

**ANALYSIS OF PEACE MESSAGES IN THE MAINSTREAM ENGLISH-MEDIUM
NEWSPAPERS DURING THE 2013 GENERAL ELECTIONS IN KENYA**

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university. All sources have been acknowledged. No part of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means mechanical, electronic or otherwise, without prior permission of the author or Maseno University on behalf of the author.

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DEDICATION

To my husband Albert, my children Purity, Jerry and Joy for their moral support, patience and especially for enduring my absence in the course of the study.

ABSTRACT

The media is a useful tool that can aid in shaping public discourse and in influencing public attitude towards some beliefs and practices. As part of the print media, newspapers play an important role of disseminating information to the public. Though the media has often been regarded as a channel of fuelling tensions during electioneering, it can potentially be used to promote peace. Since peace has been compromised in Kenya periodically at election times and given the unprecedented Post-Election Violence of 2007/2008, there was need to create awareness on the need for peace. As part of the initiative to build peace, numerous peace messages were reported in the print media and broadcast in the electronic media prior to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. It is therefore necessary to illustrate how the editors' linguistic choices enabled them to interpret the social and political context and convey the peace messages. This would enable the reader to appreciate the role of these strategies in demonstrating the need for peace in Kenya during elections thereby enhancing the acceptability and relevance of the messages. The study therefore sought to investigate the linguistic resources employed by the editors of the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers to package the peace messages in the editorials before, during and after the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. The specific objectives of the study were to: describe the lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices used in the editorials to construct the peace messages, determine the linguistic strategies of portraying power relations in the peace messages and evaluate the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages. The study used Fairclough's (1989) model of Critical Discourse Analysis which considers discourse as a form of social practice. The study adopted a descriptive research design and the study population consisted of ninety editorials that contained messages of peace purposively sampled from the editorials published from 1st November, 2012 to 31st March, 2013. From these, a sample size of twenty six editorials was analysed. The data was presented in form of prose as extracts from the editorials. Data was analysed qualitatively and findings presented in form of inferences. The findings showed that the editors presented the campaigns for peace by drawing from lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices that extolled the virtue of peace and condemned violence. The power relations were mainly portrayed through modal verbs, directives, representatives, commissives and nominalization. The language used constructed ideologies of positive presentation of US and negative presentation of THEM, pro-peace versus anti-violence ideologies and ideologies on the benefits of peace. The study recommended that in times of uncertainty or conflict, the media should endeavour to promote peace by constructing ideologies that shape the public opinion towards the sustenance of peace. The findings of the study will make a contribution to linguists by helping them understand the role of language as a possible means of spreading peace and in turn demonstrate the powerful role language could play in future peace initiatives in the media in Kenya and the Eastern African region. The findings also offer an addition to existing scholarship in the area of Critical Discourse Analysis in the Kenyan editorial discourse.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA	:	Critical Discourse Analysis
CORD	:	Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
DN	:	<i>Daily Nation</i>
Ed	:	Editorial
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
IDPs	:	Internally Displaced Persons
IEBC	:	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IG	:	Inspector General
KNDR	:	Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation
MUERC	:	Maseno University Ethics Review Committee
NSIS	:	National Security Intelligence Service
PEV	:	Post Election Violence
SN	:	<i>Sunday Nation</i>
SS	:	<i>The Standard</i>
SST	:	<i>The Saturday Standard</i>
ST	:	<i>The Sunday Standard</i>
STN	:	<i>Saturday Nation</i>

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) - (CDA) in this research will be defined as an approach fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, power and control as manifested in language (Fairclough and Wodak,1997).

Discourse - a form of social practice which takes consideration of the context of language use. In other words, it is the whole process of social interaction.

Editorial - an important article in a newspaper that expresses the editor's opinion about an item of news or an issue.

Editorial discourse - a variety of written media discourse that pays attention to various elements including human social issues, problems and opportunities. The discourse is written in the editorial section of the newspaper.

Ideology - attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to religious, political, social and economic life, which shape the individual's and group's perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted.

Media discourse - interactions that take place through a broadcast platform whether written or spoken in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer. In this study, media discourse refers to the written interactions in newspapers.

Peace - a situation or period of time in which there is no war or violence in a country or an area. Specifically for this study, it is used to refer to the absence of physical violence.

Peace message – a message that advocates or encourages peace and creates a climate of harmony which may foster unity. The thematic indicators of peace in the content of editorials for the study were ‘reconciliation,’ ‘peace,’ ‘peaceful poll,’ ‘violence,’ ‘peaceful transition,’ ‘national healing,’ ‘threat to peace,’ ‘free and fair elections,’ ‘preach peace’ and sub-related themes.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The media is a useful tool that can aid in shaping public discourse and in influencing public attitude towards some beliefs and practices. Newspapers as part of the print media play an important role in spreading information to the public. In order to achieve this, language is used as a communicative tool to construct conventional beliefs and these determine the nature of intra and inter society relationships (Omondi, 2016). In each newspaper publication, there is a section called the editorial which expresses the institution's opinion on issues of concern. According to Newsom and Wollert (1988), editorials normally cover topical issues and represent the collective voice of the newspaper. The language used in editorials seeks to influence action, persuade and aim to inform policy decisions. Therefore, analyses of editorial discourses can dwell on the strength of the editorial argument and the devices employed to convince the readers. This implies that editorial discourse has the potential to influence public opinion on important issues. These insights on the purpose of editorials provide a basis for the description of the linguistic choices used by the editors to construct the peace messages in the editorials.

1.1.1 Newspapers in Kenya

According to Sobania (2003), the first newspaper to be established in Kenya was *The African Standard* established in 1902 by two businessmen; an Asian named A. M. Jevanjee and a white named W. H. Tiller. The two established the newspaper to give native Africans a voice in the white-dominated public press. Indeed, the period preceding independence in 1963 was the most vibrant in African media even though the white minority who controlled government tried its best to muzzle the community press that published in Kamba, Swahili

and Kikuyu (Sobania, 2003). Sobania (2003) adds that many of the African publications during this period expressed hopes of African self-rule and therefore were viewed negatively by whites. *The African Standard* was later renamed *The East African Standard* and was used to propagate the views of the white minority. It also had affiliations to other smaller publications which catered for the needs of the native Africans. These were: *Baraza*, *Mombasa Times*, and *The Tanganyika Standard*.

Several other publications sprang up after the whites successfully took over the *East African Standard*. These were: *Muigwithania* published by Jomo Kenyatta between 1928 and 1934, *Mumenyereri* published by Henry Muoria in 1945, and *Ramogi* and *Nyanza Times* published by Achieng Oneko and Jaramogi Oginga Odinga (Iraki, 2010). These publications were however, short-lived in the face of government crackdown and persecution of their publishers. The publishers also lacked editorial and managerial skills as well as the resources to make these ventures viable businesses in the long-term. The *East African Standard* survived the tumultuous colonial and post-independence period and was renamed severally, before settling on *The Standard* which it operates up to date. In 1959, the Aga Khan purchased a Swahili weekly, *Taifa Leo*, and renamed it the *Sunday Nation*. The *Daily Nation* was created soon thereafter and has grown to be Kenya's most visible daily newspaper followed by *The Standard*. The two dailies were selected due to their wide readership that represents the whole spectrum of the various categories of the Kenyan population. *The Daily Nation*, *The Saturday Nation* and *The Sunday Nation* combined have a daily circulation of about 300,000 copies while *The Standard*, *The Saturday Standard* and *The Sunday Standard* combined have a daily circulation of about 150,000 copies (Sobania, 2003).

1.1.2 Studies on Media Discourse

This section provides an overview of some studies that have been carried out on media discourse as a basis of grounding the present study.

The content of information and the way it spreads can influence the peaceful coexistence of people. Violence threatens the peaceful coexistence of people in society. Oenbring (2011) studied the representations of violence in Bahamian newspapers. Using the methods of discourse analysis, content analysis, and corpus linguistics, the study compares the content of a corpus of violent crime articles from the Nassau *Tribune* and *Guardian* with similar corpora of violent crime articles collected from the leading established newspapers of Jamaica, Trinidad, and South Florida. The study found that, in general, newspaper articles reporting on violent crime in the Bahamas tended to rely heavily upon stock phrases and also, following Standard Bahamian English in general, rely heavily upon passive voice expressions, expressions that may remove the agency of the actors involved. Examples of the stock phrases used in Oenbring's (2011) study are “was taken to hospital, armed with a hand gun, taken to hospital by and caused the death of.” These phrases suggest that Bahamian newspapers demonstrate a preference for straight uneditorialized reporting of violent crime. The passive voice expressions used included “The victim was taken to hospital, the accused were not required to enter a plea and it is alleged that.” Such expressions can hide or downplay the role that government actors such as the police or magistrates play in causing an action to happen. Oenbring's (2011) study is different in subject of focus since the present study focuses on the peace messages in editorials of two mainstream Kenyan newspapers. It analyses passive voice expressions as one of the grammatical choices used to construct the peace messages. Oenbring (2011) further says that in order for information to spread from one source to another, there has to be a means of transmitting it. As such, the medium through which the information is transmitted should be a point of focus when analyzing some

of the ways through which information influences opinions in societies. In light of this assertion, this study focused on the language used to construct peace messages in the editorials published in the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers before, during and after the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. This was with a view to illustrating the linguistic strategies used by the editors to interpret the socio-political context and convey the peace messages.

Taiwo (2007) studied language ideology and power relations in Nigerian newspaper headlines. The researcher randomly selected three hundred headlines, from six Nigerian newspapers for peculiarity in the vocabulary and rhetorical devices used in order to identify the ideologies that lie behind their constructions. He structured the headlines into two categories according to the addressed issues and their surface structures. The study revealed that headlines have hidden ideological meanings, since they are divided along some ideological lines that reflect the views of those whose interests are served and those whose interests are undermined. The researcher concluded that headlines are an emotion inducing strategy in the hands of editors used to initiate, sustain discourse and shape the views of the readers on national issues. For example, the following headlines indicate how the press in Nigeria reinforces the view of President Obasanjo as authoritarian:

Another Fuel Hike: Is Obasanjo a sadist? (*Nigerian Tribune* June 9, 2004, p.6)

Obasanjo rejects National Conferb (*The Guardian* May 11, 2004, p.2)

Obasanjo must calm down to succeed (*Sunday Punch* August 22, 2004, p.6)

Fuel Price: FG adamant (*This Day* June 5, 2004, front page)

The ideological postures in the above headlines selected from four different national newspapers portray the president as unyielding, authoritarian and insensitive to the plight of the people. This picture is painted in the choice of the words sadist, rejects, calm down and

adamant. The study of power relations and ideology is relevant to this study in that politics is a site for power struggle and the peace messages were published at election time when political activity is rife. The theory used in the study (CDA) also seeks to unearth power relations and ideologies that reside in texts. Taiwo's findings are significant to this study as they highlight verifiable evidence on how ideologies are constructed through language, which is one of the objectives of this study. However, the present study goes beyond headlines by analyzing editorials as a whole.

In South Africa, Lagonikos (2005) carried out a research in ideology in editorials. The study applied Fairclough's theory (1989) in conjunction with Systemic Functional Grammar. The analysis revealed the fact that editorials distinguish between US and THEM groups for the purposes of advancing and confirming in-group ideologies and agenda. This is achieved in each case through comparing the paper's ideology with the opposing ideology which is presented as deviant and supportive of the in-group. The analysis of African editorials, in particular, further levels the exploitation of this division for the purposes of promoting and interpreting local political and social issues. Though the present study is not comparative in nature, Lagonikos' ideas on the distinction between US and THEM will be significant for explaining how the ideologies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation are constructed through language in the Kenyan newspaper editorials.

Moreover, research has also been carried out in Iran to manifest the close link between discourse and ideological manipulations. KhosraviNik (2010) studied Iranian newspapers to show how political ideologies were produced and spread in texts in a covert way. He used four linguistic features, namely nominalization, active/passive, transactive/non-transactive and naming to show how language is manipulated to serve the goals of some political parties. The features were categorized and critically analysed to prove how they are manipulated to

serve the goals of certain political parties. KhosraviNik's (2010) study provided insights in the investigation of the ideologies constructed through language in the editorials.

Gnanaseelan, (2008) studied ethnic conflict and peace in the editorials of English newspapers in Sri Lanka. The conflict was between the Tamils and Sinhalese. He carried out a discourse analysis of the editorials with an interest in the socio-political and critical relevance of an editorial discourse. The general objective of Gnanaseelan's (2008) research was to investigate the themes, structures and strategies of an editorial of the Sri Lankan English newspaper on the ethnic conflict and peace. The focus of the study was on whether the media has been a part of the problem or a part of the solution to the Sri Lankan conflict. The Sri Lankan press has been accused of war mongering, racism and ignorance about the country's ethnic conflict. The Sinhalese are projected as victims and Tamils as aggressors by foregrounding the Tamils as militants and agents of negative actions whereas the Sinhalese appear as victims in neutral or passive roles or are absent as agents of negative actions. This is illustrated in "Twenty years ago, the Sri Lankan nation (nominalization) went through the most agonizing shameful days of its history (nominalization) when innocent Tamils were killed (passivization) on the streets and in their homes while their properties were looted (passivization) and business establishments set on fire (passivization)." The study concludes that media has been a part of the problem but not a part of the solution. However, the present study focuses on how linguistic choices such as passivization and nominalization were used by editors in the Kenyan media to construct peace messages.

Bell (1991) researches the language of media and attempts to answer the question as to why there is need to study the language of newspapers. He says that the language of the media has a major impact on language use in the society and that it also mirrors the society. It also provides the resources used in the study of many language features and how the language of media 'affects attitudes and opinions in society through the way it presents people and issues'

(Bell 1991:2). Given this importance of media language highlighted by Bell, this study uses CDA to investigate how the editors used language to present people and issues leading to the construction of ideologies in the peace messages based on the socio-political context.

According to Fairclough (1989), editorials aim to persuade the audience to adopt a certain viewpoint. Such persuasion cannot materialize without the use of language. As a result, language becomes a medium of domination and social force, hence the linguistic choices are ideologically driven. Fairclough's (1995) assumptions in critical discourse analysis claim that ideologies reside in texts, it is not possible to read off ideologies from texts and that texts are open to diverse interpretation. This research drew from Fairclough's (1995) ideas on ideology in texts and Van Dijk's (2000) ideological square to describe and interpret the ideologies constructed in the peace messages based on the socio-political and historical context in which the peace messages were produced.

Ouma (2011) in her study on press freedom and media's role in conflict and peace-building argues that media can contribute to peace by engaging in credible reporting, representing balanced opinions in its editorial content and opening up communication channels among parties in a conflict. It can also identify and articulate the underlying interest of warring factions without bias. Similar sentiments are expressed by Mwithigah (2014) who studied the role of media in conflict prevention with specific reference to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. Mwithigah (2014) concludes that in 2013, the media contributed to peace by choosing on what to report and what not to report. The media chose to dwell on promoting peace through sensitive reporting of news. The two studies were based on the role of media and used the Agenda Setting Theory to meet their objectives. However, the present study takes a linguistic approach and uses CDA to describe the linguistic strategies the editors used to interpret the socio-political and historical context and construct the peace messages.

According to Mwithigah (2014), peace messages are usually covered on broadcast and print media with a lot of repetition to symbolize emphasis of the peace being promoted. Media also undertakes roadshows during certain periods like the Inooro FM roadshows, the Standard Media roadshows – events that could be used to mark certain celebrations of peace agreements and negotiations, among other events. These events are used to promote and mobilize public support for agreements and even at times used to woo the public to engage the government pertaining pertinent issues affecting the *mwananchi*. The present study is therefore necessary in order to illustrate the use of language by the media to build peace.

In the Kenyan context, peace has been compromised periodically especially during electioneering. This has led to inter-ethnic upheavals in past election periods in Kenya but the worst form of violence was witnessed in the period after the 2007 elections which left more than 1300 people dead while more than 600,000 were uprooted from their homes (Wachira and Cheploen, 2012). In the run-up to the 2013 elections, therefore, the precedence of violence necessitated nationwide peace campaigns through various channels especially the print media. The print media maintained the momentum by shaping the national peace discourse using language as an instrument which could be purposely manipulated to meet the interpretations the newspapers expect. The interpretations are based on the message the editors aim to pass to the readers. The 2013 General Elections in Kenya were closely contested according to the opinion polls that had predicted that there would be no clear winner in the first round. They were the first elections after the unprecedented PEV of 2007/2008 and also the first elections being held under a new constitution (Michira, 2014).

According to Cheeseman (2014) many ordinary Kenyans, fearing the potential for ethnic unrest, participated in the spread of the peace narrative. Civil society, community groups and faith-based organizations organized trainings, workshops, inter-community dialogues as well as monitoring and conflict-resolution activities. Media houses and international organizations

trained journalists on conflict-sensitive reporting and ran peace campaigns. The peace messages have been singled out because during the campaigns, there was tension between the two main presidential contenders as well as between the supporters of the main presidential contenders. There were also polarizing opinions and the media acted as the source of information for readers. The power experienced in words depends on the use into which the words are put by members of the society. This implies that a single word can have different meanings. Reporters in the media make use of the bias in words to report events ostensibly. It is against this background that the study set out to illustrate how the editors' linguistic choices enabled them to interpret the social and political context and convey the peace messages. This would enable the reader to appreciate the role of these strategies in demonstrating the need for peace in Kenya during elections and enhance the acceptability and relevance of the messages.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Though the media has often been regarded as a channel of fuelling tensions during electioneering, it can be used to promote peace. Since peace has been compromised in Kenya periodically at election times and given the unprecedented PEV of 2007/2008, peace during General Elections in Kenya has become an issue of national importance. As a result, peace messages were reported in the print media and broadcast in the electronic media prior to the 2013 General Elections. It is necessary to illustrate how the editors' linguistic choices enabled them to interpret the social and political context and formulate the peace messages. This would enable the reader to appreciate the role of these strategies in demonstrating the need for peace in Kenya during elections thereby enhancing the acceptability and relevance of the messages. The study therefore sought to investigate the linguistic resources employed by the editors of *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers to construct the peace messages,

portray relations of power and evaluate the ideologies constructed in the editorials before, during and after the 2013 General Elections in Kenya.

1.3 Research Questions

- i) Which lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices were used in the editorials of the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers to construct peace messages related to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya?
- ii) Which linguistic strategies were used to portray relations of power in the editorials on peace in the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers related to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya?
- iii) Which ideologies were constructed through language in the peace messages in the editorials of the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers related to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya?

1.4 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study was to investigate the linguistic resources employed by the editors of the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers to construct the peace messages, enact power relations and the ideologies constructed in the editorials before, during and after the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. The specific objectives of the study were to:

- i) Describe the lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices used in the editorials of the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers to construct the peace messages related to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya.
- ii) Determine the linguistic strategies used to portray power relations in peace messages in the editorials of the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers during the 2013 General Elections in Kenya.

iii) Evaluate the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages in the editorials of the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers related to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The Kenyan media has traditionally been blamed for fuelling ethnicity and thus conflict especially during election periods. Political parties in Kenya are mainly formed along ethnic lines and so tensions build up based on ethnicity. Media, however, can be used to foster peace. This justifies this study which focuses on the peace messages that were spread through the media in 2013. Following the 2007/2008 PEV, there were concerted efforts by the media and various stakeholders to promote peace prior to the 2013 General Elections. There was a push towards national healing and reconciliation as a way of putting an end to conflict. Peace messages were spread through both print and electronic media. Editorials are a section of the print media. Therefore there was need to critically analyze the editorials on peace to unearth the linguistic choices used to construct the peace messages, exercise relations of power and the ideologies constructed through the language used. This knowledge can open avenues for further scholarly research in text linguistics using other theoretical frameworks. The findings may also propose enhanced approaches to future peace initiatives in the media in Kenya and the Eastern African region. Future researchers in editorial discourse can benefit from this study in terms of gathering literature relevant to their studies. The study is particularly relevant for studies in Applied Linguistics as it highlights a CDA of editorial discourse.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Discourse analysis can be conducted on spoken or written data. The discourse analysis carried out in the study was limited to peace messages in the print media, that is editorials taken from the two mainstream national dailies: The *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*

newspapers and their sister papers: *The Saturday Nation*, *Sunday Nation*, *the Saturday Standard* and *Sunday Standard*. This study focused on the linguistic choices used in the editorials of the four newspapers to promote peace. It sought to illustrate the linguistic choices used by the editors to interpret the political and social context and convey the peace messages in a relevant and acceptable manner. The study was limited to editorials on peace relevant to the 2013 General Elections published from 1st November, 2012 to 31st March, 2013. The concept of peace in the study was that of peace as the absence of physical violence that can be witnessed and documented formally in the print media.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study was based on the Critical Discourse Analysis theoretical framework with the major theorists being Fairclough (1989, 2003), van Dijk (1998) and Wodak (2001). This study was anchored in Fairclough's (1989) theoretical basis. He advocates a dialectical conception of language and society whereby "language is a part of society". His social theory of discourse attempts to synthesize language analysis and social and political theory so as to provide a suitable framework for an analysis of social change.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a rapidly developing area of language study. It regards discourse as 'a form of social practice' (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p.258), and takes consideration of the context of language use to be crucial to discourse (Wodak, 2001). It takes particular interest in the relation between language and power. CDA may be described as neo-Marxist; claiming that cultural and economic dimensions are significant in the creation and maintenance of power relations. It is generally agreed that CDA cannot be classified as a single method but is rather viewed as an approach, which consists of different perspectives and different methods for studying the relationship between the use of language and social context. Fairclough (1989) focuses on three processes when analysing a particular discourse

as a piece of discursive practice: text production, consumption and distribution. According to Fairclough (1989), seeing language as social practice entails recognizing that there are three dimensions to any discourse instance, such as a press release statement. These are the text, the interaction and the context. Associated with these are three stages in any CDA; description of the discourses as text; interpretation of the discourses as interaction, that is, between text and human subjects, and explanation of the discourse as social action. This means that the analysis of a text, first involves analysing the structure of the text and the linguistic choices made by the writer. Second, the analysis includes examining the process of production of the text by the writer and the process of interpretation whereby the reader makes sense of what the text is about. Third, the analysis considers social conditions that possibly influence, and are influenced by the processes of production and interpretation of each of the texts.

The field of CDA draws on techniques used in stylistics in order to understand how texts affect readers in particular ways. Whereas stylistics uses devices such as modality and transitivity to look at how fiction writers create certain textual effects, CDA uses these and other tools such as naming and passivization to look at nonfiction texts and how they affect readers. CDA analysts consider certain properties of a text which covers traditional forms of linguistic analysis such as vocabulary and semantics, the grammar of sentences and smaller units and the sound system (phonology) and writing system (Fairclough, 1995).

In order to evaluate how language was used to construct ideology in the peace messages, van Dijk's (2000) ideological square was used. The ideological square is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Van Dijk's (2000) Ideological Square

	Positive	Negative
Us	Emphasize our good properties/actions	Mitigate our bad properties/actions
Them	Mitigate their good properties/actions	Emphasize their bad properties/actions

The semantic macro-strategies of *positive self-presentation* employed either for individual face keeping or for collective purposes by focusing on the positive aspects of one's group, and *negative other-presentation* which is related to the use of derogatory terms and focusing on the negative characteristics of out-group members (Van Dijk, 2000), are the bases of this framework. These two macro-strategies are realized by other forty discursive strategies which are potentially possible to occur in different kinds of ideological discourses. However, using this framework in a study, one cannot expect all the forty strategies to be found in the discourses to be analysed. The discursive strategies of this framework found in the peace messages in this study along with descriptions according to Van Dijk (2000) are as follows:

History as lesson: Sometimes a situation is compared to positive or negative events in history, either as a *positive self-presentation* or *negative other-presentation strategy*.

Illegality: A device by which the out-group members are characterized as criminal or law breaker.

Number Game: The use of numbers and statistics in the discourse is a means of showing that the writers/speakers are objective and that what they are discussing is not just their opinions but 'facts'.

Polarization, Us-Them categorization: This is a prevalent semantic strategy which divides people into groups of in-group (US) and out-group (THEM).

Repetition: Repetition as a rhetorical device has a specific function in the general strategy of emphasizing *Our* positive things and *Their* negative ones.

Presupposition: Van Dijk compares discourses to icebergs, in the sense that most of the meanings of a text are not explicitly expressed but presupposed to be known by the recipients. Presuppositions are used typically to speak about the controversial ideas or to assume the truth of some preposition when such truth is not accepted at all.

Vagueness: Speakers/writers may make use of vague expressions like: ‘few’, ‘a lot’, ‘very’, ‘thing’ ‘low’, and ‘high’ in order not to give enough information to the readers/listeners either as a positive self-presentation or a negative other-presentation.

1.7.1 Principles of CDA

Many theorists in CDA present the principles of CDA in their own terms (van Dijk, 1993; Wodak, 1996; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Meyer, 2001). Some of them represent the common ground of all CDA approaches, while some are more controversial. The most widely cited view is Fairclough and Wodak’s (1997) eight principles of CDA. What follows is a summary of three of these principles which were used in this study.

1.7.1.1 CDA Addresses Social Problems

CDA not only focuses on language and language use, but also on the linguistic characteristics of social and cultural processes. CDA follows a critical approach to social problems in its endeavours to make explicit power relationships which are frequently hidden. It aims to derive results which are of practical relevance to the social, cultural, political and even economic contexts (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Batstone (1995) contends that critical discourse analysts seek to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly. This principle was applied to describe the lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices used to construct the peace messages in order to achieve objective one of the study. The choices were identified and discussed with reference to the messages of peace and how they were constructed.

1.7.1.2 Power Relations are Discursive

CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Fairclough (1993), Van Dijk (1988) and Wodak (2001) contend that CDA takes an interest in the ways linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. The form and structure of texts can suppress information that exists in a text because of the attitude of the dominant group in the discursive construction. CDA therefore aims at demystifying the text. This principle was used to analyse the data in order to achieve objective two which sought to determine the linguistic strategies used to portray power relations in the peace messages.

1.7.1.3 Discourse does Ideological Work

Ideologies are often produced through discourse and it is not possible to read off ideologies from texts. To understand how ideologies are produced, it is not enough to analyse texts; the discursive practice (how the texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have) must also be considered (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). Discourse functions ideologically and thus a critical analysis of discourse can show the role of discursive practices in the creation, maintenance and challenge of unequal relationships of power in society. Some of Van Dijk's (2000) macro-strategies outlined in 1.7 were used to tease out the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages.

1.7.2 Relevance of the Theory for the Study

Critical Discourse Analysis can be used for critical social research on a wide range of texts. As stated by Baker (2006), newspaper texts can be analyzed using this framework. Several researchers (Teo, 2000; Baker *et al*, 2008; KhosraviNik, 2010) have used Critical Discourse Analysis in evaluating textual content in newspapers. This framework was developed by Van Dijk and Fairclough in 1988 and 1992 respectively. According to the theory, discourse

analysis can either be critical or non-critical. Calling the approach critical is a recognition that our social practice and our use of language are bound up with causes and effects which we may not be aware of under normal conditions. Connections between the use of language and power are often not very clear to people (Fairclough, 1995). Critical discourse analysis framework covers the description of discursive practices as well as the ways that discourse is constructed referring to relations of power and ideologies.

A critical approach is also concerned with a discourse's effect on social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief (Fairclough, 1992). Classical Marxist theory has been a common reference point to most critical discourse analysts because the analysis of language in conflict is closely intertwined with notions of power and ideology. This approach was selected because news activities mirror the power behind media discourse and the position of the capitalist class and other power holders. The power behind media discourse is reflected in the choice of language used to present the news content to the readers. It also reveals the discursive sources of power and shows how these sources of power are initiated and maintained in editorial discourse.

1.7.3 Summary

This chapter has grounded the present study in the field of Applied Linguistics by explaining the place of editorials within the relevant theoretical framework that is CDA. It has outlined the background to the problem, the statement of the problem, the aim of the study, the research questions and objectives, the justification of the study and the theoretical framework that guided the study. In chapter two, a review of the literature relevant to the study is provided.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the relevant literature and research findings from other works that have an impact in this study. The literature reviewed comprises studies that have used the same theoretical framework, studies in the media related areas especially editorials, and other studies on power and ideology.

2.2 Lexical, Pragmatic and Grammatical Choices

The review of literature in this section comprises literature relevant to objective one which sought to describe the lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices used in the peace messages.

There are studies that have been carried out on the linguistic resources used to talk about terrorism, for example Owala (2013) and Sarfo and Krampa (2013). Owala (2013) using CDA investigated discourse on national and international terrorism in *Taifa Leo*, a daily published in Kiswahili language in Kenya. The main objective was to analyze the language used in reporting terrorism news in the newspaper with a view to finding out how the language used in those specific news items created bias in presentation of terrorism news. The study revealed that there was bias in the way this newspaper reported terrorism news. For example, on April, 29th 2011 the paper published a story titled “Al-Qaeda recruitment in Mosques” on its front page. The origin of this story was Kenya. A close analysis showed that the content of the story was different from the headline. The story was about how Al-Shaabab was recruiting fighters for the war in Somalia within three mosques in Mombasa. The writer of this story used Al-Qaeda instead of Al-Shaabab. Al-Qaeda is usually associated more with terrorism. At the time this story was written the association between the two groups had not

been consummated. This is an example of how bias can be created by a writer. The use of Al-Qaeda on the headline, then go on to write about Al-Shaabab gave the impression that the two names could be used interchangeably or that Al-Shaabab and Al-Qaeda is the same group, yet at the time it was not. In addition, on 3rd of May 2011; *Taifa Leo* had a headline “Obama dims Osama.” The headline is a play of words that appeared to glorify the American President. This play of words does not show neutrality on the part of the reporter. In introducing the news, the reporter wrote “the leader of the terrorist group Al-Qaeda was finally killed in a heroic attack mounted by American soldiers in Pakistan.” This foregrounding was clearly biased in that he described opposing sides in the conflict differently – American soldiers as heroes and Osama as a leader of a terrorist group. Sarfo and Krampa (2013) focused on the linguistic resources used to talk about terrorism in the speeches of Bush and Obama. The study found that vocabulary items for example ‘enemy,’ ‘danger,’ ‘attack’ and ‘tragedy’ were used to project terrorism as verminous, while ‘Supreme Court,’ ‘troops,’ ‘military commissions’ and ‘Justice Department’ were used to connote resistance thus projecting anti-terrorism. Both studies show that vocabulary items played a role in the projection of terrorism based on the objectives of the studies. Some of the labels were adopted for the classification of the linguistic choices in the present study. However, the present study focused on the language used to construct peace messages.

Using a qualitative lexico-semantic approach, Ojwang’ (2009) analyzed the implications of the messages of peace and conflict inherent in the utterances of key political players as reported in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. He specifically reviewed the language choices that the media used to frame the hopes, fears, expectations and disappointments entailed in the peace messages. For example, the headline – ‘Kenya Burns’ evoked a sense of helplessness and self-destruction which was a threat to peace. In addition the negative adjectives used in the newspaper reporting at the time for example the

description of elections as bungled, stolen or sham could also fuel violence. He concludes that the media can choose to be a catalyst for peace or conflict depending on their ideological leaning and interpretation of a situation. The reporting frames chosen by the Kenyan media in covering the post-election violence of 2007-2008, therefore ultimately influenced conceptions of peace prospects by consumers of news. Other studies on media and conflict prevention or escalation are Mwithigah (2014) and Omondi (2016). Mwithigah (2014) examined the role of media in conflict prevention during the 2013 Kenya's General Elections with a special interest to find out how media and democracy in Kenya has evolved. She critically examined the legal frameworks governing media operations in Kenya as well as analyzed the media strategy employed for creating awareness to prevent conflict in Kenya.

