Jubilee and NASA supporters. The pronoun *it* as used in the verbiage stands for the handshake between the President Uhuru and Raila Odinga. It is the *actor* in the clause that has ended political animosities in the country. The findings of this study mirrors Fieschi (2016) study of 81-seconds handshake between President Ma Ying-jeou and Xi Jinping of China that revealed that the prolonged handshake marked a gradual end of violence between China and Taiwan. The handshake between leaders of opposing sides is thus synonymous with conflict resolution.

*Sentence 3: Opposition leaders are hiding behind the pact between opposition chief and President Uhuru... (3SN)*

<i>Opposition leaders</i>	<i>Are</i>	<i>Hiding</i>	<i>behind the pact between opposition chief and President Uhuru to support DPs 2022 presidential bid.</i>
<i>Subject</i>	<i>Finite</i>	<i>Residue</i>	

In sentence (3) *opposition leaders* who are the *actors* in the sentence are some political leaders from the Coast Region that are taking advantage of the pact between Uhuru and Raila to support Deputy President’s presidential bid in 2022. The reporter uses the progressive form, *hiding*, to demonstrate that the particular politicians are acutely aware that their actions go against their party position. However, they take advantage of the *pact* which is a public gesture of co-operation between President Uhuru and ODM leader in this context. By deliberately making it clear to the readership that the handshake is a *pact* and using the word *hiding* with negative connotation; the reporter dissuades the public from adopting the skewed interpretation assigned to the phenomenon as a license to form new political alliances.

He makes it categorical that the handshake is all about political co-operation between the President, Uhuru Kenyatta and the leader of ODM, Raila Odinga. Respondent H also echoes the idea expressed in sentence 3 in his verbiage- *They are running the government quite well*. The personal plural pronoun *they* contextually refers to both president Uhuru and Raila who are actors and are actively involved in the governance of the country as expressed in the predicate-*are running the government quite well*. Respondent H makes the co-operation more profound to an extent that he considers Raila actively involved in the country’s governance. This finding is congruent with Schroeder, Risen, Gino, Norton (2014) revelation that handshaking positively influences co-operation. As such, a handshake is analogous to co-operation between individuals across contexts.

*Sentence 4: It is upon them to take their new-found rapport a notch higher....(4SN)*

It	Is	upon them to take their <i>new-found rapport</i> a notch higher...
<i>Theme</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>New information</i>

In sentence (4) the editor describes the handshake as a *new-found rapport* between President Uhuru and Raila in the editorial section. The modifier appears in the *rheme* (end) part of the sentence. He uses the premodifier *new-found* to acknowledge the fact that the leaders never related so before and it is a new development. *There were political differences before and after the repeat October 26, 2017 presidential election.* The term *rapport* denotes a friendly relationship. It echoes the fact that political hostility between the two and by extension among their supporters is now a thing of the past and peace and harmony have taken the centre stage. The two leaders have become friends. Respondent I asserts that *I* (senser) *view* (process) *them* (phenomenon) *as brothers* (circumstantial adjunct of manner). The senser now considers the relation between President Uhuru and Raila to be so close and is only comparable to that of brothers as expressed in the circumstantial adjunct of manner. This indicates a strong friendship that now exists between Uhuru and Raila thanks to the handshake. This is in line with Schiffirin (1981) finding that handshake may simply represent a restoration of friendly relations. This shows that a handshake can be a mark of friendship in diverse contexts.

*Sentence 5: Leaders accuse Odinga of dishonesty...*

<i>Leaders</i>	Accuse	Odinga	<i>of dishonesty</i>
Sayers	Verbal Process	Target	Circumstance

In sentence (5) the leaders (*sayers*) are some politicians drawn from Rift Valley and Central Kenya who are Jubilee Party members and support Deputy President's 2022 presidential bid. They accuse (*verbal process*) Odinga (*target*) of dishonesty in his engagement with President Uhuru. They claim Mr. Odinga is responsible for the conflict in Jubilee to undermine Mr. Ruto and scheme for his own 2022 presidential bid. In



addition, the then senate majority leader considers the handshake as a trap for Jubilee to disintegrate before 2022. The interpretation assigned to the Uhuru-Raila handshake by these particular politicians is that the handshake is a political decoy or trick meant to serve political interest of ODM leader, Raila Odinga. This revelation is contrary to Burgoon (1991) assertion that handshake conveys trust. As such, a handshake can represent trust or political decoy depending on the interest of the perceiver of the event.

*Sentence 6: 'This new marriage between the two men is not in good faith,' (13DN)*

This new <i>marriage</i> between the two men	is not in good faith
Carrier	Attribute

In sentence (6) *this new marriage between the two men* is the *carrier* while *is not in good faith* is *attribute*. The sayer uses the noun phrase *new marriage* to refer to the deal between President Uhuru and ODM leader Raila that never existed before. A marriage is a relationship between two individuals normally a man and a woman whose affairs concern majorly the two individuals involved. By referring to the handshake as a marriage, the Sayer distances herself from the handshake and does not want to be associated with it. She out rightly disapproves of it as well. To her, it is an exclusive affair between President Uhuru and Raila.

The reporter states what befell the sayer: “*Her son...was killed by the police the day after the presidential election in August...*” However, the two leaders never acknowledged the suffering of individuals like her. The reporter adds that “*But neither the men nor their plan acknowledged the suffering of people like...whose family members were injured or killed in election related violence.*” This only served to hurt the victims further. Their leaders turned their backs on them and cared not about their plight. This is conceivably an act of betrayal by the two leaders. Respondent I shares this conception when he asserts that- *I (senser) first saw (mental process) it (phenomenon) as a betrayal on Raila’s part of his*

*supporters and NASA coalition* (Circumstantial adjunct of manner). The circumstantial adjunct of manner makes it clear that Raila’s decision to shake hands with President Uhuru only amounted to betrayal of his political supporters and his political allies. This finding concurs with Manusov & Milstein (2005) study of the 1993 Rabin-Arafat handshake that concluded that handshake can represent betrayal. In this regard, a political handshake is equivalent to betrayal of followers of political leader depending on the course championed by their leader prior to the handshake.

*Sentence 7: ...the country has experienced immense tranquility... (16DN)*

<i>...the country</i>	has experienced	<i>immense tranquility</i>
Senser	Mental Process	Phenomenon

In sentence (7) *the country* is the *senser* while *immense tranquility* is the *phenomenon* that has been experienced. The reporter chooses the noun phrase *the country* with the connotation all Kenyans to advance his stance that the effect of the handshake has been felt across the country. There is prevailing peace in the country occasioned by the handshake. Peace had eluded the country due to the disputed 2017 presidential elections. In addition, he uses modifier *immense* with tranquility to magnify the peace in the country and emphasize its significance. By assigning the *country* the role of a *senser*, the reporter objectively makes it clear to his readership or the mass that the Uhuru-Raila handshake is responsible for the peace now evident in the country. Respondent J says – *I* (actor) *am now enjoying* (process) *peace* (goal) *in the country* (circumstantial adjunct of place). The *actor* appreciates peace that has been realised in the country as a result of the Uhuru-Raila handshake. He is so much pleased with the peace hence the term enjoying. The usage of the deictic adverb *now* reinforces the fact that peace had eluded the country prior to the handshake. It follows that the handshake is synonymous with peace. This finding is congruent with Manusov & Milstein (2005) study of the Rabin-Arafat handshake that

revealed that handshake can stand for peace. It follows that a handshake that is preceded by violence between leaders of opposing groups is synonymous with peace.

*Sentence 8: We agreed with my brother Uhuru to bring to an end this adversarial politics.*

*(8 DN)*

We	agreed	with my brother Uhuru	<i>to bring to an end this adversarial politics.</i>
Actor	Material Process	Circumstance	Goal

In sentence (8) the reporter employs plural personal pronoun, *we*, to serve as *actors*. It contextually refers to President Uhuru and Raila Odinga. The comitative case *with my brother Uhuru* still serves as part of the *actors*. However, the use of the phrase *my brother* emphasizes the close tie that now exists between President Uhuru and Raila akin to that of siblings. Having the two as *actors* reinforces the new relationship between them that has enabled them to come to an agreement on their course of action. That is *to bring to an end this adversarial politics*. The usage of the demonstrative adjective *this* makes it explicit that the two leaders are acutely cognizant of the divisive politics they both perpetuated hence their decision to jointly end it. The realization of their goal automatically culminates into unity in the country. Respondent C says *Kenyans no longer view each other from the political angle. They (sensors) view (process) one another (phenomenon) as fellow Kenyans* (circumstantial adjunct of manner). The circumstantial adjunct of manner *as fellow Kenyans* emphasizes unity that is pervasive in the country due to the handshake since the citizens no longer give prominence to their political affiliations. They consider themselves as members of one big family called Kenya. As such, the Uhuru-Raila handshake is analogous to unity.

Sentence 9: “Victims of ‘state brutality’ are however pessimistic about the ‘bromance’ between the two...” (14DN)

Victims of ‘state brutality	are however pessimistic	about the ‘bromance	between the two...
Senser	Process	Phenomenon	Circumstance

In sentence (9) *victims of police brutality* are the *sensers*. They are the individuals who suffered the consequences of state aggression during the chaotic 2017 elections. The lexical item *bromance* has the denotation a close relationship between two men. The reporter intentionally refers to the Uhuru-Raila handshake as a *bromance* to associate with victims of state brutality and empathize with them. Bromance is the phenomenon that the victims feel pessimistic about. They feel this relationship is not bound to last. The usage of the term bromance makes the handshake an exclusive affair between President Uhuru and Raila Odinga. This view is reinforced by the circumstantial element *between the two*. The reporter further states that “...those who say they were victimised by police aggression say they feel forgotten and betrayed.” In this light, the handshake only serves the interest of President Uhuru and ODM leader Raila Odinga. Respondent F reinforces this view when he asserts *the handshake (carrier) was political and was only for the benefit of Uhuru as a politician (attribute)*. *Raila (actor) shook (process) hands (goal) with Uhuru (comitative) for his political survival (circumstantial adjunct of reason)*. Both the attribute in the relational clause and circumstantial adjunct of reason in the material clause make it clear that personal benefits informed Uhuru and Raila’s decision to shake hands. It is thus clear that their handshake is analogous to self-centeredness.

Sentence 10: ...Mr. Odinga has set a trap for Jubilee to disintegrate before 2022. (17DN)

Mr. Odinga	has set	a trap	for Jubilee to disintegrate before 2022
Actor	Material Process	Goal	Circumstantial adjunct of reason

In sentence (10) the noun *trap* is used to refer to the Uhuru-Raila handshake. A trap has the denotation a trick or deception used to make somebody do something contrary to their interests or intentions. The then Senate Majority Leader echoes the sentiments of a number of politicians drawn from Jubilee Party. To them, the handshake between President Uhuru and Raila Odinga is not in good faith. They particularly have an issue with Raila but not the President despite both of them being partakers in the handshake. The leaders claim “...*Mr. Odinga was causing conflict in Jubilee to undermine Mr. Ruto and scheme for his own 2022 candidature.*” They attribute all their party woes to the handshake. The statement begins with *Mr. Odinga* to highlight their unease with him. He is solely accused of setting a trap to break Jubilee before 2022. Respondent D asserts *Ruto’s supporters (sensors) see (process) the handshake (phenomenon) as a hindrance to his ambition of becoming the president (circumstantial adjunct of manner)*. The circumstantial adjunct of manner reinforces the view highlighted in sentence 10 of the handshake being a barrier or threat to Deputy President’s presidential ambition. In this regard, the Uhuru-Raila handshake is analogous to a threat to Jubilee Party’s existence and Deputy President’s presidential ambitions.

The print media purposely employed nouns and noun phrases to spread both positive and negative ideas on the handshake to the mass. The positive ideas were conflict resolution, political co-operation, mark of friendship, peace and unity. On the other hand, the negative ideas were a political decoy, betrayal and a threat to Jubilee Party’s existence.

#### **4.2.2 Verbs**

Verbs essentially denote actions like singing, dancing and walking (Langacker, 2002). The verbs considered for this study denote actions performed by the handshake itself and those indicating resultant actions necessitated by the handshake. The following verbs were

identified in relation to the phenomenal handshake between President Uhuru Kenyatta and ODM leader Raila Odinga on 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018.

11. The handshake *disarmed* those politicians who thrive on invective and discord.(4SN)
12. ...the handshake *signaling* a truce...(4SN)
13. Raila *showed* that he could not be trusted.(5SN)
14. Mr. Mudavadi *cautioned* against *suffocating* opposition by *engaging* in questionable deals with Jubilee administration. (6SN)
15. ... that families of former prominent leaders are *ganging up* to keep presidency in their grasp.(4SN)
16. *Keep off Uhuru*, NASA tells Kalonzo, Musalia.(7SN)
17. Uhuru-Raila deal *shakes up* cost politics.(12DN)
18. Opposition chief and the President *struck* deal to *forestall* chaos *being planned* by their supporters.(18DN)
19. Golden handshake that *calmed* political storm.(15DN)
20. In the name of the handshake, the shilling *has stabilized* overnight. (16DN)

*Sentence 11: The handshake disarmed those politicians who thrive on invective and discord. (4SN)*

The handshake	<i>Disarmed</i>	those politicians who thrive on invective and discord
Actor	Material process	Goal

In sentence (11) the handshake is the *actor*. It has been personified and given the ability to take away weapon(s) from somebody hence the term *disarmed*. The term has the denotation to take a weapon or weapons from somebody. The *goal* of the actor's action is *those politicians who thrive on invective and discord*. Invective and discord are contextually equivalent to weapons, though abstract, that are used by these particular

politicians to cause or propel tension or politically related violence as witnessed during the August, 2017 elections in the country, Kenya. The editor uses the verb *disarmed* to demonstrate the forceful nature of the impact of the handshake in restoring calm in the country. This has been possible since the handshake has denied such politicians the platform to sow seeds of discord amongst Kenyans. They can no longer wedge inflammatory attacks on neither President Uhuru nor ODM leader Raila Odinga. The editor echoes this view when he states that *without their polarizing utterances, there is now calm in the country*. Respondent A says *I (senser) immediately knew (mental process) Kenya would regain peace (phenomenon)*. The respondent makes it categorical in the phenomenon- *Kenya would regain peace*- that peace was bound to be the outcome of the Uhuru-Raila handshake. This is in line with Manusov & Milstein (2005) study of 1993 Rabin-Arafat that revealed that the handshake represented peace. In this regard, a handshake between leaders of opposing sides is synonymous with peace.

*Sentence 12: ...the handshake signaling a truce... (4SN)*

The handshake	<i>Signaling</i>	a truce
Actor	Material Process	Goal

In sentence (12) the handshake is the *actor*. It performs the role of signaling (*material process*) a truce (*goal*). The reporter uses the present-in-present, *signaling*, to show the progressive role of the Uhuru-Raila handshake. *Signal* in this context denotes to be a sign that something exists or is likely to happen. The intention of the reporter is to indicate that the function of the handshake outlives 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 when the phenomenon took place. The handshake should always be perceived as a sign of an end to violent political confrontation between President Uhuru and Raila and by extension their supporters. It follows that the handshake is a sign of peaceful resolution of political conflict and the two leaders' commitment to champion a peaceful course for all Kenyans. This latter is in line with Bernieri et. al. (2011) argument that a handshake may indicate one's level of

commitment to a task that has been co-initiated by the parties involved in the handshake. It follows that a handshake represents commitment to task initiated by the individuals who shake across contexts.

*Sentence 13: Raila showed that he could not be trusted. (5SN)*

Raila	<i>Showed</i>	that he could not be trusted
Actor	Material Process	<i>Goal</i>

In sentence (13) Raila's (*actor*) decision to engage President Uhuru alone without the knowledge of other NASA co-principals is seen in light of his personality. The goal *that he could not be trusted* depicts him as untrustworthy. The usage of the negation *could not* in the goal affirms the impossibility of bestowing trust upon Mr. Odinga. Wiper Party chairman's utterance that Raila stabbed them in the back has an underlying impression that Raila's handshake with President Uhuru is an act of betrayal of the other NASA leaders. The deliberate choice of the verb *showed* makes it clear that Raila earned himself this perception as a result of his decision to secretly engage with President Uhuru. Respondent I holds a similar view when he asserts that- *I (senser) first saw (mental process) it (phenomenon) as a betrayal on Raila's part of his supporters and NASA coalition* (Circumstantial adjunct of manner). The circumstantial adjunct of manner-*as a betrayal on Raila's part of his supporters and NASA coalition*- makes it clear that Raila's decision to shake hands with President Uhuru only amounted to betrayal of his political supporters and his political allies. This finding concurs with Manusov & Milstein (2005) study of the 1993 Rabin-Arafat handshake that concluded that handshake can represent betrayal. In this respect, a handshake is construed as an act of betrayal by followers of a leader who shakes hand with another depending on their course before shaking hands.