The strategies used by the media to prevent conflict were the selection of what to broadcast or print and the messages to put across to the nation, the peace messages and the airing of the presidential debate. Although Mwithigah's (2014) study was based on conflict prevention by the media, it dwelt on broad policy issues related to diplomacy and international relations. The study mentioned the peace messages as one of the strategies of conflict prevention but did not analyse the linguistic choices used to construct them. The present study found a gap to fill by delving into the linguistic choices used to construct the peace messages in a bid to call for peace. The present study differs in approach and theoretical framework in that it takes a linguistic approach using CDA to analyse language choice in the construction of the peace messages in the print media only.

Omondi (2016) carried out an assessment on the ways through which media discourse may ignite or escalate ethnic conflicts with a focus on the use of attributive words referring to certain ethnic communities while discussing issues affecting ethnic coexistence. An example is shown in the following extract: “**A small and weak pastoralist community** is being

systematically **overrun** by **powerful neighbours** who have set their **insatiable appetite** and **wandering eyes** on their grazing land.”(DN March 30, 2014). The bolded words in this sentence show that the author has attributed different traits to two types of ethnic identities. First, he shows the Maasai community to be under siege. The use of words “small”, “weak” and “overrun” creates a mental picture of a group under persecution. This creates sympathies among the members of the group and they might think of themselves to be under siege. In contrast, the author portrays the neighbours to the community using the words “powerful”, “insatiable appetite” and “wandering eyes”.

He uses these words to stress on the seriousness of the threat of land loss that the Maasai community faces. Words associated with conflicts, like “overrun”, “annihilate”, “disenfranchised” and “marginalize” have been used to portray the dangers that the Maasais face from their neighbours. Such an approach is bound to put the Maasais on the defensive, fearing the losses they might suffer should the predicted consequences in the article become true. Omondi (2016) focused on media and ethnic conflict in online newspapers while the present study focused on peace messages in print newspapers. However, the findings on attributive words used are significant in the classification of the linguistic choices in the peace messages.

In summary, negative lexical choices and aggressive language are a threat to peace as they serve to heighten tension and could lead to violence. On the other hand, in reference to peace or conflict management, positive lexical choices depict reconciliation thus creating hope for peace in the midst of conflict. In view of the literature reviewed, it emerged that the studies focused mainly on lexical choices; therefore, the present study focused on lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices used to construct the peace messages.

2.3 Linguistic Strategies of Portraying Power Relations

This section addresses literature relevant to objective two of the study which sought to determine the linguistic strategies used to portray power relations in the peace messages.

Language is used for interaction as well as to construct and maintain interpersonal relations and the social order that exists among the interact ants. Language being a form of social practice is a means by which power relations in society are reproduced and contested (Janks, 1997).

According to van Dijk (1998), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) studies the way social power abuse; dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. He identifies some of the dominant notions in CDA as ‘power,’ ‘dominance,’ ‘inequality,’ ‘hegemony,’ ‘ideology,’ ‘class,’ ‘gender,’ ‘race,’ ‘discrimination,’ among others, which he labels as macro-level of analysis. However, he posits that micro-level of social order involves language use, discourse, verbal interaction and communication. The concept of power in this study is that of van Dijk (1998) who says that those who have power control discourse.

According to him, social power is the result of access to and control of resources such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge and information. In the exercise of these powers, dominant groups through text and talk may either directly or indirectly coerce, influence, control or even abuse the mind of people through persuasion and manipulation. Van Dijk (1998) further says that dominance in discourse is maintained by controlling people’s beliefs and actions to suit the interests of dominant groups as against the interest of the powerless or the will of others. Powerful institutions and individuals use language both as a means to construct their power and as a way to maintain it. Language thus becomes necessary for the maintenance of power, and the power and effect of language in turn rely on the power of

individuals and institutions themselves. According to Fairclough (1989), language is not only used to convince and persuade people to consent to the societal rules and to maintain the status quo but also to challenge the status quo. Language not only reflects power relations but is also a site of power struggle. Linguistic choices are carefully manipulated and crafted to show power relations in a discourse. Therefore, language choice can indicate the oppressor and the oppressed. Since journalists control media discourse, they have power to determine what the reader is exposed to. The present study sought to confirm these theoretical views by examining the linguistic strategies used in the peace messages to exercise relations of power.

Otieno(2011) and Montenegro (2005) carried out studies on expressions of power in a novel and translation respectively. Otieno (2011) dwelt on the use of modal expressions in expressing relations of power in the novel ‘Coming to Birth’ by Marjorie Oludhe. He identified the use of modal verbs such as will, should, may, and might to depict the power relation between Paulina and her husband Michael. Montenegro (2005) on the other hand studied the expression of power by the authors of a pamphlet on sexual and reproductive health. Montenegro (2005) identified nominalization and modality as linguistic resources used to exercise power over readers. The nominalized forms used by the authors included ‘furthering studies,’ ‘bringing up an infant,’ ‘caring for the child,’ and ‘terminating a pregnancy.’ These were used to add credibility to the authors’ statements as a way of establishing their authority since those who impart knowledge to others are in a superior or authoritative position. The modality choices used were modal verbs for example can, may, should and have to. The findings were therefore similar in the category of modal verbs but different in that Otieno (2011) dwelt on modality only while Montenegro also analysed nominalization as a strategy for power. The present study focuses on peace messages in editorials and the findings from the two studies aided the categorization of the linguistic strategies used to express power relations in peace messages.

Tariq (2012) carried out a study on the connection between language and ideology which is represented by language. Through the analysis of Obama's speech, he sought to show how dominant forces exercised their power, maintained their superiority and showed their dominance. Through the application of Critical Discourse Analysis the text is analyzed to reveal how dominance and power is seen in the words of those in power. For example President Obama used phrases such as 'we must' and 'we will' as a way of asserting the Americans' power and dominance. He further used the statement 'I've repeatedly made it clear...' which signals the idea of always being right and dominant. Another statement used was 'We are once again reminded that America can do whatever we set our mind to do.' This statement confirms dominance and power of Americans. It also depicts the commitment America has made in order to be superior and ensure its superiority over others. CDA always aims at exploring the way social power abuse and dominance are enacted in society. Words are not to be considered neutral but as having some particular meanings which are not always obvious to all readers. Tariq's study is important as it reveals the linguistic strategies of exercising power which offer empirical evidence for the present study. The present study found a gap in that it was interested in the use of CDA to reveal how language is used to exercise relations of power in editorials and not speeches.

Moreover, Maftoon and Shakouri (2012) investigated the concept of power in teachers' talk and used CDA to examine how power is exercised and resisted in the classroom. They concluded that language plays an influential role in emanation of power and legitimizing social inequalities. The strategies employed by teachers to exercise power were effective classroom management, motivating students, personal charisma, knowledge of subject matter and organization of the classroom. The students resisted power by complaining, arriving late in class and putting off their assignment. Their findings were divergent from those of Otieno (2011) and Montenegro (2013) and this could be attributed to the setting and participants in

the study. Another study was done by Muqit (2012) on ideology and power relation as reflected in the use of pronouns in Osama Bin Laden's speech text. The findings showed the different relations of power that existed in the text and were manifested in the language used with specific reference to the pronouns used. For example to show the power relation between Osama and his God, the pronoun 'We' and 'Him' are used as in the sentence: We beseech Him for help. 'We' refers to the Muslims who have no power while 'Him' refers to Allah who has power to help the Muslims.

In summary, the studies reviewed in his section have revealed that power relations can be expressed linguistically through modality, nominalization, transitivity and pronouns. None of the studies focused on power relations in the peace messages in the Kenyan context. The empirical evidence provided by these studies aided the present study in the classification of some of the linguistic strategies used to exercise relations of power in the peace messages.

2.4 Language use and Ideology in the Peace Messages

This section reviews literature relevant to objective three which sought to evaluate the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages. The basic claim of CDA is that all human language usage encodes ideological patterns i.e. language is not just a transparent medium of communication about the objective world, but a constantly operative part of the social process. CDA therefore, analyses discourse to find the hidden meanings (McGregor, 2003). In most interactions, users bring with them different dispositions towards language, which are closely related to their social positioning. Kress (1990) stresses that the defined and delimited set of statements that constitute a discourse are themselves expressive of, and organised by a specific ideology. Language, therefore, can never appear by itself – it always appears as the representative of a system of linguistic terms, which themselves reflect the prevailing discursive and ideological systems.

Ideology is used in many disciplines with different, but overlapping shades of meaning. The task in this study however, is to define the term within the context of its relevance to language use. The concept of ideology adopted in this study is that of van Dijk (1988) and Fairclough, (1989, 1995). Van Dijk (1988) defines ideology as attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to religious, political, social and economic life, which shape the individual's and group's perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted. Fairclough, (1989) and van Dijk, (1988) also assert that ideologies reflect the basic components of social identity and define the interests of groups in the form of an organized set of attitudes in which meaning is expressed through news discourse. Fairclough's (1995a:12) definition of ideology focuses specifically on how media discourse represents the world, individuals and groups of people in a particular way. He says,

"The ideological work of media language includes particular ways of representing the world (e.g. particular representations of Arabs, or of the economy), particular constructions of social identities (e.g. the construction in particular ways of scientific experts who feature on radio or television programmes), and particular constructions of social relations (e.g. the construction of relations between politicians and public as simulated relations between people in a shared life world)".

No news report is ideologically neutral, transparent or 'innocent'. According to Olowe (1993), the editor and his reporters on the one hand and their audience on the other constitute an ideological empire. The newspaper subjects all newsworthy events that constantly come up in social life to rigorous linguistic manipulation to make them suit the ideological expectation of the audience. Regular aspects of media messages such as news reports, headlines, advertisements, editorials and features are often subjected to linguistic manipulations. News reporters, editors, copywriters and feature writers work on societal values, conception of the world and symbolic systems in order to create their messages.

Fowler (1979) observes that discourse is a ground for both ideological processes and linguistic processes. Texts are seen as built out of choices of words and phrases that convey ideological meanings. It is these choices of words and phrases with ideological meanings that the present study sought to evaluate in the peace messages. In today's world, groups are able to keep power not by force or economic control but through the implicit use of persuasion in discourse that leads to consent (van Dijk, 1998). The dominant ideologies are linked to the struggle of one group over another and this emphasizes group identification in the selection of in-group members and out-group members (van Dijk, 1998). This extends to concepts such as national identities, discussed by De Cillia *et al.* (1999), which are constructed through discourses by politicians, intellectuals, in the media and through education.

Lee and Craig (1992) compared the news coverage of labour strikes in South Korea and Poland by three major United States newspapers: the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Wall Street Journal*. They found anti-Communist sentiments and the "US vs. THEM" dichotomy of cold war ideology in operation. Owing to the fact that Poland was then a Communist country; the United States press blamed its government for Poland's labour problems. Nonetheless, because South Korea had a similar ideology to the United States, workers who went on strike in labor disputes were depicted in the United States press as "deviant and violent". Lee and Craig's (1992) study also examined the news at the textual level (syntax, style, news grammar, rhetoric and graphic presentation) to learn about its ideological structure. Lee and Craig (1992) conclude that United States news coverage of labour disputes in foreign countries is motivated by ideological and political opportunism. The present study drew on Lee and Craig's concept of US vs. THEM dichotomy as used to construct ideology in the peace messages in the editorials of Kenyan newspapers.

Michira (2014), in his paper: language and politics, investigated the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign discourse using the Critical Discourse Analysis approach. He argued and demonstrated that language is a powerful tool used by those seeking power not only to communicate their political ideologies but also to create certain perceptions in a bid to influence and manipulate voters with a view to gaining an advantage over their opponents. The study discussed various rhetorical and semiotic techniques that communicated concealed messages to potential voters. It also explained the usage of the diverse range of rhetorical techniques: riddles, metaphors and symbols among other devices employed in the Kenyan political discourse during the 2013 campaign period. Michira asserts that it is not what one says that matters rather it is how one says it that drives the message home. His study was relevant to the present study which used a similar theory and also provided an overview of the Kenyan political context during the 2013 presidential campaigns. The present study however focused on peace messages in editorials before, during and after the 2013 General Elections.

According to Wray (1998), the lexical choices used in a newspaper indicate the writer's ideological perspective. For example the choice of the term 'demonstrator' over the term 'freedom fighter' has ideological implications. The former is negative and depicts protest while the latter is positive and depicts patriotism. This implies that news is not free of ideology. Similarly, Miranti (2014) says that language plays a crucial role in expressing, changing and particularly reproducing ideologies. Language is not produced in a context-free vacuum but in discourse contexts that are constructed with the ideology of social systems and institutions. Since language operates within this social dimension, it tends to reflect and construct ideology. In view of Wray's (1998) and Miranti's (2014) sentiments, the present study sought to find out the ideological perspectives indicated by the editors' choice of language in the peace messages.

Fowler (1979) asserts that texts are created out of choices of linguistic elements that convey ideological meanings. Moreover, Fairclough (1995) asserts that ideologies reside in texts and that it is not possible to read off ideologies from texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations. The analysis of editorials can reveal political and ideological opinions and attitudes. The reader can consciously or unconsciously support the opinions due to the linguistic choices in an editorial (Thompson and de Klerk, 2002). The current study sought to confirm these ideas by examining how linguistic elements carry opinion and attitude to negotiate ideological stance with the reader in newspaper editorials.

Newspapers are a widely read type of discourse (Hawes and Thomas, 1995) with the editorials as a type of discourse. Editorials at a particular time reflect the media construction of social and cultural environment and their positioning in it (Lee, 2010). For instance, the editorials of the two Pakistani English newspapers *Daily Dawn* and the *Daily Nation* became the focus of the researchers, Tabassum, Shah and Bilal (2013), for their construction of the Left and Right wing ideologies. The researchers examined syntactic structure, lexicon, global and local semantics and rhetorical structures in the editorial portrayals of Osama Bin Laden's death and attack on PNS Mehran base. The study concluded that newspaper editorials cannot be considered as the objective opinion specimens. Rather, they are representatives of dominant newspaper ideologies. The knowledge of the linguistic strategies examined by Tabassum, Shah and Bilal (2013) aided in the evaluation of ideologies constructed in the peace messages.

Ahmadian and Farahani (2014) investigated how the power of language influences and formulates the public opinion. The researchers focused on the editorials of *The Los Angeles Times* and *Tehran Times* and examined ideological differences manifested in the portrayal of Iran's nuclear program. Through the application of van Dijk's framework of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, the study found that the two selected

newspapers represented the same issue differently. The analysis focused on certain discursive strategies such as lexicalization, presupposition, consensus, hyperbole, illegality and disclaimer. The present study used some of the discursive strategies which aided the process of interpreting the ideologies constructed in the peace messages.

There are also studies that have focused on the US and THEM ideology using van Dijk's (2004) model for analysis. These are: Atai and Mozaheb (2013) who examined the representation of Iran's nuclear program in the editorials published by British news companies; Tahir (2013) who analyzed representation of Muslims in one of the articles published in the *Washington Post* which covered protests carried out by Muslims against the publications of the blasphemous cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH); and Youssefi, Kanani and Shojaei (2013) who investigated the western press coverage of Iranian sanctions. Their findings on the discursive strategies used to depict the US vs. THEM dichotomy were largely similar as they revealed the use of lexicalization, presupposition, number game, implication, nominalization and passivization. These studies offered empirical evidence for the present study. Some of the discursive strategies revealed in them aided in the interpretation of the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages.

Moreover, Poorebrahim and Reza (2012) established the relationship between language and ideology by probing the representation of Islam and Muslims in the western discourse. The researchers concentrated on the print media headlines in the *Independent*, the *New York Times*, the *Herald Tribune*, and *The Times*. The study relied on van Dijk's notions of ideological square that consisted of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The analysis of linguistic choices demonstrated that Islam was frequently stereotyped with negative representation of Muslims. The words used to negatively depict Islam were 'violent,' 'kill,' 'war,' 'threat' and 'barbary.' The present study took a different approach in

terms of scope and concentrated on evaluating ideologies constructed in peace messages in the editorials of Kenyan newspapers as a whole. In summary, the literature reviewed in this sub-section revealed several discursive strategies according to van Dijk (2000) for the construction of ideologies in discourse. The study used some of the discursive strategies which were applicable to the texts analysed in the interpretation of the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages. This chapter presented a review of literature relevant to the study. The next chapter presents a discussion of the research methodology adopted for the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the researcher presents the research design, area of study, study population, sampling procedure and sample size, methods of data collection, presentation and analysis, validity and reliability of the research instruments and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

The study was qualitative and adopted a descriptive research design and employed qualitative procedures in sampling, data collection and data analysis. Descriptive research is concerned ‘with describing the characteristics of a particular individual, or a group’ (Kothari, 2004, p. 34). Descriptive studies are mainly used to investigate social issues, and they enable researchers to come up with solutions or recommendations on how to deal with the disparities observed (Mugenda, 2008). The present study sought to describe editorial discourse and discover how language was used to construct the peace messages related to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. This design was appropriate because it enabled the researcher to gather information in form of words, analyze such data inductively, focusing on the possible meanings and inherent linguistic features.

3.3 Area of Study

The study was based on language use in peace discourse in Kenya with reference to the peace messages published in the editorials of the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers and their sister papers: *Saturday Nation*, *Sunday Nation*, *Saturday Standard* and *Sunday Standard* before, during and after the 2013 General Elections in Kenya.

3.4 Study Population

This study targeted newspaper editorials that appeared from 1st November, 2012 to 31st March, 2013. This was the period when political alliances were formed and election campaigns began to gain momentum. With this, the peace campaigns also intensified. The political campaigns climaxed to the elections on 4th March, 2013. On 16th March, a petition was filed by CORD in the Supreme Court challenging the win by the then Jubilee presidential candidate, Uhuru Kenyatta. The peace messages were crucial as the country awaited the ruling on the petition. The Supreme Court gave its ruling on 30th March, 2013. Within the period from 1st November, 2012 to 31st March, 2013, a total of 302 newspaper editorials were produced by both *The Standard* and *Nation* newspaper publications. However, it would not be possible to study all of them.

3.5 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

The study used purposive and stratified random sampling to select the editorials to be analysed. Purposive sampling was used since it “allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study” (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999:50). Cases of subjects are handpicked because they are informative or possess the required characteristics. Purposive sampling involves looking out for the groups and settings where the variables to be studied are most likely to occur. In this study, the researcher read all the 302 editorials published during the months of November, 2012 to March, 2013 and purposively picked those that contained the message of peace related to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. This was done on the basis of the thematic content. The key words and phrases that acted as thematic indicators were peace, peaceful poll, security, justice, national healing, reconciliation, peaceful election, threat to peace, free and fair elections, preach peace, violence, smooth transition, disaster and sub-related themes. This yielded 90 editorials: 46 from the *Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation* and 44

from *The Standard*, *Saturday Standard* and *Sunday Standard*. The concept of saturation recommended by Bowen (2008) was used to decide the sample size of 26 editorials: 13 from each of the media houses. This number is also supported by Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) who propose that saturation often occurs around 12-15 participants. Stratified random sampling was then used to arrive at the 26 editorials analysed in the study. The entire population of 90 editorials was divided into two homogeneous groups: the *Nation* newspapers and the *Standard* newspapers from which random samples were taken at intervals of four.

The main unit of analysis was the sentences in the editorials on peace published in the *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers before, during and after the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. The number of editorials drawn from each newspaper publication is shown on table 2.

Table 2: Distribution of the Editorials for the Study

Newspaper Title	Number of editorials
<i>Daily Nation</i>	8
<i>Saturday Nation</i>	3
<i>Sunday Nation</i>	2
<i>The Standard</i>	9
<i>Saturday Standard</i>	2
<i>Sunday Standard</i>	2
Total	26

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

The study entailed library research and data was obtained from print versions of newspapers. The data was in form of sentences extracted from 26 editorial texts from the *Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper publications. A data extraction guideline adapted from Janks (2005) was

used to extract the relevant data. The tool was designed to elicit data on linguistic choices used in the peace messages. The variables for the study were indicated on the guideline and the linguistic indicator(s) of each variable given. These indicators were used to extract the relevant sentences from the content of the editorials for analysis. The tool was applied to each of the editorials in order to extract the linguistic choices and ideologies according to the objectives of the study.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data was presented in form of prose as extracts which were listed and numbered. The data collected was categorized according to the objectives and analysed qualitatively using CDA. The study used the descriptive method of analysis within the framework of CDA to analyse the peace messages from the selected editorials. The analysis followed the three stages of analysis put forth by Fairclough (1989) which are: description of the formal properties of a text, interpretation of the processes of production and interpretation, and explanation of the interaction of the social context as well as their social effects. To complement the evaluation of ideologies in objective three, the concept of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation taken from van Dijk's (2000) ideological square was used. Since discourse is historical and context determines language use, each editorial was contextualized in terms of date and subject of discussion. Under each category, the data from the two newspaper publications was analysed concurrently. Generalizations were then drawn after discussion of the findings. The editorials from the *Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation* were labeled as DN, STN and SN respectively while those from *The Standard*, *Saturday Standard* and *Sunday Standard* were labeled as SS, SST and ST for ease of identification.

3.8 Validity of the Research Instrument

According to Sarandakos (1997), Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), Creswell and Miller (2000) and Amina (2005), validity is the degree to which results obtained for data analysis actually represent the phenomenon under study. This refers to the extent to which an instrument asks the right question in terms of accuracy, that is, how accurate the data obtained from the study represents the variables of research. To enhance external validity, the study endeavoured to draw a representative sample that was purposively selected from the target population of the editorials. Content validity of the research instrument is established to ensure that it reflects the content of the concepts in question. To establish the validity of the tool, the researcher went through the instrument and compared it with the set objectives to ensure that it contained all the information that would answer the set questions and address the objectives of the study. Secondly, based on Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), validity in the study was ensured by presenting the data extraction guideline to the supervisors to evaluate the relevance of each item to the objectives. The necessary corrections were then effected.

3.9 Reliability of the Research Instrument

According to Amina (2005), reliability is the dependability or trustworthiness of a measure. In the context of a measuring instrument, it should consistently measure whatever it is measuring to the degree. The researcher used a data extraction guideline adapted from Janks (2005). The reliability of the research instrument (the data extraction guideline) was ensured by pretesting it two months before the fieldwork. The tool was pretested on the *Nation* newspapers in the months of September-October, 2012. The instrument was applied to ten newspapers which were purposively sampled. The analysis concentrated on the linguistic expressions used in reference to peace. The examination of the data showed that editors used various linguistic choices to promote peace. The findings of the pilot study aided the researcher in streamlining the tool and shaping the objectives.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

The researcher sought permission to conduct the research from the Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC). In order to protect the editors' anonymity, the researcher did not mention any names. The editorial writers were referred to as 'editor' in the discussion of the findings. In reproducing the editorials for the appendix section, the part that bears the editorial team's identity was omitted. The data collected was used only in relation to the objectives of the study. In summary, this chapter has presented the methodology adopted in the study. The next chapter presents the data, the analysis and discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The concern of this chapter is to present, analyse and discuss the data from the sampled editorials on peace. The data was extracted from editorials on peace published from 1st November, 2012 to 31st March, 2013. The aim of this study was to investigate the linguistic resources employed by the editors of the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper publications to package the peace messages in the editorials before, during and after the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. The specific objectives of the study were to: describe the lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices used in the editorials to construct the peace messages, determine the linguistic strategies of portraying power relations in the peace messages and evaluate the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages.

4.2 Lexical, Pragmatic and Grammatical Choices used to Construct the Peace Messages

This section analyses data relevant to the first objective which was to describe the lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices used to construct the peace messages.

De fleur and Ball Rokeach (1989) assert that in situations of political uncertainty, the mass media are said to play a crucial role in the construction, articulation and reflection of reality where public opinion tends to become more media-dependent. Moreover, Okoro and Agbo (2003) consider the editorial as a critical evaluation, interpretation and presentation of significant contemporary events in such a way as to inform, educate, entertain and influence the reader. In the Kenyan case, the media determined the mood of the nation in the run-up to the 2013 elections by running editorials that aimed at persuading the public to focus on peace. This was done through manipulation of language in the peace messages. Manipulation of language involves the editors making deliberate word choices to use in order to present their

point of view. The lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices were analysed at the level of words, phrases and sentences. They were divided into sub-categories corresponding to the levels of analysis used. The title of the editorial is given in each case.

4.2.1 Lexical Choices

This section analyses the vocabulary or diction used to construct the peace messages in the editorials. The lexical choices are mainly content words although there are cases where functional words (modal verbs) used to form verb phrases were analysed. The editors' choice of words or wording has a bearing on the message communicated. The lexical choices were analysed under the sub-categories of vocabulary and the use of emotive terms. The editorials from which the texts are extracted are identified by their titles.

4.2.1.1 Vocabulary

This sub-category analysed the lexical terms used to construct the peace messages. The discussion includes description, interpretation and explanation of the extracts altogether. The extracts from Ed. 1 exemplify the use of vocabulary:

Ed. 1 - Kenyans crave security before and after polls (DN November 14, 2012. Pg.12)

Ed. 1 was published at a time when voter registration was going on countrywide. The commentary was necessitated by the incidents of violence that had occurred in parts of the country. This included a grenade attack on a Nairobi bus, ethnic clashes in Tana River that claimed many lives, a deadly attack on a police patrol in Samburu and Turkana leading to the death of forty officers, and at the Coast the activities of the Mombasa Republican Council were a threat to peace. The following extracts illustrate the vocabulary used in the peace messages:

1. **Peace** and **security** during the campaigns, on polling day itself and on to the post-election period, will be **crucial** to resolving whether or not Kenya successfully leaps this **crucial hurdle** and goes on to take its rightful place as **a stable, democratic and progressive nation**.
2. Kenyans **demand peace and security** both in the **pre- and post-election** period, and will not countenance laxity and dereliction of duty.
3. All these may be **seen** as **isolated** incidents in different parts of the country, but taken together, they represent a **real and present danger to peace**.

The lexical choices highlighted in the extracts are mainly content words, a choice that enables the editor to convey information on peace. There was shared background knowledge of the editor and the reader that may have influenced the production and interpretation of the messages. This was the fact that in light of the preparation for elections, the incidents of violence that may have seemed insignificant could spiral into worse situations if unchecked. In 1, the editor topicalised the need for peace by putting it in the subject position to explicitly indicate what the text was about. The editor's choice to place focus on peace was meant to influence the reader to view peace as an urgent need at the time. This agrees with Huckin (1997) who indicates that in choosing what to put in the topic position, the writer creates a perspective or slant that influences the reader's perception. The word 'peace' is collocated with 'security,' a possible implication that the presence of one presupposes the other.

The phrase 'will be crucial' used to anaphorically refer to peace created the idea of peace being extremely important in determining the outcome of the election. The second use of the word 'crucial' in 'crucial hurdle' is attributive and is an implied reference to the elections. This was based on the historical context of violence at election times due to the ethnic nature of Kenyan politics. The choice of the word 'crucial' over the word 'important' was a deliberate choice to represent the need for peace. The collocation of the word 'peace' with

‘security’ in 1 and 2 serves to present the editor’s view of peace as a way of inviting the readers to embrace the call for peace. The editor specified the occasions when peace was paramount as ‘during the campaigns, on polling day itself and on to the post-election period.’ This was done against the backdrop of the past experience of violence in previous election periods and especially the unprecedented PEV after the 2007 elections. This follows the principle of CDA that discourse is historical and texts acquire their meanings by being situated in specific social, cultural and ideological contexts. The historical context was that of past violence in Kenya during elections and since this was another time of elections, the reminder to sustain peace was meaningful and timely. The editorial was a commentary on the incidents of violence which had occurred in parts of the country at a time of voter registration. These incidents were a reminder of past violence related to elections. Such incidents could stir violence and jeopardize peace.

By using the word ‘demand’ in extract 2 instead of other terms like ‘want’ or ‘need’ the editor wants to convey the message that peace is a right of Kenyans which they were claiming at the time. In 3, the phrase ‘may be seen’ deletes the agent. Coupled with the word ‘isolated’ the phrase implies that none or little attention was paid to the incidents by the concerned authorities. The choice of the adjectives ‘real’, and ‘present’ to refer to the incidents of violence bring out the immediate threat to peace the incidents were. ‘Real’ means something that actually exists and is not imagined, while ‘present’ means having an immediate effect and relates to the ‘now’ of the moment. This was meant to stir the authorities into action. These findings support Chilton’s (2004) view that surface structures of text and talk do not have explicit “meanings” of their own but they are only conventional manifestations of underlying “meanings.” In his view, surface structures may express and convey special operations or strategies which may control the ways in which events are interpreted by speech participants. In addition, Chilton (2004) states that whereas the

meanings may not explicitly express or encode prejudice or social inequality, surface structures may let “transpire” such “hidden” meanings anyway. Extracts from Ed. 2 also illustrate use of vocabulary.

Ed. 2- Alternative to peaceful elections costly (SS December 6, 2012, pg.14)

Ed. 2 was a commentary on the warning by the World Bank that anything short of a peaceful election would seriously dent Kenya’s economic growth. The author emphasized on the need to embrace peace and urged politicians to preach peace in order to save Kenya from an economic crunch.

The words ‘peace’ and ‘peaceful’ have been used repeatedly as exemplified in the following extracts:

4. The bank predicts that Kenya will close the year at a 4.3 per cent Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth and rise to 5 per cent in 2013, but there is a caveat. The projected growth will be achieved only if **peaceful elections** will be held in 2013.
5. Five per cent growth levels for an economy like ours is dismal, but the bank says this is what we will achieve with **peaceful elections**.
6. While campaigning across the country, politicians have **pledged** to work towards **peace** before, during and after the elections.
7. The World Bank says the elections will play a key role in determining the extent Kenya will go in achieving the projected economic growth of five per cent. This means that we **have no option** as a country **but to preach peace**.
8. ...Kenya being what it is needs a **peaceful poll** in order to move to the next stage of development. This is why our politicians **have no option but to preach peace**.

In the above extracts, the lexical items ‘peaceful elections,’ ‘peace,’ and ‘no option but to preach peace’ were repeated as a strategy to emphasize the need for peace at the time in order to make economic gains. The shared background knowledge was that the economy cannot grow in the absence of peace – a situation that had been experienced before especially after the 2007/2008 PEV. The writer therefore, chose to name the World Bank which offers financial aid to Kenya.

According to Senthin (2008), the nature of the press coverage is an important factor in determining the fate of the peace process. Senthin (2008) argues that the press can act as a driving force to help activists and governments raise awareness and implement programmes in order to achieve their goals. In the context of this extract, the editor helped to raise awareness on the importance of peace to the growth of the economy by highlighting the World Bank report and repeatedly using the word ‘peace’ or ‘peaceful.’ The World Bank is a body that plays a vital role in financing projects in Kenya so it is a powerful body whose opinion matters in Kenya’s affairs.