*Sentence 14: Mr. Mudavadi cautioned against suffocating opposition by engaging in questionable deals with Jubilee administration (6SN)*

Mr. Mudavadi	<i>Cautioned</i>	against <i>suffocating</i> opposition by <i>engaging</i> in questionable deals with Jubilee administration
Sayer	Verbal Process	Verbiage

In sentence (14) the *sayer* Mr. Mudavadi is one of the NASA principals and the leader of Amani National Congress (ANC) party. He cautioned (*verbal process*) against suffocating opposition by engaging in questionable deals with Jubilee administration (*verbiage*). He is not categorical on his target that he warns not to suffocate opposition. However, based on the context it can be assumed to be ODM leader Raila who has had a deal with President Uhuru. The use of the verb *suffocate* in its progressive form is intentional. Suffocating has the denotation killing by not letting them breathe. The opposition has been depicted as something that has life and can be killed by being deprived air. In this context life refers to being vibrant and performing what the opposition is mandated to undertake. That is, keeping the government on toes. Mr. Mudavadi considers the handshake between President Uhuru and Raila as an impediment to the opposition's role. This shows he perceives the deal as extremely detrimental and does not approve of it since it is capable of literary killing the opposition. He strongly believes that the handshake would seriously incapacitate the opposition on its mandate of keeping the government on toes and equates the handshake to progressive death of opposition in the country. He also echoes his negative attitude towards the handshake. Respondent G expresses the same view as in sentence 14 when he asserts *after the handshake* (marked theme), *he* (actor) *has not come out* (material process) *to rebuke the ills the government is doing* (circumstantial adjunct of reason). The personal pronoun *he* refers to Raila who is perceived as the opposition leader by the respondent and he expects Raila to keep the government on toes and condemn the ills the government is committing. The respondent sees Raila as having failed to perform

his perceived role as expressed in the circumstantial adjunct of reason- *to rebuke the ills the government is doing*. Raila’s perceived failure is equated to the failure of opposition as a whole in the country. In this regard, the handshake is analogous to the incapacitation of the opposition in the country.

*Sentence 15: ... families of former prominent leaders are ganging up to keep presidency in their grasp. (4SN)*

Families of former prominent leaders	<i>are ganging up</i>	to keep presidency in their grasp
Actors	Material process	Goal

In sentence (15) the editor uses the progressive form *ganging up* (material process) with the denotation combining for a specific purpose. There are certain quarters in Kenya who perceived the Uhuru-Raila handshake in relation to power issues in the country especially the presidency. They hold the view that the two leaders came together solely to retain presidency within their grasp. That is, *the families of former prominent leaders*. The progressive aspect of the material process is very critical since it marks an attempt that began on the day the President and Raila shook hands on 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 and is still ongoing until they would accomplish their purported *goal*. This is further choreographed to appear legitimate since both Uhuru and Raila are sons of former prominent leaders. Respondent C reinforces this view when he postulates *they* (carrier) *are the dynasties* (attribute) *and they* (actor) *must fight* (material process) *by all means* (circumstantial adjunct of manner) *to remain politically relevant* (goal). The respondent’s view is a compound sentence which consists of a relational clause and a material clause. The attribute –*are the dynasties*- of the relational clause affirms that both President Uhuru and Raila are from the prominent ruling families in the country. The goal, *to remain politically relevant*, shows that the desire to continue having political influence in the country is so dear to both Uhuru and Raila and this must have informed their decision to shake hands.

The respondent further suggests that Uhuru and Raila could do anything for the sake of political power as explicitly brought out in the circumstantial adjunct of manner- *by all means*. In this respect, the handshake is a conspiracy to retain presidency amongst the families of the country's founding fathers.

*Sentence 16: Keep off Uhuru, NASA tells Kalonzo, Musalia. (7SN)*

<i>Keep off Uhuru</i>	NASA	tells	Kalonzo , Musalia
Verbiage	Sayer	Verbal process	Target

In sentence (16) the sayer uses the verbiage *keep off Uhuru* to warn his targets not to dare come near President Uhuru. It is important to note that the sentence begins with the verb other than the subject. This makes it a command to the other NASA principals- Kalonzo, Musalia and Wetangula. The sayer goes ahead and gives a justification why the other NASA principals should not be incorporated in the talk. He asserts that the three co-principals abandoned Raila on January 30, 2018 when Raila staged a mock inauguration hence should not demand to be included in the talk. In this respect, the handshake is seen as a revenge tool against those who were perceived as not having stood with Raila and ODM at large at their perceived hour of need.

*Sentence 17: Uhuru-Raila deal shakes up Coast Politics (12DN)*

Uhuru-Raila deal	<i>shakes up</i>	Coast politics
Actor	Material Process	Goal

In sentence (17) Uhuru-Raila deal which is synonymous with their handshake is the *actor*. It *shakes up* (material process) the pre-existing political situation in the region. The reporter deliberately employs the phrasal verb *shakes up*, with the denotation to throw into disarray, to show political impact the handshake has had at the Coast Region. The battle for the region's votes ahead of the 2022 election has begun. The reporter states that *the region has traditionally voted for the opposition*. However, this can longer be said to be the case since some of the ODM diehards have thrown their weight behind the Deputy

President’s 2022 presidential bid. This is in contravention of political parties’ Act (2011) that bars politicians from supporting a candidate of another party at the expense of their party’s. In this regard, the handshake is construed as a license to change or form new political alliances

*Sentence 18: Opposition chief and the President struck deal to forestall chaos being planned by their supporters. (18 DN)*

Opposition chief and the President	struck deal	to <i>forestall</i> chaos being planned by their supporters
Actors	Material process	Goal

In sentence (18) the reporter uses the lexical item *forestall* with the denotation to prevent something from happening by being proactive. It brings to the limelight the fact that the two leaders were cognizant of what was going on and what would happen in the country. They thus intentionally struck deal with forestalling chaos that was being planned by their supporters as their prime *goal*. The use of the word *forestall* portrays the *actors*, both President Uhuru and ODM leader Raila, as responsible and patriotic leaders who are ready to take concrete steps to prevent chaos that would plunge the country into a state of anarchy. The reporter records that *the fear of the country plunging into anarchy forced him (Raila) and President Kenyatta to make painful concessions*. They are ready to forfeit their self interests for the sake of the country. Respondent E adds that *Raila (carrier) is a peacemaker* (attribute). The connotation in the attribute is that Raila shook hands with President Uhuru in order to see to it that there is peace in the country after the violent political phase during the 2017 disputed elections. In this respect, the handshake is perceived as a panacea to political violence.

*Sentence 19: Golden handshake that calmed political storm*

Golden handshake	<i>that calmed</i>	political storm
Carrier	Attribute	

In sentence (19) the reporter uses the lexical item *calmed* (*verbal process*) which has the denotation stopped or pacified. The political storm (*goal*) refers to the chaos and violence that marred the 2017 presidential elections. The use of the inflected form of the verb *calm* is significant since it denotes that political animosity had stopped at the time of representation of the handshake discourse. The *golden handshake* (carrier-participant that is assigned the attributes) has been able to bring to a halt the violence that ensued after the disputed 2017 presidential elections. The use of the verb *calmed* is critical since it has close connection with peace signified by its noun form *calm*. Respondent F says *it* (actor) *has brought* (material process) *peace* (goal) *in the country* (Circumstantial adjunct of place). The actor, *it*, is synonymous with the Uhuru-Raila handshake and it responsible for the prevailing peace in the country. It is therefore implicit that the handshake resulted in peace in Kenya. In this regard, the handshake is synonymous with peace agent. This finding is congruent with of Manusov & Milstein (2005) study that revealed that handshake can represent peace. It follows that a handshake between leaders of groups in conflict, normally represent peace.

*Sentence 20: In the name of the handshake, the shilling has stabilized overnight. (16 DN)*

In the name of the handshake	the shilling	<i>has stabilized</i>	overnight
Circumstance	Carrier	Attribute	Circumstance

In sentence (20) the reporter uses present perfect aspect *has stabilized* to refer to the performance of the Kenya Shillings against other major world currencies such as the US dollar. *Has stabilized* with denotation has become steady or firm is an *attribute* of the shilling. The use of the present perfect aspect brings to the fore the resultant impact of Uhuru-Raila handshake on the economy of the country. The reporter indicates that *the stock market is also recovering*. The circumstantial adjunct of time *overnight* emphasizes on the rapid economic turn-around occasioned by the handshake. The stability of the

Kenya shillings is a pointer to an economic growth. Respondent A adds that ....*there would be an economic growth* (existent). The respondent expresses optimism that economy would thrive because of the handshake. The phenomenon per se does not have any direct link to economic growth; but, it would create a conducive environment for carrying out economic activities thus leading to economic growth. As such the handshake is equivalent to economic revitalization from an economic perspective.

The print media employed verbs and verb phrases to propagate diverse ideas on the handshake in the handshake discourse. The ideas were peace, a sign of peaceful resolution of political conflict, betrayal, progressive death of opposition in the country, a conspiracy to retain presidency amongst the families of the country’s founding fathers, a revenge tool against those who were perceived as not having stood with Raila and ODM at large during their perceived hour of need, a license to change or form new political alliances, a panacea to political violence, a peace agent and economic revitalization respectively.

#### 4.2.3 Adjectives

Adjectives assign attributes to nouns (Langacker, 2002). The following adjectives were identified in relation to the handshake between President Uhuru and ODM leader Raila Odinga on 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018.

21...senator .... urged the President to be *cautious* while dealing with Mr. Raila.(1 SN)

22. Wiper accuses ODM of playing *selfish* politics. (5 SN)

23. Mr. Mudavadi cautioned against suffocating opposition by engaging in *questionable* deals with Jubilee administration. (6 SN)

24. Victims of political violence want more than *mere* handshake. (13 DN)

*Sentence 21: ...senator .... urged the President to be cautious while dealing with Mr. Raila.(1SN)*

...senator..	urged	the President	to be <i>cautious</i> while dealing with Mr. Odinga
Sayer	Verbal process	Target	Circumstance

In sentence (21) the senator (*sayer*) urges (*verbal process*) the President (*target*) to be *cautious* while dealing with Mr. Odinga (*comitative accompaniment*). The lexical item *cautious* has the denotation to be careful about what you say or do, especially to avoid danger or mistakes. The sayer warns the President (*target*) to exercise caution in his engagement with ODM leader Raila Odinga. He expresses his conscious view that Raila might have engaged the President with ulterior motives, that is, to rock Jubilee Party. He makes a reference to a historical event in 1997: *this is the same way Mr. Odinga joined KANU in 1997 only to implode it from within*. The sayer expresses fears that the same fate might befall his ruling party, Jubilee. He is thus skeptical about the handshake between Uhuru and Raila. Respondent D adds that *the handshake* (actor) *has divided* (material process) *Jubilee supporters* (goal). *There is emergence of Pro Uhuru Kenyatta and Pro Ruto amongst Jubilee supporters* (existent/carriers) *who were so united before the handshake* (attribute). The existent of two factions within Jubilee is clear pointer to division in the coalition party. The respondent solely blames the Uhuru-Raila handshake for this development. It follows that the handshake is a danger to the existent of Jubilee party.

*Sentence 22: Wiper accuses ODM of playing selfish politics. (5SN)*

Wiper	<i>Accuses</i>	<i>ODM</i>	of playing <i>selfish politics</i>
Sayer	Verbal Process	Target	Circumstance

In sentence (22) Wiper (*sayer*) accuses (*verbal process*) ODM (*target*) of playing selfish politics (*circumstance*). The sayer uses the lexical item *selfish* to refer Mr. Odinga's (ODM leader) move to engage President Uhuru without other NASA co-principals. He *described Raila's move to engage Uhuru without the other three opposition leaders as lone ranger politics and self-seeking antics*. The lexical item *selfish* has the negative denotation of self-seeking at the expense of others. The term is used to premodify politics

since the deal between President Uhuru and Raila is a politic one. ODM as a political organization is accused wholesomely since its leader Raila Odinga made the deliberate decision to engage President Uhuru, the leader of the Jubilee party. According to the Wiper Party, Raila's handshake with President reveals his trait as a self-centered politician. Respondent F reinforces this view when he asserts that *Raila (actor) shook (material process) hands (goal) with Uhuru (comitative) for his political survival (circumstantial adjunct of reason)*. The comitative adjunct-*for his political survival*-explicitly demonstrates that personal gain, that is, being politically relevant in the country was Raila's prime concern when he decided to shake hands with the president. It is thus clear that the handshake represents self-centeredness.

*Sentence 23: Mr. Mudavadi cautioned against suffocating opposition by engaging in questionable deals with Jubilee administration. (6SN)*

<i>Mr. Mudavadi</i>	<i>Cautioned</i>	<i>against suffocating opposition by engaging in questionable deals with Jubilee administration.</i>
Sayer	Verbal process	Verbiage

In sentence (23) the sayer throws a word of caution *against suffocating opposition by engaging in questionable deals with Jubilee administration* (verbiage). He foresees a possibility of the opposition in the country, particularly NASA, failing to execute its mandate owing to the Uhuru-Raila handshake. He is not categorical on his target whose action culminates in suffocating the opposition. However, the agent whom he describes his deal with Jubilee administration is no doubt ODM leader Raila, who struck a deal with President Uhuru on 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018. He describes the deal as *questionable* with the denotation something that one has doubts about because they think it is not accurate or correct. He does not approve of it. This makes the readership aware of his derisive stance on the handshake. The undertone is that he holds a skeptical attitude towards what stands to be achieved through the handshake. This finding is in tandem with Manusov & Milstein



(2005) study of 1993 Rabin-Arafat that revealed that handshake can represent attitudes. Respondent F adds that *there is no one to keep the government on toes* (existent), *it* (actor) *has killed* (material process) *the opposition* (goal). The existent is explicit that no one performs the role of opposition of keeping the government on toes since the handshake. The pronoun *it* in the embedded material clause stands for the handshake that has incapacitated the opposition in the country hence the usage of the material process- *has killed*. It follows that the Uhuru-Raila handshake represents attitude and incapacitation of the opposition.

*Sentence 24: Victims of political violence want more than mere handshake (13DN)*

Victims of political violence	Want	more than <i>mere</i> handshake
Sensers	Mental process	Phenomenon

In sentence (24) the victims of political violence (*sensers*) express desideration for more beyond the handshake between President Uhuru and Raila Odinga. The reporter intentionally positioned the *sensers* at the theme position to draw the attention of readership to them and to empathize with them for the suffering they have been forced to endure due to violence that erupted in the country as a result of disputed presidential elections in 2017 that pitted President Uhuru and Raila as the antagonists. The choice of lexical item *mere* with the denotation unimportant resonates well with victims of police aggression since the handshake does not render them what they fought for neither does it address their compensation by the government. The reporter adds “*But those who say they were victimised by police aggression say they feel forgotten and betrayed.*” The word *mere* thus reflects on the victims’ dissatisfaction, disgust and disappointment towards the handshake. Respondent F adds *I* (carrier) *really felt disappointed* (attribute). The respondent is explicit in the attribute that the handshake was a source of disappointment to him at personal level and this echoes his attitude towards it. This also is in line with Manusov & Milstein (2005) study of 1993 Rabin-Arafat that revealed that handshake can

represent attitudes. With regard to the adjectives used to describe the Uhuru-Raila handshake, it is evident that the adjectives largely bring to the fore the negative attitudes Kenyans have towards the phenomenon. This finding supports Manusov & Milstein (2005) argument that handshake can represent attitudes. In this context the attitudes are of skepticism, disgust and disappointment.

### **4.3 Sentence structures and social cohesion**

Sentence structure is the arrangement of words and phrases in a particular order in a language in close consideration of word paradigms (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004). Thompson (2004) asserts that as we use language, we structure our messages to conform to other messages surrounding them and the context in which we generate them. The consideration in the language use as proposed by Thompson (2004) is critical to this study that sought to determine the relation between sentence structure and social cohesion in the handshake discourse in Kenya that was marred with election related violence that ensued after the disputed 2017 presidential elections.

#### **4.3.1 Material processes**

Material processes show activities which are executed like cleaning and dancing mopping (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The integral constituents of these processes are action verbs (like drain, write, cook), an actor (subject/doer) and goal (direct object). Actor performs the task expressed in the material clause. Goal is the participant that is directly affected by the action of the actor. Circumstantial adjuncts refer to the various adverbs (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The following material clauses were identified in relation to the Uhuru-Raila handshake.