In 4, the editor uses the lexical item ‘caveat’ to sound a warning that the projected growth would not come unless there was peace. In 6, the editor further uses the phrase ‘politicians have pledged to work towards peace’ in order to show the strong commitment of the leaders to maintain peace. The term ‘pledged’ instead of promise connotes more seriousness on the part of the leaders. Peace is depicted as something that requires a deliberate effort to achieve. Kenyan politicians are known to make promises which they hardly fulfil, so the editor used language that could depict seriousness to make the promise credible and present the politicians as pro-peace. This was used to strengthen the editor’s call for peace. By using some of the lexical items repeatedly, the editor was reinforcing the explicit call for peace in order for Kenya to grow economically. Peace was repeatedly depicted as a requisite for growth and development. Johnston (1994) views discourse as repetitive in nature. It gives

emphasis to a particular idea. The repeated words and word structures are a means of controlling the collective mind of the readers and impressing upon this mind that the editor who controls discourse has the readers' interest at heart. This agrees with Kamalu and Agangan's (2012) observation that the elite use words to sustain its domination of the lower classes. The elite in the context of the study are editors who have influence due to information power. The editor was preoccupied with the idea of the importance of peace to a country's economic growth and this preoccupation was expressed in the repetition of the highlighted words and phrases to express the call to peace.

This analysis was based on the principle of CDA that the shaping of discourse is at stake in power struggles and that language is a powerful mechanism for social control and therefore is contested and contestable. The editor, through repetition sought to maintain power over readers by controlling their mind. The editor legitimises the power of the World Bank over Kenya by presenting its report on matters concerning economic growth. The World Bank wields economic power over Kenya as it plays a key role in financing Kenya's economic projects. Moreover, repetition of lexical items is also depicted in extract 9 from Ed. 3.

Ed. 3 - Give police proper equipment ahead of polls (SST February 9, 2013, pg.14)

The editorial writer commented on a Human Rights Watch report that had been released that week which warned that if the government failed to conduct necessary reforms, Kenya was at risk of election-related violence. The writer further urged the authorities concerned to give the police adequate equipment ahead of polls in order for them to ensure peace and security. There was also a drive that had been launched by the media house towards building peace.

9. More importantly, **vast proportions of the citizenry** are intent on having a **peaceful transition**. Their desire informs the stance taken by various stakeholders, including this media house, which this week launched 'The Stand,' a drive for a

clean, peaceful election. In the face of such public goodwill, there is ample reason for optimism.

In light of the ills suffered due to the 2007/2008 PEV, the editor repeated the adjective ‘peaceful’ coupled with the phrase ‘vast proportions’ in order to mediate the reality that majority of Kenyans desired peace at the time. This probably implied that lessons had been learnt and no Kenyan would want to experience violence again. The choice of the attributive adjective ‘vast’ creates a very different picture from the word ‘many’ and shows the editor’s concern for Kenyans. In CDA, the use of numbers and statistics in discourse is a means to show that the writers/speakers are objective and that what they are discussing is not just their opinions but facts. The phrase ‘peaceful transition’ refers to the desire of many Kenyans to have a peaceful change of government unlike in 2007 when the transition was marred by violence. The repetition of the phrases ‘peaceful election’ and ‘peaceful transition’ served to emphasize the editor’s preoccupation with the need for peace which can be seen as a way of manipulating language to control the readers.

CDA states that all speakers and writers operate from specific discursive practices originating in special interests and aims which involve inclusions and exclusions. In extract 9, the special interest of the editor was to persuade readers to embrace the call for peace and this was done through the inclusion of the media house as was exemplified in the phrase ‘...including this media house....’ These findings are in tandem with those of Wells (1986) who argues that the way sentences are worded can greatly influence the reader’s perception of the ideas expressed in a text. The phrase ‘more importantly’ coming at the beginning of extract 9 positions the reader to expect the main point the editor intends to make in the assertion – the desire of Kenyans for peace to prevail. Extracts from Ed. 4 also depict lexical choices.

Ed. 4 - Devote Independence Day to future of peace (DN December 12, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 4 whose title appears above was published on the day of the celebration of independence and urged all stakeholders to maintain peace.

10. In the midst of election campaigns that are already becoming **rather heated**, all the players must recognise that it is **their responsibility** to conduct themselves in a **fitting fashion** so that **peace, security and stability are not endangered**.
11. A **peaceful transition** will very much depend on **peaceful election** campaigns and a **free, fair and competently managed election**.
12. Also key players in the equation are the citizens of Kenya who **must at all times remain peaceful** and **resist** and **reject** any attempts to provoke them into **violence** against opposing political groupings.

In extract 10, the editor used the phrase ‘rather heated’ in reference to the elections to express the fact that there was anger and agitation among the opponents which was a threat to peace at the time. The editor was implicitly sounding a warning and reminding Kenyans of their responsibility to maintain peace. The phrase ‘fitting fashion’ refers to the expected good conduct that would ensure peace and implies that the conduct of the opponents was not proper and could compromise peace. The nouns peace, security and stability have been collocated to imply that if people do not conduct themselves as expected, these ideals would not exist. The editor clearly placed the responsibility for peace upon all Kenyans in the phrase ‘**their responsibility**.’

In extract 11 the lexical choice ‘free, fair and competently managed’ in reference to the elections refers to professionalism and credibility in handling the elections to avoid disputes that would cause violence. The editor implies that without a peaceful election there would be no peaceful transition. The word ‘peaceful’ is repeated as a premodifier of the nouns

‘transition’ and ‘election’ to emphasise the editor’s call for peace. In extract 12, Kenyans are obligated to remain peaceful using the modal ‘must’ which limits any options available. The editor used the words ‘resist’ and ‘reject’ to appeal to the emotions of the readers and urge them to choose to be peaceful. The words imply some other forces that go against the peace process and are used to condemn violence. This interpretation is based on the principle that discourse is historical. The editor’s message was interpreted based on the historical context where supporters of aspirants settle scores with opponents and end up suffering while the candidates do not fight each other. Media as a means of communication can contribute to the prevention of conflict by selecting what to concentrate on and make the public view the issues as more important than other issues. This lends credence to Mwithiga (2014) who found that the media chose to focus on issues that would enhance peace by selecting what to print or broadcast to the nation during the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. Ed. 5 also exemplifies vocabulary used in the peace messages.

Ed. 5 - Nominations must reflect preparedness for elections (SS January 17, 2013, pg.14)

Ed. 5 was a commentary on the nominations that were going on in preparation for the elections that were to come in March that year. The editor also condemned the acts of violence that had been reported in Bumala, Busia.

13. One thing is clear though, Kenyans **yearn for peace, stability, economic development, rule of law and respect for human rights.**

14. Already **pockets of violence** have been witnessed in parts of the country, with reports of **loss of life** in Bumala, Busia. **This is unacceptable.**

The analysis is based on the principle that CDA is interpretative and explanatory. The explanations advanced for the above texts are based on the production of meaning relations

by understanding the meaning of one part in the context of the whole. The choice of the word ‘yearn’ in extract 13 over other words like ‘want’ or ‘need’ conveyed the fact that Kenyans long very much to have peace and stability. Peace was presented as an attribute that Kenyans strongly desired. This interpretation was realised based on the socio-political context in which cases of violence had been witnessed in Bumala at the time. The collocation of the term ‘peace’ with ‘stability,’ ‘economic development,’ ‘rule of law’ and ‘respect for human rights’ helps to bring to the fore what constitutes a conducive environment that Kenyans strongly desired. The editor highlighted the things Kenyans strongly desired at the time to convey the fact that anything short of these desires would be unwelcome.

In extract 14, the editor chose the adjective ‘unacceptable’ to express the strong condemnation of the few reported cases of violence that had led to loss of life. Such incidents were a threat to peace at the time and had to be condemned in a bid to call for peace. The demonstrative pronoun ‘this’ serves to create a cohesive link between the two sentences in extract 14 that aid in interpretation. The choice of other words instead of the word ‘unacceptable’ may not have presented the condemnation as expected. The editor through the use of the term ‘unacceptable’ laid blame on both the security agents that were charged with the responsibility to prevent such violence and the perpetrators of the violence. The conditions surrounding the writer and reader at the time were the threats to peace caused by the cases of violence. These needed to be investigated to restore peace in the areas concerned. The editor chose to use language that could lead to the formation of positive attitudes in the readers towards the newspaper institution. This interpretation is strengthened by Mahfouz (2013) who investigated the police news story framing in two Egyptian newspapers and concluded that the two newspapers manipulated the language to be in harmony with the beliefs held by the target audience. In the context of the editorial, the shared belief was the

desire for peace by all and so anything that could compromise peace was to be condemned.

Ed.6 contains extracts that depict lexical choices.

Ed. 6 - Hold politicians to their pledge to accept IEBC vote tally (SS March 8, 2013, pg.14)

Ed. 6 was published four days after the elections and the editor reminded the politicians of the promise to accept the results as announced by the IEBC.

15. The calls for **calm, tolerance and peace** should be **intensified** even as the commission investigates **allegations of vote rigging and system glitches**.

The title put the message in context through a reminder of the pledge by politicians to accept the outcome of the elections. The elections had come and gone and it was now time for the politicians to live up to their pledge. There were allegations of vote rigging which meant that the politicians on the losing end would not easily accept the situation as they had promised. The editor called for peace by using the verb ‘intensified’ to express the much energy and commitment that needed to accompany the call for peace, especially at a time when results were being awaited amidst allegations of vote rigging. The noun ‘allegations’ indicates that the reports were unconfirmed and the media makes use of such terms to avoid blame. These allegations could raise tension and compromise peace. The circumstances surrounding the production of the message were the uncertainty and anxiety over who would be the winner and memories of the 2007 PEV that was triggered by disputed results. This follows the CDA principle that discourse is historical and the processes of production lead to a better interpretation of the editorial content.

The collocation of the words ‘calm,’ ‘tolerance’ and ‘peace’ which give positive impression serve to buttress the editor’s message of peace. The term ‘intensified’ depicts the editor’s

desire to have the calls for peace strengthened. The editor also uses the word ‘allegations’ to lessen the effect of the statement by not presenting it as though vote rigging had been confirmed to be factual. This use of mitigated language by the editor was appropriate to avoid stirring emotions in an already tense situation against the backdrop of the PEV that was caused by perceived vote rigging. This explanation is supported by Omondi (2016) whose findings imply that newspapers can be strong instruments for fostering peace and tranquillity in a community depending on the words they choose to report issues. Lexical choices are also illustrated in Ed.7.

Ed. 7 - Political class must stop this irresponsible talk (ST November 25, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 7 was a commentary on the derogatory remarks with tribal sentiment that a politician in Narok had made. These utterances were condemned as they were a threat to peace.

16. With **about three months** to the March 4, 2013 General Election, this is the time leaders should **guard** against **irresponsible utterances**.
17. President Kibaki has time and again called for **peaceful campaigns and elections** and on the need for leaders to **preach peace**.

The editor reminded readers about the short time left before elections using number game in the phrase ‘about three months.’ This was meant to bring to the fore the reality that the time was short and negative utterances which the editor referred to as ‘irresponsible utterances’ could compromise peace and were to be avoided. Politicians in Kenya are known for their behaviour of belittling or even indirectly insulting opponents in their effort to gain an edge over them. In the context of the editorial, the irresponsible utterance referred to utterances made by a politician that outsiders were not welcome to vote in the said region. This bordered on hate speech and could incite people to violence. The choice of the adjective ‘irresponsible’ to refer to the utterances expressed the editor’s condemnation of the same in the quest for

peace. According to Paluck (2009) this kind of negative reinforcement where the media attracts considerable attention from the target audience can lead to positive behaviour. This interpretation follows the CDA principle that discourse constitutes society and culture. This means that language changes according to context and situations are altered according to language use. In the context of the extract, it can be said that by terming the leaders' utterances as 'irresponsible,' the editor sought to use language to influence the attitudes of the audience towards such leaders and influence the behaviour of the leaders.

In extract 17, the editor mentions the President's call for peace. This was an instance in which the editor appealed to the authority of the president to strengthen his call for peace. The president was depicted as leading by example in calling for peace, something he had repeatedly done as depicted in the words 'time and again.' The leaders had a responsibility to earnestly proclaim peace in public as depicted in the phrase 'preach peace.' The editor's message therefore implied that some leaders had failed to heed the president's call. The content of Ed. 8 exemplifies more lexical choices used in the peace messages.

Ed. 8 - Voter education key to stem poll violence (SST February 2, 2013, pg. 14)

The editor called for voter education as a way of stemming electoral violence. The argument was that the police force alone could not do the work of stemming the violence even if more resources were mobilized. Extracts 18 and 19 illustrate lexical choices used in the editorial.

18. The **battle** for an election without violence must be **won** well in advance, in the hearts and minds of the silent majority that had no hand in the appalling events of 2007 and 2008.
19. Thus, it is **critical to cultivate and protect faith in the process**, avoiding any of the spurious insinuations of interference that typically attend such contests.

The editor used the word ‘battle’ and ‘won’ which implies politics is a war or contest and depicts the struggle involved in convincing the masses to choose peace even when aggrieved. The effort of inculcating peace in people’s minds was presented as a struggle implying it was not an easy task. The way language is used affects the way the world is represented. The process was depicted as a psychological one in the phrase ‘in the hearts and minds of....’ The modal ‘must’ obligates the addressee as the editor does not request or plead. In extract 19 the editor used the words ‘critical,’ ‘cultivate,’ ‘protect,’ and ‘faith’ to further show the importance of winning the psychological battle to ensure peace. The choice of the word ‘faith’ is an intertextual mix of religious genre meaning a strong religious belief. In the context of the editorial, the word was used to express trust in someone’s ability to do something. This was in reference to the fact that if the electoral system won the trust of Kenyans, violence would be stemmed and peace would prevail. This is because Kenyans would believe in the system’s ability to conduct credible elections without disputes. Historically, election disputes arise in Kenya and the aggrieved parties express loss of faith in the electoral process. CDA being interpretative and explanatory goes beyond textual analysis and provides for dynamic and open explanations based on contextual information. This is in tandem with Michira’s (2014) view that language is a powerful tool that can be used to create certain perceptions in order to influence and manipulate the readers with a view to influencing their perception. The editor sought to use language that placed the responsibility for peace upon the readers and their perception of the electoral process.

4.2.1.2 Emotive Terms

The analysis in this category is based on the CDA principle that language use helps to constitute and change knowledge, social relations and social identity. Discourse constitutes society and culture and discourses can only be understood with reference to their historical context. The way language is used affects the way the world is represented.

According to Zhang(2011) words can be divided into three categories according to their emotional coloring: commendatory words, derogatory words and neutral words. Commendatory terms are words with positive evaluation that show the user's favorable attitude to his or her descriptive objects for example 'commendable'. Derogatory terms are words with negative evaluation that reflect the user's negative attitude for example 'irresponsible.' Neutral terms are words with no evaluation, and by using neutral words the user makes no comments on his or her descriptive objects but only states the fact. Both commendatory and derogatory words have evaluative coloring. Therefore, journalists may use different coloring words at will, especially adjectives and adverbs, which will convey the intended message. The use of commendatory words is depicted in extracts 20 and 21 taken from Ed. 9.

Ed. 9 - All Kenyans responsible for a peaceful election (SN February 24, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 9 was published about a week before the elections. This was the week that marked the end of the official campaign period. The editorial commented on the desirability for peace by focusing on the positive issues at the time such as the then president leaving power willingly, the economy was doing well, the duly elected Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission and the major firms that had picked Nairobi as their headquarters.

20. It is a **credit** to wananchi that the country has **rebounded impressively** from the **disaster** that was the 2007/2008 election.

21. A crucial product of the new constitution was the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). Unlike many other countries around the region, the commissioners of the polls body **were recruited through a competitive process**. They **were not handpicked** by the president. The commission has done

reasonably well so far which is why public opinion surveys indicate it **commands the support of nine in ten Kenyans.**

The shared background knowledge that helps make sense of the extracts was that there were positive changes that had taken place in the country since the PEV of 2007/2008. These changes would enhance peace in the nation. In extract 20, the editor presented the country in a positive light using the words ‘credit,’ ‘rebounded’ and ‘impressively.’ ‘Rebounded’ means that Kenya had recovered from the effects of the 2007/2008 violence and ‘impressively’ means the recovery was good for the country. The editor used the term ‘credit’ to acknowledge the role of Kenyans in the recovery of the country from the disaster. The positive self-presentation of the country and its people was meant to stir readers to maintain peace so as not to compromise the good image of the country. The choice of the term ‘disaster’ over other terms like ‘violence’ was deliberate. The word ‘disaster’ refers to something that causes significant physical damage or destruction and brings to memory the PEV of 2007/2008 that had left about 1300 dead and displaced about 600,000 according to The Human Rights Watch (2013). It depicts a negative evaluation of the past violence and was meant to strengthen the editor’s implicit call for peace by condemning violence.

In extract 21, the editor referred to the IEBC, the body charged with overseeing elections and commended its progress using the adverb ‘reasonably well’ to indicate the perception that the new body was better than the previous one. The commission had done well in the preparation for the elections and this inspired confidence in it as the election date drew closer. The confidence in the commission is expressed in the phrase ‘commands the support of nine in ten Kenyans.’ This is in contrast to the former electoral body that was perceived as partisan. The editor strengthens the competence and credibility of the polls body by using phrases like ‘were recruited through a competitive process’ and ‘were not handpicked.’ This means they were qualified for the job and would not be manipulated by the then president as he did not

handpick them to serve his interests. The confidence of Kenyans in the commission was a boost to the call for peace since Kenyans were more likely to trust the election results whatever the outcome. This interpretation agrees with Henry and Tator's (2002) observation that opinion leaders, courts, government and newspaper editors play a crucial role in shaping issues in the society and setting the boundaries of what is talked about and how it is talked about.

Newspapers are particularly known to lead in the initiation of discourse on key national issues by picking on statements and actions of prominent national figures, celebrities and happenings around the nation and exposing them to their readership. In relation to the extracts above, the editor chose to expose to the readership the issue of the recovery of the country from the PEV of 2007/2008 and the progress by the IEBC in an effort to call for the sustenance of peace. This underscores the important role a credible electoral body plays in regard to ensuring the prevalence of peace in a country before, during and after elections. The editor chose words that enabled him to frame lots of hope and expectation in the peace message due to the positive perception depicted of the new polls body. This interpretation adheres to the principle of CDA that language shapes and is shaped by society that is, situations are altered according to the language used and language use is concerned with developing consciousness of the issue thus contributing to social emancipation.

According to Ojwang's (2009) analysis of the implications of the messages of peace and conflict inherent in the utterances of key political players as reported in the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers, the reporting frames chosen by the Kenyan media in covering the post-poll violence of 2007/2008 ultimately influenced the conceptions of peace prospects by consumers of news. In relation to the present study, Ojwang's (2009) conclusions support the interpretation that the editor's choice of language to present the new polls body as credible and the recovery of the country framed hopes for peace in the minds of the consumers of

news. The use of commendatory words to describe peace is further illustrated in extract 22 from Ed. 10.

**Ed. 10 - Pleading for divine intervention timely (DN February 25, 2013,
pg.12)**

Ed. 10 was published a week to the General Elections. The editorial was a commentary on the national prayer sessions for peace that had been held in Nairobi by Prophet Owuor over that weekend. It expressed hope for a peaceful election. The content of the editorial also entailed the use of commendatory words to depict peace as exemplified in extract 22 below:

22. The weekend national prayer sessions for **reconciliation** and **peace** were **a great idea**. Whether you are a believer or an agnostic, praying for divine intervention as we head for the most complex and closely fought election that Kenya has ever held is, in itself, **inspired**.

The analysis of extract 22 follows the principle of CDA that discourse helps to constitute knowledge, social relations and social identity. The words ‘reconciliation,’ ‘peace’, ‘great idea’ and ‘inspired’ were used to positively depict peace, an instance of language being used to affect the way the world is represented. The words showed the editor’s favourable attitude towards activities that promote peace. They served to express the opinion of the newspaper institution that it supported the choice to appeal to the divine authority for peace. The editor represented peace as important irrespective of religious leanings in the phrase ‘whether you are a believer or an agnostic.’ The editor therefore used language to give hope to Kenyans in the midst of the apprehension prevailing at a time when elections were just one week away. This explanation corroborates the findings of Atai and Mozaheb (2013) that the choice of words in news stories is a strategic tool for shaping the audience’s mental image. The writer can manipulate the reader’s reaction to the content of the news. Atai and Mozaheb (2013)

explored the representation of Iran's nuclear program in British mass media and concluded that the British newspapers used lexical choices that portrayed the nuclear program negatively as a threat to the United States and her allies.

The next editorial, Ed. 11 also shows the use of commendatory words to frame the message of peace. The editor reported positively on the prevailing circumstances to dispel tension as the verdict by the Supreme Court was awaited.

Ed. 11 - Whatever the verdict we're still one people (STN March 30, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 11 was published on the day the Supreme Court was to give its ruling on the presidential election petitions.

23. It is **noteworthy** that the hearings of the petitions this past week **largely** brought out the **best** in Kenyans. The **peace** experienced since the voting on March 4 **continued** to hold across the country.

24. The **good-natured and highly professional manner the court proceedings were conducted** won the praise of Chief Justice Willy Mutunga and many other Kenyans. More importantly, **all parties to the petitions have promised to accept the court's verdict**. For good measure, the process has gone a long way in **reaffirming our maturing democracy**.

In extract 23 the editor expressed his positive evaluation of the conduct of Kenyans as they waited for the verdict on the election petition. The choice of the words 'noteworthy', 'largely' and 'best' served to convey the editor's positive judgement. This depicted praise for Kenyans as a way of encouraging them to maintain the good conduct. The word 'continued' in reference to peace implies that peace could have been compromised due to the uncertainty of the verdict at the time. However, peace was still existent at the time of the publication of the

editorial and showed the effort made by Kenyans to uphold peace as they awaited the verdict on the petition.

Extract 24 further exemplifies the editor's choice of words that commended the court, the aggrieved parties and Kenyans at large such as 'good-natured and highly professional manner the court proceedings were conducted,' 'all parties to the petitions have promised to accept the court's verdict' and 'reaffirming our maturing democracy' respectively. According to CDA language use shapes and is shaped by society, meaning language changes according to the context and situations are altered according to the language used. In the context of the heightened expectations on that day when the long-awaited verdict was to be given by the Supreme Court, it was prudent of the editor to use language that would help sustain peace at the time. The words chosen acknowledged the effort by Kenyans to be peaceful and the credibility of the Supreme Court. A study carried out by Omondi (2016) on Media Discourse and Ethnic Conflicts using CDA attests to the view that editors can help foster harmony among people through the choice of words that commend good conduct as used in extracts 23 and 24. Another extract that depicted the editor's choice of derogatory words to foster harmony was 25 taken from the content of Ed. 12.

Ed. 12 - Aspirants must sow peace dividend seed (SS February 20, 2013, pg.14)

Ed. 12 was published about two weeks to the election. It was necessitated by the ugly turn of the tone of presidential campaigns. There were exchanges of allegations between some presidential candidates over the cases at the International Criminal Court that touched on the then Jubilee presidential contender and his running mate. The leaders were being urged to focus on selling their manifestoes to the public instead of engaging in divisive politics.

25. With the elections around the corner, politicians need to be **more careful** with their statements at public rallies and focus on issues outlined in their party manifestoes.

The foregoing analysis and interpretation was based on the CDA principle that society and discourse shape each other. This means that language is not a neutral phenomenon – it is concerned with developing consciousness of the issue. The editor topicalised the nearness of the elections by putting the phrase ‘with the elections around the corner’ in the subject position. This was done to emphatically put across the opinion that the utterances by the politicians at the time concerning the cases at The Hague could endanger peace. The negative evaluation of the politicians is implied in the phrase ‘be more careful,’ which depicted them as not being careful enough. Based on past experiences, the words of politicians during campaigns could be inflammatory and lead to violence. A study carried out by Michira (2014) indicates that the competition for political power gets fierce and even dirty during campaigns as candidates and their parties try to popularize themselves and attack their opponents. According to Michira (2014), the ethnic nature of politics in Kenya was a factor behind the PEV in 2007/2008. It was against this backdrop that the editor in extract 25 sought to foster harmony by calling on politicians to focus on issues outlined in their party manifestoes. Moreover, extract 26 taken from Ed. 13 also depicted the editor’s choice of commendatory words that positively represented Kenyans and derogatory words to depict the rest of the world.

**Ed. 13- Time for Kenyans to unite and move country forward (SS March 12, 2013,
pg.14)**

Ed. 13 was published a week after the elections. It was a commentary on events leading to the elections, the peaceful conduct before and after the elections, and the need to move on in unity and build the country since the elections had come and gone.

26. Despite the differences, however, the **peaceful conduct before** and **after** the election demonstrates the country’s **maturity** beyond the wildest imaginations of

the rest of the world. The world expected Kenyans to **ravenously maul** one another, **but** we showed them our **real character**. That we are a **peace loving people** in a democracy that is **quickly maturing** is no longer in doubt.

27. **We have made a lot of strides as a country** but we still need an extra push to realise our full potential. We need a new vitality, inspired by **our growing diversity** and some newly found reasons to stay and work together for our common good as a nation.

In CDA, the way language is used affects the way the world is represented. The editorial writer in extract²⁶ using the conjunction ‘but’ expressed the contrast between what the world expected of Kenyans based on past election periods and the reality that Kenyans were peaceful during the 2013 General Elections. In light of the expected challenge of the outcome of the presidential election by the opposition – Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD)– the writer sought to build peace by referring to Kenyans as ‘a peace loving people’ and indicating that there was a change in the behaviour of Kenyans using the phrase ‘quickly maturing.’ The phrase ‘ravenously maul’ means to cause serious physical wounds referring to the destructive way in which the world expected Kenyans to treat one another after the elections. It is used in a derogatory way to condemn the world’s view of Kenyans as violent. This supports Fowler’s (1991) view that journalists and editors may select and transform news. The editor selected words to express his positive evaluation of the conduct of Kenyans. The sentence ‘The world expected Kenyans to ravenously maul one another’ depicted the other nations of the world negatively because of their expectation of Kenyans.

On the other hand the sentence ‘That we are a peace loving people in a democracy that is quickly maturing is no longer in doubt’ depicted the editor as expressing national glorification for Kenya. This helped to fight negative propaganda and encouraged people to maintain peace which was necessary given the volatile situation. According to Fairclough

(1995), language changes according to context and situations are altered according to the language used. In line with this tenet, the editor chose language that gave hope to the nation.

In extract²⁷ the editor acknowledged the achievements of Kenya towards maintaining peace in the clause ‘we have made a lot of strides as a country **but...**’ but implies that more could be done in order to work together as a nation. He reminds readers of the diversity in the country which is referred to as a ‘growing diversity’ implying that it is increasing and needs to be appreciated by striving towards unity. These explanations support the findings of a study carried out by Mwithigah (2014) on the role of media in conflict prevention with a focus on the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. Mwithigah’s (2014) findings showed that in 2013 the media chose to spread messages of peace and advised Kenyans against violence. Ed. 14 depicts the use of derogatory words.

Ed. 14 - Police’s failure to stop killings unacceptable (STN December 22, 2012, pg.12)

The title of Ed. 14 depicted a direct criticism of the police force for failure to stop the killings in Tana Delta at the time. The editor’s lexical choice of ‘unacceptable’ depicted the negative evaluation of the police force. The text below taken from the editorial further condemned the police force.

28. The **continuing cycle of violence** in Tana River must be brought to an end. The attack at dawn yesterday that resulted in **over 39 deaths** is a **sobering reminder** that **not enough is being done** to restore and enforce the peace between the warring Pokomo and Orma communities.

29. It also reflects a **monumental failure** that must put under severe scrutiny the competence of those in charge of security in the area.

The choice of the phrase ‘continuing cycle’ used in extract 28 expressed the fact that violence had occurred in the area repeatedly. This is a negative evaluation that implied failure on the part of security forces in the area. The number game strategy used in the phrase ‘over 39 deaths’ points to great loss of life which was a threat to peace. The phrase ‘sobering reminder’ in reference to the number of deaths was meant to make the security forces get serious and think seriously about the insecurity in Tana River area. The use of the vagueness strategy in the phrase ‘not enough is being done’ does not give enough information to the readers on what is enough in regard to security and results to a negative portrayal of the security forces. It was meant to stir the security forces to action in restoring peace.

In extract 29, the lexical choice ‘monumental’ is an instance of the use of hyperbole to express the high degree of failure of the security forces to stem violence. The editor evaluated the security agents negatively and at the same time obligated them to end the violence using the modal ‘must.’ The choice of words used laid blame and questioned the competence of the security agents. By mentioning the number of deaths ‘over 39 deaths’ the editor sought to clearly portray the severity of the attacks and sound a wake-up call to the security agents. This analysis was based on the principle that CDA is discursive and explanatory. CDA goes beyond textual analysis and the interpretations and explanations are dynamic and open and may be affected by new readings and new contextual information. The circumstances at the time demanded quick action to end any form of violence that could stir more violence during the elections that were about three months away. The editor therefore used words that were anti-violence to implicitly call for peace. These findings attest to the view of Atai and Mozaheb (2013) that the choice of words in news stories is a strategic tool for shaping the audience’s mental image. The writer can manipulate the reader’s reaction to the content of the news. In relation to the discussion on extracts 28 and 29, the writer shaped the mental image of the consumers of news in a way that depicted the police as inefficient by blaming

them for the large number of deaths. The editor did not however, mention the police directly but referred to them as ‘those in charge of security.’

4.2.2 Grammatical Choices

The grammatical choices in this section are categorised under passive versus active voice and verb phrases. Wells (1986) observes that the arrangement of words in different patterns in a sentence has an impact on how the sentence is understood. Wells (1986) lays stress on how syntactic form can enrich meaning in texts and have profound effect on the perception of the receiver of the content.

4.2.2.1 Active Versus Passive Voice

The active and passive voices play a major role in determining the role of the participant in an action. The role of a participant may be emphasized, minimised or omitted entirely (Nordlund, 2003). The active voice is used when the writer wishes to focus on the agent. The passive voice creates a different effect: the agent becomes less prominent and the person or thing affected by the action is the focus. According to Reah (1998), the actor may be deleted in a newspaper because the paper is able to imply illegal conduct without actually making an accusation that would leave them vulnerable to legal action. Another reason for deleting the actor may be due to the fact that the actor is actually unknown. The content of the following extracts taken from Ed. 1 depict the use of active vis-à-vis passive voice.

Ed. 1- Kenyans crave security before and after polls (DN November 14, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 1 was published at a time when voter registration was going on countrywide. The commentary was necessitated by the incidents of violence that had occurred in parts of the country. This included a grenade attack on a Nairobi bus, ethnic clashes in Tana River that claimed many lives, a deadly attack on a police patrol in Samburu and Turkana leading to the

death of forty officers, and at the Coast the activities of the Mombasa Republican Council were a threat to peace.

30. Kenyans demand peace and security both in the pre- and post-election period

and will not countenance laxity and dereliction of duty.

Extract 30 exemplified the use of the active voice in the phrase ‘Kenyans demand....’ The Theme and Rheme relationship clearly indicates the agent as the citizenry as a whole ‘Kenyans’ and the choice of the verb ‘demand’ gave no option to whoever was concerned with providing security. According to Fries (1994), the Theme is the orienter to the message conveyed by the clause. The focus in extract 30 was on Kenyans as the doers. The use of the word ‘demand’ as opposed to others like ‘want’ or ‘ask for’ was a forceful choice expressing a command which implied that Kenyans believed that they had a right to peace but they could receive some resistance in getting it. The editor acted as a mouthpiece for Kenyans by expressing public sentiment in advocating for peace. This supports Bratic (2005) who argues that media can indulge directly in national crises by acting as a mouthpiece for the masses. In light of the incidents of violence that had been sighted, the editor sought to clearly depict Kenyans as the agents of the demand for peace. The extract below exemplifies use of the passive voice.

31. Grave questions must be raised on whether there are reckless elements in society, including within the political leadership, who may be complicit in fanning violence for selfish ends.

The editor used passive voice in extract 31 making the agent (the one to ask questions) less prominent. The focus was the editor’s concern over those who were bent on causing violence. The statement implied that some political leaders could be part of the people fanning violence which could jeopardize peace and security. The editor labelled the people as ‘elements’

which could influence readers to view them negatively. The adjective ‘reckless’ served to present a negative portrayal of those fanning violence with a view to persuading readers to shun such people. This interpretation is based on the CDA principle that discourse helps to constitute and change knowledge, social relations and social identity. The way language is used affects the way the world is represented. This supports the findings of Wang (1994) which indicate that the simple act of labelling something can affect human behaviour toward that thing and even transform the nature of the thing itself. Wang (1994) studied the coverage of the 1991 Soviet Coup by *The New York Times* and *Remin Ribao*.

Ed. 9 also exemplifies the use of passive vis-a-vis active voice.

Ed. 9- All Kenyans responsible for a peaceful election (SN February 24, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 9 was published about a week before the elections. This was the week that marked the end of the official campaign period. The editorial commented on the desirability for peace by focusing on the positive issues at the time such as the then president leaving power willingly, the economy was doing well, the duly elected Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission and the major firms that had picked Nairobi as their headquarters.Extracts32 and 33 come from this editorial.

32. **Much will rest on how the election is handled.** Everyone involved – voters, politicians, civil society, government, the security forces, the media – **must do** their best to ensure this process is successful.

33. It is essential that this team **carries out** its duties with great diligence in the days to come so that voters have faith that the outcome of the election is just and credible.

Since the campaign period was over, all that remained was to wait for the elections and the editor maintained the stand that peace was the responsibility of all stakeholders. The phrase ‘is handled’ in extract 32is in the passive and conceals the doer. However, the editor used the

active voice in the second sentence to clearly express the actors responsible for a successful (and by implication a peaceful) election. The actors are put in parenthesis as ‘– voters, politicians, civil society, government, the security forces, and the media –’ and the use of the modal ‘must’ obligates all the actors to play their part. In the sentence ‘Much will rest on how the election is handled’ the editor was telling readers that all the people involved could purpose to maintain peace or not no matter the outcome of the election. The handling of the election refers to how all stakeholders view the process. Everyone was depicted as having the power to determine the prevalence of peace. This finding corroborates Hall’s (1992) assertion that discourse is a way of constructing meaning that organizes people’s actions and the way they perceive themselves.

Meaning in newspapers can therefore be constructed in a way that determines the behaviour of readers towards an issue. The editor by enumerating all the actors involved in determining the aftermath of the election sought to determine the way readers perceived themselves in regard to the sustenance of peace at the time. This is an instance of discourse shaping and being shaped by society. The language used by the editor in mediating reality was meant to influence readers’ behaviour. In extract 33 the editor used the active voice to call on the polls body ‘this team’ to instil faith in Kenyans by being diligent. The IEBC was presented as the doer and its credibility was depicted as crucial in determining the voters’ view of the outcome of the elections and by extension the presence of peace. The content of Ed. 15 further depicts the use of active and passive voice in the peace messages.

Ed. 15- Whichever side wins, we must ensure peace (STN March 2, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 15 was published just two days to the General Elections. It was a commentary on the then President’s message delivered the day before. The message urged all to ensure peace irrespective of the winner. It also commented on the circulation of leaflets that were causing

fear among residents in some areas. The media reporters, especially foreign outlets were cautioned against giving exaggerated reports on the state of the country.

34. He (the then president) also **assured the nation** that the government had put adequate machinery in place to guarantee law and order.

35. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission **must also take** the most severe action against elements that may try to influence the electoral outcome with scare tactics.

In extract 34, the editor used active voice to specify the actor as the then president. The editor mentioned the then president's assurance as a way of using authority to support the call for peace. The choice of the words 'assured,' 'adequate machinery,' and 'guarantee' conveyed the commitment from the then president towards the sustenance of peace. The then president was still a powerful authority and his promise would have an impact on the readers at the time when elections were just two days away. The assurance coming from the then president himself was seen to be authentic and serious because he had the authority to act. Extract 35 depicted the use of the active voice to specify the actor in the punishment of wrong doers as the IEBC. The IEBC as the electoral body had the responsibility of ensuring credible elections which could go a long way in ensuring peace prevailed. These were instances of the editors using language which encoded optimism and reassurance of peace in order to convey the peace message. These findings agree with those of Barasa (2014) who studied discursive strategies in Kenya's post-election consultation discourse and found that the then two principals: Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga used language that encoded political tolerance and reassurance for the success of the consultation. The interpretation follows the principle of CDA that the shaping of discourse is at stake in power struggles and language is a powerful mechanism for social control. The editor used language to legitimize the power of the then president to guarantee law and order and the power of the IEBC to punish offenders. Ed.

16 indicates the use of language in the passive voice to portray Kenyans positively in the call for peace.

Ed. 16- Cool down dangerous ‘war’ on social media (DN March 20, 2013, pg.12)

The CORD presidential candidate, Raila Odinga, had taken a petition to the Supreme Court challenging the declaration of Jubilee leader, Uhuru Kenyatta as president-elect. This matter was yet to be decided on; meanwhile, there were exchanges on social media between supporters of the two leaders which could cause violence if not addressed. The editors were urging leaders to take charge and restrain their supporters as the verdict was being awaited.

36. We **have been praised** around the world this time for exemplary behaviour during the elections.

In extract 36, the editor used the passive voice to focus on what had been done and to whom, without attributing the action to anyone in particular. The Theme of the sentence was ‘We’ in reference to Kenyans. Kenyans were depicted as those done-to. This served to portray Kenyans positively and cause them to desire to keep peace by maintaining the positive image the world had. This call for peace was necessitated by the circumstances at the time when there was anxiety and apprehension concerning the pending outcome of the petition. The interpretation is based on the CDA principle that discourse constitutes society, and that every instance of language use makes its own contribution to reproducing and transforming society and culture. The editor’s choice of words was meant to transform society by dissuading Kenyans from any action that would dent this image such as the ugly exchanges in the social media. The deictic ‘this time’ implies a departure from the negative view the world had of Kenyans due to past incidents of PEV. The positive change earned Kenyans praise and the use of the attributive word ‘exemplary’ means behaviour that is of high quality and deserves to be emulated. This is an instance of positive self-presentation of Kenyans in order to

persuade them to embrace peace which had earned them praise from the rest of the world. The editor chose to appeal to the emotions of Kenyans by indicating that the behaviour had earned them praise. This could be seen as a strategy to divert attention from the negative exchanges on social media. This interpretation agrees with the view held by Nabi and Oliver (2009) that emotionally evoked stimulus has the ability of capturing the attention of the audience and influencing behaviour. Ed. 11 also displays use of active voice.

Ed. 11 - Whatever the verdict we're still one people (STN March 30, 2013, pg.12)

The editorial was published on the day the Supreme Court was to give its ruling on the presidential election petitions.

37. **We have to keep the peace** and get our country back on track after months of anxiety caused by the General Election. **We must keep peace** and **allow the nation to heal**. **We have to recognise** that Kenya is more important than a presidential election.

The active voice was used in the above extract to emphasise the role of the participant in the action of keeping peace. The active voice highlights both the actors and action as important in the process of keeping peace thus clearly stating responsibility. A study by Ghannam (2012) found out that a high number of passive voice constructions were used in some of the newspapers studied to deliberately avoid any mention of those responsible for certain actions thereby avoiding responsibility. By implication, it can be argued that the use of the active voice increases responsibility based on the message to be passed in the extracts discussed. Kenyans including the editor were constructed as active participants in the process of keeping peace. The editor called for peace explicitly using the modal ‘must’ and ‘have to’ which was a strategy meant to obligate the participant (‘we’ which included all Kenyans) to maintain peace. The phrase ‘keep peace’ implies continuity with something that was already present.

The phrase was repeated indicating the editor's preoccupation with the need for peace. The repetition was meant to emphasise to the readers their responsibility in maintaining peace.

The phrase 'allow the nation to heal' portrayed the country as sick and in need of healing which could only come through peace. Peace was presented as a requirement for restoration in the nation. The responsibility of keeping peace was laid on all Kenyans. The historical context that informs the explanations was that basing on past reactions, matters of election disputes could stir violence. It was therefore prudent of the editor to remind readers to remain peaceful in the context of the expected verdict which could go either way. The call for peace was also depicted in Ed. 17.

Ed. 17- Consider Annan team's advice on national healing (ST November 4, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 17 was published four months before the General Election. The editor commented on the efforts that had been made by the government to ensure peaceful elections and also urged the government to address issues of insecurity before the election. Extract 38 from Ed. 17 depicts a call for peace using active and passive voice.

38. Toward this end, a national conference on peaceful elections for MPs and stakeholders was held in Mombasa in June, when President Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga called for peaceful campaigns and harmony among Kenyans.

The passive voice was used in extract 38 to make the agent less prominent and lay focus on the conference that was held to ensure peace. The editor depicted the government as pro-peace by naming the two leaders and stating their direct call for peace using active voice in the clause 'when President Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga called for peaceful

campaigns and harmony among Kenyans.’ Coming directly from the leaders, this call showed the authenticity and seriousness of the desire for peace. In the sentence ‘President Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga called for peaceful campaigns and harmony among Kenyans’ the editor presented the two leaders as having a united front in ensuring peaceful elections by using language as an instrument of social control. This was done by the editor legitimizing the authority of the two leaders in calling for peace and presenting it as truthful and credible. This agrees with van Dijk’s (2001) argument that members of more powerful groups and institutions have more or less exclusive access to and control over one or more types of public discourse. Since the editors control the media content that readers are exposed to, they can choose to present ideas that will present a viewpoint they want the readers to adopt. In relation to peace, the editor in the above text chose to use the authority of the leaders to present the message of peace. This interpretation also agrees with Sornig’s (1989) opinion that persuasive communication requires a change in the style of language used in order to encourage behaviour change in the recipients. The passive voice has also been used in Extract 39 from Ed. 18to call for peace.

Ed. 18- Candidates must not tire being the voice of reason (SS December 5, 2012, pg.14)

Ed. 18was published three months to the election. It came against the backdrop of events that caused worry. There had been a hostile reception of an aspirant in Embu, a rowdy nomination with chairs being hurled and fists being clenched, a veteran politician warned ‘outsiders’ against registering to vote in parts of Narok and there had also been running battles in Maua. Candidates were therefore urged to be at the forefront in preaching peace during their campaign rallies.

39. And now on the steps of yet another General Election, **all voters are being asked to deposit their peace dividend in the Kenyan bank of opportunity.**

Passive voice was used in the clause ‘all voters are being asked to deposit their peace dividend in the Kenyan bank of opportunity.’ The agent is left out as the focus is on the call for peace among all voters. The words ‘deposit’ ‘peace dividend’ and ‘Kenyan bank of opportunity’ depicted the editor’s creative use of language to call for peace in Kenya at the time. In order to bring about behaviour change in the readers in regard to peace, the editor appealed to their emotions by presenting peace as similar to money which is valuable and can be deposited to earn profits in future. This is also in tandem with the observation of Sornig (1989) that persuasive communication requires a change in the style of language used in order to encourage behavioural and opinion change in the recipients. The phrase ‘Kenyan bank of opportunity’ means peace was to be invested locally in Kenya. The phrase ‘And now on the steps of yet another General Election,’ relates to the CDA principle that discourse is historical in the sense that it connects the peace message to the previous election periods when peace was compromised. This strengthened the editor’s call for peace at the time. Extract 40 from Ed. 12 presents peace as a dividend using the active voice.

Ed. 12- Aspirants must Sow Peace Dividend Seed (SS February 20, 2013, pg.14)

Ed. 12 was published about two weeks to the election. It was necessitated by the ugly turn of the tone of presidential campaigns. There were exchanges of allegations between some presidential candidates over the cases at the International Criminal Court that touched on the then Jubilee presidential contender and his running mate. The leaders were urged to focus on selling their manifestoes to the public instead of engaging in divisive politics.

40. Aspirants must Sow Peace Dividend Seed.

Extract 40 was the title of the editorial and the active voice was used to emphasise the participant as the aspirants. The editor expressed the fact that aspirants had a role in the peace process by constructing them as doers and using the modal ‘must’ to obligate them to

cultivate peace. They had supporters whom they wielded some power over and could determine whether peace prevailed or not. Peace was depicted as a deliberate process that had benefits in the words ‘sow’ and ‘dividend.’ The word ‘sow’ means to plant and requires effort while the word ‘seed’ implies something that can be planted and needs time to grow. The modal ‘must’ expresses obligation and leaves the aspirants with no option but to seek to inculcate the virtue of peace in their supporters. The editor did not offer a suggestion or make a request but obligated the aspirants to take a lead in demonstrating peace. This was because their utterances and behaviour greatly influence the reactions of their supporters. Dahal (2011) observes that in a situation of political uncertainty, what is critically important is how political actors achieve common good together, not what they oppose. In the context of the editorial, the editors called on the aspirants to achieve common good by demonstrating peace.

Extract 41 from Ed. 19 depicts the use of the active voice in the peace message.

Ed. 19- Pledge to accept election results is the best gift to Kenya (SS February 27, 2013, pg.14)

Ed. 19 was published four days to the elections. It was a commentary on the second presidential debate that had been held on 25th February, 2013. It also commented on a prayer rally that had been called by Prophet Owuor and was attended by all the presidential candidates except Amani Alliance Candidate, Musalia Mudavadi. The candidates made a rare show of unity to rally Kenyans to vote peacefully and avoid violence witnessed in the previous election.

41. At Uhuru Park, the **aspirants demanded peace** of their supporters, regardless of who wins on Monday.

The active voice used in extract 41 emphasised the actors in the process ‘the aspirants.’ The verb ‘demanded’ implied the aspirants expected nothing but peace from their supporters. The editor depicted the authenticity of the demand by naming the actors as the aspirants

themselves. He/she conveyed the perceived readiness of the aspirants to let peace prevail no matter the outcome. By portraying the aspirants as demanding peace, the editor presented them positively in order to make the call for peace credible.

4.2.2.2 Verb Phrases

This section analyses the verb phrases used to construct the peace messages. A verb phrase is a group of two or more words consisting of an auxiliary verb and a main verb for example ‘has come.’

Ed. 9 - All Kenyans responsible for a peaceful election (SN February 24, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 9 was published a week before the elections. This was the week that marked the end of the official campaign period. The editorial commented on the desirability for peace by focusing on the positive issues at the time such as the then president leaving power willingly, the economy was doing well, the duly elected Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission and the major firms that had picked Nairobi as their headquarters.

42. Voters, too, **must exercise** patience as the commission deals with the challenges of a highly complex election in which, for the first time, biometric kits will be used to identify voters.

The editor used the verb phrase ‘must exercise’ to obligate the voters to be patient. This was an implicit call for peace and the editor acknowledged the potential challenges due to the new way of identifying voters. In the context of the maiden use of biometric kits, the editor expressed the view that patience was necessary in order for peace to prevail. In relation to CDA, the editor used language to mediate the link between text and society by creating awareness among the readers. Hudson (1984) avers that language creates reality and language use is a way of representing the very world that it is used to describe. The readers were made aware that challenges due to the change in the way of identifying voters were inevitable but

that was not a reason to jeopardize peace as the polls body would handle that. Ed. 15 exemplifies the repeated use of verb phrases using ‘must’ to call for peace. The title obligates all to maintain peace no matter the outcome of the election.

Ed. 15- Whichever side wins, we must ensure peace (STN March 2, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 15 was published just two days to the elections. The commentary was based on the then president’s message delivered the day before. The message urged all to ensure peace irrespective of the winner. It also commented on the circulation of leaflets that were causing fear among residents in some areas. The media reporters, especially foreign outlets were cautioned against giving exaggerated reports on the state of the country.

43. Police **must move** speedily to arrest and prosecute any individuals or parties engaging in such actions.

44. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) **must** also **take** the most severe action against elements that may try to influence the electoral outcome with scare tactics. The commission has the power to apply stiff sanctions against electoral contestants who try to gain an unfair advantage.

45. Kenyans mean while, **must remain** resolute in defence of their democratic right to vote. They **must not be intimidated** and **must not give in** to those spreading hate messages under cover of darkness.

46. The police in turn **must guarantee** the security of all Kenyans before and after the polls.

The analysis that follows was based on the CDA principle that discourse constitutes society and culture, meaning that every instance of language use makes its own contribution to reproducing and transforming society and culture. The repeated use of the modal ‘must’ in the verb phrases presented the actions to be done as obligations and not mere proposals. The actions had to be done by the people mentioned in order for peace to prevail. The police and

the polls body were obligated to carry out their duties of dealing with those who may want to compromise the peace process in extracts 43, 44 and 46. In extract 45, Kenyans were reminded to remain steadfast and not be influenced in any way. This interpretation can be supported by Bliss (2005) who contends that if something is a ‘must’ that presupposes a moral or belief system that supports it and therefore suggests strongly that the ‘must’ has to be accepted, then the effect is manipulative. The editor was preoccupied with the expression of what had to be done by the different actors to realize peace and this was expressed in an obligatory way. This preoccupation was justified by the political context in which the editorial was produced. The editorial was published just two days to the election so the editor was reminding everyone of their responsibility towards peace. The urgency of the reminder was depicted in the obligation implied by the verb phrase. The extracts from Ed. 16 depict the use of other verb phrases.

Ed.16- Cool down dangerous ‘war’ on social media (DN March 20, 2013, pg.12)

The CORD presidential candidate, Raila Odinga, had taken a petition to the Supreme Court challenging the declaration of Jubilee leader, Uhuru Kenyatta as president-elect. The matter was yet to be decided on; meanwhile, there were exchanges on social media between supporters of the two leaders which could cause violence if not addressed. The editor urged the leaders to take charge and restrain their supporters as the verdict was being awaited.

47. At a time like this, it **would be** a good idea if the two leaders, Mr Odinga and Mr Kenyatta stepped out to cool the rising temperatures.

48. We **would urge** all to cool down the angry rhetoric and await the Supreme Court verdict with the same patience and good humour displayed during the long wait for the election results.

The modal ‘would’ expresses desirability and the editor used the verb phrases formed using it to call for peace by appealing to the leaders to take an active role in restraining their

supporters from deeds that could endanger peace. The verb phrase ‘would urge’ in extract 48 expressed the desirability for an end to the exchanges that were causing tension. The use of the pronoun ‘we’ before the modal is used in the exclusive or institutional sense to express the collective view of the newspaper institution and serves to show the desire of the media house to bring to an end any actions that may compromise peace. The circumstances surrounding the production of the editorial were the fact that the situation was volatile and full of apprehension since the verdict could not be predicted. It was therefore crucial that peace be maintained so as not to trigger violent reactions when the verdict was given. Extract 49 taken from Ed. 17 exemplifies the use of the modal ‘should.’

Ed.17- Consider Annan team’s advice on national healing (ST November 4, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 17 was published four months before the General Election. The editor commented on the efforts that had been made by the government to address issues of insecurity before the election. There were issues of concern that had been raised in a report by the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR).

49. The KNDR report shows the IEBC enjoys good public confidence on its ability to oversee credible elections. The government **should** therefore **provide** an enabling environment for the commission to meet public expectations.

The editor used the phrase ‘should provide’ to express the desire of what the government was expected to do in order to ensure peace. It implied that the government was capable of interfering in the affairs of the polls body which could affect its credibility. Such interference could cause tension and threaten peace as was the case during the 2007 General Elections when the government was perceived as having interfered with the electoral body. According to Barasa (2014), the modal ‘should’ can express a warning and in the context of use in extract 49, the editor possibly sounded a warning to the government against interfering in the affairs of the IEBC. The editor problematized the government as being capable of interfering.

The verb phrase is thus manipulative as it presupposes a moral system that is, the government should not interfere with the electoral body. If it does, the country could slip back to the PEV of 2007/2008.

4.2.3 Pragmatic Choices

This section analyses the choice of words used to convey the intended meanings in the peace messages. Words can be used to mean different things depending on the context of use. The pragmatic choices were categorized under idioms, metaphors and implicatures. CDA aims at uncovering opaqueness and was applied in interpreting the meanings conveyed by the editors in the context of use.

4.2.3.1 Idioms

Idioms are expressions whose meanings can be arrived at by taking the expression as a whole rather than individually (Ike-nwafor, 2015).

Ed. 14 - Police's failure to stop killings unacceptable (STN December 22, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 14 was necessitated by the cycle of violence in the Tana River area. The editor condemned the killings and urged the concerned authorities to act and punish the perpetrators. Extracts 50-54 depict the use of idioms.

50. A curfew is in place and hundreds of security personnel have been dispatched to the area. It **therefore beggars belief** that such killings can still recur in an area supposed to be under blanket police presence.

51. In the run-up to a critical General Election, it is completely unacceptable that the State security organs should **go to sleep**.

52. The killings yesterday in the Tana Delta show that the new Inspector-General of Police David Kimaiyo **faces baptism by fire**.

53. He must **hit the ground running** to ensure that the Kenya Police Service lives up to its mandate and restores security in all parts of the country.

54. The National Security Intelligence Service (NSIS) must also **earn its keep**, and that will mean directing its resources to security rather than politics.

This peace message was produced in the wake of the attacks in Tana Delta that had cost many lives and were a threat to peace. The idiom ‘beggars belief’ expressed the shock that despite the heavy presence of police encoded in the phrase ‘blanket police presence,’ there were still killings in Tana Delta. The phrase ‘blanket police presence’ is a hyperbole referring to the large number of police officers who had been deployed in the area to ensure security. It serves to buttress the editor’s shock at the killings. The editor used the idiom ‘go to sleep’ to imply that the security organs were not doing their work of protecting Kenyans as expected, resulting in the killing of people. This was a wake-up call to the security forces to do their duty of protecting Kenyans. The idiom ‘faces baptism by fire’ in reference to the IG of police depicted the fact that the former was faced with a very difficult beginning in the new job in light of the killings in the Tana Delta. He had to ensure that peace prevailed in the midst of the violence. The editor further expressed the obligation on the part of the IG to be successful from the beginning using the idiom ‘hit the ground running.’

The NSIS was also obligated to do its work as expected in the idiom ‘earn its keep.’ The former was depicted implicitly as concentrating on politics instead of security. The editor put forth a wake-up call to the agents concerned in order to ensure peace. In CDA discourses can only be understood with reference to their historical context. The editor used idioms that depicted direct criticism of the security agents in order to mediate the reality that the repeated killings showed inefficiency on their part. The political context of an upcoming election called for urgency in bringing to an end the violence in order for peace to prevail. According to Ashipu (2012), editorials have to be informative and timely. They address the issues at

stake and can be voices through which the media is heard on topical issues. In relation to this discussion, the editorial writer brought to the fore the issue of insecurity in parts of the country and the perceived inefficiency of the security agents. These were matters of concern at the time in light of the subsequent elections.

Ed. 20- Be patient: We are not out of the woods yet. (DN March 6, 2013, pg.12)

The editorial was published two days after the General Election. The editor cautioned against premature celebration and urged Kenyans to exercise patience as they awaited the election results. The IEBC was urged to hold various press conferences to provide information and allay any fears as the results were being awaited.

The idiom ‘we are not out of the woods yet’ was used in the title of the editorial to sound a warning against early celebration. This was because the official results were yet to be declared and the situation was volatile. The idiom expressed that the situation was still dangerous so Kenyans ought to tread carefully to ensure peace prevailed. This interpretation was based on the socio-political context at the time. The reader could make sense of the message based on the common knowledge between the editor and the readers that it was too early to celebrate since the official results had not been declared. The elections were over but the situation was still volatile as the results were being awaited. Early celebration by those who foresaw their candidates as winners could therefore agitate opponents and disrupt peace.

4.2.3.2 Metaphors

Miranti (2014) defines a metaphor as the representation of one aspect of experience in terms of another. A metaphor in the context of CDA can belong to a variety of life experiences. It is not restricted to the kind of metaphor in poetry or literature. In general, metaphors are used to represent an incident using terms that belong to another area. This section analysed the metaphors used to convey the peace messages. Ed.21 exemplifies the use of metaphor.

Ed. 21 - Report suspicions but avoid raising tensions (DN February 19, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 21 commented on the claims about rigging that had been raised in regard to the coming General Election at the time. The editor reminded readers of the 2007 post-election violence which was blamed on a dysfunctional Electoral Commission.

55. We are **entering turbulent waters** as we **head towards** the most important elections since endorsing a constitution that marked fundamental changes in governance.

56. That is why Kenyans said ‘never again’ and unanimously ushered in a reformist constitution designed to address **the festering national sores** and lead the country firmly on the path to sustainable peace, stability, democracy and progress.

Based on the CDA principle that discourse is history, the extracts were explained in the context of uncertainties that arise in election times in Kenya and more so, with a new constitution. The motion metaphor is used in the terms ‘entering’ and ‘head towards’ which indicate movement. Together with the nature metaphor ‘turbulent waters,’ the editor compared the political situation in Kenya then, to turbulent waters in extract 55. Turbulent waters behave in an uncontrolled and confusing way with sudden change. This expressed the confusing or uncontrolled nature of the situation in which violence could occur at any time thus threatening peace. The editor appealed to the emotions of readers in order to make clear the possibility of peace being compromised if care was not taken by all stakeholders.

In extract 56, the editor used an illness/health metaphor in the phrase ‘festering national sores’ to refer to the historical injustices that were getting worse due to lack of attention. The historical injustices were represented as a disease the country was suffering from. The disease needed to be cured and the new constitution was presented as capable of providing the right recovery. The historical injustices were compared to badly infected sores to depict the feelings of pain and anger that got worse especially at election times because they were not

addressed. These issues were ugly and affected the whole nation. The constitution was to address the issues especially land issues that were a threat to peace at election times. If these issues were addressed exhaustively, the country would enjoy peace. The editor in a bid to spread the message of peace chose to use language that expressed hope and confidence in the new constitution to deal with issues that could cause conflict. This explanation is supported by Michira (2014) who holds the view that language is a powerful tool that can be used to create certain perceptions in order to influence and manipulate the readers with a view to influencing their perception.

Ed. 16- Cool down dangerous ‘war’ on social media (DN March 20, 2013, pg.12)

The CORD presidential candidate, Raila Odinga, had taken a petition to the Supreme Court challenging the declaration of Uhuru Kenyatta as president-elect. This matter was yet to be decided on; meanwhile, there were exchanges on social media between supporters of the two leaders which could cause violence if not addressed. The editor urged the leaders to take charge and restrain their supporters as the verdict was being awaited. The term ‘war’ can refer to physical, psychological, biological or verbal war. In the title of the editorial, this term was used to refer to the verbal war that connotes danger to peace, posed by the verbal exchanges on the social media. The social media was depicted as a battle field where supporters of the leading presidential candidates fought verbally. It was a call to the leaders to intervene and restore peace. Extracts 57 and 58 exemplify the use of imagery.

57. We have been praised around the world this time round for exemplary behaviour during elections. We must not now use the social media to **stoke the flames**.

58. At a time like this, it would be a good idea if the two leaders, Mr Odinga and Mr Kenyatta stepped out to **cool the rising temperatures**.

The metaphor ‘stoke the flames’ in extract 57 refers to the worsening effect of the bitter exchanges on social media that had the potential to cause violence and disrupt peace which

had prevailed. The anger and bitterness caused by the exchanges on the social media were compared to flames which spread quickly when fuelled to depict the magnitude of the feelings and the possible destructive nature. Fire burns and can cause destruction; in the same way the feelings of anger could flare up and lead to violence if not checked. The editor therefore used the metaphor to appeal to all concerned to stop making the situation worse in an effort to call for peace.

The phrase ‘cool the rising temperatures’ is a motion metaphor indicating movement in terms of changing temperatures. Temperatures can rise or fall depending on the weather. It is compared to emotions that can also rise and fall depending on the situation at hand. Politics is depicted as a heated war where temperatures rise and have to be cooled. The two leaders were depicted as capable of cooling the temperatures to ensure peace. The two leaders were to prevail upon their supporters to stop exchanges on social media that were stirring emotions and threatening peace at the time. The metaphors were used to inspire feelings in readers that would influence them to maintain peace. If the exchanges on social media continued, they would disrupt the peace that had prevailed through the election period. The editor used language to transform society in terms of helping change the behaviour of individuals to reflect peace by use of metaphors to evoke emotions. This agrees with a study carried out by Agbo (2016) on language and power relations in selected political crisis speeches in Nigeria. The findings of the study revealed that politicians resorted to the use of metaphors because of their capacity to disguise and conceal particular aspects of experience and shape reality to suit the interests of the user.

Ed. 22- Transition: Drop the theatrics and move on (DN March 21, 2013, pg.12)

The commentary was based on the different directives given by the Prime Minister and the President due to different interpretations of the constitution.

59. Given the **fluid nature of the transition**, with petitions over the presidential elections still pending before the Supreme Court, it behoves those in government to act with prudence and sobriety.

60. They should adopt a more mature way for dealing with such potentially **explosive issues**.

61. It is too late in the day for the two principals to be **shadow-boxing**. They would be better served **shepherding the delicate transition**.

In 59, the editor used a liquid/water metaphor to refer to the transition as ‘fluid’ to mean that it was still subject to many changes and needed to be handled carefully. It was compared to water or liquid that has no fixed shape to depict how uncertain it was. The transition was fluid in that it was not yet clear who would take over power then. This was because the petition at the Supreme Court was yet to be handled and the outcome was not certain. In order to ensure peace, those in government were not to act as though they had power to make pronouncements. The editor implied that the leaders were not handling issues maturely and used the metaphor ‘explosive issues’ in extract 60 to express the grave danger to peace the issues would cause if not handled well. The metaphor compares the political issues at the time to a bomb that explodes thus pointing to the massive destruction they could cause to the country. The imagery ‘shadow-boxing’ is a games/sports metaphor used to express the fact that the then two principals were wasting time arguing over non-issues instead of taking care of the delicate transition. The two principals were engaged in a competition with no actual opponent instead of concentrating on issues that could make the volatile situation better.

The metaphor ‘shepherding’ in 61 is a religion metaphor used to compare leadership of the country to the work of a shepherd who takes care of sheep. A shepherd guides the sheep so that they do not go astray. The comparison expresses the total concern and care the transition needed to be treated with for peace to prevail. The transition could easily be damaged and

needed a lot of attention from the then two principals to ensure a peaceful process. According to CDA, discourse constitutes society and culture and every instance of language use makes its own contribution to reproducing and transforming society and culture. The editor used imagery that depicted the two leaders as being irresponsible by engaging in actions that would not enhance peace. They were expected to offer leadership to the nation yet they were openly showing their differences. The editor chose words that expressed his disaffection with the behaviour of the leaders. This is in tandem with Lemke's (1992) view that every speaker or writer helps create reality by the choices of words and sentences he makes since they are not the only ways available for saying or writing about an issue. His affection or disaffection with certain views in the society at times plays a role in the choices he makes.