*25. Leaders react to surprise unity deal.(1SN)*

*26. The handshake disarmed those politicians who thrive on invective and discord.(4SN)*

27. ...*the handshake signaling a truce between him and the Jubilee Party leader.*(4SN)
28. *Both Jubilee and Democratic Movement ward representatives hail last week's meeting between President Kenyatta and Raila.* (9SN)
29. *Uhuru, Raila 'handshake ' inspires peace drive.*(19DN)
30. *Opposition chief and the President struck deal to forestall chaos being planned by supporters.*(18DN)

Sentence (25) - *leaders react to surprise unity deal*- is a headline of a news report, thus, a summary of the news report. The reporter positions *leaders* as the theme (at the beginning of the sentence) to draw attention of the readership to them since they constitute the segment of the society that has the power to influence the behaviour of the mass either positively or negatively. The material process *react* is infinite to indicate that the leaders be they political, religious or community leaders would give their divergent stances on the handshake for while. The *deal* to which they are reacting to is positioned at the end in the rheme (end of the sentence) deliberately by the reporter. This is to make it clear to the readership and to persuade them that no matter the divergent opinions on the handshake its prime objective is to unite the country. The use of the premodifier *unity* makes the desire to unite the country more profound. The intent to unite the country is emphasized by Respondent E when he asserts *I* (senser) *view* (mental process) *them* (phenomenon) *as fellow Kenyans* (circumstantial adjunct of manner). Respondent E supported NASA coalition in the 2017 elections. The personal pronoun, *them*, refers to Jubilee supporters during the same elections. The respondent now perceives Jubilee supporters as fellow countrymen in the circumstantial adjunct of manner. The respondent's view clearly shows unity amongst Kenyans as a result of the handshake. This was probably not the case before the handshake since both Jubilee and NASA supports were at the epicentre of election related violence in the 2017 elections. Sentence 25 is thus geared towards

promoting cohesion in the country. This is consistent with Hall (1883) assertion that representation involves a deliberate effort to choose lexical items and organize language structures with the sole purpose of presenting a definite meaning. This affirms that position of lexical items in sentence or an utterance has immense power in shaping the behaviour of the readers or audience.

Sentence (26) - *The handshake disarmed those politicians who thrive on invective and discord*- has *the handshake* as an unmarked theme. The theme and subject are conflated. The handshake is assigned a performatory role by the editor. It has *disarmed* (material process) particular politicians. The use of the inflected material process *disarmed* is critical since it serves to highlight what has been achieved in the country thanks to the handshake. That is, restoring calm that had evaded the country during the electoral related violence. The use of the demonstrative pronoun *those* with politicians serve to specify the irresponsible politicians who thrive on inflammatory utterances for political gains to the detriment of the country. This is affirmed by the defining relative clause *who thrive on invective and discord*. The sentence is deliberately structured by the reporter to give prominence to the pervasiveness of peace after the handshake in the country. Respondent I echoes the motive in sentence 26 in his response –*I* (unmarked theme) *view them as brothers and sisters* (rheme). The respondent was NASA supporter during the 2017 elections. Probably he never enjoyed a close tie with Jubilee supporters since both Jubilee and NASA supports were at the epicentre of violence that erupted in the country after the disputed presidential election in the country. However, he is very categorical in the rheme that he considers Jubilee supports as brothers and sisters which shows a close relation akin to family ties. This implies that healing has taken place and there is unity that permeates political boundaries. The configuration of sentence 26 is thus aimed at promoting unity

and cohesion in the country. This is in line with Wells (1986) argument that arrangement of words into different patterns could influence a people's world view.

The reporters use unmarked theme *the handshake* in sentence (27) - ...*the handshake signaling a truce between him and the Jubilee Party leader*. Here again the handshake has been given a performatory role as the subject since theme and subject are conflated. The material process (*signaling*) is in progressive form intentionally to make it conspicuous to the readership that the *truce* (goal) that the handshake is a sign of would outlive the event itself. The choice of the *goal* with the connotation to bring to a halt the political violence that characterized the 2017 presidential elections is purposeful. It aims at dissuading followers of both President Uhuru and Raila Odinga from any acts of political violence since this stopped the very day the two leaders shook hands. The circumstantial element *between him and Jubilee Party leader* gives prominence to the fact that the two leaders have turned a new leaf devoid of political hostility and violence. The underlying message in the sentence is peace and unity. Respondent A gives prominence to the message in sentence 27 when he asserts *he* (actor) *makes appointment* (material process) *to the cabinet* (circumstantial adjunct of place) *without considering political and tribal affiliations of the appointees* (circumstantial adjunct of manner). The circumstantial adjunct of manner- *without considering political and tribal affiliations of the appointee* clearly indicates that the president has overcome the challenge of tribalism or ethnicity and is hell-bent on promoting peace and unity in the country. The sentence is primarily configured to promote peace and unity. This is consistent with European Union Elections Observation Mission (2013) that media deliberately disseminated messages of peace to guarantee unity in Kenya's 2013 elections.

The reporter positions, *both Jubilee and Democratic Movement ward representatives*, as unmarked theme in the headline in sentence (28), *Both Jubilee and Democratic Movement ward representatives hail last week's meeting between President Kenyatta and Raila*. This is intentional to give focus to both political parties and politicians who were at the epicentre of political violence that typified the 2017 presidential elections. The correlative *both Jubilee and Democratic Movement* within the clause is critical for it serves to foreground unity of once archrivals in the political arena in support for Uhuru-Raila handshake. By using *ward representatives* as the subjects who *hail* (material process) last week's meeting between President Kenyatta and Raila, the reporter aims at influencing their followers to equally accord support to the meeting whose focus is on achieving unity in the country. The circumstantial adjunct of time *last week's* is important in showing that the subjects' decision to hail the meeting is well informed having taken a whole week to internalize and consider the meeting between the two leaders good for the country. The goal *meeting* is synonymous with handshake in this context. The subordinate clause *between President Kenyatta and Raila* also serves to emphasize the unity between the two. The sentence is by all intent geared towards promotion of unity in the country. Respondent C reinforces the unity message when he postulates that *Kenyans* (unmarked theme) *no longer view each other from the political angle* (rheme). The respondent uses the lexical item *Kenyans* as the unmarked theme to foreground unity already evident amongst Kenyans. They no longer perceive each based on their political affiliations as is explicit in the rheme. The sentence is structured to influence the populace to embrace unity. This is in line with Wells (1986) argument that an arrangement of words into different patterns could influence a people's world view.

Sentence (29) - *Uhuru, Raila 'handshake' inspires peace drive*- is a headline of news report hence a summary of what is captured in the report by the reporter. He uses the

phrase *Uhuru, Raila handshake* as unmarked theme of the sentence. This makes the phrase both the theme and subject of the sentence. As a subject it *inspires* (material process) *peace drive* (goal) in the country. The use of the material process in its simple present form brings to the fore the unlimited influence of the handshake to make Kenyans strive always for a peaceful co-existence amongst them. The mood and finite are fused making the sentence declarative thus foregrounding peace as the prime reason behind the handshake. The positioning of Uhuru and Raila sentence initially also serves to portray them as peace agents who would strive to promote peace in the country. Respondent C emphasizes peace message when he adds that *politically, the handshake* (actor) *has worked in that the party politics* (goal) *was somehow silenced* (material process).... The handshake is the actor in the material clause and it comes immediately after the marked theme, *politically*. This is intentionally to give prominence to the phenomenon because of what has been achieved due to it. That is bringing to an end party politics that only served to entrench political differences before the handshake as explicit in the rheme *was somehow silenced*. Sentence 29 is thus structured with the intent to promote cohesion in the country. This is consistent with Wells (1986) argument that through imagination, words are made richer and the arrangement of words into different patterns could influence a people's world view

Sentence (30), *Opposition chief and the President struck deal to forestall chaos being planned by supporters*, is a headline of a news report. The reporter positions the *opposition chief* (Raila) *and the President* (Uhuru) as unmarked theme of the sentence. This is to give prominence to their status as key political players at the moment in the country. They are the faces of both the opposition and the government respectively. The material process *struck deal* highlights the impromptu nature of the deal to their followers and the nation at large. It underscores the fact that the deal was necessitated by prevailing

circumstances in the country; political violence and intolerance. The circumstantial adjunct *to forestall chaos being planned by their supporters* depicts the leaders as patriotic and responsible and would do anything for the sake of peace and unity in the country. This view is reinforced by Respondent F when he says *it* (marked theme) *was their right to support a party of their choice* (rheme). The respondent objectively views his erstwhile political opponent being a NASA supporter as evident in the rheme. His perception is devoid of political undertone and is geared towards enhancing unity in the country. Sentence 30 is therefore aimed at influencing the readership or the mass to shun political violence and embrace unity. This affirms that through the use of words that deliberately promote peace; the media can ensure peace prevails in the country (European Union Elections Observation Mission, 2013).

In the clauses under material process, there is usage of unmarked themes where themes and subjects are conflated. The sentences are predominantly newspaper headlines save for sentence 26 and 27. The material clauses are geared towards promoting cohesion in the country.

#### **4.3.2 Mental processes**

Mental process indicates what we experience through our senses such as “perception” (view, observe), “reaction” (dislike, enjoy) and cognition (understand, recognize). The process has two constituents- sener and phenomenon. Sener is the participant who does the “sensing” whereas the phenomenon is what is sensed by the sener (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The following mental clauses were identified in relation to the Uhuru-Raila handshake.

31. *We agreed with my brother Uhuru to bring to an end this adversarial politics...*

(8DN)



32. *Kenyans view each other less as an anathema. (10SN)*

33. *...he believed was the beginning of the healing for Kenya... (20DN)*

In sentence 31 - *We agreed with my brother Uhuru to bring to an end this adversarial politics...* - the reporter employs personal pronoun plural *we* (sensors) as the theme. The sensors refer to both President Uhuru and Raila Odinga. The mental process *agreed* expresses the two leaders desiderative. It also makes it explicit that the two willingly came together with a purpose in mind as captured in the rheme *to bring to an end adversarial politics...* The comitative accompaniment *with my brother Uhuru* paints a picture of a close relationship akin to that of siblings that now exists between President Uhuru and Raila. The phenomenon *to bring to an end this adversarial politics* explicitly states what informed President Uhuru and Raila agreement. That is, ending political animosity between them. By having the phenomenon as the rheme, the reporter intends to persuade the supporters of both President Uhuru and Raila to follow suit. Respondent C further echoes unity expressed in Sentence 31 when he asserts *it* (carrier) *was a sigh of relief* (attribute) *being that the country* (carrier) *was polarized before the handshake* (attribute). The pronoun *it* is used to stand for the handshake and its attribute connotes a much awaited panacea to tumultuous situation. The respondent elaborates further through the attribute- *was polarized before the handshake* - in the relational clause that the handshake has resulted to unity that eluded the country before the phenomenon. The sentence is intentionally configured to promote cohesion in the country. This finding affirms Jarongo (2008) assertion that as we put grammar into intentional use, we display our attitude and perform certain acts. This shows that the lexical item speaker or writer positions at the theme position powerfully impacts the intended message in a clause.

The editor positions *Kenyans* as theme of sentence (32) - *Kenyans view each other less as an anathema*- purposefully to portray an image of unity amongst citizens of the country.

His choice of the word *Kenyans* rather than phrases like Jubilee and NASA supporters that would still remind President Uhuru and Raila supporters of their political differences is aimed at strengthening unity in the country. The mental process *view* highlights the change in the mental faculty of Kenyans occasioned by the handshake. The complement *each other* anaphorically refers to Kenyans thus reinforces unity as a message. The circumstantial adjunct of manner *less as an anathema* explicitly states the positive impact of the handshake. That is, reducing *hostilities that characterized 2017 electioneering period that was punctuated by crude political competition*. Respondent E reinforces unity evident in sentence 32 when he says that *it* (unmarked theme) *has made it possible for me to co-exist peacefully with other Kenyans* (rheme). The unmarked theme *it* is the handshake that the Respondent appreciates for the harmonious co-existence with his fellow countrymen. This was not the case before the handshake, a phase which was characterized by violent political confrontation in Kenya. The clause tunes the minds of other Kenyans that political bickering no longer has place in Kenya thanks to the handshake. The clause is intentionally configured to tune the minds of readership or Kenyans to shun political hostility and embrace unity. This is consistent with Hall (1883) assertion that representation involves a deliberate effort to choose lexemes and organize language structures with the sole purpose of presenting a definite meaning. It follows that the use of common nouns is critical in disseminating peace messages with the sole purpose of promoting social cohesion.

The third person singular *he* (senser) that serves as the unmarked theme in sentence (33) - *...he believed was the beginning of the healing for Kenya...*-anaphorically refers to ODM leader Raila Odinga in the preceding sentences. The mental process *believed* is in past tense to show Raila's conviction that the deal he had with President Uhuru was good for the country as expressed in the phenomenon. The phenomenon *was the beginning of the*

*healing for Kenyans* refers to the reconciliation that would be progressively realised in the country as a result of the handshake. The use of the progressive verbs; *beginning* and *healing* in the phenomenon show that the reconciliation would not occur instantaneously but rather progressively. The two leaders only initiated the process. By explicitly expressing Raila's conviction, the reporter aims at influencing his supporters to embrace his stance that the handshake was all about reconciliation which eventually leads to cohesion in the country. Respondent H adds that *the handshake* (actor)..... *has brought* (material process) *harmony* (goal) *to the country* (circumstantial adjunct of place). The actor, handshake, is acknowledged by the Respondent for harmony witnessed in the country and by extension reconciliation which comes whenever harmony has been realized. The clause was thus structured to tune the minds of Kenyans to embrace unity. This finding is in concord with Jarongo (2008) argument that language is also a device for influencing our perception of the events in the society. This shows that positioning of a leader in the theme position is crucial in disseminating peace messages since his followers are more likely to embrace the message.

These clauses under mental process are configured purposefully by the journalists to appeal to the senses of the readership or the general public with the sole aim of influencing their behaviour and advancing unity and cohesion in the country.

#### **4.3.3 Verbalization processes**

Verbal processes indicate what is uttered. Verbs such as lament, tell, claim, proclaim and say are often used. Its constituents are "sayer, receiver and verbiage." Sayer is the participant who makes the utterance. Receiver is the participant who is targeted by what is said (utterance) by the sayer. Verbiage is what is said by the sayer (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The following verbal clauses were identified in relation to the Uhuru-Raila handshake.

34. *I'm now ready to work with President Uhuru, says Joho. (11SN)*

35. *"Uhuru-Raila handshake lowered political temperatures in Kenya," said Martha Karua. (15DN)*

36. *Back peace deal: Raila to supporters. (20DN)*

Sentence (34) is a headline of a news report. It consists of two parts: the verbiage- *I'm now ready to work with President Uhuru-* and sayer *Joho*. The verbiage is positioned first by the reporter to give prominence to the new information. The given is that there is transformation at both personal and political level. The sayer has made a drastic change to embrace President Uhuru and the Jubilee administration after the handshake. The use of the pure deictic adverb *now* is significant for it expresses proximal reference to the shift in the position of the sayer. The verbiage can further be classified as a relational clause and as such it consists of two constituents- a carrier and an attribute. Personal pronoun *I* is the carrier while *ready to work with President Uhuru* is the attribute. The underlying connotation expressed by the attribute is unity and reconciliation. Similarly, respondent F adopts a reconciliatory tone in his verbiage *I (carrier) have nothing against them (attribute). It was their right to support a party of their choice*. The pronoun *them* refers to Jubilee supporters who the Respondent was probably at loggerheads with being a NASA supporter in the 2017 elections. In the attribute, he is categorical that he does not harbour any bad feelings towards Jubilee supporters. This is a sign that reconciliation has already taken place between him and Jubilee supporters following the handshake. Sentence 34 is thus structured to emphasize unity and reconciliation as the impact of Uhuru-Raila handshake to both the political class and the mass. Both entities are thus persuaded to embrace unity and reconciliation amongst themselves as Kenyans. This finding is in conformity to Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) assertion that interpersonal metafunction enables language users to perform certain tasks as they use language. The position of

verbiage before the sayer is critical in emphasizing the message and the task being executed through the clause.

Sentence (35) - "*Uhuru-Raila handshake lowered political temperatures in Kenya,*" said *Martha Karua*. - comprises verbiage and sayer. The verbiage *Uhuru-Raila handshake lowered political temperatures in Kenya* appears first to give prominence to the new information. That is, pacification of political violence and tension that typified the 2017 presidential elections in the country. The unmarked theme *Uhuru-Raila handshake* comes first to focalize the unity between President Uhuru and ODM leader Raila Odinga. Political temperatures in this context connote politically related violence and tension that characterized the 2017 elections. The sayer, *Martha Karua*, appears at the end because the focus is not on her as prominent political leader in Kenya but rather on the impact the handshake has had in the country. The reporter intends to highlight the positive impact already witnessed in the country to persuade Kenyans to forge a peaceful path leading to national cohesion in the country. This is consistent with Wells (1986) argument that the arrangement of words into different patterns could influence a people's world view. It follows that when disseminating peace messages, the positioning of leaders of groups in conflict in the theme position is crucial in an attempt to promote social cohesion.

Sentence (36) - *back peace deal: Raila to supporters* - is a headline of a news report. The verbiage *back peace deal* appears first before the sayer, *Raila* and the target, *supporters*. The verbiage lacks a subject for it is an imperative and indirect request. The imperative mood signifies that it is an obligation of Raila's supporters to support the deal between him and President Uhuru. This is reinforced by the fact that the deal is meant to bring peace in the country as stipulated in the complement. Owing to its good intention, no one is expected to oppose it thus the choice of imperative mood. The target is positioned at the far end to demonstrate that the focus is not on the supporters but rather the deal whose

outcome is peace in the country. By positioning the verbiage in the theme position, the reporter deliberately gives prominence to peace and wishes to influence the readership or the mass to embrace peace for a peaceful co-existence amongst them. Respondent A emphasizes this stance when he asserts *he* (senser) *also wants* (mental process) *peace to prevail* (phenomenon) *in the country* (circumstantial adjunct of place). The senser, *he*, is Raila Odinga whom the respondent believes shook hands with President Uhuru because of his desire to see the country being peaceful after a tumultuous electioneering period. Peace would only exist once the parties involved in the handshake-Jubilee and NASA supporters reconciled and embraced unity. Sentence 36 is therefore configured to influence the masses to embrace unity. This is in conformity with Hall (1883) assertion that representation involves a deliberate effort to choose lexical items and organize language structures with the sole purpose of presenting a definite meaning. The use of imperatives is vital in promoting social cohesion since the message passed becomes the target's obligation.