4.2.3.3 Implicatures

An implicature is an unstated meaning and the aspect of meaning that a speaker conveys, implies or suggests without directly expressing (Barbulet, 2013). It is a component of speaker meaning that constitutes an aspect of what is meant without necessarily being part of what is said. According to Chandler (2000), discourse manipulators depend on implicating information to bring readers to their interactional arena. Readers have to decode the implicated messages. This section dwelt on words, phrases or sentences that implied extra meanings in the peace messages. The following extracts exemplify the use of implicatures in the peace messages.

Ed. 2 - Alternative to peaceful elections costly (SS Dec. 6, 2012, pg.14)

Ed. 2 was a commentary on the warning by the World Bank that anything short of a peaceful election would seriously dent Kenya's economic growth. The editor emphasized the need to embrace peace and urged politicians to preach peace in order to save Kenya from an economic crunch. Extracts 62 and 63 exemplify the use of implicatures.

62. Alternative to peaceful elections costly

63. The bank (World Bank) predicts that Kenya will close the year at a 4.3 per cent Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth and rise to 5 per cent in 2013, but there is a caveat. The projected growth will be achieved only if **peaceful elections** will be held in 2013.

By using CDA, hidden messages in texts can be brought to the fore because the aim of CDA is to uncover opaqueness. Extract 62 implies that the alternative to peaceful elections is costly in terms of lives since too many people can die. Interpreting the extract against the shared background knowledge of the devastating effects of the 2007/2008 PEV, leads to an understanding of the message being passed. The unstated message is that if elections are not peaceful, violence would be the result. In extract 63, the ‘if clause’ sets the condition for growth in the economy as a peaceful election. It implies that without a peaceful election, the growth will not be realized. The World Bank’s projected growth in economy was based on the prevalence of peace in the country as this would encourage investors to partner with Kenya. Violence, on the other hand could discourage investors from investing in Kenya. Therefore, if Kenyans want economic growth, they must ensure peaceful elections. Implicatures allow the audience to make assumption about information that has not actually been presented and can be used to persuade. This corroborates Irungu’s (2011) findings that advertisers use implicatures in their attempt to persuade the target audience to buy their products or use their services. The implicatures used by advertisers imply that their products are the best without explicitly stating so.

Ed. 9 - All Kenyans responsible for a peaceful election (SN Feb 24, 2013, pg.12)

The editorial was published during the week that marked the end of the official campaign period. The commentary was on the desirability for peace by focusing on the positive issues at the time such as the president leaving power willingly, the economy was doing well, the

duly chosen Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission and the major firms that had picked Nairobi as their headquarters.

64. Kenya has all the ingredients for a major take off **if the election goes off relatively peacefully**. Numerous major firms have in the last few years picked Nairobi as their African headquarters. In the past week alone, motoring giant **Toyota** has rolled out plans to set up an assembly factory for its Hino trucks here, **Pepsi** opened a multi-billion-shilling plant and the **Central Bank of India** opened an office in the country.

Through a critical analysis of the text, it can be argued that the editor implied that, without a peaceful election, Kenya would not move forward. The investors who had come to the country would probably take off due to insecurity and so Kenya stood to lose economically. The mention of the major firms setting up headquarters in Kenya such as Toyota, Pepsi and the Central Bank of India implied economic gains for Kenya. The use of implicature was meant to persuade the readers to ensure peace prevailed in order to realize economic growth. Chandler (2002) indicates that discourse manipulators depend on implicating information to bring readers to their interactional arena and readers have to decode the implicated messages.

4.3 Linguistic Strategies of Portraying Power Relations in the Peace Messages

Objective two of the present study was to determine the linguistic strategies used to portray power relations in the peace messages. Power is signalled not only by grammatical forms within a text, but also by a person's control of a social occasion by means of the genre of a text (Wodak, 2002). In newspapers, the editors can manipulate language to control the minds of readers and exercise relations of power and dominance because they control the content of the editorial as a genre. Huckin (1997) says that sentences can also convey information about power relations; who is depicted as in power over whom and who is depicted as powerless and passive. This section analysed the various dimensions of the relations of power and

language. In relation to the functioning of power, Oha (1994:110) avers that “to understand how power functions as a constraint in discourse, we need to consider the differences between the social roles of the speakers and their audiences, and the implications of such social roles for discourse roles.” The social role that exists between an editor and the readers is that of an author and the audience. An editor has power that is vested in him as one who has access to information. Hence this power is seen as natural and even when such power is deployed to dominate, manipulate, or influence, it is usually not visible because it has become natural and commonsensical. This analysis captures the linguistic strategies that have implications of power and unequal power relations. The texts are interpreted based on the principle that CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). The sub-categories of the linguistic strategies are as follows:

4.3.1 Modality

Modality refers to the different ways of expressing attitudes – for example can, could, may, must, shall or will. Within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), modality is understood as encompassing much more than simply the occurrence of overt modal auxiliaries such as may, might, can, could, will, would, shall, should, must, and ought to. Within CDA, modality is said to concern the writer’s (or speaker’s) attitudes for example certainty or possibility towards and/or confidence in the proposition being presented. Lawal (2015) says that modality has the insistence of a speaker who assumes the position of authority that includes a claim to know what is inevitably going to happen. Freeborn (1995) observes that modality enables people to refer not to facts but to the possibility of something happening, its necessity, certainty and whether the action is permitted. Moreover, Bonyadi (2011) indicates that the role of modality in newspaper editorial is of special importance in that editorial writers tend to make use of this property to establish either a favourable or unfavourable bias

throughout the text to manipulate their readers' opinion. This strategy is deployed through the choice of modals by the editors to show supremacy, authority and power, especially supremacy of a particular view or belief over that of others. As the dominant social group, the editors have the privilege and the advantage to control what can and should be written in an editorial and which perspective to foreground in discourse. Ed. 1 depicts the use of the modal 'must' to portray power relations.

Ed. 1 - Kenyans crave security before and after polls (DN March 14, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 1 was published at a time when voter registration was going on countrywide. The commentary was necessitated by the incidents of violence that had occurred in parts of the country. This included a grenade attack on a Nairobi bus, ethnic clashes in Tana River that claimed many lives, a deadly attack on a police patrol in Samburu and Turkana leading to the death of forty officers, and at the Coast the activities of the Mombasa Republican Council were a threat to peace. Extract 65 from Ed. 1 depicts power relations.

65. We **must** also take a close look at the capacity of the law and order agencies to put in place effective security everywhere. It is not enough to react after such blatant security breaches.

66. They **will** also be hoping that the Independent Electoral and Boundaries commission delivers on the promise of a free and fair election....

The modal 'must' is forceful and compels. It was used to express the newspaper's strong belief on the need to check the efficiency of the law and order agencies in light of the incidents of violence that had been cited. The pronoun 'we' was used by the editor to aid his/her influence on the readers. The pronoun includes the editor and serves to eliminate power differential between the editor and the readers. It presents the symmetry in power between the editor and the readers who are depicted as having the power to look into the

capacity of the law and order agencies. The law and order agencies were depicted as having the power to ensure the security of the masses since they have access to the machinery for enforcing law and order. However, their power was contested in the words ‘take a close look’ implying that the editor and masses had the power to keep the law and order agencies in check. The word ‘blatant’ portrayed the law and order agencies as having been laid back in their work for the security breaches to occur and therefore warranted the close look. The lexical choice depicts the editor’s supremacy that makes him judge the law and order agencies. This interpretation is based on the CDA principle that power relations are discursive. That is CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse. The editor sought to influence the readers to view the law and order agencies as bodies that needed to be checked from time to time to avoid lapses in security that could cause massive death as reported in the editorial. The editor presented the need to check the capacity of the law and order agencies as a common-sense assumption. This agrees with Michira (2014) who says that language is a powerful tool that can be used to create certain perceptions in order to influence and manipulate the readers with a view to influencing their perception. The editor does this by generalizing the institutional view of the competence of the law and order agencies to generate a belief and attitude that becomes a shared social representation of a group of people. This is done in the clause ‘We must also take a close look at the capacity of the law and order agencies....’The editor obligates and does not just suggest or recommend the need to check the competence of the law and order agencies. This approach could possibly make the police change their strategy.

The editor exercised and negotiated the social relation of power by enlightening the citizens on the right to the quality of protection they need to get. The editor presents as common-sense a course of action that has already been chosen for the addressee to disguise his powerful position as author of the message. This is in tandem with Rudyik (2007) who

studied power relations in President Bush's speech and indicates that President Bush in parts of his speech expressed power by presenting a course of action that he had already chosen. The course of action was presented as serving the benefit of the addressee. The addressee would enjoy peace if the law enforcers acted competently. The modal 'will' in extract 66 expressed the future expectation Kenyans had of the polls body. A free and fair election would leave all the parties concerned satisfied and ensure peace in the country. Ed. 9 also exemplifies power relations.

Ed. 9- All Kenyans responsible for a peaceful election (SN February 24, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 9 was published about a week before the elections. This was the week that marked the end of the official campaign period. The editorial commented on the desirability for peace by focusing on the positive issues at the time such as the then president leaving power willingly, the economy was doing well, the duly elected Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission and the major firms that had picked Nairobi as their headquarters.

67. Voters, too, **must** exercise patience as the commission deals with the challenges of a highly complex election in which, for the first time, biometric kits will be used to identify voters.
68. Everyone involved – voters, politicians, civil society, government, the security forces, the media – **must** do their best to ensure this process is successful.

In extracts 67 and 68, the writer used the modal 'must' to exercise power over the voters. The modal implies obligation on the part of the actors and was an imposition on citizens which expressed the idea of there being no other way to ensure peace but by being patient and by all stakeholders playing their part in ensuring a successful election. The modal depicted the power asymmetry between the editor and the voters. The editor legitimised the power of the commission to handle the challenges facing the election in the phrase 'as the commission

deals with the challenges.' The editors' institutional power reveals that they stand in a position of superior power. This interpretation is supported by a study carried out by Montenegro (2012) on power relations in translation. Montenegro (2012) found that authors used their specialized knowledge to impose information on readers. Extract 67 further depicts the use of the modal 'must' to express power symmetry between the editor, voters, politicians, civil society, government and security forces. This was done by charging everyone, the media included, with the responsibility for peace.

The modal 'must' in extract68was used by the editor to point out the fact that everyone had a part to play in the success or failure of the election process. The language chosen was meant to negotiate for responsibility for peace among all participants – the powerful and the subordinate included. Otieno (2011), states that language is used for interaction as well as to construct and maintain interpersonal relations and the social order that exists among the interactants. In relation to the text above, the inclusion of the media in order to clarify the phrase 'everyone involved' is an instance of seeking to create and maintain a relationship of power symmetry. The modal 'must' signals authority on the part of the speaker obligating the addressee to perform the action. The content of Ed. 15 exemplifies the repeated use of the modal 'must' to depict relation of power.

Ed.15- Whichever side wins, we must ensure peace (STN March 2, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 15 was published just two days to the General Election. It was a commentary on the then President's message delivered the day before. The message urged all to ensure peace irrespective of the winner. It also commented on the circulation of leaflets that were causing fear among residents in some areas. The media reporters, especially foreign outlets were cautioned against giving exaggerated reports on the state of the country.

The following extracts exemplify the repeated use of the modal ‘must’ and the power relations therein are explained:

69. Whichever side wins, we **must** ensure peace
70. Police **must** move speedily to arrest and prosecute any individuals or parties engaging in such actions.
71. The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) **must** also take the most severe action against elements that may try to influence the electoral outcome with scare tactics. The commission has the power to apply stiff sanctions against electoral contestants who try to gain unfair advantage.
72. Kenyans meanwhile **must** remain resolute in defence of their democratic right to vote. They **must** not be intimidated and must not give in to those spreading hate messages under cover of darkness.
73. The police in turn **must** guarantee the security of all Kenyans before and after the polls.

According to Wodak (1996), language indexes power, expresses power, is involved where there is contention over power and where power is challenged. In relation to the above extracts, the editor used language that depicted the police as having power over the masses and the duty to ensure security of all. This is evident in the following phrases in extract 70 and 73 respectively ‘must move speedily to arrest and prosecute’ and ‘must guarantee the security of all Kenyans.’ The sentence ‘The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) must also take the most severe action against elements that may try to influence the electoral outcome with scare tactics’ in extract 71 was used by the editorial writer to express the power asymmetry between the IEBC and the offenders. The IEBC had the power over the masses and could punish electoral offenders. These two forms of power are legitimate because of the positions held by those portrayed as powerful.

Another relation of power was depicted between Kenyans and those spreading hate messages in extract⁷² ‘They must not be intimidated.’ The pronoun ‘they’ refers to Kenyans and a person who can intimidate has power to dominate the one intimidated and make him/her do what they want. Kenyans were encouraged to challenge the power of those who could intimidate them into not voting by not giving in to them. The editorial writer reproduces asymmetry in the relations of power and dominance between him and the police, IEBC and Kenyans in the above extracts through the use of the modal ‘must’ which implies an imposition on the parties mentioned. These findings corroborate those of Lawal (2015) that modality has the insistence of a speaker who assumes the position of authority including a claim to know what is inevitably going to happen. The modal ‘must’ is a crucial word in editorials; for instance, it is used to claim the source has the right to specify obligations. The context of the editorial was that of the election coming in two days’ time and so it was an urgent call for everyone to perform their duty to ensure peace prevailed. Ed. 16 also depicts power relation.

Ed. 16- Cool down dangerous ‘war’ on social media (DN March 20, 2013, pg.12)

The editorial was published in the *Daily Nation* on Wednesday 20th March, 2013. The CORD presidential candidate, Raila Odinga, had taken a petition to the Supreme Court challenging the declaration of Jubilee leader, Uhuru Kenyatta as president-elect. This matter was yet to be decided on; meanwhile, there were exchanges on social media between supporters of the two leaders which could cause violence if not addressed. The editors appealed to the leaders to take charge and restrain their supporters as the verdict was being awaited.

74. At a time like this, it **would be** a good idea if the two leaders, Mr. Odinga and Mr. Kenyatta **stepped out to cool** the rising temperature.

In extract 74, the two leaders were depicted as powerful and having authority over their supporters. The supporters were implicitly depicted as the dominated. This was evident in the phrase ‘the two leaders, Mr. Odinga and Mr. Kenyatta **stepped out to cool** the rising temperature.’ In CDA, power relations are discursive that is, CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised in and through discourse. The editor addressed the two leaders because the petition concerned the two of them directly and their supporters were the ones engaging in the war on social media. The leaders could use their supremacy to wield power over their supporters and end the tension. This interpretation is based on the observation of Michira (2014) that politics is essentially concerned with power and authority: how to obtain and appropriate it, how to make decisions and control resources within a jurisdiction, how to control and manipulate the perceptions, behavior and values of those who are governed, among other things. In order to do all these, politicians rely on one key resource – language. This means that politics is inherently dependent on language; hence the notion that “language is (an instrument of) power”. Complex relationships between the governed and those who govern them are enacted and mediated through language. In relation to the extract 74, the editor appealed to the then principal presidential contenders (those who govern) to prevail upon their supporters (the governed) in order to sustain peace.

4.3.2 Directives

Directives are statements intended to get the addressee to perform an action (Searle, 1969). They include commands, requests, challenges, invitations, entreaties and dares. Power can be portrayed through the choice of words used as a way of manipulating or controlling the recipient’s mind. An analysis of the power dimension involves an account of the kind of control that some social actors or groups exercise over others (van Dijk, 2001). Such control is first of all a control of the mind, that is, of the beliefs of recipients, and indirectly a control of the actions of recipients based on such manipulated beliefs. Unless inconsistent with their

personal beliefs and experiences, recipients tend to accept beliefs (knowledge and opinions) through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy or credible sources, such as scholars, experts, professionals or reliable media (Nelser *et al*, 1993).

Discursive mind control is a form of power and dominance. Discursive mind control is the control of the mental model and/or social representations of other people. Such control is a form of power abuse. People are not merely influenced or manipulated by properties of discourse, but also by those of speakers or writers, such as their (perceived) power, authority or credibility. Manipulation is a social practice of power abuse, involving dominant and dominated groups, or institutions and their clients. In the peace messages analysed below, the editors try to influence the readers through the construction of biased mental models and social representations.

Ed.15- Whichever side wins, we must ensure peace (SN March 2, 2013, pg. 12)

Ed. 15 was extracted from '*The Saturday Nation*' published on 2nd March, 2013, just two days to the General Election. It was a commentary on the then President's message delivered the previous day. The message urged all to ensure peace irrespective of the winner. It also commented on the circulation of leaflets that were causing fear among residents in some areas. The media reporters, especially foreign outlets were cautioned against giving exaggerated reports on the state of the country.

75. His (the then president's) was a **challenge to both the candidates and the voters to realize that they all have a responsibility towards continuing peace.**

In extract 75, the lexical choice 'challenge' depicted the power relation between the then president and the candidates and voters. A person who can present a challenge is one in a dominant position in the given context. The editor's choice of language confirmed the then president's use of his power as the highest authority in government to call for peace and the then president's words would tend to be believed and accepted as said. This supports the view

held by Nelser *et al.* (1993) that unless it is inconsistent with their beliefs and experiences, recipients tend to accept beliefs through discourse from what they see as authoritative, trustworthy or credible sources such as scholars, experts, professionals or from other reliable sources. The phrase ‘continuing peace’ referred to maintenance of peace beyond the election period implying that the then president called for lasting peace. This was done based on the history of poll violence where peaceful coexistence was disrupted due to disputed results. The following editorial also depicts power relation.

Ed. 23 - Petition outcome to test our democracy (SN March 17, 2013, pg.12)

The commentary was necessitated by an election petition that had been filed the previous day at the Supreme Court. The petition had been filed by CORD challenging the declaration of Uhuru Kenyatta as the then president-elect by the IEBC. The outcome of the petition was expected on 30th March, 2013.

76. Yesterday, the **Coalition for Reforms and Democracy filed a petition** at the **Supreme Court challenging the declaration** of Uhuru Kenyatta as President by **the IEBC** a week ago.

The two forms of power relations created in the above text are between CORD and the Supreme Court and CORD and the IEBC. The latter was an instance of language being used to challenge relations of power and dominance. The verb ‘challenging’ depicted the polls body – Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission – as less powerful over CORD which had the capacity to challenge its decision to declare Uhuru Kenyatta as president. CORD was therefore presented as having supremacy over IEBC. The former relation of power and dominance was exercised using an active verb in the phrase ‘filed a petition at the Supreme Court.’ The court had legitimate institutional power to make rulings and CORD recognized this power by filing a petition. The IEBC also had legitimate institutional power to declare the winner in an election but in the text CORD is presented as challenging this

dominance. The word ‘challenge’ implies that CORD refused to accept the poll body’s declaration of Uhuru Kenyatta as president. The directive is implied as the editor does not explicitly state the action CORD expected IEBC to perform in light of the petition. Extract 77 also illustrates power relation.

77. We **would urge** all to cool down the **angry rhetoric** and await the **Supreme Court verdict** with the same patience and good humour displayed during the long wait for the election results.

The phrase ‘would urge’ implies a directive in form of a plea/request from the editor to all the stakeholders. In the above text the editor expressed desirability for an end to the exchanges that were causing tension using the modal ‘would’ and the emotive language ‘angry rhetoric.’ Power as mind control was expressed in the phrase ‘await the Supreme Court verdict....’ The Supreme Court was the powerful authority and was to give the final verdict on the election petition. The editor sought to control the readers’ mind in the clause ‘await the **Supreme Court verdict** with the same patience and good humour displayed during the long wait for the election results.’ The editor exercised the institutional power to sustain the readers’ meaning system in favour of the Supreme Court. The editor legitimized the institutional power of the Supreme Court producing an asymmetry in the power relation between the court and the masses. This lends support to van Dijk’s (1998) view that groups have more or less social power if they are able to control the acts and minds of members of other groups.

The choice of the vocabulary item ‘Supreme Court’ put the minds of the audience at ease because it denotes legitimacy, power and dominance over the petition that was in court at the time. This was a way of manipulating the mind of the audience to accept the decision of the Supreme Court. This confirms findings by Sarfo and Kramp, (2013) who carried out a CDA of speeches of Bush and Obama on terrorism and found out that vocabulary items such as ‘CIA’, ‘troops’ and ‘Supreme Court’ were used by the two speakers to put the minds of the

audience at ease because they denote legitimacy, power and dominance over acts of terrorism which was a way of manipulating the audience into accepting the measures carried out against terrorism. The extract from Ed. 17 also depicts the exercise of power through the use of directives.

Ed. 17- Consider Annan team's advice on national healing (ST November, 4, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 17 was published four months before the General Election. The editor commented on the efforts that had been made by the government to ensure peaceful elections and also urged the government to address issues of insecurity before the election. There were issues of concern that had been raised in a report by the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR).

78. The KNDR report shows the IEBC enjoys good public confidence on its ability to oversee credible elections. **The government should therefore provide an enabling environment for the commission to meet public expectations.**

The editor's choice to mention KNDR's report in extract 78 was a way of controlling the minds of the audience by legitimizing the credibility of the report coming from a powerful body (KNDR). The editor built a platform to get the readers influenced on their view of the IEBC by presenting a positive evaluation of the IEBC in the phrase 'IEBC enjoys good public confidence on its ability to oversee credible elections.' This was meant to present the facts as common-sense, grand and noble thereby sustaining the citizen's meaning system in favour of the IEBC. According to Fairclough (2001) the newspaper can exercise its institutional power through winning others' consent to at least acquiescence in their possession and exercise of power.

The modal ‘**should**’ coupled with the phrase ‘**enabling environment**’ in extract 77 was a directive which expressed the editor’s desirability on what the government was expected to do. Although the commission was a powerful authority in the elections, the government was depicted as capable of exercising power over it in the sentence ‘The government should therefore provide an enabling environment for the commission to meet public expectations.’ The public was depicted as the dominated group and had expectations to be met by those in power. The editor implied that the government may not let the commission do its work independently. This alluded to perceived interference in the electoral process by the government. The editor also depicted the institutional power of the newspaper to challenge the power of the government over it by using the modal ‘should’ to suggest what the government ought to do. This agrees with Otieno’s (2011) view that modality helps us ascertain the type of relationship between characters depicted by the author, their degree of certainty or uncertainty, degree of power or control over other characters or events. In relation to power and dominance in extract 77, the modal ‘should’ helped to establish the relationship between the commission and the government and between the editor and the government. The interpretation also agrees with Raveli (2000) who says that the modal ‘should’ evidences high modality and is equated with authority and consequently power.

79. It is time some of the concerns raised in the report **are addressed** before the election which is about four months away.

The editor in an effort to call for peace exercises power by giving a directive in the phrase ‘**are addressed**’ in extract 79. The addressee is not mentioned directly but a call for action is required pertaining to concerns raised in the KNDR report. The editor implies that if the issues were not addressed before the election, peace could be compromised.

4.3.3 Commissives and Representatives

Commissives are instances of language use that commit the speaker to a course of action (Searle, 1969). They include promises, pledges, threats, offers, warnings and vows. Representative acts describe events, processes and states (Searle, 1969). They include assertions, reports, suggestions or claims. They are evident in the following extracts.

Ed. 11 - Whatever the verdict we're still one people (STN March 30, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 11 was published on the day the Supreme Court was to give its ruling on the presidential election petitions.

80. More importantly, **all parties to the petitions have promised to accept the court's verdict.**

In extract 80 a commissive is used directly through the choice of the verb ‘promised.’ CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse. The editor depicted ‘all parties to the petition’ as actors in the process of accepting the verdict of the Supreme Court. The unequal power relations between the editor and readers are depicted through the choice of words used. The editor through the commissive ‘have promised to accept...’ built a platform to get the readers influenced. ‘All parties’ referred to both the aggrieved party: CORD and the party that had won the presidential election: Jubilee. The editor used the phrase ‘more importantly’ to create a positive attitude towards the readiness of the parties to accept the verdict of the court which was a good thing for the country at the time. The editor used the advantage of having access and control of knowledge and information to exercise his power by manipulating the minds of the audience and indirectly influencing them to take his sentiments as credible.

The power of the court is also enacted in the phrase ‘to accept the court’s verdict.’ The editor implies that the readers have no choice but to accept the verdict by indicating that the key players have promised to accept the verdict. This explanation is supported by Rudyik (2007) who studied power relations in President Bush’s State of the Union speech. Rudyik (2007) indicates that manipulation as an illegitimate exercise of power is created by means of language. This enables the speaker to control other people against their best interests, the control being aimed at the recipient’s verbal contribution to the interaction and cognitive processes of comprehension and interpretation.

Ed. 24 - Name and shame leaders preaching divisive politics (SS November 22, 2012, pg.14)

Ed. 24 condemned the inflammatory remarks that had been made by a cabinet minister. The minister had made remarks against non-indigenous people residing and working in Narok to the effect that they were not welcome to register to vote there.

81. We believe national unity is a collective calling and therefore, everyone should be involved in making this country the “island of peace” and row beyond the daily bigotry, hate speech, slander, speculation, and chest-thumping we are served from political rostrums.

Discourse from the point of view of CDA is a form of social action. The principal aim of CDA is to uncover opaqueness and power relationships. The editor in extract 81 used the assertive ‘we believe’ to express the opinion of the newspaper on national unity with a view to influencing readers’ opinion on national unity and the responsibility of everyone in maintaining peace. The power relation exercised is that between the editor and readers. The editor exercised informational power by controlling the information readers were exposed to. The view of the newspaper on national unity was presented to the reader as a self-evident

truth that needed to be accepted by the readers. This lends support to Pu's (2002) assertion that the editor can exercise his power to control the minds of readers who may not have the knowledge and beliefs to challenge the information they are exposed to. It also agrees with Sornig's (1989) view that persuasive communication requires a change in the style of language (whether lexical choice, syntactic choice or discourse arrangement) used in order to encourage behavior and opinion change in the recipients. Sornig (1989) further points out that it is how things are said to persuade an audience rather than the truth-value of what is said that is important in persuasive communication.

Ed. 23 - Petition outcome to test our democracy (SN March 17, 2013, pg.12)

The commentary was necessitated by an election petition that had been filed the previous day at the Supreme Court. The petition had been filed by CORD challenging the declaration of Uhuru Kenyatta as the then president-elect by the IEBC. The outcome of the petition was expected on 30th March, 2013.

82. The petition is a significant milestone given our recent history. In 2007, the disputed presidential election results triggered unprecedented violence primarily because the Judiciary as an institution had, in the eyes of Kenyans, degenerated into a tool for use by the executive at their convenience.

A representative act is used in extract 82. The editor exercises power over the readers by asserting that the petition is an achievement in the clause 'a significant milestone given our recent history.' This positive presentation is based on the past election dispute that led to violence due to perceived inefficiency of the previous judicial system. It was therefore an achievement when confidence was shown in the Judiciary at the time. Through this assertion, the editor imposes the newspaper impression of the petition on citizens as a way of controlling their minds and conveying the peace message. This is in tandem with Bachrach

and Baratz (1970) who argued that power over others can also be exercised in more subtle ways that involve the mobilization of bias within a social or political system in a manner that prevents some people or groups from advancing their own self-identified interests.

Ed. 9- All Kenyans responsible for a peaceful election (SN February 24, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 9 was published a week before the elections. This was the week that marked the end of the official campaign period. The editorial commented on the desirability for peace by focusing on the positive issues at the time such as the then president leaving power willingly, the economy was doing well and major firms had picked Nairobi as their headquarters.

83. Kenya has all the ingredients for a major takeoff if the election goes off relatively peacefully. Numerous major firms have in the last few years picked Nairobi as their African headquarters. In the past week alone, motoring giant Toyota has rolled out plans to set up an assembly factory for its Hino trucks here, Pepsi opened a multi-billion-shilling plant and the Central Bank of India opened an office in the country.

In extract 83 the editor described the state of affairs in Kenya in light of the investors that had opened up firms in Kenya. The editor presented the information that depicted Kenya as an attractive place for major investors. The investors would help to boost Kenya's economy and it was crucial that peace be maintained for the investors to stay. The strategy of vagueness is employed in the choice of the word 'numerous.' It implies an indefinitely large number that the editor does not specify. The words 'motoring giant' and 'multi-billion shilling plant' in reference to some of the major firms further enact the editor's power over the readers in presenting the view as one that holds for all. The editor used the institutional power that editors have in controlling discourse to present to the readers the information he chose to divulge to them. The positive evaluation of the country by the newspaper institution is

presented as common-sense for the citizens to adopt. This strategy fulfills the personal interests of the newspaper institution. CDA aims at exploring the motives of dominant groups and it tells what one is allowed and expected to do. Those who are in power keep asserting their dominance through the use of words.

In the extract, the editor does not explicitly bring out the benefits of the investors' presence in Kenya but expects the reader to take the evaluation as credible. The words are not to be taken as neutral since those in power always have subtle ways of exercising their power to influence the addressees. These findings agree with those of Tariq (2012) who concluded that those in power always have some hidden motives which they adopt to serve their purposes and fulfil their self-interests and maintain their superiority.

4.3.4 Nominalization

This is the conversion of an action into a process and has the effect of concealing agency and avoiding responsibility. Fowler (1991) indicates that nominalization permits habits of concealment, particularly in the areas of power relations and writer attitudes. The extracts below exemplify nominalization.

Ed. 1 - Kenyans crave security before and after polls (DN November 14, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 1 was published at a time when voter registration was going on countrywide. The commentary was necessitated by the incidents of violence that had occurred in parts of the country. This included a grenade attack on a Nairobi bus, ethnic clashes in Tana River that claimed many lives, a deadly attack on a police patrol in Samburu and Turkana leading to the death of forty officers, and at the Coast the activities of the Mombasa Republican Council were a threat to peace.

84. In Samburu and Turkana, what might be the regular cattle-rustling has escalated into a **deadly attack** on a police patrol **resulting** in the **death of 40 officers** and deployment of the military.
85. In Tana River county, ethnic clashes have claimed over 50 lives in just a short time, including **an attack** on a police post that saw **the killing** of over a dozen officers.

In extracts 84 and 85, the terms ‘a deadly attack,’ ‘an attack,’ ‘resulting’ and ‘the killing’ are instances of nominalization. The processes of attacking and killing have been turned into nouns thereby concealing the agents. It portrayed the attackers and killers as the agents of power and the officers as the dominated. The word ‘deadly’ depicts the destructive nature of the attack portraying the officers as helpless victims yet they are supposed to maintain security. The use of nominalization is evidence of language being used to challenge power in the relation between the officers and the attackers. Otieno’s (2011) view that language can be used to show who has the power and who is subordinate is evident in extracts 84 and 85 where nominalization was used to depict the attackers as powerful and the officers as subordinate in the context of the attack on a police post. The editor’s avoidance of identification of the attacker indicates sensitivity on the part of the media not to create antagonism. The social conditions in Kenya at the time of the attack suggested the recommendation for calm not war.

According to van Dijk (1998), those who have power control discourse. He further indicates that social power is the result of access to and control of resources such as force, money, fame, knowledge and information. Those who control most influential discourse also have more chances to control the minds and actions of people. In relation to the extracts above, it can be argued that the editor used the institutional power of the newspaper as that of having access to information to conceal agency as a method of imposing a specific presupposition on

the audience. The agency was concealed by using the word ‘attack’ to mean a process and not an act. This, according to Rudyk (2007) is a way of manipulating the audience into accepting the speaker’s declaration as common-sense. Extract 86 also exemplifies nominalization.

86. There were **reports** of leaflets **in circulation** clearly designed to spread fear and alarm.

The words ‘reports’ and ‘circulation’ were nominalized thereby omitting information on the agents of power who reported the matter and those who were circulating the leaflets. Those responsible for the circulation were depicted as powerful over the victims they were causing to fear. The editor’s choice of language concealed the actors and focused on the leaflets in circulation which were a threat to peace. The editor therefore used his power as one with access to information in order to control the mind of the audience and influence them to view those circulating the leaflets negatively. This supports Richardson (2007) view that journalists and editors decide what to include in or leave out of the news thereby legitimating the existing power structure and ways of doing things.

87. **Policing** alone is not the solution to the threat of violence during or after March 4 General Election. Indeed, **placing** the burden for a peaceful election entirely or primarily on the 75,000 or so police officers is futile....

Nominalization is used in the words ‘policing’ and ‘placing’ which are actions turned into processes thereby concealing agency. The editor implicitly indicates that a lot more needed to be done to ensure peace since the security agents could be overwhelmed if everything was left in their hands.

4.4 Ideologies Constructed through Language in the Peace Messages

Objective three of the present study was to evaluate the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages. Language is the commonest form of social representation, and the form of social representation on which we rely most is common-sense assumption. Language can be used not only to steer people's thoughts and beliefs but also to control their thoughts and beliefs. Peace can therefore be fostered through the ideologies the editors construct. According to Fairclough (1989), the best projection of ideology is when they are brought to discourse not as explicit elements of text but as the background assumptions that is, one does not need to manifest the actual words that represent the speaker's beliefs and values directly as long as the intended message is passed.

In Karl Marx and Engel's manifesto of the communist league (Kenny, 2005), ideology was implicated as a powerful instrument of influence and control used by the capitalist overlords to gain control of the proletariat. Language was used to propagate this dominant world view at the expense of those who have less access to power and other social privileges and also that this power is not by physical coercion but by a hegemonic regime. Fairclough (1995) notes that language can misrepresent as well as represent realities, it can weave visions and imaginaries which can be implemented to change realities and in some cases improve human well-being, but it can also rhetorically obfuscate realities, and construe them ideologically to serve unjust power relations.

According to Thompson and de Klerk (2002), the analysis of editorials can reveal politically and ideologically based opinions and attitudes. The reader can consciously or unconsciously support the opinions due to the linguistic choices in an editorial. Fowler (1979) observes that discourse is aground for both ideological processes and linguistic processes. Texts are seen as built out of choices of words, grammar and the like that convey ideological meanings. Fowler

(1979) acknowledges the relationship between language and ideological processes. Moreover, Fairclough (1989) believes that ideology is most effective in sustaining those in dominant positions, if it is hidden or seen as common-sense. The reason for this is because “if one becomes aware that a particular aspect of common-sense is sustaining power inequalities at one’s own expense, it ceases to be common-sense, and may cease to have the capacity to sustain power inequalities, that is to function ideologically” (1989:85). In discourse this common-sense is achieved by presenting ideologies as background assumptions or presupposed knowledge and not explicitly foregrounding them as new information. Furthermore, Sai (2007) says that media discourse is biased and the ideological opinions held by the media institutions are very often implied, hidden, denied or taken for granted. These biases can only be uncovered by a critical investigation of the linguistic devices and discourse strategies.

An indication of a text being influenced by a certain ideology can be found when analysing the language of a text. It is not always obvious to deduce which ideology is present in every sentence, but the context can be used to influence such lack of clarity. The ideologies in the peace messages could serve to reveal the dominant position of the newspapers in a bid to call for peace. This analysis captured discourse structures that have implications for ideology based on the context of use.

4.4.1 Ideology of Positive Self-presentation of ‘us’ and Negative Other-presentation of ‘them’

This section presents extracts in which the editor tends to present the in-group in positive terms and other groups in negative terms. This is done by selecting some socially shared mental model with a negative connotation in the text and the essence is to capture different ideological positions. Healy (2011) indicates that by proclaiming a division between US and

THEM, an editor can assign negative values to THEM and positive values to US. Through this the reader might be persuaded to agree with the editor's positive ideological standpoint. When positive values are assigned to US, it suggests that the opposite is assigned to THEM and vice versa e.g. if the editor states that WE are law-abiding it suggests that THEY are not. The extracts below depict ideology.

Ed. 1 - Kenyans crave security before and after polls (DN November 14, 2012, pg.12)

Ed. 1 was published at a time when voter registration was going on countrywide. The commentary was necessitated by the incidents of violence that had occurred in parts of the country. This included a grenade attack on a Nairobi bus, ethnic clashes in Tana River that claimed many lives, a deadly attack on a police patrol in Samburu and Turkana leading to the death of forty officers, and at the Coast the activities of the Mombasa Republican Council were a threat to peace.

88. Grave questions must be raised on whether there are **reckless elements** in society, including within the political leadership, who may be complicit in fanning violence for selfish ends. **We must** also take a close look at the **capacity** of the law and order agencies to put in place **effective security everywhere**. It is not enough to react after such **blatant security breaches**.

Ideology is constructed in extract 88 through the strategy of presupposition. The editor presupposes the existence of people in the leadership who may fan violence. Such people were portrayed in the negative term 'reckless elements' and pointed fingers at the leadership which was presented as possibly being part of THEM. These terms do not endear citizens to their leaders but raise questions on the trustworthiness of the leaders. The editor also presupposes the inefficiency of the law and order agencies by blaming them for the attacks in the phrase 'blatant security breaches.' The US group comprises the editor and readers

constructed through the use of the pronoun ‘we’ inclusively. The editor’s aim was to influence the citizens to agree with the newspapers’ view and perceive THEM negatively. By referring to those causing violence as reckless elements, the editor suggests that WE are not reckless. What is reported and how it is framed influences public opinion because as Karlberg (2005) opines, the ways we think and talk about a subject influence and reflect the ways we act in relation to that subject. Extract⁸⁹ depicts the editor’s choice of words that express a negative other representation.

89. The police, in turn, must guarantee the security of all Kenyans before and after the polls. They must ensure that the **cowardly elements behind the leaflets** end up where they belong – in jail.

The editor referred to those spreading hate leaflets as ‘**cowardly elements**’ and used the pronoun ‘they’ to depict them as members of the out-group. The editor portrayed the people negatively and stated that such people belong to jail. The ideology of the editor was the direct criticism of the people spreading leaflets so that Kenyans would view them negatively. The use of different words by journalists and editors not only reflects their perception of a news event but also conditions the way these reports are received. This is in tandem with Fowler’s (1991) view that lexical choices play a central role in the construction of meaning. They function to label our experiences into distinct areas of social meaning and ideology. Tahir’s (2013) study on the representation of Muslims in the *Washington Post* concluded that Muslims were described negatively by treating them as ‘others.’ This conclusion is in tandem with the explanation that the pronoun ‘they’ constructs those spreading leaflets negatively as an out-group that WE should shun.

Ed. 10 -Pleading for divine intervention timely (DN February 25, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 10 was published a week to the elections. It was a commentary on the national prayer sessions for peace that had been held in Nairobi over that weekend. The prayers had been organized by prophet Owuor, a famous religious leader. It expressed hope for a peaceful election.

90. We should all pray that our institutions of governance will take this country to the next level. **Now** that we have a **reformed Judiciary**, there could be no excuse for people to take up arms should they feel **aggrieved** that they have been **rigged out**.
The rule of law must prevail.

The editor used the adverb ‘now’ to presuppose the previous state that the Judiciary was ineffective and people may have been justified to turn to violence as a solution to their grievances. According to Wray (1998), the lexical choices used in a newspaper indicate the writer’s ideological perspective. The ideology of the editor was to portray the Judiciary positively using the adjective ‘reformed’ to express the positive change. Adjectives can be used by reporters to frame issues in their own terms and in the process shift the opinion of the readers depending on the wording of the statement through selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration. The editor chose an adjective that depicted the efficiency of the then Judiciary in order to inspire the confidence of Kenyans in following the law. The pronoun ‘they’ refers to those who may feel aggrieved and depicts them as an out-group from the ‘WE’ group. The word ‘aggrieved’ and the phrase ‘rigged out’ were used by the editor to express the unfairness of those who manipulate results in their favour and so condemn them. This was in the context of the perceived rigging of the 2007 presidential elections in Kenya that caused massive violence. The phrase ‘we have’ forms an inclusive identity and contributes to affirming an association of in-group members who share common values. In CDA, context is a key feature of analysis since language is not produced in a context-free

vacuum but in discourse contexts that are constructed with the ideology of social systems and institutions. These sentiments support the view held by Sornig (1989) that persuasive communication requires a change in the style of language (whether lexical choice or discourse arrangement) used in order to encourage behaviour and opinion change in the recipients. Sornig (1989) further points out that it is how things are said to persuade an audience rather than the truth-value of what is said that is important in persuasive communication.

Ed. 13 - Time for Kenyans to unite and move country forward (SS March 12, 2013, pg.14)

Ed. 13 was published a week after the elections. It was a commentary on events leading to the elections, the peaceful conduct before and after the elections and the need to move on in unity and build the country since the elections had come and gone. Extract 91 depicts the editor's positive evaluation of the decision by CORD to challenge the presidential results in the Supreme Court. The editor expressed the newspaper institution's confidence in the Supreme Court.

91. Raila's Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) is **expected to challenge** the outcome of the presidential election in the Supreme Court and **should not be condemned** for following the law.

The ideology constructed presents Kenya as a democratic country with a competent judicial system and everyone had a right to be listened to. There is freedom of expression encoded in the phrase 'expected to challenge.' The verb phrase 'should not be condemned' depicted the fact that each one had a right to seek legal redress and should not be seen negatively. In 2007, the judiciary was not perceived as credible so the aggrieved parties did not turn to the courts but instead resorted to violence as a solution to their grievances. The change this time round

depicted the country positively by showing that CORD had done the noble thing in the circumstances at the time. By choosing to appeal to the Supreme Court, CORD showed confidence in the credibility of the court, a marked departure from the past. The editor through the ideology of positive self-presentation of Kenya sought to persuade readers to support their view of the Judiciary. This is in tandem with Lagonikos' (2005) conclusion that through the distinction of US and THEM, readers are persuaded to identify with the in-group and support its ideologies.

92. While campaigning across the country, politicians have pledged to work towards peace before, during and after the elections. **But the utterances by some and behavior of others who posit themselves as more loyal to their tribal chiefs create the impression the efforts at ensuring peace are yet to yield fruit.** In other words, some politicians do not value peace.

Extract 92 constructed the ideology that politicians are tribal and their actions do not match their words. They say one thing but do what they deem fit depending on the circumstances. The conjunction ‘but’ introduced the contrast between what the politicians had pledged to do and what their utterances and behavior showed. The editor depicted the politicians as enemies of peace and an obstacle in the fight for peace in the sentence ‘**But the utterances by some and behavior of others who posit themselves as more loyal to their tribal chiefs create the impression the efforts at ensuring peace are yet to yield fruit.**’ The words ‘some,’ ‘others,’ ‘themselves,’ and ‘their’ present the people referred negatively by depicting them as out-groups. As leaders, they were expected to be at the forefront in supporting the peace process. The phrase ‘yet to yield fruit’ depicted the fact that some politicians, due to tribalism, had not fully embraced the importance of maintaining peace. This negative evaluation was meant to influence readers and cause them to distance themselves from such politicians in an effort to sustain peace. According to Lagonikos (2005), this kind of

vilification and negative appraisal of THEM helps to enhance the positive appraisal of the in-group and discourage the reader from associating with THEM.

Ed. 25- Get off hate speech street and join real issues highway (SS January 16, 2013, pg.14)

Ed. 25 was a commentary on utterances by politicians against their opponents which bordered on hate speech.

93. **Once again, we revisit** our call for sobriety in the ongoing presidential campaigns for we feel they are **threatening to get out of hand.**

Extract 93 constructs the ideology that *The Standard* newspaper institution is concerned about Kenya. This is done through the strategy of presupposition. The phrase ‘**once again**’ and the verb ‘**revisit**’ presuppose the idea that it was not the first time the media group had called for peace. The editor implies that despite the earlier call for sobriety, the people concerned had not heeded the call thereby forcing them to make another one. The leaders were depicted as negligent on matters concerning peace and were only interested in getting votes. The phrase ‘threatening to get out of hand’ implies the danger posed by the insensitivity of some of the politicians. The editor represents the newspaper institution positively by highlighting its positive acts of calling for sobriety more than once. Those involved in the presidential campaigns are represented negatively by highlighting their negative deed in the phrase ‘getting out of hand.’ The editor sought to develop a positive attitude towards the newspaper institution for highlighting issues that could endanger peace in an effort to call for peace. The editor’s ideology is implicit and becomes clear through the application of CDA which justifies the same facts as said by Taiwo (2007) that regular aspects of media messages such as news reports, headlines, editorials, features etc. are often subjected to linguistic manipulation.

Ed. 3 - Give police proper equipment ahead of polls (SST February 9, 2013, pg.14)

The editor commented on a Human Rights Watch report that had been released that week which warned that if the government failed to conduct necessary reforms, Kenya was at risk of election-related violence. The writer further urged the authorities concerned to give the police adequate equipment ahead of polls in order for them to ensure peace and security. There was also mention of a drive that had been launched by the media house towards building peace.

In extract 94, the editor constructed the ideology of positive self-presentation of the media house he writes for. This is shown in the words ‘this media house’ ‘launched a drive for a clean, peaceful election.’

94. More importantly, **vast proportions** of the citizenry are intent on having **a peaceful transition**. Their desire informs the stance taken by various stakeholders, including **this media house**, which this week launched ‘The Stand,’ a drive for a **clean, peaceful election.**

Extract 94 constructed the ideology that *The Standard* media house is pro-peace and also concerned about the desire of the citizenry. The media house had joined the efforts of other stakeholders to support peace by launching a drive towards peace. The editor used the phrases ‘**vast proportions of the citizenry**, ’**a peaceful transition**’ and **a clean, peaceful election**’ to express the view of the newspaper on peace and the desire of Kenyans for peace. Media is a powerful influence in society and the step taken by the media house portrayed it positively which could influence readers to accept their view. The editor chose to highlight the step they had taken to strengthen the call for peace as a way of using language to develop a positive attitude towards the media house. The editor applied a more citizen-centred attitude and acknowledged the efforts by other stakeholders to support the peace process. As opined by Costelloe (2014), this discourse of sameness constructed symbolic boundaries between

those who were for peace US and the implied THEM (other media houses) that were not mentioned as part of the peace process. The text below also depicts ideology of positive self-presentation.

95. **The world** expected Kenyans to **ravenously maul** one another, **but we** showed **them** our **real character**. That **we** are a **peace loving people** in a democracy that is quickly maturing is no longer in doubt.

That Kenyans acted contrary to what the world expected is ideological. Polarization is used in the construction of the said ideology. The ideology of positive self-presentation of US is constructed using the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘our’ in reference to Kenyans while that of negative presentation of THEM is constructed in the pronoun ‘them’ in reference to the other nations of the world. Based on past experiences of election related violence, Kenyans were associated with nothing short of destroying each other. The adverb ‘ravenously maul’ meaning to handle roughly and cause physical wounds depicts the negative picture the world had of Kenyans and the intensity of the destruction violence could cause. The positive self-presentation of Kenyans in the phrase ‘a peace loving people,’ encodes the editor’s ideology that Kenyans are peaceful implying that violence was a thing of the past and extoling the virtue of peace to the country. The editor uses the conjunction ‘but’ to present the contrast and depict clearly the US versus THEM dichotomy. The media thus helped to cement peace in the country at the time. This thought is in agreement with a study carried out by Paluck (2009) who explains that the media can be used to shape the beliefs, prejudices, the norms and behaviours of communities towards their neighbours. In this case the US vs. THEM dichotomy represented other nations of the world negatively.

96. Despite the differences, however, the **peaceful conduct** before and after the election demonstrates the **country's maturity** beyond the **wildest imagination** of the rest of the world.

The departure from chaos before and after elections was not expected to be due to the past trends of violence. The editor's mention of the country's maturity is ideological as it implies a positive trend in the country. The peaceful conduct shocked the world implying the rest of the world viewed Kenya negatively especially in relation to election periods. The phrase 'country's maturity' encoded the ideology that Kenyans had changed positively by choosing to break from the past trend of PEV and maintaining peace. The perceived change in the behavior of Kenyans during elections surprised the rest of the world that had expected the usual violence. Kenya was presented positively as US while the rest of the world was presented negatively as THEM. This is depicted in the phrase 'wildest imagination' of the rest of the world. According to Ike-nwafor (2015), this negative 'other' representation using words with negative connotations is an attempt to present the 'other' party in the negative light, deface them and make them unpopular.

4.4.2 Pro-peace Versus Anti-violence Ideology

Lagonikos (2005) indicates that powerful individuals who own the newspapers use their dominant positions to advance their ideological views and agendas. CDA states that discourse does ideological work. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) indicate that to understand how ideologies are produced, it is not enough to analyse texts; the discursive practice (how the texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have) must also be considered. The ideologies explained in extracts 97 to 98 are either pro-peace or anti-violence based on the language used and the context.

Ed. 12- Aspirants must sow peace dividend seed (SS February 20, 2013, pg.14)

Ed. 12 was published about two weeks to the election. It was necessitated by the ugly turn of the tone of presidential campaigns. There were exchanges of allegations between some presidential candidates over the cases at the International Criminal Court that touched on the then Jubilee presidential contender and his running mate. The leaders were being urged to focus on selling their manifestoes to the public instead of engaging in divisive politics.

97. Aspirants must sow peace dividend seed.

98. With elections around the corner, politicians need **to be more careful** with their statements at public rallies and focus on issues outlined in their party manifestoes.

99. Running campaigns **devoid of ethnic slurs, stereotyping, insults and wild and unsubstantiated allegations** is the least that our leaders owe us in this election, after the **ugly turn** of events in 2007 whose effects still **reverberate** around the country today.

The message was published against the backdrop of actions by leaders that could compromise peace. In extract97, the editor uses the finance metaphor ‘dividend’ and the image ‘seed’ to construct the ideology that peace is as a virtue that requires deliberate effort of sowing and had future benefits ‘**dividend**.’ Peace was depicted as something that could not just exist without a deliberate effort of nurturing it the way a plant is nurtured in order to bear fruit. By presenting peace as something that yields results, the editor hoped to influence the view of aspirants regarding the need to lead in inculcating peace in their supporters.

Extracts 98and 99 imply that the politicians were making careless statements that could compromise peace as encoded in the phrases ‘**politicians need to be more careful with their statements.**’ The politicians were not presenting their manifestoes as expected. The ideology encoded was that politicians used their campaigns to attack opponents instead of persuading

voters using facts. Such tribal sentiments as implied in the phrase '**devoid of ethnic slurs, stereotyping, insults and wild and unsubstantiated allegations**' caused violence with the worst being in 2007/2008 which had a lasting negative effect in the country as encoded in the phrase '**ugly turn of events in 2007 whose effects still reverberate around the country today.**' This was done using the strategy of history as a lesson which compared the behaviour of the politicians at the time to negative events in history as negative other-presentation. Some of the effects that were still being felt were memories of loss of lives and scars of injuries borne by survivors, and the presence of people in camps for the internally displaced. The editor called on politicians to run campaigns without insults as a way of persuading them to cultivate peace.

Ed. 1 - Kenyans crave security before and after the polls (DN November 14, 2012. Pg. 12)

Ed. 1 was published at a time when voter registration was going on countrywide. The commentary was necessitated by the incidents of violence that had occurred in parts of the country. This included a grenade attack on a Nairobi bus, ethnic clashes in Tana River that claimed many lives, a deadly attack on a police patrol in Samburu and Turkana leading to the death of forty officers, and at the Coast the activities of the Mombasa Republican Council were a threat to peace. The following extracts from Ed. 1 depict the ideologies explained.

Extract 100 depicts the ideology that Kenyans were misled into acts of violence.

100. All will be praying that Kenyans **have learnt their lessons** and will never again allow themselves to **be misled** into **mindless violence** against their neighbours.

The extract presupposed that Kenyans acted on orders of some people not mentioned in the text to cause violence. Another presupposition was that the violence needed to have taught Kenyans some lessons to cause them to shun violence. The phrase ‘learnt their lessons’ was meant to appeal to the conscience of the readers and make them shun violence. The lexical choices ‘misled’ and ‘mindless’ depict the ideological perspective (negative attitude) of the newspaper towards violence. The ideology constructed is a direct criticism raised against those who plot violence or cause others to engage in violence. The word ‘mindless’ was used to show that violence leads to destruction of neighbourliness and should be condemned. The clause ‘Kenyans have learnt their lessons’ expressed the hope that Kenyans had seen the devastating effects of violence from past experience and was meant to discourage anyone from engaging in violence or being used to cause violence. This agrees with Wang’s (1994) view that the use of different words by journalists and editors not only reflects their perception of a news event but also conditions the way these reports are received.

Extract 101 presupposed the fact that cattle-rustling was a normal occurrence in the mentioned communities. The editor constructed the ideology that the cattle-rustling was no longer the usual one as implied in the phrase ‘**regular cattle-rustling**’ but had gone to greater heights and was a threat to peace that needed to be addressed.

101. In Samburu and Turkana, what might be the **regular cattle-rustling has escalated** into a **deadly attack** on a police patrol, resulting in the **death of 40 officers** and deployment of the military.

The verb ‘escalated’ and the premodifier ‘deadly’ depicted the intensity and destructive nature of the attack and the negative attitude towards it. The editor brought to light the insecurity in parts of the country and this was a wake-up call to the government. Using the number game strategy to show that the information was factual, the editor mentioned the

exact number of officers killed in the phrase ‘**death of 40 officers.**’ This was quite a large number considering that officers are armed and should be on the alert. The editor therefore showed how vulnerable the officers were. This was a threat to peace at the time because the officers were expected to protect Kenyans yet they were not safe. Many of them were killed yet they were supposed to be armed. This was a way of the editor choosing words to shape the readers’ mental image of the officers who are presented as vulnerable. This lends support to the findings of Atai and Mozabeb (2013) that the choice of words in news stories is a strategic tool for shaping the audience’s mental image. The writer can manipulate the reader’s reaction to the content of the news. By bringing to light the number of officers killed, the editor implicitly called on the government to intervene and restore order for peace to prevail.

In extract 102, the pro-peace ideology constructed was to develop a positive attitude of the masses towards the IEBC – the body that is charged with the responsibility to oversee free and fair elections.

102. They (Kenyans) will also be hoping that the **Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission delivers on the promise of a free and fair election on which there will be no grounds for dispute and in which the loser will have no option but to gracefully concede.**

The editor used the clause ‘on which there will be no grounds for dispute and in which the loser will have no option but to gracefully concede’ in the context of the 2007 General Elections in Kenya when there was no clear winner and chaos erupted. CDA holds that discourses can only be understood with reference to their historical context. The polls body had since then been reconstituted. The editor expressed the hope for peace and sought to persuade the readers to accept the view given. The editor used language that could endear

him to Kenyans and put the onus on the polls body to ensure peace prevailed by conducting credible elections.

Ed. 22- Transition: Drop the theatrics and move on (DN March 21, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 22 commented on the transition challenges that arose due to different interpretations of the law. This led to confusion in the directives given by the then two principals.

103. Given the **fluid nature** of the transition, with petitions over the presidential elections still pending before the Supreme Court, it behoves those in government to act with **prudence** and **sobriety**. They should adopt a more mature way of handling such potentially **explosive issues**.

In extract 103 the editor constructed the negative ideology that those in government were neither handling issues maturely nor acting with prudence and sobriety. As leaders, they were expected to be cautious especially on divisive issues since the situation in the country was still delicate and uncertain as expressed in the phrase '**fluid nature**.' The election petition had not been solved and the law was also unclear on the way forward before the transition. The metaphor '**explosive issues**' compares the issues to a bomb that can explode and cause massive destruction. It conjures images of anger that could lead to violence at a time when people were anxious to know the results of the petition. The words 'prudence' and 'sobriety' inspire hope for peace. The ideology constructed was to depict those in government as insensitive to the situation in the country which was volatile. This agrees with Wray (1998) who observes that lexical choices made in a newspaper are indicative of the ideological standpoint from which the writer reports. The editor called for prudence and sobriety on the part of the leaders as a way of fostering harmony.

**Ed. 24- Name and shame leaders preaching divisive politics (SS November 22, 2012,
pg.14)**

Ed. 24 condemned the inflammatory remarks that had been made by a cabinet minister. The minister had made remarks against non-indigenous people residing and working in Narok to the effect that they were not welcome to register to vote there. The phrases and clauses that depict the editor's negative view are shown in extract 104 below.

104. Daily the faces of despair and longing for a place to call home stare at us from these very newspaper pages and TV screens from transit camps of **internally-displaced persons** from prior year elections. **Should they not prick our collective conscience so that we do not tread that path again?**

In extract 104 the anti-violence ideology was constructed by depicting the existence of IDPs as real and the language used painted the government negatively for failing to settle the internally-displaced persons even after five years. The rhetorical question, '**Should they not prick our collective conscience so that we do not tread that path again?**' was meant to explicitly portray to the readers the negative opinion of the newspaper towards the minister who had uttered the inflammatory statements that were a threat to peace at the time. This was in the context of the 2007 elections where ethnicity was a factor in the violence that led to the death and displacement of people. The editor constructs ideology by foregrounding the deictic '**daily**' to show the reality of the situation which was prevailing at the time as well as using the phrase '**faces of despair and longing for a place to call home**' to express the fact that the people are desperate due to homelessness. Their displacement was not of their making but due to the PEV. The lexical choices were meant to appeal to the conscience of the readers and persuade them to maintain peace.

The rhetorical question ‘**Should they not prick our collective conscience so that we do not tread that path again?**’ weakens any alternative view to the editor’s position which is presented as the best position. This supports Mbugua’s (1997) sentiments that rhetorical questions have the import of weakening/destroying the counter-argument to the editorial position. This portrays the editorial column (newspaper’s position) as having considered views of a disparate nature and coming up with the best position. The editor constructs the ideology that the newspaper institution was concerned about the IDPs and empathised with them. The editor used emotive language in the phrase ‘faces of despair and longing for a place to call home...’ to persuade readers to side with him on the desperate state of the IDPs. This interpretation is in tandem with the view held by Cockcroft (1992) that people can be easily persuaded if they become involved emotionally.

Ed. 26 - Prepare Kenyans well for a possible run-off (DN February 20, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 26 was taken from the *Daily Nation* of Wednesday 20th February, 2013. There had been several opinion polls which had indicated that there would be no clear winner in the first round of the elections. The Nation Media Group had also commissioned some polls which confirmed the reports. The editorial was a commentary on the polls and also urged the IEBC to educate voters on the implications of a run-off.

105. Meanwhile, as the campaigns become more frenetic, **we would urge** all presidential candidates to **ensure peace and calm prevail.**

The editor constructed the ideology that the newspaper institution he/she was writing for was pro-peace in the clause ‘we would urge all presidential candidates to ensure peace and calm prevail.’ This was meant to get the presidential candidates to accept the plea and maintain peace. The editor used the word ‘urge’ to express the plea to the presidential candidates. The word ‘frenetic’ in reference to the campaigns implies some form of ‘madness’ in the way the

campaigns were being carried out. Due to the results of the opinion polls, the candidates who were leading according to the polls sought to maintain it and those lagging behind sought to increase their popularity by campaigning vigorously. The last minute rush to win voters could be a threat to peace so the editor sought to remind the candidates to maintain peace.

Ed. 15- Whichever side wins, we must ensure peace (STN March 2, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 15 was extracted from *The Saturday Nation* published on 2nd March, 2013, just two days to the General Election. It was a commentary on the then President's message delivered the previous day. The message urged all to ensure peace irrespective of the winner. It also commented on the circulation of leaflets that were causing fear among residents in some areas. The media reporters, especially foreign outlets were cautioned against giving exaggerated reports on the state of the country.

106. Pre-and post-election security, it must be emphasized, **will be built** not just on the peace campaign, but also **on a competently managed, free and fair poll that will leave no room for uncertainties, suspicion, disputes and challenges.**

Extract 106 implied the mismanagement of the 2007 poll which led to disputes and violence in the clause ‘on a competently managed, free and fair poll that will leave no room for uncertainties, suspicion, disputes and challenges.’ The editor’s choice of the phrase ‘will be built’ expressed the certainty and predictability that a fair election would ensure security before and after elections. It implied that without a competently managed, free and fair election, pre- and post-election security would not exist. The context of production of the text could be stated as time when the onus was squarely on the polls body to deliver credible elections to ensure peace prevailed. Miranti (2014) indicates that language plays a crucial role in expressing, changing and particularly reproducing ideologies. He also observes that language is not produced in a context-free vacuum but in discourse contexts that are

constructed with the ideology of social systems and institutions. In view of the newspaper institution, the polls body was competent and so the editor constructed the pro-peace ideology in a bid to call for peace.

Ed. 18 - Candidates must not tire being the voice of reason (SS December 5, 2012, pg.14)

Ed. 18 was published three months to the election. It came against the backdrop of events that caused worry. There had been a hostile reception of an aspirant in Embu, a rowdy nomination with chairs being hurled and fists being clenched, a veteran politician warned ‘outsiders’ against registering to vote in parts of Narok and there had also been running battles in Maua. Candidates were therefore being urged to be at the forefront in preaching peace during their campaign rallies.

107. Then came one veteran politician’s **warning** that “**outsiders**” were not welcome to register to vote in parts of Narok, echoing similar yesteryear sentiments that ended rather **tragically** for some voters.

The choice of the words ‘warning’ and ‘outsiders’ in the extract construct the anti-violence ideology that some people were perceived as outsiders in some parts of the country owing to the ethnic nature of politics. The words represent the veteran politician negatively by emphasizing his bad deed of perceiving others as outsiders. The editor distances himself from the politician’s sentiment by putting the word ‘outsiders’ in double quotations to show the exact word used by the politician. In past election years this perception has caused loss of lives as depicted in the phrase ‘ended tragically for some voters.’ In fact in 2007/2008, such tribal sentiments caused massive violence that led to the loss of 1,300 lives and the displacement of over 600,000 people (Human Rights Watch, 2013). The word ‘warning’ denotes the danger that would befall the people perceived as outsiders if they voted in Narok. The editor highlighted the unfortunate sentiments of the politician to depict the institution’s

disaffection with acts that could cause violence. The extract below depicts anti-violence ideology.

108. Local examples of such **intolerance** abound as every election year has seen **loss of lives** that was **preventable**, criminal acts of property destruction and a **proliferation of purveyors** of tribal sentiment. The elections of 1988, 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007 all claimed many lives and society **vowed** never to walk down that **slippery slope** again.

The editor begins by listing the previous election years in which loss of lives has occurred. The editor insinuates that Kenyans do not seem to learn from the repeated incidents of violence due to tribal intolerance in the phrase ‘every election year has seen loss of lives that was preventable.’ The word ‘vowed’ depicted the strong commitment made by Kenyans to shun violence which is referred to as a ‘slippery slope’ to portray how dangerous it was. The word ‘preventable’ in reference to loss of lives implies a deliberate perpetuation of acts of brutality by those who are perceived to be tribal. The anti-violence ideology serves to strengthen the editor’s quest for peace to prevail in Kenya at the time.