In the verbal clauses, the reporters position the verbiage in the theme position to give prominence to positive impact of the handshake so far witnessed in the country. These include unity, reconciliation and peace and are aimed at influencing the mass to embrace the aforementioned thus culminating in cohesion in the country.

#### **4.3.4 Relational processes**

Relational process classifies and assigns identity (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). In this light, the process can be subdivided into two categories –“attributive clause and identifying clause”- which serve the aforementioned functions, respectively. The constituents of attributive clause are carrier and the attribute. Carrier is the entity that is described while attribute is the description assigned to the carrier. Identifying clause has two constituents- identified and identifier. Identified is the entity that is assigned identity.

Identifier is the element which serves as the identity. The relational clauses below were identified in relation to the Uhuru-Raila handshake.

37) *Yet it is those doubts and bitterness that the handshake ... seek to address. (4SN)*

38) *...it was about bridging differences.... (8SN)*

39) *...it was long overdue and would work well towards eliminating the scourge of tribalism. (9SN)*

The marked theme *yet* in sentence (37) - *yet it is those doubts and bitterness that the handshake ... seek to address*- is an adversative of relation. It is a cohesive device that introduces a contrary view to the one expressed in the preceding paragraph that *it is inconceivable that the March 9 handshake.....would overcome biases that have taken decades to build by a single stroke*. The unmarked theme *it* is the carrier in the attributive clause. The attributes *doubts and bitterness* lexically refer to nominalization *inconceivable* and ideational metaphors respectively. The rank shifted clause *that the handshake .....seek to address* is rendered as the solution in the attributes. The editor intends to influence the mass to perceive the handshake as the remedy to the challenges that have bedeviled this country for far too long. The handshake would eventually lead to healing thus resulting to reconciliation in the country. Respondent C reinforces the message in sentences 37 when he says *I (unmarked theme) don't hold anything against those who support Jubilee because they were convinced by their leaders with their manifestos (rheme)*. The respondent is very objective on his perception of Jubilee supporters after the handshake. He attributes their political stand to influence by their political leaders. He does not harbor any negative feelings towards them which was possibly not the case during the 2017 post election violence. This is a demonstration that healing and reconciliation have manifested themselves thanks to the handshake. The sentence is thus configured to foster unity in the country. This is in line with Umeogu & Ifeoma (2012) assertion that representation brings

human beings to reality and language makes this possible. The use of an adversative of relation in a clause makes the message in the clause more profound.

In sentence (38) - ...*it was about bridging differences*....- the anaphoric pronoun *it* refers to the handshake. It is also the *carrier* in the attributive clause. The attribute *about bridging differences* explicitly states what the handshake aims at achieving. It is meant to unify both the political class and their supporters by downplaying political issues that set them apart. The use of the metaphor *bridging* is very appropriate. It creates a mental picture of coupling two bodies that are set apart by a physical barrier like a river. In this context, the barriers are the political differences that divided Kenyans along political affiliations, Jubilee and NASA followers. Since political formations in Kenya are ethnic based, the political differences are by extension tribal animosities or differences. Kheri (2017) says “historically, Kenyan politics is known by its negative ethnicity.” Handshake as a bridge thus serves to bring Kenyans together by dismantling ethnic based formations and hostilities in the country. The use of the pronoun *it* which stands for the handshake sentence initially is critical since it gives focus to the event. The use of copula verb *was* in assigning the handshake its attributes is very critical as it makes it more explicit that unity of the nation is at core of the event. Respondent G emphasizes the message in sentence 38 when he says *the country* (carrier) *is now calm* (attribute) *and there is peace* (existent). The attribute of the relational clause and the existent make it clear that there is peace in the country. The deictic adverb *now* highlights the fact that the pervasive peace in the country is a recent phenomenon due to the handshake. The political differences and violence have stopped and Kenyans now exist harmoniously with their once fierce political opponents. The clause configuration is thus aimed at enhancing cohesion amongst Kenyans. This is consistent with Stede’s (1993) assertion the lexical items a speakers chooses express his intentions, for instance promoting unity in this context.



Sentence (39) - *...it was long overdue and would work well towards eliminating the scourge of tribalism*- is a compound sentence with one unmarked theme *it*. The theme is an anaphoric reference to the Uhuru-Raila handshake. The first constituent sentence *It was long overdue* is a relational clause with *it* as the *carrier* and *long overdue* as the *attribute*. The attribute expresses the Member of County Assembly's (MCAs) eagerness prior to the handshake to see President Uhuru and Raila engage in a peace deal following the protracted post elections violence that ensued after the disputed 2017 presidential elections. The second sentence *it would work well towards eliminating the scourge of tribalism*. The theme and mood are conflated making the sentence a declarative one. The use of the modal *would* express the possibility stated in the rheme. The rheme *would work well towards eliminating the scourge of tribalism* clearly informs the general public that the handshake is capable of de-ethnicizing the country. The result of this would be that Kenyans should perceive each other as members of a state rather than assigning tribal tag to fellow countrymen. The use of the premodifier *scourge* with the denotation something that causes suffering implicitly shows how the reporter loathes the vice of tribalism by depicting it as something that is detrimental to the nation. This is deliberate so as to persuade Kenyans to shun tribalism and embrace cohesion. Respondent E backs the message in sentence 39 when he adds that *I (senser) view (mental process) them (phenomenon) as fellow Kenyans (circumstantial adjunct of manner)*. The phenomenon *them* who are perceived as fellow Kenyans are the Jubilee supporters. This shows a changed perception since during the 2017 post election violence there was a glaring rift between Jubilee and NASA supporters. The respondent supported NASA in the elections. Since there is transformation in his view of Jubilee supporters as his fellow countrymen, this shows reconciliation has taken place and unity has been embraced. As such, the clause configuration is aimed at promoting cohesion in the country. This is in line with Hudson

as cited in Jarongo (2008) argues that “language creates the reality it seeks to describe and it is a way of representing the world” (p.28)

The reporters intentionally configured relational clauses to promote unity and cohesion in the country. All the attributes have positive connotations that are meant to persuade the general mass to embrace peace and social harmony.

#### **4.3.5 Behavioural processes**

Behavioural processes represent normal functions of human beings and what goes on in an individual’s mind (like sleeping, yawning, frowning and contemplating) (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The participant who undertakes what is represented in the behavioural process is referred to as the behavior. Only one behavioural clause was identified in connection to the Uhuru-Raila handshake.

40. ...*much of the country heaved a sigh of relief.* '(13DN)

In sentence (40) *the country* is the *behavior*. The country has been given ability to heave a sigh of relief. The country in this context is homologous with Kenyans. It is used in conjunction with the quantifier *much of* to show that the handshake has had a significant impact on majority of Kenyans across the political divides. The use of the noun phrase, *much of the country*, sentence initially is critical in persuading the readers to embrace handshake since a vast majority of Kenyans have already done so. The process *heaved a sigh of relief* in the behavioural clause gives prominence to the impact of the phenomenon on Kenyans. It gives the impression of a much awaited occurrence whose manifestation remained unknown yet when it materialized Kenyans unflinchingly welcomed it since it relieved them of their burdens. For instance, before the handshake Kenya’s economy seemed stalled. There was no conducive environment for business. The handshake resulted in relative calm across the country and businesses began to pick up. Respondent C shares the same view expressed in sentence 40 when he asserts *it* (carrier) *was a sigh of*

*relief* (attribute) *being that the country* (carrier) *was polarized* (attribute) *before the handshake* (circumstantial adjunct of time). The attribute of the handshake here represented by the pronoun *it* is that it relieved the country of its burden or challenges during the 2017 post election violence. The burden is explicit in the attribute of the country-political polarization. The handshake restored unity and peace that had evaded the country. As such, the sentence is configured to persuade the readership to embrace the handshake between President Uhuru and Raila for it relieves them of difficulties they faced during the protracted 2017 electoral violence. It also highlights the significance of peaceful co-existence amongst Kenyans and aims at influencing the mass to embrace peace. This is line with Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) assertion interpersonal metafunction enables language users to perform certain tasks as they use language in their social interaction. The position of intensifiers in theme positions is vital in reinforcing peace messages.

The print media in Kenya has purposefully employed diverse sentence configurations in the rendition of handshake discourse to overtly or covertly promote cohesion in the country. The sentences are geared towards influencing and persuading the general public to embrace unity and work towards enhancing cohesion amongst all Kenyans.

#### **4.4 Handshake and perception**

Christopher (2012) asserts that “perception is the process of recognizing, organizing, and interpreting sensory information and it deals with the human senses that generate signals from the environment through sight, hearing, touch, smell and taste.” The Uhuru-Raila 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 handshake is the phenomenon that is perceived.

The handshake has significantly influenced how Kenyans perceive President Uhuru as a person and head of the state in both positive and negative light as exemplified below.

41. Respondent A: *I now see him as a good president who governs well. He can now listen to divergent views from the citizenry and does not remain rigid on his party position. In addition, he makes appointments to the cabinet without considering political and tribal affiliations of the appointees.*

*I* (Senser) *now see* (mental process) *him as a good president who governs well* (phenomenon). The phenomenon shows approval of President Uhuru's leadership style by the respondent. The deictic adverb *now* indicates that this particular consideration is a recent development as the respondent never considered the President so before the handshake. *He* (Actor) *can now listen* (material process) *to divergent views from the citizenry* (goal) *and does not remain* (process) *rigid on his party position* (attribute). The goal element and the attribute in the material clause and relational clause respectively bring to the fore the receptive and flexible nature of the President occasioned by the handshake from the lens of citizens. *He* (*the President*) (actor) *makes* (material process) *appointments to the cabinet* (goal) *without considering political affiliation and tribe of the appointees* (circumstantial adjunct of manner). The circumstantial adjunct of manner portrays the President as one who is out to unite the country through his actions. He has overcome tribalism and political differences that marred the country before the handshake. He is hell-bent on seeing the country united. He has changed and he has embraced fair governance, hence, putting the interest of the country first as opposed to those of his political backyard only. In the *Daily Nation* (13DN) the reporter adds that *the men* (actors) *promised* (material process) *to work together* (goal) *for national unity* (circumstantial adjunct of reason). The actors are President Uhuru and Raila Odinga who resolved to remain united in their engagement to see to it that unity is attained in the country after the protracted 2017 post election violence. This is explicitly stated in the circumstantial adjunct of manner - *for national unity*. This reinforces the positive perception President

Uhuru has earned himself as one who is out to unite the country after his handshake with Raila Odinga.

*42. Respondent E: I see him as the President of the nation.*

*I (Senser) see (mental process) him as the President of the nation (phenomenon).* The handshake represents a mental shift in the respondent's perception of President Uhuru. He has now acknowledged him as leader of the nation unlike before. This was possibly not the case during the electoral related chaos that preceded the handshake. Being a NASA supporter, probably he never accepted the outcome of the 2017 presidential elections where the incumbent President Uhuru was pronounced the winner by IEBC. In this light, the handshake has led to acceptability of President Uhuru as the political leader of the nation and has given legitimacy to his leadership. In the *Standard Newspaper (8SN)* Raila is reported to have said *inclusivity, cohesion, corruption and tribalism were some of the issues that brought him and the President together....* National cohesion is listed in the verbiage as one of the key things behind his handshake with Uhuru. The handshake must have had an impact on Respondent Es perception of President Uhuru. He has accepted him as the legitimate leader of the nation. He possibly never considered him so before the handshake. This finding is consistent with Manusov & Milstein (2005) study of Rabin-Arafat handshake that revealed that handshake can represent legitimacy of a process. This shows that handshakes give legitimacy to political processes.

*43. Respondent C: Although we can say that the handshake worked well for the people of Kenya, the main beneficiaries of it were Uhuru and Raila. They are the dynasties and they must fight by all means to remain politically relevant. For the sake of the name of Kenyatta family, he had to go for the handshake for it to remain relevant going into the future because despite the handshake nobody would have stopped him from ruling.*

*For the sake of the name of Kenyatta family* (marked theme), *he* (carrier) *had to go* (process) *for the handshake for it to remain relevant going into the future* (attribute)...The marked theme serves to highlight the respondent's conviction that to President Uhuru, the interests of Kenyatta's family, the President's family, supersedes the country's interests and that is what compelled President Uhuru to consider the handshake with Raila Odinga. The underlying connotation is that the president is parochial and cares most about what affects him and those around him. The respondent's usage of high modal *had to* shows the President was desperate and under obligation to serve his personal and family interests. The attribute - *for it to remain relevant going into the future* -emphasizes the respondent's view that the political future of Kenyatta family informed President Uhuru's engagement with ODM leader Raila Odinga. This only reinforces the perceived egocentric and parochial traits of the President. This particular respondent's can be said to be very subjective. This perception is also reinforced in editorial of the *Standard Newspaper (4SN)* when the editor asserts that *..... the notion gaining traction that families of prominent leaders* (actors) *are ganging up* (material process) *to keep the presidency in their grasp* (circumstantial adjunct of reason). The circumstantial adjunct of reason explicitly states that the handshake was meant to ensure that leadership of the nation remains within the grip of the families of prominent leaders. As such, the handshake is a scheme to ensure families of both president Uhuru and Raila remain in power. This further reaffirms Respondent Cs perception of Uhuru as parochial individual who only cares about what affects him and his family. Furthermore, the underlying attitude is that of pessimism. This is in absolute contrast to Manusov and Milstein (2005) finding that handshake can represent optimism. As such, handshake can represent both attitude of optimism and pessimism depending on the context.

Similarly, Raila Odinga has gained both positive and negative perceptions amongst Kenyans after the handshake:

*44. Respondent A: I view Raila as someone who advocates for equal and fair distribution of resources to the people from the central government. He also wants peace to prevail in the country for economic development.*

*He (senser) also wants (mental process) peace to prevail in the country (phenomenon) for economic development (circumstantial adjunct of reason).* The Respondent A paints Raila as someone who means well for Kenyans and his country. He cares about peaceful co-existence amongst Kenyans and the country's economic prosperity as articulated by the respondent in the Phenomenon. He is thus portrayed as a patriotic and selfless leader who puts the interest of his county and those of his fellow countrymen first. This view is reinforced in the *Standard Newspaper (9SN)* where it is reported that *they cited unity and economic progression as the motivators for the pact* (identifying clause). It is explicit in the identifying clause that unity of the nation and economic prosperity are what informed the two leaders' handshake but not their personal interests. This further emphasizes respondent A's perception of Raila as patriotic and selfless individual.

*45. Respondent B: Raila is becoming an icon after the handshake not just here in Kenya but as well as internationally. He has international accolade and recognition.*

*Raila (carrier) is becoming (process) an icon (attribute)..... He (carrier) has (process) international accolades and recognition (attribute).'* In the relational clause, Raila has been ascribed a higher social status both internationally and nationally thanks to the handshake. The respondent uses the present-in-present form of the verbal process *becoming* to indicate that Raila's social standing is on a steady upward trajectory since the handshake. The lexical item *icon* is used with the denotation famous in this context. The

possession *international accolade and recognition* serves to cement Raila's growing fame beyond the country's borders for he is praised and recognized internationally. Watts (1992) considers handshake as a social behaviour that is predetermined by a social group whose objective is to place individuals involved in it at a similar social level. However, the Uhuru-Raila handshake from the perspective of Respondent B has only served to raise the social standing of only one party involved in it that is Raila Odinga. It follows that a handshake can raise the social standing of only one of the individuals who are involved in the handshake.

*46. Respondent F: Raila shook hands with Uhuru for his political survival. He has gained international accolades. To me, he was making his history. In a nutshell, the handshake was for his personal benefit. He also wanted to protect their family ill-gotten wealth.*

*The handshake* (unmarked theme) *was for his personal benefit* (rheme). In the declarative clause, the respondent is categorical on what informed Raila to shake hands with President Uhuru as well articulated in the rheme; his personal gain. In the first sentence, the respondent specifies the gain as political survival. His personal desire to continue being relevant in Kenya's political space is projected as the most salient to him. This paints Raila as a self-seeking and self-centered individual. The respondent further asserts that *he* (carrier) *also wanted* (mental process) *to protect their family ill-gotten wealth* (phenomenon). He puts into question the source of Raila's family wealth and raises suspicion on the manner the family acquired its wealth. The respondent is subjective and overtly displays his attitude towards Raila and his family. This finding is consistent with Manusov and Milstein (2005) study of Rabin-Arafat handshake that revealed that handshake can represent attitudes. This shows that handshakes reveal attitudes in diverse contexts. The perception of Raila as self-seeking is also emphasized in the editorial section of *The Standard Newspaper* where it captured that ... *the ball is in the hands of*



*Uhuru and Raila to prove to all that it is not about them (4SN). The rank shifted clause that it is not about them further highlights that personal gain informed Uhuru and Raila's decision to shake hands. This only serves to reinforce the perception of Raila as self-seeking and self-centered individual.*

*47. Respondent G: After the handshake, he has not come out to rebuke some of the ills the government is doing now that they are working together.*

*Respondent J: He ceased to be the people's advocate. He has become more of a sycophant to the President. He is enjoying the fruits of the handshake more than anybody else because he is not even highlighting some of the glaring corruption incidences in the government.*

*He (theme) has not come out to rebuke some of the ills the government is committing now that they are working together (rheme). In the rheme, the respondent G overtly expresses his view that the handshake has made Raila politically inactive and docile. He no longer keeps the government on toes neither does he chide the ills in the government. He feels disappointed in him. Respondent J shares G's view even more strongly when he posits *he (carrier) has become (process) more of a sycophant to the President (attribute)*. In the attribute, the respondent refers to Raila as a *sycophant* with the denotation "someone who praises a powerful person in a way that is not sincere in order to gain some advantage from him." He raises serious concerns about Raila's personality. He implies he is dishonesty and egocentric and these have contributed to his perceived behaviour. All he is after is his personal gain from the President's administration. The perception that the handshake has made Raila to cease executing the roles of opposition leader is echoed in the *Standard Newspaper* where it is reported that *Mr. Mudavadi (sayer) cautioned against suffocating opposition by engaging in questionable deals with the government (verbiage) (6 SN)*. The target of Mr. Mudavadi is not explicitly stated but is presumably Raila. He*

considers Raila's decision to shake hands with Uhuru as an incapacitation of the opposition in the country. This emphasizes respondent G's view that the phenomenon has made Raila politically inactive and deprived him the synergy to keep the government on toes as the perceived opposition leader.

The handshake has had a noticeable impact on how some Kenyans perceive their erstwhile political opponents as typified below.

*48. Respondent C: I don't hold anything against those who support Jubilee because they were convinced by their leaders with their manifestos. However, at the end there is a realisation that the manifestos are the same. They are all geared towards improving the country economically.*

*49. Respondent I: I view them as brothers and sisters.*

Respondent C postulates *I (senser) don't hold (process) anything against those who support Jubilee (phenomenon).....* This is a drastic shift; the respondent does not harbour any bad feelings towards Jubilee supporters and he is objective on his perception of the Jubilee supporters. He sees the political game as something with a positive intent for all Kenyans through the manifestos. This was presumably not the case since before the handshake Jubilee and NASA supporters were at loggerheads. This perception is shared by respondent I though more profoundly when he says *I (senser) view (mental process) them as brothers and sisters (phenomenon)*. The use of the comparison *as brothers and sisters* in the phenomenon gives a picture of a very intimate relationship that Respondent I now has with the Jubilee supporters. This implies a peaceful co-existence between Jubilee and NASA supporters. Healing and reconciliation that have resulted from the handshake considering the fact that Jubilee and NASA supporters were at the epicentre of chaos that characterized the 2017 presidential elections in Kenya. This perception is emphasized in

the *Standard Newspaper* where it is reported that *they (sayer) said their coming together was aimed at promoting peaceful co-existence in the country* (verbiage). The pronoun *they* refers to President Uhuru and Raila who have made it clear in the verbiage that seeing to it that Kenyans co-exist peacefully is what informed their handshake. This reinforces respondent C and Is views that the handshake is responsible for peaceful co-existence between Jubilee and NASA supporters and Kenyans at large. Dolcos, Sung, Argo et. al., (2012) postulates that a handshake that comes before an interaction between individuals normally has a positive impact on how the interactant view each other and significantly boost their interests to engage each other. The present study further reveals that a handshake can positively impact the interaction between individuals who are not involved in the handshake, especially their associates or followers.

The Uhuru-Raila handshake elicited both positive and negative reactions amongst some Kenyans the moment they learnt about its occurrence:

*50. Respondent G: I was happy because for the better part of January, 2018 there was chaos in the country and something had to be done. After the handshake, the country is now calm and there is peace.*

*I (carrier) was (process) very happy (attribute) because before the handshake there was chaos in the country and something had to be done...* Respondent G wholly welcomed the handshake and felt elated about it as expressed in the attribute. He also sees the handshake as the much needed panacea to tumultuous politics that characterized the country before the handshake. In the editorial of the *Standard Newspaper* (4 SN), the editor emphasizes that *there is now calm across the country* (existent). Calm as used by the editor is equivalent to peace and the use of circumstantial adjunct, *across the country*, indicates the pervasiveness of peace in the country. The respondent exuded a positive attitude towards the handshake and was receptive to it. This finding is consistent with Manusov & Milstein

(2005) study of Rabin-Arafat handshake that revealed that handshake can represent attitudes and emotions. It can thus be said that handshake can represent attitudes and emotions in diverse contexts.

On the contrary, some Kenyans were not receptive to the handshake as typified below.

*51. Respondent F: I never welcomed the handshake; I really felt disappointed. Going by the 2017 post election violence, many people fought for Raila and significant number lost their lives for the sake of Raila. Raila took the oath as the 'People's President' knowing very well he would fight for the ordinary citizens but not to shake hands and collaborate with Uhuru. The handshake means there is no opposition in Kenya. There is no one to keep the government on toes, it has killed the opposition. A government must be kept on toes for it to deliver services to the people. I have not seen much that President Uhuru's government has achieved after the handshake.*

*52. Respondent H: My first reaction was that I thought President Uhuru was lying to Raila. He wanted to gain political mileage and dump Raila after sometime.*

*I never welcomed the handshake; I (senser) really felt (mental process) disappointed (phenomenon). Respondent F expresses deep frustration and a feeling of betrayal by Raila. He feels Raila abandoned the course his supporters believed in. He believes Raila is insensitive to the feelings of his supporters some of whom paid the ultimate price with their own lives during the 2017 post poll chaos. This perception is reinforced in the Standard Newspaper (1SN) when it is reported....lawmaker (sayer) claims opposition chief betrayed other NASA principals (verbiage). The sayer is a Member of Parliament from the NASA coalition whose presidential candidate was Raila. He is very clear in the verbiage that Raila's decision to shake hands with President Uhuru amounts to betrayal of other NASA co-principals. This embolden the perception of respondent I that handshake is an act of betrayal on Raila's part of his supporters. This is consistent with Manusov & Milstein (2005) finding that handshake can represent betrayal. As such, handshake can represent betrayal in diverse contexts.*

Respondent H posits: *My first reaction was that I (senser) thought (mental process) President Uhuru was lying to Raila (phenomenon). He (senser) wanted (mental process) to gain political mileage (phenomenon) and dump Raila after sometime.* He brings to the fore the suspicion with which he treats political leaders. He also considers them as untrustworthy especially President Uhuru in this context. He cast doubts on the motive of President Uhuru on his decision to engage the ODM leader. He considered him someone who was on the pursuit of his political interest and would later betray Raila as implied in dependent clause *and dump Raila after sometime.* He overtly depicts President Uhuru as insincere and self-centred. In the Standard Newspaper (1SN) it is reported “*those versed with former prime minister will tell you that this is the same way Mr Odinga joined KANA in 1997 only to implode it from within.*” The sayer makes a historical reference to what Raila allegedly did in 1997 and expresses his suspicion on Raila’s decision to engage the president. He does not dither to claim the same fate might befall his party, Jubilee Party. In this regard, the mistrust with which Kenyans treat their political leaders is ostentatious. Burgoon (1991) asserts there is evidence that handshaking significantly contribute to trust and formality in relationships between parties involved in it. Contrary to Burgoon’s assertion, the present study reveals that the associates or followers of political leaders involved in the handshake view the opposing party with a lot of mistrust depending on their political leaning prior to the handshake.

Expectations also rose amongst some Kenyans when they learnt about the Uhuru-Raila handshake as elaborated below.

53. *Respondent A: I immediately knew Kenya would regain peace and there would be economic growth.*

54. Respondent D: *I felt good because I expected much from the government. I expected the NASA regions to also have a share of the national resources; being part of the government.*

*I (senser) immediately knew (mental process) Kenya would regain peace and there would be economic growth (phenomenon).* The handshake gave Respondent A an array of hopes that peace and economic growth that had evaded the country during the post election violence would be realized through the handshake. Respondent D asserts *I (senser) felt (mental process) good (phenomenon) because I expected much from the government. I expected NASA regions to also have a share of national resources...* He considers the handshake as a gateway to resources from the national government to NASA regions. The connotation is that there has been bad governance in the country where resources are not shared fairly by the national government to all the regions. There is preference given to region from which the ruling party enjoys massive support. It follows that, were it not for the handshake the regions that are perceived to be pro NASA would not have gained much economically from the national government. Respondent D is hopeful the perceived NASA regions stand to gain economically from the national government. In the *Standard Newspaper (ISN)* it reported that *it (carrier) was key for the country's social and economic development (attribute).* Social and economic development in the attribute is synonymous with peace and revitalization of the country's economy. There is a sense of optimism occasioned by the handshake. This is consistent with Manusov & Milstein (2005) study of Rabin-Arafat handshake that revealed that can represent optimism. It follows that, a handshake between leaders of opposing sides prior to the handshake itself normally lead to a sense of optimism among their followers.

At individual levels, the handshake has had appreciable impact on the lives of some Kenyans:

55. Respondent J: *I am now enjoying the peace in the country; there are no more rampant riots.*

56. Respondent I: *...It has made it possible for me to co-exist peacefully with other Kenyans.*

*I (actor) am now enjoying (material process) the peace (goal) in the country (circumstantial adjunct of place)...*respondent J is categorical on peace (goal) that he enjoys as a result of the handshake. The use of the adverb of time *now* indicates that there never existed peace in the country before the handshake. It is an occurrence which has come to be because of the handshake. The material process (*enjoying*) shows his excitement thanks to the pervasive peace in the country. Respondent I says: *It (actor) has made (material process) it possible for me to co-exist peacefully (goal) with other Kenyans (comitative accompaniment).* The respondent appreciates the handshake for improved relationship he now enjoys with other Kenyans. The comitative accompaniment refers to his once political opponents with whom he was at loggerheads during the chaos that erupted in the country because of the disputed 2017 elections. In the *Standard Newspaper* (8SN) it is reported *...vowing to stay put in their new resolve to unite the country....* The clause makes it clear that the conviction to see Kenyans co-exist harmoniously was the drive behind Uhuru-Raila handshake. The handshake has thus helped to rebuild relations in the country. Dolcos, Sung, Argo et. al., (2012) assert a handshake that comes before an interaction between individuals normally has a positive impact on how the interactant view each other and significantly boost their interests to engage each other. This study further reveals that a handshake can improve the social relation of associates or followers of political leaders who were once at loggerheads but have shaken hands.

The handshake has had noticeable impact on the country in both positive and negative light:

57. Respondent F: *It (actor) has brought (material process) peace (goal) in the country.*

58. Respondent C: *...Economically, people (actors) can now carry out their economic activities (material process) without any fear (circumstantial adjunct of manner) across the country unlike before where some people were not welcomed in some regions (circumstantial adjunct of place)....*

59. Respondent H: *There (theme) is equity of resources' distribution like in my place (adjunct of place) at least government is doing something (existent). There (theme) is building of roads and people are getting jobs (existent).*

Respondent F appreciates the handshake for the pervasive peace in the country. Respondent C paints the ugly picture of the political violence whereby some Kenyans became persona non-grata in some sections of their own country as specified in the circumstantial adjunct of time *some people were not welcomed in some regions* -. This definitely denied them the opportunity to carry out economic activities. Fortunately, the handshake rendered such Kenyans another chance; thereby, revitalizing economic growth in the country. In the same light, Respondent H believes the handshake has led to a better and fair distribution of resources in the country regardless of political affiliations of Kenyans. He is very particular in the existent on road constructions which are underway in his locale which have created employment opportunities for citizens courtesy of the handshake. This view is emphasized in the *Daily Nation (10 DN)* where it is reported *economic prospects are looking up...* the clause indicates an economic turnaround and the country's economy is on an upward trajectory.

In the political sphere, the handshake has also had significant impact.

60. Respondent C: *Politically, the handshake (actor) has worked (material process) in that the party politics was somehow silenced (circumstantial adjunct of reason). The discourse*



(theme) *is now on taking the country forward* (rheme)....*Socially, it* (actor) *has worked* (material process); *Kenyans* (theme) *no longer view each other from the political angle* (rheme).

Respondent C believes the handshake has terminated politically bickering amongst politicians drawn from the major political groupings; Jubilee and NASA as elaborated in the circumstantial adjunct of manner. They now speak one language with the interest of the nation dominating their political discourse as stipulated in the declarative clause. This is in line with Schroeder, Risen, Gino, Norton (2014) argument that handshaking positively influences co-operation. Handshake can thus be said to be an impetus to cooperation in diverse contexts. Respondent C also acknowledges the social importance of the phenomenon when he asserts in the declarative clause: *Kenyans no longer view each other from political angle*. In the *Daily Nation (10DN)* it is reported *the country* (senser) *has experienced* (mental process) *a quiet* (phenomenon) *that had had never been seen for a long time* (rank shifted clause). The phenomenon, *a quiet*, shows peace since political animosities have been contained by the handshake. This implies the handshake has resulted to social harmony amongst Kenyans.

61. Respondent D: *It has brought separation amongst Kenyans. The Ruto supporters are disillusioned because they see the handshake a hindrance to Ruto's ambition of becoming the president. On the other hand, Raila supporters think that the handshake will propel him to presidency.*

On the other hand, not all is positive about the handshake. Respondent D asserts: *It* (carrier) *has brought* (process) *separation amongst Kenyans* (attribute). *Ruto supporters* (carrier) *are* (process) *disillusioned* (attribute) *because they* (senser) *see* (mental process) *the handshake as a hindrance to Ruto's ambition of becoming president* (phenomenon)...In his view, the handshake has only served to create further rifts in the country. Deputy President's supporters perceive the event as a barrier to his presidential

bid and this has set them apart from those Kenyans who don't share their thoughts on the same. This perception is emphasized in the *Daily Nation* (10DN) where it is reported *leaders (sayer) claimed (verbalization process) that Mr. Odinga was causing conflict in Jubilee to undermine Mr. Ruto and scheme for his own 2022 candidature (verbiage)*. The leaders are pro Ruto politicians in the Jubilee party who are not receptive to the handshake between Uhuru and Raila. They have construed the phenomenon as a political plot to scuttle Ruto's presidential bid in 2022. Their dissent only serves to create rift in the country as expressed by respondent D. This is contrary to Manusov & Milstein (2005) finding that handshake can represent peace. This study thus reveals that handshake can represent peace and conflict depending on the interest of the perceivers of the handshake. All in all, the Uhuru-Raila handshake has had profound effect on the perception of Kenyans in both positive and negative light. The positive perceptions associated with the handshake are approval of President Uhuru's leadership style, legitimacy of President Uhuru as a leader, perception of Raila as patriotic and selfless, optimism, social harmony, and economic revitalization in the country. On the other hand, the negative perceptions are parochialism, pessimism, self-centeredness, conflict, betrayal and political mistrust. The chapter has presented a thorough analysis of lexical choices and sentences in the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse. The ideational and interpersonal tenets of the SFG have been simultaneously in the data analysis. Adequate attempt to compare existing literature with the study findings have been made. In addition, the researcher's has been explicitly expressed throughout the analysis.

#### **4.5 Summary of the chapter**

The chapter has dealt with data presentation, data analysis and discussion. This was done under the following sub-headings: lexical choices and concepts, syntactic structures and social cohesion and handshake and perception in line with the study objectives.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter confines itself to summary of study findings, conclusions of the study, recommendations from the study and suggestions for further study.

#### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

This segment presents the main findings of the study as per the study objectives. The study objectives included: to examine how the print media exploits lexical choices to propagate ideas on the Uhuru-Raila handshake, to determine the relation between sentence structures and social cohesion in the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse and to establish the effect of Uhuru-Raila handshake on perception of Kenyans in the handshake discourse.

##### **5.2.1 Exploitation of lexical choices by the print media to propagate ideas on the handshake**

The study revealed that the print media in Kenya intentionally employed lexical choices drawn from nouns, verbs and adjectives to propagate concepts on the Uhuru-Raila handshake.

The nouns and noun phrases were intentionally employed to spread both positive and negative conception on the handshake to the general public. The following nouns and noun phrases were used to spread positive concepts: unity deal, truce, pact, a new-found rapport, immense tranquility and my brother. The concepts associated with the aforementioned were an agreement, conflict resolution, political co-operation between Uhuru and Raila, a mark of friendship, peace and unity respectively.

On the contrary, the following nouns and noun phrases were used by the print media to propagate negative concepts: dishonesty, new marriage, bromance and a trap. The concepts associated with them were: a political decoy or trick meant to serve political

interests of ODM leader Raila Odinga, betrayal and a threat to Jubilee Party's existence and Deputy President's presidential ambition respectively. Both new marriage and bromance signified betrayal.