4.4.3 Ideology on the Benefits of Peace

This section illustrates ideologies constructed concerning the benefits Kenya would enjoy as a country if peace prevailed. The objective of CDA is to uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words of our written text or speech. The extracts from Ed. 9 illustrate this ideology.

Ed. 9 - All Kenyans responsible for a peaceful election (SN February 24, 2013, pg.12)

Ed. 9 was published in *The Sunday Nation* of 24th February, 2013, about a week before the elections. This was the week that marked the end of the official campaign period. The

editorial commented on the desirability for peace by focusing on the positive issues at the time such as the then president leaving power willingly, the economy was doing well, the duly elected Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission and the major firms that had picked Nairobi as their headquarters.

109. Kenya has all the ingredients for a major take off **if the election goes off relatively peacefully.**

The ideology constructed was that of peace as a requisite for progress in Kenya using the conditional clause ‘if the election goes off successfully.’ That was the belief of the newspaper hence the ideology constructed by the editor. The belief was presented as common-sense view that needed to be embraced by all. The lexical choice ‘ingredients’ is an intertextual mix of the sub-genre of cookery and served to buttress the editor’s assumption that peaceful elections would ensure progress just as good ingredients make up a good dish. The social structure and the context surrounding the choice of the word ‘ingredients’ by the editor was necessitated by the big investors that had chosen to carry out business in Kenya. The implication was that if the election was not peaceful, the benefits would be lost. The investors are specified in extracts 110 and 111 below:

110. **Numerous** major firms have in the last few years picked Nairobi as their African headquarters. In the past week alone, **motoring giant Toyota** has rolled out plans to set up an assembly factory for its Hino trucks here, **Pepsi** opened a **multi-billion-shilling** plant and the **Central Bank** of India opened an office in the country.

111. With a **growing middle class, first-world freedoms** enshrined in one of the most **progressive constitutions** in Africa, a **good education system** and a **hard**

working population eager to make progress, Kenya has everything it takes to achieve middle income status by 2030.

Using the vagueness strategy by choosing the word ‘numerous,’ the editor depicts Kenya as a good place that had attracted big investors like ‘motoring giant Toyota,’ ‘Pepsi’ and ‘the Central Bank of India.’ The editor chose the words ‘growing middle class,’ ‘first-world freedoms’ enshrined in one of the most ‘progressive constitutions in Africa,’ a ‘good education system’ and a ‘hard working population’ that expressed praise for Kenya and portrayed it positively as a result of which the country attracted major investors. This was done in order to strengthen the editor’s argument that Kenya is indeed a good place yet this status could be destroyed if peace was compromised. By mentioning the major firms that had chosen to invest in Kenya and the freedom, good education system and hardworking people, the editor was using language to exercise power over the readers and appeal to them to share the opinion of the newspaper and maintain peace. According to the editor, without peace, Kenya stood to lose all the good things it had attracted. This agrees with the findings of Olowe (1993) who studied the interplay between language and ideology in Nigerian English-medium newspapers. Olowe (1993) asserts that the newspaper subjects all newsworthy events that constantly come up in social life to rigorous linguistic manipulation to make them suit the ideological expectation of the audience. In this context, the editor chose to construct ideology based on the newsworthy event of the big investors that had chosen to conduct their business in Kenya. By mentioning the big investors like ‘motoring giant Toyota,’ ‘Pepsi’ and ‘the Central Bank of India,’ the editor used language to make the readers view Kenya positively and strive to maintain peace for the betterment of the nation.

Ed. 2 - Alternative to peaceful elections costly (SS December 6, 2012, pg.14)

Ed. 2 was a commentary on the warning by the World Bank that anything short of a peaceful election would seriously dent Kenya's economic growth. The author emphasized on the need to embrace peace and urged politicians to preach peace in order to save Kenya from an economic crunch.

112. Alternative to peaceful elections costly

Extract 112 was the title of the editorial and through presupposition the editor constructed the ideology that peaceful elections were a must as without it the consequences would be unbearable to many. The editor presupposed the existence of a possible choice that could spell doom for Kenyans. The editor presented his view as common-sense in order to persuade Kenyans to maintain peace. The wording of the headline had an emotional impact depicted in the word 'costly.' The word implies a negative effect on Kenyans if the elections were not peaceful. In the Kenyan context, the alternative implied violence which caused suffering to the *wananchi* and was hardly felt by leaders. This was because Kenyans would turn against one another, kill and destroy property but leaders never killed each other. The word 'costly' implied the great suffering Kenyans would face as a result of not ensuring peaceful elections. This is in line with Fowler *et al*, (1979) view that words are never neutral; they carry the power that reflects the interest of those who speak or write. Since editorial writer have the power to control what the readers are exposed to, they can manipulate language to attract readers. The headline has used the word 'costly' to call for peace by influencing the readers' perception of the absence of peace. In the text below, the editor constructed the ideology of the benefits of peace by presenting peace as a determining factor in the economic progress of the country.

113.Five per cent growth levels for an economy like ours is dismal, but the bank says this is what we will achieve with peaceful elections. What this means is that a **chaotic poll could plunge the figures to catastrophic levels, but are our politicians listening?**

The editor constructed the ideology that peace in a country also determines economic growth but chaos dent a country's growth as implied in the phrase 'that a chaotic poll could plunge the figures to catastrophic levels.' This means that the levels of economic growth would drop to levels that would be disastrous. The rhetorical question at the end 'but are our politicians listening?' paints the politicians negatively by implying that they have an 'I don't care' attitude. It is a direct criticism of the politicians by the editor. The words 'chaotic,' 'plunge' and 'catastrophic' all point to danger that could arise due to elections not being peaceful. The mention of the growth in economy that could be realized with peaceful elections was a persuasive way of calling for peace. This is in line with Wells (1986) view that the wording of sentences can greatly influence the readers' perception of the ideas expressed in a text.

4.5 Summary

The foregoing discussion presented the findings regarding the analysis of the editorials on peace related to the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. The analysis was based on CDA and used tools from stylistics for categorization of linguistic strategies. The analysis of the lexical, grammatical and pragmatic choices used to construct the peace messages revealed that editors chose language that extolled peace and condemned violence. Fairclough (1995) indicates that news activities mirror the power behind media discourse and the position of the power holder. Power relations were expressed through modality, directives, representatives, commissives and nominalization. The editors exercised their institutional power by controlling what the readers were exposed to depending on what they intended to convey to

the readers guided by the context of news production. Finally, the editors also constructed ideologies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, pro-peace versus anti-violence ideologies and ideologies on the benefits of peace by using language that presented their ideas as common-sense and legitimate. The ideologies were constructed with a view to calling upon readers to sustain peace. The next chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This section presents the summary of the findings of the data analysis mainly from the discussion in Chapter Four. This is done in tandem with the objectives of the study. The study was an analysis of editorial discourse with a view to illustrating how the editors' linguistic choices enabled them to interpret the socio-political context to convey the peace messages in the *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers before, during and after the 2013 General Elections in Kenya. The objectives of the study were to: describe the lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices used in the editorials to construct the peace messages, determine the linguistic strategies of portraying power relations in the peace messages and evaluate the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages. In the conclusion, the findings are linked to the aim and objectives of the study to establish whether or not the objectives have been achieved. Finally, recommendations and suggestions for further research are given.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The first objective was to describe the lexical, pragmatic and grammatical choices used in the editorials to construct the peace messages. The analysis of data shows that the editors of both newspaper publications used vocabulary and emotive terms to construct the peace messages. An inquiry into the vocabulary used indicated mainly the use of content words and phrases such as demand, peace, peaceful poll, peace and security, peaceful elections, crave, crucial, yearn for, peaceful transition, clean, stability, economic development, must remain peaceful, pledged, preach peace, calm, tolerance, peaceful campaigns, guard against irresponsible utterances and battle for an election without violence. Some of the lexical items were

repeated to express the editors' preoccupation with the message of peace. Moreover, the editors used commendatory words in reference to peace and derogatory words in reference to what was perceived as threats to peace at the time. The data analysis revealed the use of commendatory words and phrases such as credit, rebounded impressively, reasonably well, not handpicked, recruited through a competitive process, inspired, best, continued to hold, good natured, highly professional, promised, peaceful conduct, quickly maturing, work together, common good and made a lot of strides. The derogatory words used were mainly to condemn violence. They included words such as disaster, ravenously maul, more careful, reckless elements and mindless violence.

Under grammatical choices, the active voice was used to present Kenyans as demanding for peace and the then president assuring the nation that he would ensure peace prevailed by maintenance of law and order. It was also used to express the need to keep peace, allow the nation to heal and aspirants demanding peace of their supporters. The passive voice was used to depict Kenyans as recipients of praise from the world for good conduct during elections and to show that in the peace process a lot depended on how the election was handled by all stakeholders. There was a striking use of verb phrases formed with the modal 'must' to express obligation on the actors. Examples of such can be seen in the following phrases: must exercise patience, must move speedily to arrest and prosecute, must take the most severe action, must remain resolute, must guarantee and must keep the peace. The modal 'would' was also used in the verb phrases to express the desirability of the editors for the leaders to prevail upon their supporters to maintain peace. The modal 'should' was also used in verb phrases to express desirability for the government to provide a good working atmosphere for the IEBC to deliver credible elections.

The pragmatic choices used to construct the peace messages were idioms, metaphors and implicatures. The idioms used in the peace messages were: therefore beggars belief, go to

sleep, faces baptism by fire, hit the ground running, earn its keep and not out of the woods yet. On the other hand, the metaphors used were: entering turbulent waters, avoid raising tensions, festering national sores, cool down dangerous war, stoke the flames, sow peace dividend seed, fluid nature of the transition, explosive issues, shadow-boxing and shepherding the delicate transition. These metaphors were used to buttress the call for peace by the editors. There were sentences and phrases which implied extra meanings in order to convey the message of peace. Overall, though the two newspapers belong to two different institutions with a competitive relationship to make more profit, the lexical, grammatical and pragmatic choices indicate a complementary approach to the call for peace at the time.

Objective two was to determine the linguistic strategies of portraying power relations in the peace messages. The words used showed who had power and the ones who that power was exercised over. The strategies were categorized as modality, directives, representatives, commissives and nominalization. The study found out that the editors showed their supremacy, authority and power by using the modal ‘must’ to impose their views on the readers. Such examples are: voters must exercise patience, everyone involved must do their best to ensure the process is successful and we must ensure peace. The editors presented the message in a way that controlled the minds of readers and influenced them to maintain peace by using certain directives and representatives. Examples of such include the editor urging readers to await the Supreme Court verdict, presenting the IEBC as enjoying good public confidence to deliver credible elections, asking the government to provide an enabling environment for the IEBC to deliver credible elections, stating that all parties to the petition had agreed to honour the verdict of the Supreme Court and mentioning the efforts by the government to ensure peace prevailed at the time. The editor also mentioned the major firms like Toyota, Pepsico and the Central Bank of India that had chosen to invest in Kenya. This privilege would be lost if peace was compromised so the editor presented the facts and let

readers decide. The petition filed by CORD presidential candidate to challenge the presidential results was presented as an achievement. The petition could compromise peace so the editor chose to present it positively by referring to it as a significant milestone.

Objective three was to evaluate the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages based on the CDA principle that discourse does ideological work and ideologies are often produced in discourse. The editors who have institutional power to control the editorial content used their power to choose language that could control the minds and actions of readers. The study revealed that the newspapers put forward their evaluation of the society's socio-cultural values as the foremost factor through which ideology is suggested. Although in disguise, what they advocated for was according to the standards of the society. Some of the words, phrases and sentences used were inclined towards unfavourable representation so that they reflect vices such as violence and destruction which the society is against. The lexis involved therefore served to either reinforce solidarity where the readership community was to be maintained or weaken incompatible ideological structure in the readers' ideological system. The ideologies were sub-categorized as ideology of positive presentation of US and negative other-presentation of THEM, pro-peace versus anti-violence ideology and ideology on the benefits of peace. Positive self-presentation of US was evident in the following phrases and sentences: we are a peace loving people, reformed judiciary, once again we revisit our call for sobriety, this media house which this week launched 'The Stand' a drive for a clean, peaceful election. Negative other-presentation of THEM was constructed using the words some, themselves, others, their, reckless elements, ravenously maul. The pro-peace and anti-violence ideologies were constructed by obligating aspirants to sow peace dividend seed, adopt a more mature way of handling explosive issues, mentioning the desperate state of the IDPs and urging all candidates to ensure peace prevailed. Furthermore, the ideology on the benefits of peace was constructed by presenting the positive things about Kenya such as a

growing middle class, first-world freedoms, one of the most progressive constitutions in Africa, good education system and a hard working population. The attributes were meant to aid the editor in calling for peace so as not to destroy the good in Kenya.

5.3 Conclusions

The study was a descriptive study of editorial discourse. The conclusions made in this section were based on the following specific objectives discussed.

Objective one described the lexical, grammatical and pragmatic choices used to construct the peace messages in the editorials. From the analysis of the two newspapers, this study established that the linguistic choices made by the editors were aimed at influencing the behaviour of the citizens regarding the peace process. This is because peace was extolled while violence was condemned. The language used encoded tolerance, optimism and reassurance of continued peace before, during and after the elections. Despite there being a volatile situation prior to elections, a mindful and mitigated use of language by the media practitioners during peace building can help foster harmony. This could be an indicator that future peace initiatives can be enhanced through language. Given the importance of editorials in conveying messages on topical issues to readers (Morrish, 1986), it can therefore be concluded that deliberate choice of language to construct peace messages is important for the success of any peace initiative.

Objective two of the study determined the linguistic strategies of portraying power relations in the peace messages. The application of CDA as a theoretical base has enabled the researcher to describe the peace discourse as a tool for creating and enacting power relations. The power relations are enacted and legitimized by the application of certain linguistic devices i.e. modality, directives, nominalization and assertives. The editors portrayed both symmetrical and asymmetrical power relations. The study confirmed that power interrogates

language and ideology and consequently through ideology, power is manufactured through consent and acquiescence. Since news activities mirror the power behind discourse and the position of the power holder, it can be concluded that the linguistic choices used by the editors mainly reflected the institutional power to construct the peace messages according to the interests of the newspaper institutions and the socio-political context that prevailed then.

Objective three evaluated the ideologies constructed through language in the peace messages. The study established that language was used to construct ideologies of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation. The language used created a dichotomy of US vs. THEM that portrayed Kenyans positively as peaceful people while the rest of the world was depicted negatively. The groups that were deemed as engaging in acts that could threaten peace were treated as the out-group through the use of pronouns ‘they’ or ‘them’ and word choices with negative connotations. The newspaper institutions were also portrayed as peace loving and peace was depicted as a requisite for economic progress. It can be concluded that the ideologies constructed were dictated by the socio-political context of the peace messages. The role of language as a medium through which ideology is constructed cannot therefore be overemphasized.

5.4 Recommendations

The greatest reason for reading newspapers especially editorials is to get a better understanding of topical issues in order to make informed decisions. Given the importance of editorials in conveying messages on topical issues to readers (Morrish, 1986), it can therefore be concluded that deliberate choice of language to construct peace messages is important for the success of any peace initiative. In regard to this, the study recommends that in order to enhance future peace initiatives, the media practitioners should make linguistic choices that convey balanced opinions in the editorial content.

Secondly, the study confirmed that power interrogates language and ideology and consequently through ideology, power is manufactured through consent and acquiescence. Since news activities mirror the power behind discourse and the position of the power holder, it can be concluded that the linguistic choices used by the editors mainly reflected the institutional power to construct the peace messages according to the interests of the newspaper institutions and the socio-political context that prevailed then. The study recommends that laws on the freedom of the press should ensure the media is unbiased and transparent in its mediation of social issues.

Finally, the study concluded that the ideologies constructed were dictated by the socio-political context of the peace messages. News is not free of ideology and in the construction of ideology editors use linguistic strategies that indicate their standpoint and could influence the reader to adopt the views. The study recommends that in times of political uncertainty or conflict, the media should endeavour to promote peace by constructing ideologies that shape the public opinion towards the sustenance of peace.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Study

The researcher cannot claim to have exhausted all the issues relevant to the topic of the study, which is editorial discourse. The study focused on institutional editorials; further research could be carried out on language use in opinion editorials or letters to the editor. A study should also be carried out on editorials using other approaches like the Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1995) which posits that understanding an utterance involves more than merely knowing the meaning of the sentence uttered. Finally, a study should be carried out on cohesion and cohesive devices in editorials to shed light on how they are used to formulate the messages presented.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Data Extraction Guideline

Variable	Indicator(s)	Data
1. Peace message	Peace, peaceful, peaceful poll, calm, tolerance, reconciliation, national healing, violence, disaster, security, smooth transition, peaceful election	
2. Lexical choices	Vocabulary, emotive words	
3. Grammatical choices	Passive and active voice, verb phrases	
4. Pragmatic choices	Idioms, metaphors, implicatures	
5. Power relations	Modal verbs, directives, representatives, nominalization	
6. Ideologies	US vs. THEM dichotomy, portrayal of benefits of peace, condemnation of violence	

Adapted from Janks (2005)

APPENDIX 1I: Research Permit I



MASENO UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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Date: 24th April, 2017

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: PROPOSAL APPROVAL FOR OLUOCH MONICA OLOO —
PG/PHD/00136/2012

The above named is registered in the Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics programme, in the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Maseno University. This is to confirm that her research proposal titled "Linguistic Representations of Peace in the Editorials of Mainstream English-Medium Newspapers during the 2013 General Elections in Kenya" has been approved for conduct of research subject to obtaining all other permissions/clearances that may be required beforehand.

A handwritten signature of Prof. J.O. Agure.

Prof. J.O. Agure
DEAN, SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES



Maseno University

ISO 9001:2008 Certified



APPENDIX 1II: Research Permit II



MASENO UNIVERSITY ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Tel: +254 057 351 622 Ext: 3050
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Private Bag – 40105, Maseno, Kenya
Email: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke

FROM: Secretary - MUERC

DATE: 7th November, 2017

TO: Monica Oloo Oluo
PG/PhD/00136/2012
Department of Linguistics
School of Arts and Social Sciences, Maseno University
P . O. Box, Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

REF:MSU/DRPI/MUERC/00406/17

RE: Linguistic Representations of Peace in the Editorials of Mainstream English-Medium Newspapers during the 2012/2013 General Elections in Kenya. Proposal Reference Number MSU/DRPI/MUERC/00406/17

This is to inform you that the Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) determined that the ethics issues raised at the initial review were adequately addressed in the revised proposal. Consequently, the study is granted approval for implementation effective this 7th day of November, 2017 for a period of one (1) year.

Please note that authorization to conduct this study will automatically expire on 6th November, 2018. If you plan to continue with the study beyond this date, please submit an application for continuation approval to the MUERC Secretariat by 15th October, 2018.

Approval for continuation of the study will be subject to successful submission of an annual progress report that is to reach the MUERC Secretariat by 15th October, 2018.

Please note that any unanticipated problems resulting from the conduct of this study must be reported to MUERC. You are required to submit any proposed changes to this study to MUERC for review and approval prior to initiation. Please advise MUERC when the study is completed or discontinued.

Thank you.

Dr. Bonuke Anyona,
Secretary,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee



Cc: Chairman,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.

MASENO UNIVERSITY IS ISO 9001:2008 CERTIFIED



APPENDIX 1V: ED 1

12 | Opinion

Wednesday Novem

DAILY NATION

Kenyans crave security before and after polls

As Kenyans troop to registration centres to record their names in the voters' roll, there will be a lot of apprehension over what may unfold as the General Election next March approaches.

Memories of the widespread violence that nearly tipped Kenya over the precipice in the wake of the disputed elections of 2007 are still fresh.

Many will be wondering whether they really will have the chance to vote in a fresh crop of leaders to drive the country forward in peace and prosperity; or whether they will just be playing their roles in a script destined to climax in death and destruction.

All will be praying that Kenyans have learnt their lessons and will never again allow themselves to be misled into mindless violence against their neighbours.

They will also be hoping that the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission delivers on the promise of a free and fair election on which there will be no grounds for dispute and in which the loser will have no option but to gracefully concede.

Peace and security during the campaigns, on polling day itself, and on the post-election period, will be crucial to resolving whether or not Kenya successfully leaps this crucial hurdle and goes on to take its rightful place as a stable, democratic and progressive nation.

Ongoing incidents are causing a great deal of concern. Kenyans have learnt any lessons from the past; and whether the government has the resources and will to guarantee security for all.

We have seen in the past few days a grenade attack on a Nairobi bus followed by mindless inter-communal violence in the affected suburb.

Infiltrated by extremists

In Garissa, a security swoop after the shooting of three soldiers has provoked what looks like an uprising against the presence of military personnel in a region substantially infiltrated by extremists from neighbouring Somalia.

In Samburu and Turkana, what might be the regular cattle-rustling has escalated into a deadly attack on a police patrol, resulting in the death of 40 officers and deployment of the military.

In Tana River County, ethnic clashes have claimed over 50 lives in just a short time, including an attack on a police post that saw the killing of over a dozen officers. At the Coast, the activities of the Mombasa Republican Council threaten peace.

All these may be seen as isolated incidents in different parts of the country, but taken together, they represent a real and present danger to peace and security.

Grave questions must be raised on whether there are reckless elements in society, including within the political leadership, who may be complicit in fanning violence for selfish ends.

We must also take a close look at the capacity of the law and order agencies to put in place effective security everywhere. It is not enough to react after such blatant security breaches.

Kenyans demand peace and security both in the pre- and post-election period, and will not countenance laxity or dereliction of duty.

APPENDIX V: ED 2

Page 14

Thursday, December 6, 2012 / The Standard

STANDARD

Blogs, archives, reader forums and more: www.standardmedia.co.ke/opinion

Opinion

For fairness and justice.

EDITORIAL / ECONOMY

Alternative to peaceful elections costly

In spite of promises of a peaceful poll by Government and key political leaders contesting the March 4 General Election, there remains concern the exercise may not be as calm as anticipated when the time comes.

For one, there are still a number of flashpoints across the country. Tana Delta region is still fragile, a number of locals have fled Turkana region due to the ongoing security operation and the notion that some regions 'belong' to particular candidates or political parties, still looms large on the elections. This is not

where we want to be considering the post-poll chaos that followed the disputed December 2007 Presidential elections, but the World Bank is warning that anything short of a peaceful election could seriously dent Kenya's economic growth and disrupt a number of key projects.

EXTERNAL SHOCKS

The Bank predicts that Kenya will close the year at a 4.3 per cent Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth and rise to 5 per cent in 2013, but there is a caveat: The projected growth will be achieved only if peaceful elec-

tions will be held in 2013. The verdict is contained in report by the bank titled *Kenya Economic Update* launched yesterday in Nairobi. The report ranks political risks to economic growth as equal to risks posed by shocks in the global economy such as the persistent debt crisis in European markets.

Five per cent growth levels for an economy like ours is not bad, but the bank says this is what we will achieve with a peaceful elections. What this means is that a chaotic poll could plunge the figures to catastrophic levels, but are our politicians listening?

While campaigning across the country, politicians have pledged to work towards peace before, during and after the elections.

But the utterances by some and behaviour of others who posit themselves as more loyal to their tribal chiefs create the impression the efforts at ensuring peace are yet to yield fruit.

In other words, some politicians do not value peace. They see the election platform as an opportunity to vent their spleen on their political opponents and sow seeds of discord amongst the

populace. But the World Bank says the elections will play a key role in determining the extent Kenya will go in achieving the projected economic growth of five per cent. This means that we have no option as a country, but to preach peace.

The disturbing aspect about the just released data on GDP is not so much the overall growth slowing to below five per cent next year if the elections are not peaceful. Rather, it is the expected slowdown in fresh investment and general drop in economic activities like tourism that is cause for concern.

CREATING JOBS

Investment, a useful proxy for measuring the economy's capacity for growth in the near term, is what creates new jobs, without which there can be no increase in the overall income levels.

Once that stalls, compounded by fear of existing jobs being wiped out, it leads to a slowdown in consumption.

For the country to achieve the objectives outlined in Vision 2030, the economy should grow at 10 per cent per annum.

"They don't call me Tyrannosaurus Sex for nothing."

TED KENNEDY, (1932 - 2009), former US Senator and youngest brother to President John F Kennedy.

We are already behind schedule in achievement of some of the ideals listed in the Millennium Development Goals like health and water.

A chaotic election will complicate the situation further.

There are obvious limitations to any growth stimulus dependent on Government activities, especially those that create no new productive assets in the economy like elections.

But Kenya being what it is needs a peaceful poll in order to move to the next stage of development.

This is why our politicians have no option but to preach peace. This, along with conscious efforts to remove various policy and administrative hurdles — including those relating to investments would help restart the process of stabilization of the economy and generate new jobs.

That is the only viable and sustainable growth path for an emerging economy like ours to grow and create the requisite environment we require to attain the status of a middle-level economy. ■

APPENDIX VI: ED 3

Page 14

February 9, 2013 / STANDARD ON SATURDAY

STANDARD
Blogs, archives, reader forums and more:
www.standardmedia.co.ke/opinion

Opinion

For fairness and justice.

Editorial / Security

Give police proper equipment ahead of polls

Not all insecurity problems bedeviling the country are connected to the March 4 General Election. Thus, to draw a direct line between one conflict and another and the upcoming presidential contest would be wrong unless there is good reason to think the dynamics of both are linked. There may well be reason to be concerned and vigilant. After all, given the high stakes some of our leaders place on the outcome of the next election, many such situations may be exploited by the disaffected.

But as even the most alarmist observer will concede, violence in the vein of the 2007 and 2008 chaos is not inevitable. Following the post-election violence of 2007, Kenyans agreed on a roadmap to peace that included short-term measures, like creating a transitional Grand Coalition and deal-

ing with crimes committed in the period, and longer term goals like reforming the legal system, securing the reform agenda and handling the land question. Some progress has been made on the long-term issues, known as 'Agenda Four' items in the National Reconciliation Accord. But, a genuine deal remains to be done. However, it has always been clear to all that the process of dealing with many of the more intractable problems we face as a nation would take more than the five years allocated to the life of the Grand Coalition. This coming election and perhaps one or two to follow will be conducted with the unfinished business of Kenya's complicated past hanging over everyone's head like the Sword of Damocles. However, proof of progress on key issues means this need not be cause for undue alarm.

A Human Rights Watch (HRW) report released this week warns that

Government's failure to conduct needed reforms puts Kenya at risk for election-related violence. The 58-page 'High Stakes: Political Violence and the 2013 Elections in Kenya' points to inter-communal clashes that have claimed more than 477 lives and displaced about 118,000 people in the last one year.

Many of these incidents have been linked to pre-election manoeuvring as politicians mobilise support. According to HRW officials, the police and other authorities repeatedly failed to prevent violence or hold those responsible to account. While this is true to some extent, it portends mostly the likelihood of localised acts of violence. The hotspots in which this is expected have been identified, improving chances of limiting it. While the pace of reform is not as brisk as desired, one might say a tipping point has been reached in which public faith is stronger than in 2007, significantly lowering risk of organised violence.

The greatest threat posed by insecurity challenges in this season may well be the demand they exert on the limited resources of the Police Service at a time when every man and woman in uniform is needed to ensure a smooth election. This is certain to be a difficult planning challenge for the Minister of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security and his team. Meeting on Thursday, to address security challenges posed by political campaigns, criminal gangs and bandits, stands out as a sensible first step to keeping Kenyans safe. Roping in all institutions at the Government's disposal will be critical, especially in ensuring the police do not fail at their task because they are overextended or undermined by other bodies with better intelligence about impending incidents.

Finally, the environment in which Kenya is conducting its coming election is also a factor in whether there will be trouble. The fact that our Kenyans face trial at the International Criminal Court is a pause for thought. Anyone who would want to instigate violence. Intelligence and security preparations can be counted on to be a deterrent. More importantly, vast proportions of the citizenry are intent on having a peaceful transition. Their desire for informed assistance taken by various stakeholders, including this media outlet, which this week launched 'The Stand', a drive for a clean, peaceful election. In the face of such public goodwill, there is ample reason for optimism.

“
The resolve by Cabinet, after a meeting on Thursday, to address the security challenges posed by political campaigns a criminal gang stands out as a sensible first step to keep Kenyans safe

APPENDIX VII: ED 4

12 | Opinion

DAILY
Wednesday December

DAILY NATION

Devote Independence Day to future of peace

The 49th Independence Anniversary to be observed today is significant for a number of reasons. It will be the last occasion for President Kibaki to preside over the national celebrations, indeed over any national day, as he serves out his final term.

It is also the last Independence Day to be marked before the new constitutional dispensation begins to take full effect. That will come with realisation of devolution upon establishment of County governments following the March 2013 General Election.

Thus today President Kibaki will be somehow saying farewell to Kenyans when he addresses the nation at the Nyayo National Stadium.

The President has less than three months to take his final bow from a career in political leadership about as long as Kenya has been an Independent nation.

The final celebration of Independence Day as Head of State, therefore, might also symbolically mark the period during which steps must be completed towards ensuring a smooth hand-over.

All relevant organs must review and complete all the arrangements required to a smooth transitional period.

In the midst of election campaigns that are already becoming rather heated, all the players must recognise that it is their responsibility to conduct themselves in a fitting fashion so that peace, security and stability is not endangered.

A peaceful transition will very much depend on peaceful election campaigns and a free, fair and competently managed election.

Responsibility here must be shared between the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission; the political players contesting for office; and the State security and administrative machinery.

Also key players in the equation are the citizens of Kenya who must at all times remain peaceful and resist and reject any attempts to provoke them into violence against opposing political groupings.

APPENDIX VIII: ED 5

Nominations must reflect preparedness for elections

Today political parties turn to their members to pick nominees who will be presenting themselves for election to 1,881 seats in the March 4 polls. One thing is clear though: Kenyans yearn for peace stability, economic development, rule of law and respect for human rights.

This will be the first exercise conducted nationwide in which candidates are nominated to vie for seats since the botched 2007 presidential election.

The March 4 exercise will usher in a new Chief Executive (the President) and new Legislature; one which includes an inaugural Senate. Kenyans will elect County Governors and Assembly representatives for the first time, with the aim of bringing government and resources closer to the people.

GOLDEN JUBILEE

The nominations will be a litmus test for the country on whether it can hold together through free, fair and democratic elections. It will reflect our preparedness for the General Election in 46 day's time.

The nominations must demonstrate that we have a successful environment for democratic elections and a fair electoral system.

Today's exercise must be seen as a mock election for the world to use in predicting Kenya's future after polls. The country has come a long way and will celebrate our Golden Jubilee in 2013. Voters must exercise their rights smartly by settling on candidates who can move Kenya towards a middle income country.

Already pockets of violence have been witnessed in parts of the country, with reports of loss of life in Bumala, Busia. This is unacceptable.

While police officers have been mobilised to keep watch over criminal activities and possible violence outbreak, it is the duty of parties to keep members disciplined and set good examples by carrying out incident-free nominations.