The following verbs and verb phrases were employed by the print media to propagate diverse concepts on the handshake in the handshake discourse: disarmed, signal, Raila showed, are ganging up, keep off Uhuru, shakes up, to forestall, that calmed, the shilling has stabilized. The concepts associated with them were: peace, a sign of peaceful resolution of political conflict, betrayal, progressive death of opposition in the country, a conspiracy to retain presidency amongst the families of the country's founding fathers, a revenge tool against those who were perceived as not having stood with Raila and ODM at large during their perceived hour of need, a license to change or form new political alliances, a panacea to political violence, a peace agent and economic revitalization respectively.

The adjectives employed largely brought to the fore the negative attitude towards the phenomenon and negative assessment of the leaders involved in it. The adjectival terms and expressions were: cautious, selfish politics, questionable and mere. The adjectives, cautious and questionable, highlighted negative attitude of skepticism. Selfish politics, revealed Raila's trait as self-centered politician and merely brought to the fore dissatisfaction, disgust and disappointment towards the handshake.

### **5.2.2 The relation between syntactic structures and social cohesion in the handshake discourse**

The reporters intentionally promoted cohesion in the country through material processes in diverse ways. Rheme constituent, unity deal, was used to make it clear to the general public that the prime objective of the handshake was to unite the country. There is extensive use of unmarked theme, the handshake, which performs the role of restoring

peace that had evaded the country during the electoral related violence and signaling a truce. The underlying undertone is that the handshake has led to realization of unity and cohesion in the country. A long embedded clause, both Jubilee and Democratic Movement ward representatives was also used as unmarked theme. By using the ward representatives as the subjects who hailed (material process) last week's meeting between President Uhuru and Raila, the reporter aimed at influencing their followers to equally accord support to the meeting whose focus was achieving cohesion in the country. Declarative clause was also used to foreground peace as the prime reason behind the handshake. The use of circumstantial adjunct, to forestall chaos being planned by their supporters, depicts President Uhuru and Raila as patriotic and responsible leaders who could go to any length for the sake of unity in the county. This was geared towards influencing the mass to shun political violence as exemplified by the two leaders.

The reporters intentionally configured sentences in the mental processes to promote unity and cohesion in the country. The phenomenon, to bring to end this adversarial politics, is positioned in the Rheme to explicitly state what informed President Uhuru and Raila agreement. This is intentional to persuade their supporters to follow suit. Kenyans (sensors) is used in the Theme position purposefully to portray an image of unity amongst the citizens. The circumstantial adjunct of manner, less as an anathema, highlights the positive impact of the handshake. That is, reducing political hostilities that characterized 2017 electioneering period that was punctuated by crude political competition. The phenomenon, was the beginning of the healing for Kenyans, referred to the reconciliation that would be progressively realised in the country as a result of the handshake.

Sentences in the verbiage processes were structured with cohesion in mind. The verbiage, *I'm now ready to work with President Uhuru, Uhuru-Raila handshake lowered political*

*temperatures in Kenya, and back peace deal*, appear sentence initially to focalize peace and to influence the readership and the mass to embrace peace for a peaceful co-existence amongst them.

Relational processes have been exploited by reporters with the intent to promote cohesion in the country. The rank shifted clause; that the handshake...seeks to address, is rendered as the solution in the attribute to the problems bedeviling the country; doubts and bitterness. The attribute, about bridging differences, explicitly states what the handshake aims at achieving; unifying both the political class and their followers by downplaying political issues that set them apart. The Rheme, would work well towards eliminating the scourge of tribalism, clearly informs the mass that the handshake is capable of de-ethnicizing the country. The results of this would be Kenyans should perceive each other as members of a state rather assigning tribal tag to fellow countrymen.

In the behavioural clause; the process, heaved a sigh of relief, gives prominence to the impact of the handshake on some Kenyans. It relieved them of the difficulties they faced during the protracted 2017 electoral violence. It resulted in relative calm across the country and businesses began to pick up.

### **5.2.3 Influence of the handshake on the perception of Kenyans**

The study revealed that the handshake has had a mixed influence on the perception of Kenyans. Politically, the handshake has had both positive and negative effect on how President Uhuru and ODM leader Raila Odinga are viewed in the country.

On the positive side, President Uhuru has received approval of his leadership style by some NASA supporters unlike before the handshake. This is exemplified in the mental clause; *I now see him as a good leader who governs well*. The handshake has also led to acceptability of President Uhuru as the political leader of the nation. This is expressed in

the mental clause *I see him as the President of the nation*. On the flip side, the President has been painted negatively as parochial and egocentric individual who cares most about his personal and family interests at the expense of the country. The marked theme, *for the sake of the name of Kenyatta family*, highlights this perception.

Raila has been viewed as a patriotic and selfless leader who puts the interests of his country and those of his fellow countrymen first. The mental clause, *he also wants peace in the country for economic development*, highlights this perception. He has also earned a higher social status as captured in the relational clause; *Raila is becoming an icon*. On the negative side, Raila has been perceived negatively as self-seeking and self-centred individual. The declarative clause, *the handshake was for his personal benefit*, affirms this perception. He is also considered politically inactive and docile after the handshake. He no longer keeps the government on toes. This is expressed in the declarative clause; *he has not come out to rebuke some of the ills the government is committing now that they (President Uhuru and Raila) are working together*.

The handshake has influenced positively how some Kenyans perceive their erstwhile political opponents. Some NASA supporters no longer harbour bad feelings towards Jubilee supporters. This is explicit in the mental clause, *I don't hold anything against those who support Jubilee*. On the negative side, the handshake has birthed political causalities. The crack in Jubilee Party is majorly attributed to it. This is made clear by the material clause; *the handshake has divided Jubilee supporters*.

The handshake elicited mixed feelings amongst Kenyans when they learnt about it. It brought the sense of optimism. Some Kenyans were given hopes that peace and economic growth that had evaded the country during the post election violence would be realized through the phenomenon. This is well stipulated in the mental clause; *I immediately knew*

*Kenya would regain peace and there would be economic growth.* The regions that supported NASA became optimistic of reaping big from the national government. This is affirmed by the material clause; *I expected the NASA regions to also have a share of national resources.*

At individual level, the impact of the handshake has also been felt. Kenyans now enjoy peace thanks to the handshake. This is evidenced by the material clause; *I am now enjoying peace in the country.* The phenomenon is also appreciated for the improved relationship Kenyans now have with each other. The material clause; *it has made it possible for me to co-exist peacefully with other Kenyans,* affirms this. The handshake has also resulted in social harmony amongst Kenyans. This is echoed in the declarative clause; *Kenyans no longer view each other from political angle.*

From an economic dimension, the handshake has had substantial impact in the country. It has revitalized economic growth in the country. This is reinforced by the material clause; *people can now carry out their economic activities without fear.*

The handshake is blamed for further rifts in the country. This is substantiated in the relational clause; *it has brought separation amongst Kenyans.* However, it is worth noting that the pockets of rifts created by the handshake cannot outweigh the social harmony realized in the country through it.

### **5.3 Study Conclusions**

The study established that the print media in Kenya exploited lexical choices from drawn from nouns, verbs and adjectives to propagate diverse ideas on the Uhuru-Raila handshake in Kenya. The study concluded that there is significant relation between syntactic structure and social cohesion in the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse in Kenya. The study further



established that the Uhuru-Raila handshake has had political, social and economic impact on the perception of Kenyans in the handshake discourse.

#### **5.4 Recommendations from the Study**

The study findings informed the following recommendations:

- i) A political handshake should be considered as a sign in semiotics as a discipline.
- ii) Other than words and phrases, syntactic structures should be considered key in disseminating peace messages.

#### **5.5 Suggestions for further Study**

In close consideration of study findings and recommendations, the researcher suggested the following for further study:

- i) A similar study should be done using conceptual metaphor theory to determine how concepts are mapped in the Uhuru-Raila handshake discourse.
- ii) An analysis of main stream media interviews and talk shows on the Uhuru-Raila handshake could be conducted to further determine the effect the phenomenon has had on Kenyans.
- iii) Comparative studies of handshake in other contexts such as in academia, conflict resolution, religion, transport industry, commerce among others could be conducted.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Data Extraction Guide

#### Data Extraction Guideline

Variable	Explanation	Data
Lexicalisation	The selection/choices of wording that propagate ideas on the handshake: nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs.	
Transitivity	<p>“Processes in verbs: are they verbs of:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• doing: material process</li> <li>• being or having: relational processes</li> <li>• thinking/feeling/ perceiving: mental process</li> <li>• saying: verbal processes</li> </ul> <p>Physiological/psychological behaviour: behavioural process” (Halliday &amp; Matthiessen, 2004)</p>	
Thematizations – syntax: theme is the initial section of a clause.	Consider what is highlighted by being presented in the theme position in the clause.	
Rheme – syntax: rheme is the ending part of a clause	New information is often presented in the rheme position in English texts.	

Adapted from Janks (2005)

1 SN

# Leaders react to surprise unity deal

**Makueni lawmaker claims Opposition chief betrayed other NASA principals.**

By Standard team  
newsdersk@standardmedia.co.ke

Tough times lie ahead for National Assembly Minority Whip Junet Mohammed and Minority Leader John Mbadi, an MP has said.

Makueni MP Daniel Maanzo told The Standard that since Opposition leader Raila Odinga had betrayed the other NASA co-principals, Junet and Mbadi should cross the floor and sit on the Jubilee Party side in Parliament.

"These two should quit their current positions for fresh nominations to be conducted for the minority group in Parliament," Mr Maanzo added.

The surprise meeting between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Mr Raila has confounded both political leaders the clergy and council of elders.

"All (NASA) principals will have a meeting (today) and the explanation that Raila will give will either build or break the alliance. But as a party we remain obstinate that ODM has joined Jubilee, not in the interest of others," he added.

But Makueni Senator Mutula Kilonzo Junior defended the unity pact, saying it was key for the country's social and economic development.

"It takes a lot of wisdom to defy all odds to sit with a nemesis, and therefore, this

**"Those well versed with the former prime minister will tell you that this is the same way Mr Odinga joined Kanu in 1997 only to implode it from within."**

**Kindiki Kithure**

meeting is both socially and economically important for our nation," he said.

Tharaka Nithi Senator Kithure Kindiki yesterday urged the President to be cautious while dealing with Mr Raila.

"Those well versed with the former prime minister will tell you that this is the same way Mr Odinga joined Kanu in 1997 only to implode it from within," Prof Kindiki said.

Devolution Cabinet Secretary Eugene Wamalwa, Nairobi Senator Johnston Sakaja, Makadara MP George Aladwa, former Vihiga Governor Moses Akaranga, Nairobi politician Stanley Livondo and former Westlands MP Fred Gurno also welcomed the unity.

Kikuyu and Luo elders have urged NASA co-principals Musalia Mudavadi, Kalonzo Musyoka and Moses Wetang'ula to support the talks.

**[Dickson Mwiti, Steve Nzioka, Kevin Omolo, James Omoro, Michael Chepkwony, Jacinta Mutura and Edwin Nyarangi]**

**NASA coalition partners tell the Opposition chief they will not be party to any deal he may have reached with the President after Friday's controversial meeting.**

**By Geoffrey Mosoku and Rawlings Otieno**

newsdesk@standardmedia.co.ke

National Super Alliance (NASA) leader Raila Odinga yesterday battled to convince his coalition partners they could still trust him and that his deal with President Uhuru Kenyatta was in good faith.

Raila put on a brave face as he met his co-principals Kalonzo Musyoka, Musalia Mudavadi and Moses Wetangula for the first time since Friday's truce meeting with President Kenyatta.

During the NASA meeting, Raila was hard-pressed to explain his decision to hold secret talks with Uhuru, reportedly for almost a month. The talks culminated in Friday's deal at the President's Harambee House office and the handshake signalling a truce between him and the Jubilee Party leader whose presidency he had vowed not to recognise.

The NASA meeting, at Stoni Athi Resort in Machakos County, lasted several hours as Raila fought claims that he was not to be trusted.

The three told Raila that any deal reached between him and the President was personal and they would not be party to it.

## **Opposition leaders are hiding behind pact between Opposition chief and President Kenyatta to support DP's 2022 bid.**

**By Moses Nyamori**

[mnyamori@standardmedia.co.ke](mailto:mnyamori@standardmedia.co.ke)

ODM leader Raila Odinga is in a fresh dilemma as Deputy President William Ruto exploits the former's handshake with President Uhuru Kenyatta to win support in Opposition zones.

Some ODM legislators have cited the unity pact between Raila and Uhuru to court new political alliances that could undermine the party's influence in the lead up to the next General Election.

Coast region, which has traditionally supported Raila, appears to have flipped in the face of Ruto's offensive, with some of its key leaders declaring support for the DP's 2022 presidential bid while hiding behind the 'handshake' to insulate themselves from punishment by the party.

# Focus on what stands to be achieved after the handshake

**M**ore than anything else, President Uhuru Kenyatta's apology to Kenyans during Wednesday's State of the Nation address has elicited many reactions.

As usual, the reactions are mixed because it is inconceivable that the March 9 handshake between the President and Opposition leader Raila Odinga could overcome biases that have taken decades to build by a single stroke. The undertones of political differences before and after the repeat October 26, 2017 presidential election still linger.

Yet it is those doubts and the bitterness that the handshake and apology seek to address. In particular, what has featured most in national discourse is why an apology was not directed at specific individuals, like the families of all those who died in the chaos that ensued after the disputed August 2017 elections, but more specifically, the family of Chris Msando, an officer of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission who was killed shortly before the elections, creating a lot of speculation around his death.

The President's apology is unprecedented in the country's history, and as citizens, we need to appreciate what it took for him to utter that public apology. Needless to say, it was a good gesture that signalled his intent to remedy wrongs attributed to his leadership through omission or commission.

As a country, it will be in our interests to focus on what we stand to achieve from the two leaders' agreement to work together than on what should or shouldn't have been. If we choose the latter, we will lose focus and dwell more on the bitterness that nearly ruined our country.

The economy has taken a beating because of the lack of investor confidence, and under-performing businesses have been operating in an uncertain environment.

The massive rifts in the country need bridging, which can only be achieved in a serene environment. The handshake disarmed those politicians who thrive on invective and discord. Without their polarising utterances, there is now calm across the country.

In themselves, the handshake and apology might not amount to much without genuine fol-

low-up action. Indeed, the ball is in the hands of Uhuru and Raila to prove to all that it is not about them. It is upon them to take their new-found rapport a notch higher to debunk the notion gaining traction that the families of former prominent leaders are ganging up to keep the presidency in their grasp.

Those opposed to the handshake, and who have picked on Raila's visits to former presidents Daniel Moi and Mwai Kibaki, will try to peddle this line of thought in the hope of creating fear among citizens, perhaps to precipitate some form of rebellion.

While the handshake should seek to address outstanding issues like electoral injustices and to create a governance structure that recognises the critical roles of both sides of the political divide, talk of creating additional layers of governance and the office of a prime minister have alarmed citizens, perhaps even poured cold water on the hopes they had allowed themselves to entertain. The economy, many argue, cannot shoulder the burden of a referendum, which seems to be the politicians' push.

There is a lot the common man has to deal with - the high costs of living, education, insecurity and medical care among others.

Working together towards addressing these issues will earn the President and Raila not just accolades, but the trust of citizens, and this is necessary to make their efforts worthwhile.

The fascination citizens have with politicians arises from poverty and the poor living standards that compel constituents to seek handouts from politicians who in turn use the chance to loot public coffers.

Speaking of which, tackling rampant corruption will take more than public statements and warnings from the head of State. People want to see more concrete action. Arrests without convictions are not convincing. They only serve to make citizens view the Government's action as attempts to throw wool over their eyes.

➤ If there was a time when our leaders must get up and boldly walk the talk, that time is now, particularly in the wake of that handshake and apology, and the goodwill that has greeted those actions so far.



## Wiper accuses ODM of playing selfish politics\*

Wiper party chairman Kivutha ... ted supporting Raila for 10 years ... "So what is the value of the ... and so the ... from ... the ...

Wiper party chairman Kivutha Kibwana has scoffed at Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) party leader Raila Odinga's meeting with President Uhuru Kenyatta.

Prof Kibwana described Raila's move to engage Uhuru without the other three Opposition leaders as lone ranger politics and self-seeking antics.

The Makueni governor said that by reaching out to the President alone, Raila showed that he could not be trusted.

Kibwana said Wiper and its leader Kalonzo Musyoka regret-

ted supporting Raila for 10 years only for him to stab them in the back.

"We regret that we have sacrificed 10 years for Raila. Was Kalonzo wrong to back Raila in 2013? Would the Kalonzo-Musalia ticket in 2017 have offered Kenyans a better chance?" Kibwana posed.

The governor, a close Kalonzo ally, noted that Raila's January 30 'swearing-in' ceremony was a decoy meant to prepare Raila for future negotiations with Uhuru, adding that was why Raila preferred to do it alone.

# NASA three vow to remain united

**Kalonzo, Wetang'ula and Mudavadi say they'll not be distracted by the recent meeting between Uhuru and Raila.**

**By Paul Mutua**  
pmutua@standardmedia.co.ke

Three National Super Alliance (NASA) co-principals yesterday declared that they would maintain their unity up to the 2022 General Election.

Wiper party leader Kalonzo Musyoka, Moses Wetang'ula (Ford Kenya) and Musalia Mudavadi (Amani National Congress) said NASA was a coalition of the willing and any disgruntled ally was free to decamp.

The three resolved not to be distracted by the recent meeting between President Uhuru Kenyatta and ODM party leader Raila Odinga.

Speaking at Kathivo and Kakumuti markets in Kitui County during campaign ral-

lies for the party's Kitui West by-election candidate Edith Nyenze, the widow of former MP Francis Nyenze, Kalonzo dispelled assertions by some leaders that NASA was on its deathbed.

He said their focus was on the bigger picture and that dialogue or no dialogue would not kill NASA or disfranchise their supporters.

"We want to confirm that I, Musalia and Wetang'ula will remain together and that we are not bothered about what happened recently. NASA unity is intact," the Wiper leader said.

Kalonzo urged Kitui West residents to turn out in large numbers on March 26 to vote for Ms Nyenze.

He declared himself the glue holding NASA together, adding that he would strive to ensure that the Opposition alliance remained intact up to the next elections, when he will run for the presidency.

Mr Wetang'ula said NASA's dream was in the minds of Kenyans and noth-

ing would change it.

Mr Mudavadi cautioned against suffocating the Opposition by engaging in questionable deals with the Jubilee administration.

"Let us be serious and firm on our agenda as NASA. Let us have whatever dialogue with whoever but let us not disintegrate our cause."

The principals said the alliance would continue to push its agenda for reforms in the country.

Kitui Senator Enoch Wambua said NASA was an outfit for the willing and urged Raila and his ODM allies to exit peacefully.

He accused ODM of belittling Kalonzo in the previous elections and urged for mutual respect between ODM and Wiper.

Other speakers included Makueni Governor Kivutha Kibwana, MPs Chris Wamalwa (Kimini), Gedion Mulyungi (Mwingi Central), Ben Momanyi (Borabu) and a host of MCAs from Kitui, Machakos and Makueni counties.

# Keep off Uhuru, NASA tells Kalonzo, Musalia

**Orengo says three co-principals abandoned Raila on January 30 hence they should not demand to be included in talks**

**By Sunday Standard Team**  
Newsdesk@standardmedia.co.ke

NASA leader Raila Odinga's camp has warned three co-principals to forget about talks with President Uhuru Kenyatta.

Siaya Senator James Orengo told NASA co-principals Kalonzo Musyoka, Musalia Mudavadi and Moses Wetang'ula that the new found truce is an exclusive affair between the President and Raila.

"Please, let no one try going in there. We want the two leaders to talk among themselves. We want to give them ample space without any interference," Orengo said in reference to Kalonzo pleas to meet the Head of State.

This came as a section of MPs allied to Mudavadi were threatening to kick out Raila from the opposition coalition for abandoning the ship midway. They asked the three co-principals to identify a new leader and keep the opposition active.



## Uhuru, Raila: Handshake is not about 2022

President Uhuru Kenyatta and Opposition leader Raila Odinga yesterday told off critics of their handshake, vowing to stay put in their new resolve to unite the country.

Speaking during the funeral service for the late Kenneth Matiba at General Ihura Stadium in Murang'a, the two, who appeared to be reading from the same script, opened the lid on their new found unity, saying it was about bridging differences and not politics.

They said their coming together was aimed at promoting peaceful coexistence in the country, and that it had nothing to do with the 2022 succession politics.

President Kenyatta urged for support of his unity deal with Raila, saying he is aware some Jubilee and NASA politicians are unhappy with the gesture.

"We cannot continue differing at the expense of our country, and I know there are many who were not happy when we came together, because they thrive on commotion," said President Kenyatta.

"We cannot let politics direct how we interact with each other. We have to change that narrative and come together for the common good of this country," he added.

And in what appeared to be an

apparent opposition to the clamour to change the Constitution, Mr Kenyatta said: "Constitutional change is not an answer to all our issues. We should focus on development and less on politics. Let us focus on what matters to our people.

"We are concerned about the health of our people, the infrastructure, their security and most importantly about the future of our young people. We cannot put our politics before the plans of God. We have to come together so that we can move forward," said Kenyatta.

### Corruption and tribalism

The NASA leader said inclusivity, cohesion, corruption and tribalism were some of the issues that brought him and the President together.

"We are not thinking about 2022. That will come and go. We agreed that division that has prevented Kenya from achieving its dreams will end with us so that we have a better country," said Raila.

He added: "We agreed with my brother Uhuru to bring to an end this adversarial politics that has dominated our country for a very long time. We want the current and future generations to chart a new way."

## **Both Jubilee and Orange Democratic Movement ward representatives hail last week's meeting between President Kenyatta and Raila.**

**By Josphat Thiong'o**  
jthiongo@standardmedia.co.ke

Members of the county assembly have thrown their weight behind the pact between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Opposition leader Raila Odinga.

Both Jubilee and Orange Democratic Movement members said they supported the two leaders.

This, however, comes amidst unrest among the other coalition partners who claim they were not consulted.

Led by the assembly majority leader, Abdi Guyo, the Jubilee wing hailed the deal, saying it was long overdue and would work well towards eliminating the scourge of tribalism.

"It is about time that both leaders worked together so that

### **Backing deal**

■ The pact between President Uhuru and Raila has been welcomed with open arms by members of the Nairobi County Assembly

■ Jubilee MCAs pledged their loyalty to President Kenyatta while ODM recognised him as a Head of State

■ ODM MCA's told their NASA partners that their party's supporters had sacrificed the most and therefore deserved to gain the most

we can move the country forward. Kenyans are tired of divisive and tribal politics and we will support our President in every decision he makes for the good of Kenyans," stated Guyo.

He lauded both leaders for dropping their hardline stances, citing unity and economic progression as the main motivators for the pact.

## **Whatever you do, don't take the country back to the brink**

**J**ust when we thought that the political class had chosen to put behind their differences for the sake of the country, a new round of skirmishes erupted.

The war of words between the Deputy President William Ruto and former Prime Minister Raila Odinga is worrying and risks turning back the clock to times Kenyans would wish to forget.

The much-touted March 9 'Building Bridges' handshake between President Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila, to all intents and purposes, ought to have signaled an end to the hostilities that characterised the prolonged 2017 electioneering period that was punctuated by crude political competition.

From what we see, that is not the case. And therein lies the rub.

Raila's comments from London that Jubilee Party did not win the 2017 General Election has touched a raw nerve, just like his hypothesis that opening up the 2010 Constitution for minimum amendments will guarantee progress and most importantly, peace in the next electoral cycle in 2022.

Ruto's contention is that opening up the Constitution is a ruse to get Raila, the loser in last year's presidential election, into Government.

And the President's retort on Friday that he does not have the time to "run around the country" campaigning for constitutional changes must have emboldened the Ruto side.

Lest we forget; since the handshake, the country has experienced a quiet that had never been seen for a long time. Indeed, there has been noticeable change; trade is booming; Kenyans view each other less as anathema. But alas, the bickering could yet ruin these good prospects.

# I'm now ready to work with President Uhuru, says Joho

**County chief says he is ready to engage with the Jubilee government to serve the people of Mombasa.**

By Jacob Ng'etich  
jngetch@standardmedia.co.ke

President Uhuru Kenyatta and Opposition leader Raila Odinga's handshake continues to win hearts and now Mombasa Governor Hassan Joho says he is ready to work with the Jubilee government.

Joho had become a thorn in the political flesh of President Kenyatta and had made it difficult for Jubilee government to penetrate Mombasa County.

In an interview with *The Sunday Standard*, Joho said after Uhuru's pact with Raila, he was now ready to engage with the Jubilee government to serve the people of Mombasa.

"Raila is my party leader and he has made a move which I believe is in the best interest of the country. As a deputy leader



Interior CS Fred Matiang'i (centre) looks on as Mombasa Governor Hassan Joho (right) welcomes President Uhuru Kenyatta for the official opening of the Kenya Secondary Schools Heads Association annual conference in Mombasa in June 2016. [File, Standard]

**Power games > Leaders' change of tune compli**

# Uhuru-Raila deal shakes up Coast politics

Opposition senators and MPs throw their weight behind DP Ruto's 2022 presidential campaign

**BY LUCY MKANYIKA**

@lucymkanyika

lucy.mkanyika@gmail.com

**AND MOHAMED AHMED**

amohamed@ke.nationmedia.com

President Uhuru Kenyatta's unity deal with Nasa leader Raila Odinga has shaken up Coast politics, throwing the battle for the region's votes ahead of the 2022 elections wide open.

Coast Parliamentary Group chairman Suleiman Dori said yesterday that the National Super Alliance leader had asked MPs in the region to shelve the campaign for secession and peoples' assemblies long before he met President Kenyatta at Harambee House on March 9.

"He had told us that we should support the agenda of the government and that is what we are doing. As a party we

have to follow whatever our leader tell us to do," Mr Dori said at the Nation's Mombasa office.

The region that has traditionally voted for the opposition is now slowly embracing the Jubilee administration with some former Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) diehards, throwing their weight behind Deputy President William Ruto's presidential bid.

More than 15 Coast MPs and senators — mainly from ODM — turned up to give Mr Ruto a rousing welcome during his three-day visit covering Mombasa, Kwale and Taita Taveta at the weekend, raising questions over Nasa's future in the region.

On Sunday, Nasa leaders led by Malindi MP Aisha Jumwa endorsed Mr Ruto, saying he was the most qualified

“He had told us that we should support the agenda of the government and that is what we are doing.”

**Suleiman Dori**

**Parliamentary group chief**



felt across the country

# Victims of political violence want more than mere handshake

feel they have been left out in the new arrangement and demand an apology and compensation

By JINA MOORE

With their meeting last week, Kenya's political archrivals have been hailed for calming ethnic tensions and ending a months-long stalemate that had brought the region's biggest economy to a near halt.

But Benna Buluma just feels that she's been left further behind.

Her son Victor Okoth was killed by the police the day after the presidential election in August — a vote whose contested result pushed the country to the brink of a democratic crisis and set off protests and violence that human rights groups said led to roughly 70 deaths at the hands of the police.

"This new marriage between the two men is not in good faith," said 48-year-old Buluma, speaking of the rapprochement between President Uhuru Kenyatta and his longtime rival Raila Odinga.

"It keeps the wound in my heart alive," she said.

The men promised to work together for national unity, releasing a lengthy statement that has drawn international praise. But those who say they were victimised by police aggression say they feel forgotten and betrayed.

In January, when Mr Odinga inaugurated himself as "the people's president," the government jailed opposition politician and deported an opposition lawyer and took Kenya's three biggest television stations off the air for 10 days. An economy already slowed by electoral uncertainty seemed to stall, owners of small businesses said.

So when Mr Odinga and Mr Kenyatta met last Friday, after secret negotiations, much of the country heaved a sigh of relief.

Mr Odinga abandoned his attacks on Mr Kenyatta's legitimacy as president, and Mr Kenyatta acknowledged that he needed to engage the opposition. The two released a seven-page plan for national unity, focused on inclusivity, broad electoral reforms and efforts to fight corruption.

But neither the men nor their unity plan acknowledged the suffering of people like Ms Buluma, whose family members were injured or killed in election-related violence.

## Reconciliation calls

"The country needs to have a dialogue, but the voice of the ordinary people hasn't been raised," said Rachael Mwiki of the National Coalition of Grassroots Human Rights Defenders. "Sometimes, I feel when they're calling for reconciliation, it's only about their interests. And these are the two men who are supposed to be looking after the country."

Because neither leader ac

## **Upward trajectory**

Deputy President William Ruto admits that as a result, the economy is on an upward trajectory.

“You all know that we can only achieve a lot as a country in terms of development if there is a good political atmosphere for implementation of development projects and citizens go about their businesses without fear,” he told a group of lawmakers in Karen on Thursday.

Victims of ‘state brutality’ are however pessimistic about the ‘bro-mance’ between the two and are demanding a public apology from Mr Kenyatta for members of their families killed by the police. They, too, are calling for reparations.

The ‘peace accord’ has seen one of Mr Odinga’s loyal lieutenants, the Kisumu Governor Anyang Nyong’o being part of the president’s delegation to Cuba.

## **Golden handshake that calmed political storm**

Former presidential candidate and powerful minister in the Kibaki administration Martha Karua lauded the move by the two, saying it had helped stabilised the country.

“Uhuru-Raila handshake lowered political temperature in Kenya,” she said at a press conference.

Yesterday, chairman of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) Francis Ole Kaparo challenged individuals from the opposition opposed to the cooperation between the two foremost politicians to reconsider their stance, arguing such would be a national duty. He said the country, variously divided along ethnic enclaves needed urgent healing.



## 4 | National News

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### **Fresh start > Kenyans sighed with**

Economic prospects are looking up, unity is slowly being achieved and the tone of politics has been positive

**BY JUSTUS WANGA**

[jwanga@ke.nationmedia.com](mailto:jwanga@ke.nationmedia.com)

**E**ight days after President Kenyatta and his political archrival Raila Odinga emerged together from the terraces of the Harambee House, the seat of power to address the nation, the country has experienced immense tranquility only witnessed after the signing of the National Accord early 2008.

In the name of that handshake, the shilling has stabilised overnight with the outlook by players in the tourism sector already promising in what some experts have christened as 'peace dividend' after an inordinately protracted electioneering period. The stock market is also recovering.

## leaders are rooting for Senator Kindiki



JARED NYATAYA | NATION

Kenya National Congress leader Peter Kenneth (centre) at a fundraiser at Kaptinga Primary School in Kapseret Constituency yesterday. Present were Senators Kithure Kindiki and Kipchumba Murkomen and Gatundu South MP Moses Kuria

while urging Mr Kenneth to join Jubilee.

Last week, a section of leaders from Mount Kenya East region vowed to support Mr Ruto in his bid for the presidency on condition that he picks a running-mate from the region. This has continued to spark political intrigues.

The leaders were rooting for Senator Kindiki to become Mr Ruto's running mate. They asked leaders from the larger Mount Kenya region to support the duo.

"Already, we have fronted Prof Kindiki, who has worked with the DP for a long time, to be his running mate in 2022," said Maara MP Kareke Mbiuki.

But speaking during the Eldoret meeting, the Rift Valley and Central Kenya leaders claimed that Mr Odinga was causing conflict in Jubilee to undermine Mr Ruto and scheme for his own 2022 candidature.

"We want to see the handshake being

extended across the political divide," said Senator Kang'ata.

Senate Majority Leader Kipchumba Murkomen claimed that Mr Odinga has set a trap for Jubilee to disintegrate before 2022.

Meanwhile, Mr Ruto yesterday said the allegations that Jubilee is divided were being perpetuated by "tribal chiefs" who are used to divisive politics.

He spoke in Narok South Constituency during interdenominational prayers, accompanied by governors Samuel Tunai (Narok), Joseph ole Lenku (Kajiado), Nairobi Senator Johnstone Sakaja and a host of MPs from Bomet and Narok.

Speaking separately, National Assembly Majority Leader Aden Duale also denied claims of a split in Jubilee.

Additional reporting by George Say-  
agie, DPPs, and Abdimalik Hajir

# Opposition chief and the President struck deal to forestall chaos being planned by supporters

**BY KITAVI MUTUA**

kmutua@nationmedia.com

**O**pposition leader Raila Odinga yesterday revealed how he and President Uhuru Kenyatta fought off hardline positions from their loyalists to save the country from plunging into civil strife last year.

Mr Odinga said his supporters were determined to boycott paying taxes to the government and remove President Kenyatta's portraits from offices and business premises in his strongholds to protest the bungled General Election.

On the other hand, Mr Kenyatta was under pressure from Jubilee loyalists to arrest and charge Mr Odinga with treason after his mock swearing-in as the People's President on January 30 at Uhuru Park, said Mr Odinga.

The fear of the country plunging into anarchy forced him and President Kenyatta to make painful concessions, to the disappointment of large sections of their respective support bases, said the opposition chief.

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## Uhuru, Raila 'handshake' inspires peace drive

BY ANTHONY NJAGI

**BY ANTHONY NJAGI**

The National Cohesion and Integration Commission has launched a new campaign to foster national unity. The campaign is based on the themes of national cohesion, post-election healing and reconciliation as exemplified by the "handshake" between President Uhuru Kenyatta and opposition leader Raila Odinga.

NCIC has decided to take its campaign to the grassroots, where it is hosting forums for the youth, women and political leaders to come together, air their differences and try to sort them out.

# Back peace deal: Raila to supporters

BY RUTH MBULA

Opposition leader Raila Odinga has called on his supporters to back the dialogue deal he agreed on with President Uhuru Kenyatta.

Speaking at Kisii Sports Club where he met with local leaders, Mr Odinga said it took a lot of sacrifice to sit down with President Kenyatta last week when they signed a Memorandum of Understanding.

"We'll make a formal trip to Kisii and other counties with the Head of State," he revealed, saying this decision was based on serious soul-searching on the problems facing the country.

"We have not spoken publicly since we signed the MoU. Mr Kenyatta and I agreed to wait and see how the country reacts to its contents. That's why the President together with the 'people's president' have not spoken," he said.

While addressing a section of Kisii leaders,

among them Governor James Ongwae, his deputy Joash Maangi, Senator Sam Ogeri, MCAs and Dagoretti North MP Simba Arati, Mr Odinga said Kenya had witnessed enough bloodshed.

"From 2007 to date. At least 350 innocent lives have been lost in our country since August 8," he said.

This was his first public address since the "golden" handshake that he said believed was the beginning of healing for Kenya.

Mr Odinga said Kenyans dreamt of the kind of Kenya the founding fathers had fought for.

"This is coiled in our National Anthem which states clearly the direction Kenya wants to go. It tells us to be God fearing, justice be our defender, may we dwell in peace and liberty and may plenty be found in our borders," he said.

"We asked ourselves where we went wrong. What kind of nation do we want to build? What kind of legacy to gift the future generation."

### **Appendix III: Informed Consent Form**

My name is Jude Opiyo Abade, ADM No. MA/FA/00004/017. I am a postgraduate student at Maseno University, department of Linguistics. I am conducting a study on “Communicative Analysis of the Uhuru-Raila discourse in Kenya.” The goal of the study is to establish the effect of the handshake on the perceptions of Kenyans in the handshake discourse. I wish to consider you as my respondent. Your anonymity and confidentiality will be guaranteed throughout the study. Pseudonyms in terms of numbers rather than your name will be used in the data collection, data analysis and presentation. You are at liberty to informed consent and participation was premised on willingness and no one would be penalized for declining to take part in the study. There shall be no discomfort and harm meted upon you physiologically, emotionally, socially and economically. The study’s intended purpose is to contribute new knowledge to linguistics as a social science and there would be no direct benefit to the participants. For any queries and concerns about the study kindly contact The Secretary, Maseno University Ethics Review Committee via telephone number +254 721 543 976.

## **Appendix IV: Interview Schedule**

### **A. Questions**

- a) What was your political affiliation during the 2017 general and presidential elections?
- b) How do you now view President Uhuru after the handshake?
- c) How do you now view Raila Odinga after the handshake?
- d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters after the handshake?
- e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?
- f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?
- g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

## **Appendix V: Respondents**

### **Respondent A**

a) What was your political affiliation in 2017 general elections?

**I subscribe to NASA.**

b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**I now see him as a good president who governs well. He can now listen to divergent views from the citizenry and does remain rigid on his party position. In addition, he makes appointments to the cabinet without considering political and tribal affiliations of the appointees.**

c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**I view Raila as someone who advocates for equal and fair distribution of resources to the people from the central government. He also wants peace to prevail in the country for economic development.**

d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters post the handshake?

**The Jubilee supporters have abandoned their hard-line positions and can now listen to the voice of the opposition.**

e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**I immediately knew Kenya would regain peace and there would be economic growth.**

f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**It has had no impact in my life.**

g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**It has brought peace in the country and enabled development in some regions that would not have occurred were it not for the handshake.**



**Respondent B**

a) What was your political affiliation in 2017 general elections?

**I belong to the opposition, NASA.**

b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**President Uhuru Kenyatta is getting a mileage after the handshake.**

c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**Raila is becoming an icon after the handshake not just here in Kenya but as well as internationally. He has international accolade and recognition.**

a) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters post the handshake?

**Jubilee is a composition of very many parties fused together to form it, for instance, URP and TNA. The supporters drawn from Deputy President Ruto are in agony, they are suffering politically while those who are Pro the President are comfortable with the handshake.**

b) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**First of all, I was very happy. I am a political activist; I was monitoring what was happening in the country. Generally speaking the country was quite unstable, there was no peace and it is like we were sitting on a bombshell before the handshake. Anything would happen; you remember what happened during 2007/2008 post election violence in the country. This one would have been more bombastic than the 2007/2008 one.**

c) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**I am happy I can walk freely in this country. I can buy and sell (I can do business).**

d) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**Before the handshake the economy was constrained, immediately after the handshake the economy began to thrive, we can export our avocados, tea, coffee, human resource among others.**

### **Respondent C**

a) What was your political affiliation in the 2017 general elections?

**I support the party that majority of my people support (my tribe), that is NASA.**

b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**Although we can say that the handshake worked well for the people of Kenya, the main beneficiaries of it were Uhuru and Raila. They are the dynasties and they must fight by all means to remain politically relevant. For the sake of the name of Kenyatta family, he had to go for the handshake for it to remain relevant going into the future because despite the handshake nobody would have stopped him from ruling.**

c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**Raila shook hands with the President to remain relevant in Kenya's political arena. Raila, to some extent, I can say his priority is not the presidency or winning elections. He has been relevant for the last twenty years even without being president.**

d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters post the handshake?

**I don't hold anything against those who support Jubilee because they were convinced by their leaders with their manifestos. However, at the end there is a realisation that the manifestos are the same. They are all geared towards improving the country economically.**

e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**It was a very good act. It was a sigh of relief being that the country was polarised before the handshake. Some people could not get into other regions and they were viewed as traitors and 'thieves'. So, the handshake united Kenyans.**

f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**Very little, politically it has cooled the temperatures. Economically it has done little, things have just remained the same in terms of development, there is very little that can be attributed to the handshake.**

g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**Politically the handshake has worked in that the party politics was somehow silenced the discourse is now on taking the country forward. Economically, people can now carry out their economic activities without any fear across the country unlike before where some people were not welcomed in some regions. Socially it has worked; Kenyans no longer view each other from the political angle. They view one another as fellow Kenyans.**

**Respondent D**

a) What was your political affiliation in the 2017 general elections?

**I am NASA supporter.**

b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**There is a little bit of change in his leadership. At least he is considerate with other people.**

c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**Raila has become politically inactive. He is so quiet on political matters.**

d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters post the handshake?

**The handshake has divided Jubilee supporters. There is emergence of Pro Uhuru Kenyatta and Pro Ruto amongst Jubilee supporters who were so united before the handshake.**

e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**I felt good because I expected much from the government. I expected the Nasa regions to also have a share of the national resources; being part of the government.**

f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**I don't see any impact.**

g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**It has brought separation amongst Kenyans. The Ruto supporters are disillusioned because they see the handshake a hindrance to Ruto's ambition of becoming the president. On the other hand, Raila supporters think that the handshake will propel him to presidency.**

**Respondent E**

- a) What was your political affiliation in the 2017 general elections?

**I support NASA.**

- b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**I see him as the president of the nation.**

- c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**Raila is a peacemaker.**

- d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters post the handshake?

**I view them as fellow Kenyans.**

- e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**I saw it was a sign for good things to come. The economic relief I talked about.**

- f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**It has made it possible for me to co-exist peacefully with other Kenyans.**

- g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**It has resulted in increment in the economic activities.**

**Respondent F**

- a) What was your political affiliation in the 2017 general elections?

**I support NASA.**

- b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**The handshake was political and it was only for the benefit of Uhuru as a politician. He wanted to protect their family ill-gotten wealth.**

c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**Raila shook hands with Uhuru for his political survival. He has gained international accolades. To me, he was making his history. In a nutshell, the handshake was for his personal benefit. He also wanted to protect their family ill-gotten wealth.**

d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters post the handshake?

**I have nothing against them. It was their right to support a party of their choice.**

e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**I never welcomed the handshake; I really felt disappointed. Going by the 2017 post election violence, many people fought for Raila and significant number lost their lives for the sake of Raila. Raila took the oath as the ‘people’s president’ knowing very well he would fight for the ordinary citizens but not to shake hands and collaborate with Uhuru. The handshake means there is no opposition in Kenya. There is no one to keep the government on toes, it has killed the opposition. A government must be kept on toes for it to deliver services to the people. I have not seen much that President Uhuru’s government has achieved after the handshake.**

f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**It has not brought any change in my life.**

g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**It has brought peace in the country.**

#### **Respondent G**

a) What was your political affiliation in the 2017 general elections?

**I am staunch member of the ODM, thus NASA coalition.**

b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**Nothing much has changed, though there are issues he has tried to address after the handshake. The common man is really suffering. There is nothing that trickles down to the handshake but I believe to them us leaders they could be getting something out of this handshake.**

c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**After the handshake he has not come out to rebuke some of the ills the government is doing now that they are working together.**

d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters post the handshake?

**I believe most of the Jubilee supporters are disappointed in as much as the handshake was supposed to bring unity more so those affiliated to the Deputy President. They did not take this handshake wholesomely; they are still living in denial.**

e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**I was happy because for the better part of January, 2018 there were chaos in the country and something had to be done. After the handshake, the country is now calm and there is peace.**

f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**Nothing has changed in my life.**

g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**The only thing we are enjoying right now is a peaceful country. Otherwise in terms of economy and empowering the common man, I still believe it has not achieved that much.**

**Respondent H**

a) What was your political affiliation in the 2017 general elections?

**I do not have any political affiliation. I am a non-partisan.**

b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**Uhuru is more jubilant; he is full of energy and supreme. He is feeling a bit comfortable running the government.**

c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**Raila is also quite okay despite the challenges running from small group of people like Ruto and his click. There is smooth running of the government between people who shook hands. They are running the government quite well.**

d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee/both supporters post the handshake?

**The handshake was a very bold thinking which has brought harmony to the country. It has at least brought peace. Things are running smoothly unlike what was happening during elections.**

e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**My first reaction was that I thought President Uhuru was lying to Raila. He wanted to gain political mileage and dump Raila after sometime.**

f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**Handshake has at least helped me. I can move to all places comfortably**

g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**There is equity of resources' distribution like in my place at least government is doing something. There is building of roads and people are getting jobs.**

#### **Respondent I**

a) What was your political affiliation in the 2017 general elections?

**I supported NASA.**

b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**He is someone who wants something good for Kenyans like economic growth of the country.**

c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**Raila is a peacemaker.**

- d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters post the handshake?

**I view them as brothers and sisters.**

- e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**I first saw it as a betrayal on Raila's part of his supporters and NASA coalition.**

- f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**I can freely talk about my party without fear.**

- g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**There is improvement on the economy because people can do business all over the country. There is also peace and calm.**

**Respondent J**

- a) What was your political affiliation in the 2017 general elections?

**I supported NASA.**

- b) How do you now view President Uhuru post the handshake?

**He has been more focused on serving the nation rather than pleasing his sycophants.**

- c) How do you now view Raila Odinga post the handshake?

**He ceased to be the people's advocate he has become more of a sycophant to the president. He is enjoying the fruits of the handshake more than anybody else because he is not even highlighting some of the glaring corruption incidences in the government.**

- d) How do you now view NASA/Jubilee supporters post the handshake?

**There is nothing big because we are both supporting the same people and we are all united in developing our country. However, for the Tanga Tanga faction they feel they have lost part of the cake and betrayed by president Uhuru.**



- e) What was your reaction(s) when you first got the news that Uhuru and Raila shook hands?

**It came as surprise to me considering the political environment at that time.**

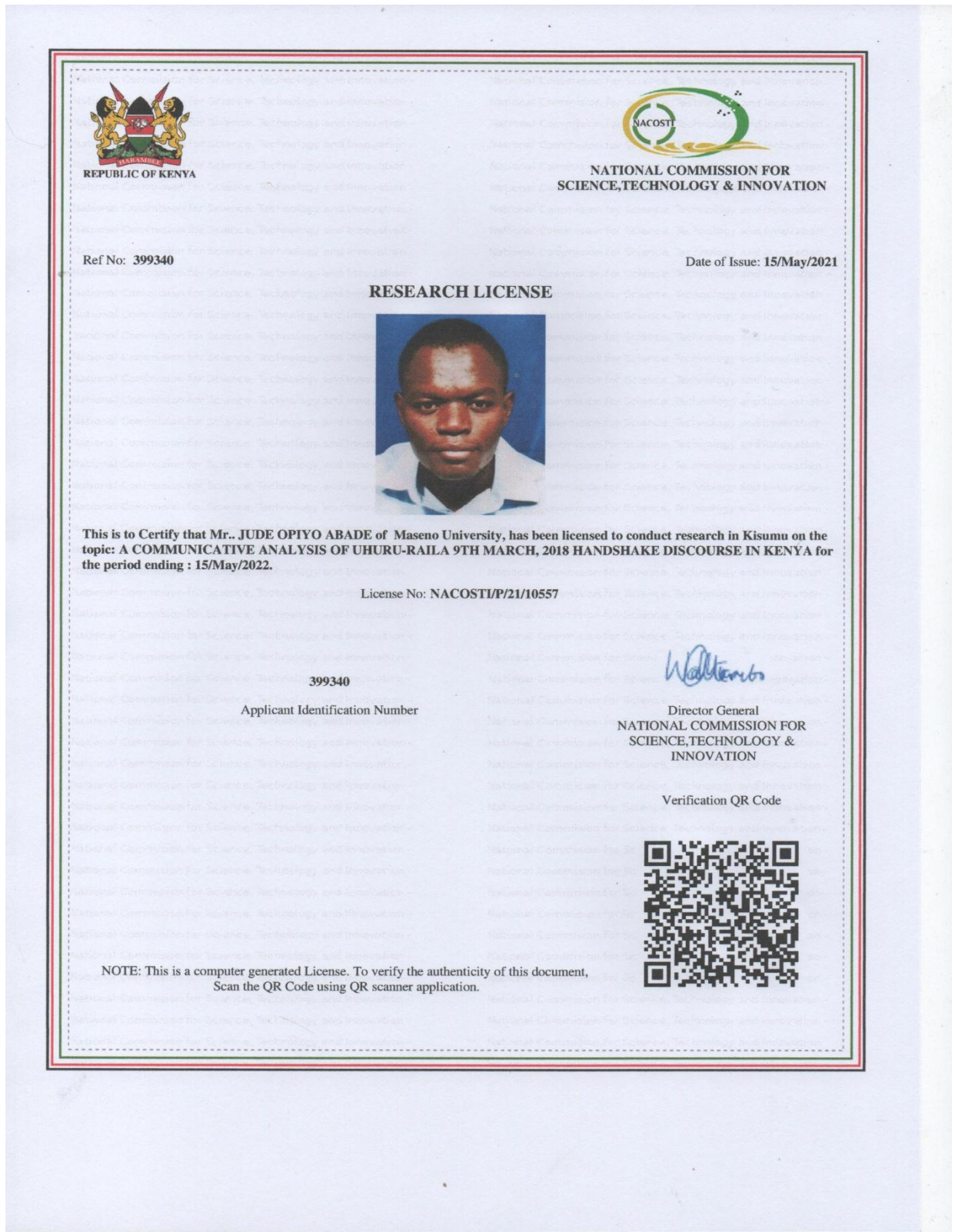
- f) What is the impact of the handshake on your life?

**I am now enjoying the peace in the country; there are no more rampant riots.**

- g) What is the impact of the handshake on the country?

**The economy began thriving and Kenyans could trade anywhere in the country regardless of their political affiliations.**

**Appendix VI: NACOSTI Research License**





## Appendix VII: MUERC Approval Letter



### MASENO UNIVERSITY ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Tel: +254 057 351 622 Ext: 3050  
Fax: +254 057 351 221

Private Bag – 40105, Maseno, Kenya  
Email: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke

REF: MSU/DRPI/MUERC/00930/21

Date: 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2021.

TO: Jude Opiyo Abade  
MA/FA/00004/017  
Department of Linguistics  
School of Arts and Social Sciences  
Maseno University  
P. O. Box, Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

Dear Sir,

**RE: A Communicative Analysis of Uhuru-Raila 9<sup>th</sup> March, 2018 Handshake Discourse in Kenya**

This is to inform you that Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) has reviewed and approved your above research proposal. Your application approval number is MUERC/00930/21. The approval period is 3<sup>rd</sup> May, 2021 – 2<sup>nd</sup> May, 2022.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following requirements;

- i. Only approved documents including (informed consents, study instruments, MTA) will be used.
- ii. All changes including (amendments, deviations, and violations) are submitted for review and approval by Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC).
- iii. Death and life threatening problems and serious adverse events or unexpected adverse events whether related or unrelated to the study must be reported to Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) within 24 hours of notification.
- iv. Any changes, anticipated or otherwise that may increase the risks or affected safety or welfare of study participants and others or affect the integrity of the research must be reported to Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) within 24 hours.
- v. Clearance for export of biological specimens must be obtained from relevant institutions.
- vi. Submission of a request for renewal of approval at least 60 days prior to expiry of the approval period. Attach a comprehensive progress report to support the renewal.
- vii. Submission of an executive summary report within 90 days upon completion of the study to Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC).

Prior to commencing your study, you will be expected to obtain a research license from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) <https://oris.nacosti.go.ke> and also obtain other clearances needed.

Yours sincerely

Prof. Philip O. Owuor, PhD, FAAS, FKNAS  
Chairman, MUERC



MASENO UNIVERSITY IS ISO 9001:2008 CERTIFIED