Parties must let voters have their say on who governs them and how they are governed. Their choice will define and shape Kenya for future generations. ■

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APPENDIX IX: ED 6

Page 14 / EDITORIAL

Friday, March 8, 2013 / The Star

THE STANDARD

Hold politicians to their pledge to accept IEBC vote tally

Peter Koinange, Mohammed Abduba,

Dida, Martin Karur, James ole Kiyapi,
Uhuru Kenyatta, Musalia Mudavadi,
Rita Odinga, and Paul Muite have all occupied

larger than life public personas in Kenyans'

consciousness.

In one of their hands, Kenyans have debated, interrogated and voted to become the top Chief executive Officer and Commander-In-Chief for the next five calendar years.

They have traversed the country like no one else has, campaigning and canvassing for the soul of the 14 million-strong electorate. Last Monday, voters braved thirst, fatigue, a first-time electoral system and punishing sunshine to vote one of these eight candidates as fourth president of Kenya. And now all eyes are on the Independent Boundaries and Electoral Commission national

tallying centre at Bomas of Kenya.

The venue is very apt considering it was also where Kenyans started the national conversation that culminated in a new Constitution.

However, teething problems have cast a pall over the final vote counting and bitter words are being banded about regarding integrity of the outcome of Ballot 2013.

Some politicians are already openly casting aspersions on the electronic tallying and conduct of some officials and even making calls to set aside the vote count.

Reminders are also flowing in about each of the eight candidates' pre-election pledge to trust that the commission would be trusted deliver on its mandate to everyone's expectations. They were all in agreement that peace and tolerance would prevail and the rule of law become the sole

shining beacon in the room.

Yes indeed, Kenya is greater than any one individual and all voters should be prepared to accept the outcome of the polls and respect the decision of the ballot box.

And as they all enthusiastically chanted, "God bless Kenya", we urge them to make Kenya the real winner of these polls.

PRAYER OF MILLIONS

Since the counting was restarted using primary documents from polling stations and Returning Officers making a fresh count and verification five days on, it is hoped there will be a final tally today that would put to bed the anxiety of being the first national election since the 2007 one that sparked mass action.

The calls for "calm, tolerance and peace"

should be intensified even as the commission investigates allegations of vote rigging and sys-
gitches. Indeed, to paraphrase one sage, there
enough of Kenya for all our needs but not enough
to go around to satisfy any one person's greed.

Let the public and private prayer of millions
Kenyans, the wise counsel of Pope emeritus
Benedict XVI, US President Barack Obama,
European Union ambassadors, neighbouring
partner States of the East African Community,
trade partners China and Japan, the Panel of
Eminent persons, the Global Peace Forum and
United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon
count for something.

Kenya is greater than any one of us individuals
or ethnic groups. God bless Kenya!

We remind the politicians that we heard you
loud and clear. Now walk the talk. ■

APPENDIX X: ED 7



Political class must stop this irresponsible talk

With about three months to the March 4, 2013 General Election, this is the time leaders should guard against irresponsible utterances.

It is unfortunate to note that Cabinet minister William ole Ntimama may be prosecuted for hate speech if it is established he indeed asked residents of Narok to go and register as voters in their places of birth.

The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) chairman Mzalendo Kibaki has already indicated the commission would prosecute Mr Ntimama as such utterances amounted to hate speech and had the potential of provoking tribal animosity.

The Ntimama case may be under investigation, but this should serve as a reminder to our leaders that they should promote national cohesion and not divisive politics for personal gains.

Even as our leaders visit different parts of the country seeking to popularise themselves and their parties in readiness for the elections, they ought to remember that loose and inciting talk largely contributed to the infamous 2007/08 post-election violence.

President Kibaki has time and again called for peaceful campaigns and elections and on the need for leaders to preach peace.

All Kenyans, and not just the political class, should heed Kibaki's call and demonstrate tolerance as this will help avoid the country sliding back to the ugly past.

We need to bear in mind the intention of the new Constitution is to foster unity. This is aptly captured in the preamble. Equally, as one columnist notes today, it is only through the development of meaningful relationships that stereotypes and stigmas can be eliminated and Kenyans can begin to 'see' each other outside ethnic colour.

APPENDIX XI: ED 8



The image shows a newspaper clipping from the Standard Opinion section. The headline reads "Voter education key to stem poll violence". The article discusses the role of voter education in preventing election-related violence. It mentions that policing alone is not sufficient and that voter education is crucial. The text is in two columns, with the second column continuing on the next page.

Voter education key to stem poll violence

Policing alone is not the solution to the threat of violence during or after the March 4 General Election. Indeed, placing the burden for a peaceful election entirely or primarily on the 75,000 or so police officers is futile if large enough sections of the population choose to disrupt law and order.

Even if reforms to the service were complete, resources available and operational plans made to provide a degree of security for all, it would take a bigger force to hold off widespread unrest. The force of arms can only play a limited role, at best holding off organised groups in the employ of politicians. The battle for an election without violence must be won well in advance, in the hearts and minds of the silent majority that had no hand in the appalling events of 2007 and 2008. The

biggest challenge is to demonstrate to voters that they can count on the electoral system to deliver credible outcomes at all levels. After all, support for any protests or violence can only be sustained if there is the appearance that electoral grievances are real. And if the political leaders apparently aggrieved choose to mobilise voters in such protests. Thus, it is critical to cultivate and protect faith in the process, avoiding any of the spurious insinuations of interference that typically attend such contests.

As for organised violence, it almost always has regional roots. Knowledge of the activities of the 73 groups being used by politicians to provide protection services should be put to use to pre-empt any ethnic attacks. The hotspots for potential violence are known and the closest contests are clear. Such flashpoints must not be allowed to erupt into chaos.

APPENDIX XII: ED 9

12 | Opinion

SUNDAY
February

SUNDAY NATION All Kenyans responsible for a peaceful election

The eyes of the world will be on Kenya this week as the official campaign period ends and the nation prepares for one of its most important elections since independence.

The stakes have never been higher. And the degree of international interest in the story of the March 4 General Election is reflected in the hundreds of journalists from around the world who have come to the country to cover the election.

Dozens of observers from multiple organisations have also been accredited.

In a sense, this level of interest is a good thing and reflects well on Kenya's young democracy.

The fact that many international media houses choose to cover Africa from Nairobi is a reflection of the level of media freedom in the country which compares favourably with anywhere in the world.

The fact the incumbent President is leaving power without rancor and is not playing any direct role in the election is also positive.

The election is being contested on a fairly equal footing. All candidates have relative freedom to campaign anywhere they wish, and if the state is playing any role in financing any of the candidates, that role has not been obvious to most observers.

The economy is holding up well. There has been no hyper inflation or collapse in the value of the shilling as happened in Uganda during the election in 2011.

Yet most Kenyans must be aware that newsrooms around the world have not deployed their crews to the country just to cover an election; they anticipate a repeat of the violence that marred the last one.

It is vital that Kenyans prove them wrong. It is a credit to *wananchi* that the country has rebounded impressively from the disaster that was the 2007/8 election. The new constitution provides for devolution of power and seeks to address many of the underlying problems identified time and again as triggers of violence.

A crucial product of the new constitution was the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). Unlike many other countries around the region, the commissioners of the polls body were recruited through a competitive process. They were not hand-picked by the President.

The commission has done reasonably well so far which is why public opinion surveys indicate it commands the support of nine in 10 Kenyans.

It is essential that this team carries out its duties with great diligence in the days to come so that voters have faith that the outcome of the election is just and credible.

Voters, too, must exercise patience as the commission deals with the challenges of a highly complex election in which, for the first time, biometric kits will be used to identify voters.

Kenya has all the ingredients for a major takeoff if the election goes off relatively peacefully.

Numerous major firms have in the last few years picked Nairobi as their African headquarters. In the past week alone, motoring giant Toyota has rolled out plans to set up an assembly factory for its Hino trucks here, Pepsi opened a multi-billion-shilling plant and the Central Bank of India opened an office in the country.

With a growing middle class, first-world freedoms enshrined in one of the most progressive constitutions in Africa, a good education system and a hard working population eager to make progress, Kenya has everything it takes to achieve middle income status by 2030.

Much will rest on how the election is handled. Everyone involved – voters, politicians, civil society, government, the security forces, the media – must do their best to ensure this process is successful.

APPENDIX XIII: ED 10

DAILY NATION

Pleading for divine intervention timely

The weekend national prayer sessions for reconciliation and peace were a great idea. Whether you are a believer or an agnostic, praying for divine intervention as we head towards the most complex and closely fought election that Kenya has ever held is, in itself, inspired.

We need peace in more than anything else. Kenyans must not agree to be led by the nose by ne'er-do-wells who would use them as cannon fodder in exchange for votes.

We do not need to be told by the likes of Kofi Annan, US Secretary of State John Kerry, and even President Obama to vote with our conscience and do it peacefully.

Five years ago, this country was on the brink of implosion when people who felt cheated decided to settle election disputes with bows and arrows, machetes and matches.

The country lost heavily; the economy went into a dive and Kenyans became more divided on tribal lines than they have ever been since independence.

Luckily, this country is known for its people's resilience — and collective amnesia too. Hopefully, they have moved on from the suspicion and hatred that coloured their relations and are now ready to reconcile whatever the results, provided the elections are clean.

In the next few days, we shall have an opportunity to demonstrate, not only political maturity, but also that we learnt an unforgettable lesson: that political disputes need never plunge the country into chaos and bloodshed.

We should all pray that our institutions of governance will take this country to the next level. Now that we have a reformed Judiciary, there could be no excuse for people to take up arms should they feel aggrieved that they have been rigged out. The rule of law must prevail.

APPENDIX XIV: ED 11

12 | Opinion

SATURDAY NATION
March 30,

SATURDAY NATION

Whatever the verdict we're still one people

The Supreme Court will today give its ruling on the presidential election petitions challenging the declaration of Mr Uhuru Kenyatta as President-elect on March 9, 2013.

It is noteworthy that the hearings of the petitions this past week largely brought out the best in Kenyans. The peace experienced since the voting on March 4 continued to hold across the country.

The good-natured and highly professional manner the court proceedings were conducted won the praise of Chief Justice Willy Mutunga and many other Kenyans. More importantly, all parties to the petitions have promised to accept the court's verdict. For good measure, the process has gone a long way in reaffirming our maturing democracy.

But it came with a heavy cost for the country as well. As a result of political anxiety, travel advisories have been issued against our country, the shilling's value has been oscillating while hotels are operating at below capacity as tourists chose a wait-and-see attitude.

In offices workers wasted valuable man hours following the court proceedings on TV and the Internet, and engaging in idle chatter about the possible outcome of petitions.

Whatever the outcome, the Supreme Court's ruling today must surely bring this to an end.

The judges have stated that in determining the petitions, they will be guided by the law and the evidence provided by the parties.

The rule of law demands that all Kenyans rally behind the court and respect its decision. We have to keep the peace and get our country back on track after months of anxiety caused by the General Election. We must keep the peace and allow the nation to heal. We have to recognise that Kenya is more important than a presidential election.

Meanwhile, the leaders sworn into office this week — governors, MPs and Senators — must seize the moment and address the deep-seated ethnic divisions stoked by the election as a priority.

APPENDIX XV: ED 12



Aspirants must sow peace dividend seed

With elections around the corner, politicians need to be more careful with their statements at public rallies and focus on issues outlined in their party manifestoes.

The tone of presidential campaigns in particular has slowly turned ugly, largely due to the exchange of allegations between some presidential candidates over the matter of the two Kenyan cases at the International Criminal Court in The Hague and historical injustices over land.

Running campaigns devoid of ethnic slurs, stereotyping, insults and wild and unsubstantiated allegations is the least that our leaders owe us in this election, after the ugly turn of events in 2007 whose effects still reverberate around the country today.

All signs indicate that the March 4 presidential election could turn out to be one of the closest and hardest fought in Kenya's history, with a run-off increasingly looking like a possibility.

Because of this, all candidates, but more especially those on the presidential ballot, must avoid sowing seeds of panic among their supporters.

It is likely that candidates will use every trick in the book to get that extra vote, as long as they can avoid running afoul of the Electoral Code of Conduct.

Among other matters, the ICC will remain a divisive topic, more so because some leaders and political pundits are hell bent on making these elections a referendum on the cases in The Hague.

The Justice Philip Waki-led commission that investigated the 2008 post-election violence noted that some campaigns were used to create a climate of fear among various voting blocs.

By focusing on issues this time around, our leaders would do much to lower political temperatures.

It is sad that parties and coalitions spent billions of shillings to launch their manifestoes, but rather than focus on selling the same to voters, some are engaging in personal attacks. Leaders must be forced to defend their allegations with facts and evidence.

Allowing them to get away with innuendo emboldens them to continue down this dangerous path. ■

APPENDIX XVI: ED 13

Page 14 / EDITORIAL

Tuesday, March 12, 2013 / The Star

THE STANDARD

Time for Kenyans to unite and move country forward

The build-up in the final few days to last Monday's General Election saw the campaign machinery of the two leading presidential contenders, Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga push the very edge of the envelope to make their candidates win.

PLENTY OF DRAMA

The pros for each candidate were boundlessly enumerated in torrents of overflowing hyperbole, meant to win over voters, and particularly the huge percentage of the electorate that opinion polls carried out the last few days leading to the elections showed were still undecided.

The elections came and Kenyans did their part by voting. The Independent Electoral and

Boundaries Commission (IEBC) did its part too, albeit after some acknowledged hiccups.

The poll body has returned its verdict and pronounced Kenyatta of the Jubilee Alliance the winner of the Presidential election.

The drama climaxed on Sunday when, during special prayers at a church in Nairobi, Deputy President-elect William Ruto having toughed out his long campaign admirably, betrayed a rare glimpse of sentimentality by breaking down during prayers at a church.

Raila's Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) is expected to challenge the outcome of the presidential election in the Supreme Court and should not be condemned for following the law.

Despite the differences, however, the peaceful conduct before and after the elec-

tions demonstrates the country's maturity beyond the wildest imaginations of the rest of the world.

The world expected Kenyans to ravenously maul one another, but we showed them our real character. That we are a peace loving people in a democracy that is quickly maturing is no longer in doubt.

We have made a lot of strides as a country, but we still need an extra push to realise our full potential. We need a new vitality, inspired by our growing diversity and some newly found reasons, to stay and work together for our common good as a nation.

FISCAL PROBLEMS

To get there, we need to stop looking at each other through tribal prisms. It shouldn't

have to be said, but we need to work together apart. It is for these reasons and supporting others that we ought to acknowledge that the elections are over. We should now go back to work and together build country and economy.

Kenya's economy has been on a slow ride. Although the common cliché is that it is growing, growth figures have been hovering low five per cent, far more slowly than it who designed Vision 2030 imagined.

The looming fiscal problems presidents candidates had vowed to address during campaigns remain unresolved and, in fact, continue to deepen if quick action is not taken to address them. This is why the country needs to get back to work immediately and start building its economy. ■

APPENDIX XVII: ED 14

SATURDAY NATION

December 22, 2012 Opinion

SATURDAY NATION

Police's failure to stop killings unacceptable

The continuing cycle of violence in Tana River must be brought to an end. The attack at dawn yesterday that resulted in over 39 deaths is a sobering reminder that not enough is being done to restore and enforce the peace between the warring Pokomo and Orma communities.

It also reflects a monumental failure that must put under severe scrutiny the competence of those in charge of security in the area. The Tana Delta has been an operational security zone ever since September when 112 people were killed in a senseless bout of ethnic clashes.

A curfew is in place and hundreds of security personnel have been dispatched to the area. It therefore beggars belief that such killings can still recur in an area supposed to be under blanket police presence.

It is difficult to understand what all the Regular Police, Administration Police, General Service Unit and the security arms of the local administration were doing when the brazen attack took place.

Serious questions must also be asked about the monumental failure of the intelligence machinery that ought to have detected in good time planning for the attack and activated effective countermeasures.

Tana River County is just one of the regions where the State security organs seem to have lost control. Garissa, Samburu, Turkana, Moyale and Isiolo are other places that have become extremely dangerous.

We are witnessing dangerous outbreaks of violence in Nairobi, Kisumu, Mombasa and other urban and peri-urban areas where criminal gangs are increasingly operating with impunity.

Enough is enough

In the run-up to a critical General Election, it is completely unacceptable that the State security organs should go to sleep. The killings yesterday in the Tana Delta show that the new Inspector-General of Police David Kimaiyo faces baptism by fire. He must hit the ground running to ensure that the Kenya Police Service lives up to its mandate and restores security in all parts of the country.

The National Security Intelligence Service must also earn its keep, and that will mean directing its resources to security rather than politics.

National security is non-negotiable. The police and other relevant organs must have full support of the citizens and the government to do what must be done.

Unless very firm action is taken, the security situation will only get worse. Therefore, the police must have the freedom to employ whatever measures are necessary to ensure peace and stability.

The unequivocal message must go out that all individuals and groups that pose a threat to security will face severe consequences.

A liberal disposition must never be a licence to lawlessness and anarchy. Therefore, all those who plan, incite and foment trouble must face the full force of the law.

This campaign must be treated as a war to reclaim space for the peace that is pre-requisite to progress, democracy and prosperity.

Granted that there must be accelerated efforts to resolving age-old communal enmities and historical grievances, there still cannot be the slightest excuse for violence and murder.

Therefore, an example must be made of the ringleaders and perpetrators of the Tana killings, including the political overlords.

APPENDIX XVIII: ED 15

SATURDAY NATION
March 2, 2002

12 | Opinion

SATURDAY NATION

Whichever side wins, we must ensure peace

President Kibaki yesterday delivered an apt message to the nation ahead of the General Election. The gist of his address was that every contest must have a winner and a loser; and therefore it behoves all to ensure that peace prevails, whatever the outcome.

His was a challenge to both the candidates and the voters to realise that they all have a responsibility towards continuing peace.

He also assured the nation that the government had put adequate machinery in place to guarantee law and order. Pre- and post-election security, it must be emphasised, will be built not just on the peace campaign, but also on a competently managed, free and fair poll that will leave no room for uncertainties, suspicion, disputes and challenges.

The president's statement on the last weekend before the election on Monday was most timely, but it also came against a worrying backdrop.

There were reports of leaflets in circulation clearly designed to spread fear and alarm.

Police must move speedily to arrest and prosecute any individuals or parties engaging in such actions.

The Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission must also take the most severe action against elements that may try to influence the electoral outcome with scare tactics. The commission has the power to apply stiff sanctions against electoral contestants who try to gain unfair advantage.

The only rationale for such cowardly acts would be the threat of violence to force targeted groups out of the areas in which they are registered to vote. Such mischievous tactics must be condemned and punished swiftly.

Exaggerated reports

Kenyans, meanwhile, must remain resolute in defence of their democratic right to vote. They must not be intimidated and must not give in to those spreading hate messages under cover of darkness. The police, in turn, must guarantee the security of all Kenyans before and after the polls.

They must ensure that the cowardly elements behind the leaflets end up where they belong — in jail.

We have also noted the tendency of some media, especially foreign outlets, to go overboard at this time with scare stories depicting a Kenya on the brink of bloodshed.

We are not for censorship or cover-up. However, we would caution against the easy option of contrived and exaggerated reports.

If there is evidence that any group is seriously planning violence, the alarm must be raised by all means, and there can be no justification for holding back the news.

However, freedom of the media to report and expose does not extend to a licence for irresponsible and sensationalist journalism based on what could be stage-managed events and the voices of a few fringe elements.

At a time like this, there will be all kinds of groups trying to spread fear and despondency for narrow and selfish political purposes.

The hate leaflets referred to earlier or grandiose claims about the capacity to cause mayhem provide the example.

Any groups that claim to be arming and training ahead of the elections must indeed be exposed; but it would be irresponsible and unprofessional to take all such claims at face value.

APPENDIX XIX: ED 16

12 | Opinion

DAILY NA
Wednesday March 20

DAILY NATION

Cool down dangerous 'war' on social media

We have a matter pending in the Supreme Court where Cord alliance candidate Raila Odinga is challenging the declaration of Jubilee coalition rival, Uhuru Kenyatta, as winner of the presidential elections.

In the meantime, exchanges between supporters of the two leaders, particularly on social media, are getting out of hand.

What should be civil discourse and frank exchanges of view in a society that places a premium on free speech has swiftly degenerated into hate-filled and violent language online.

We would urge all to cool down the angry rhetoric and await the Supreme Court verdict with the same patience and good humour displayed during the long wait for the election results.

There is no doubt that impasse over the final verdict had led to frayed tempers, but that is no reason for supporters of either candidate to throw caution to the winds.

Kenyans remember only too well the nadir their country sunk to after the 2007 elections when a disputed outcome sparked a violent reaction.

We have been praised around the world this time for exemplary behaviour during the elections. We must not now use social media and other platforms to stoke the flames.

At a time like this, it would be a good idea if the two leaders, Mr Odinga and Mr Kenyatta, stepped out to cool the rising temperature.

They have a responsibility and can lead by example. They both know that the election petition will be heard and determined by an independent and impartial judiciary. Therefore, there is no need to push what should be canvassed in the courts onto the political platform.

Nor is it wise for any party to resort to campaigns on social media and elsewhere aimed at discrediting the judiciary ahead of the hearing.

APPENDIX XX: ED 17

November 4, 2012 / STANDARD ON S1

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STANDARD

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Opinion

For fairness and justice.

"To be idle is a short road to death and to be diligent is a way of life; foolish people are idle, wise people are diligent.

{Buddha - spiritual teacher}

Tuesday, there will be a nominator which Kenyans need to pick, the voters will be voting for the dates, canvassing that go with the office on an effective

Consider Annan team's advice on national healing

That the Government has made a lot of efforts in recent months to ensure peaceful elections and a smooth power transition is a secret.

Towards this end, a national conference on peaceful elections for MPs and stakeholders was held in Mombasa in June, when President Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga called for peaceful campaigns and harmony among Kenyans.

However, the latest Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) 14th review on electoral preparedness raises some major issues that need to be urgently addressed.

First, the report released on October 31, cautions insecurity remains a key concern in the run-up to the March 4 General Election.

According to the report, illegal gangs are also re-emerging and they could be readily available for hire to cause violence.

Already, there have been cases of violence and killings in Kisumu, Mombasa, and Tana River in recent weeks.

While State security agencies are dealing with some of these disturbances, the political leadership should equally refocus on ways of preventing a recurrence of 2007/2008 post-election violence through responsible politicking.

The KNDR report shows the Independent Electoral and Boundary Commission enjoys good public confidence on its ability to oversee credible elections.

The Government should therefore provide an enabling environment for the Commission to meet public expectations.

The report points out that effective early warning mechanisms on election-related violence are not yet in place.

It is time some of the concerns raised in the report are addressed before the election, which is about four months away.

APPENDIX XXI: ED 18

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Wednesday, December 5, 2012 / The Standard

STANDARD

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Opinion

For fairness and justice.

EDITORIAL / PEACE DIVIDEND

Candidates must not tire being the voice of reason

Martin Luther King Jr. is usually an easy write and an even better personality to quote. He said: "Non-violence is a powerful and just weapon, which cuts without wounding and ennobles the man who wields it. It is a sword that heals."

That is why we interrogate all the various personalities hoping to be presidential candidates for the job of Kenya's fourth president and ask them whether they really mean what they say on the campaign trail.

We are satisfied that they are call-

ing for a peaceful election and equally smooth and peaceful transition, but prefer that they harp on this refrain as they daily trudge to every corner of the country in search of the millions of ballots that will be on offer on March 4.

Worrying events of the past fortnight are raising red flags with the hostile reception one aspirant received in Embu as opposing supporters attempted to baricade her entry into the town.

Soon thereafter, was a rowdy party nomination that saw chairs

hurled, fists clenched, and guns drawn when opposing sides almost squared it out and had to be hauled before a party disciplinary hearing.

Then came one veteran politician's warning that "outsiders" were not welcome to register to vote in parts of Narok, echoing similar yesterday sentiments that ended rather tragically for some voters.

Two days ago, there were running battles through the streets of Maua town as rival groups taunted and heckled each other until clouds of police teargas gave them something harsher to inhale.

These are not the kinds of campaigns Kenyans envisage, least of all the candidates themselves, for it falls flat in the face of their very public shows of solidarity and expressions of peaceful co-existence of communities.

Neither the police service nor the National Cohesion and Integration Commission have the capacity to prevent or address each and every political campaign infraction. This does not mean there are no eyes and ears in these parts and sufficient voices of reason to contain runaway emotions of some of the more ardent or abrasive supporters of certain aspirants. The rest of so-called right-thinking members of society have

a duty to refuse to be drawn into acts of lawlessness and propagation of hate speech, incidents of which tend to increase during political rallies.

Local examples of such intolerance abound as every election year has seen loss of lives that were preventable, criminal acts of property destruction and a proliferation of purveyors of tribal sentiment. The elections of 1988, 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007, all claimed many lives and society vowed never to walk down that slippery slope again.

SECOND LIBERATION

National as well as private conversations were conducted, and Kenyans identified areas of deficiency and injustice that needed addressing. These conversations culminated in the Bomas talks and a national referendum in 2005 that gave birth to a new Constitution to address historical injustices, entrench personal, property and land rights.

With the guiding hand of the international community, Kenyans declared that an era of peaceful co-existence had broken out and have since this phase, famously termed the Second Liberation, pledged to live, work and vote peacefully.

And now on the steps of yet another General Election, all voters are being

asked to deposit their peace dividend in the Kenyan bank of opportunity. That is, perhaps, why various political parties and even individuals are seeking alliances with other communities to forge a common steel blade against the forces that of darkness that threaten to slice apart the fragile shared cohesion.

Should not all communities work together? Even the bitterness of rival races and tribes managed this. Indeed in 1990 the then President FW de Klerk said: "The races of this country cannot go on hiding from each other. We need to forge a new future together."

They did and the spirit of the Rainbow Nation permeated through various spheres of life and the legend of Nelson Mandela remains as a reminder of what oneness can achieve.

Kenyans sought inspiration from farther up north in Ukraine, from the Orange Revolution and can proudly say what they learnt from the lessons of 2008. They have hopefully bridged their knowledge deficit on the amazing strength they can draw from their diversity. Innocent voters should not always be the ones left holding the stick.

Leaders from all walks of life can be persuaded to urge their supporters to conduct themselves with decorum to produce a win-win sum game. ■

"The illiterate of the 21st century will not be those who cannot read and write, but those who cannot learn, unlearn, and relearn.
— ALVIN TOFFLER, American writer and futurist

APPENDIX XXII: ED 19

page 14 / EDITORIAL

Wednesday, February 27, 2013 / The Standard



Pledge to accept election results is the best gift to Kenya

From professional integrity to election results, land issues, growing the economy, family values, educating our children, treating the sick, feeding the masses and to navigating the foreign policy minefield. There was no shortage of firewood to stoke the twin burners of the eight-candidate presidential debate.

And as has become customary nowadays, the debate was open to the public, much like the vetting of judicial and police officers, and other applicants for public office. Gratifying because Kenyans can see for themselves, first-hand, where their tax shilling is being spent, who will be ultimately responsible for its safety and even an instant scorecard is possible. Reason? With millions glued to their televi-

sion screens, listening on radio or getting a live stream online, there is very little elbowroom for mistakes, waffling, wobbling or parrying the body blows.

The lessons of 2008 refuse to leave public consciousness and in memory of those that lost their lives or suffered physical or psychological injury and even lost their hard-earned investments, every Kenyan voter desperately wanted the eight to re-introduce and articulate their Plan of Action for the peaceful transition to the fourth presidency.

Kenyans wanted the candidates to invoke the name of God in a public commitment to amity. They did not disappoint when Raila Odinga, Martha Karua, Uhuru Kenyatta, Peter Kenneth, Mohamed Dida, and James ole Kiyapi worked a capacity crowd at Uhuru Park

at the express invitation of Prophet David Owori, host of a three-day marathon National Prayer Session.

ARDENT SUPPORTERS

The venue was apt given that Uhuru Park has been the site of many political battles including 1990s pro-reform rallies, other prayers, funeral services of national icons, national day celebrations, and some of the greatest pronouncements. At Uhuru Park, the aspirants demanded peace of their supporters, regardless of who wins on Monday.

There has been a lot of acrimony, innuendo, and intrigue that invariably always accompanies any bruising, high-stakes campaigns. However, there has also been a lot of shaking of hands, embraces, waving of white handker-

chiefs symbolising peace, pledges of harmony and reconciliation and restraint from public displays of animosity.

They have greeted each other, debated soberly, shared hugs, exchange pleasantries and taken pictures together as a sign that theirs was just political competition and not bad blood. This is the message they must drum into their most ardent supporters and supporters. Granted, they are no doubt bitter political rivals whose paths have crossed many times over, but in these remaining days to Ballot 2013, the electors' only hope is that their political differences will only play out at the ballot numbers and not in the streets, social places, homesteads, and places of work.

This they have promised. And to this pledge we shall hold them to account. ■

APPENDIX XXIII: ED 20

12 | Opinion

DAILY N
Wednesday March

DAILY NATION

Be patient: We are not out of the woods yet

Some self-congratulation is in order. Kenyans turned out in their millions to vote in a pivotal General Election. They queued for hours in the sun and then waited patiently for the results.

The fortitude and good humour displayed by Kenyans at their best behaviour. The sceptics were left wondering at the maturity which was in stark contrast to the anarchy witnessed in 2007.

We would caution, however, against premature celebrations. Let us remain conscious that the election-related violence last time occurred, not during the actual voting and counting, but in protest after the announcement of results.

Thus as Kenyans patiently wait for the final outcome, they must be ready to accept the results and desist from any actions that may cause unnecessary tension.

Being kept waiting too long can itself cause grounds for suspicion that may raise tempers and provoke ugly reactions.

Various hitches were experienced from the start of the polling, and there have also been some problems that have delayed the tallying and transmission of results.

In this regard, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission must release information that will assuage any fears and calm suspicions.

It may be necessary, even at this stage as the final official results are being readied for all stages of the elections, that the Commission holds regular Press briefings.

Where there are delays in the release of results due to technical hitches or whatever other reasons, the Commission must react speedily with the necessary explanations and assurances.

Extreme caution needed

It is important for the IEBC to take the initiative to respond swiftly to issues as they arise before it gets inundated with queries and accusations.

In addition to media briefings, the IEBC would also be advised to keep open permanent links of communications with all the political parties, so that where some issues need to be addressed speedily and directly, it happens.

By the same token, we urge all political parties, particularly those holding candidates for President and angling to form the new government, to exercise extreme caution where they have any pressing issues to raise.

Some questions can be addressed without any need for accusatory press conferences or storming of the national tallying centre.

We remember all too well the tensions stoked last time as the tallying centre became a verbal battleground for the contending parties as the then Electoral Commission delayed the results and then released suspect figures. This time, the national tallying centre must not be turned into a venue for political duels.

Any parties with queries must raise them in a civil and diplomatic manner, and desist from accusations that might be interpreted as preparing the grounds for the rejection of results.

All parties have publicly pledged to accept the results if they lose and to only raise challenges through the courts. They must demonstrate that in word and deed.

APPENDIX XXIV: ED 21

DAILY NATION
Tuesday February 10, 2009

12 | Opinion

DAILY NATION

Report suspicions but avoid raising tensions

We are entering turbulent waters as we head towards the most important elections since endorsing a Constitution that marked fundamental changes in governance.

Kenyans remember only too well that at a similar period in the electoral cycle five years ago, the country was smouldering in the wake of a disputed presidential election that uncorked the deadly ethnic polarisation ever present in our politics. The conflagration killed 1,133 people, displaced more than half a million.

That is why Kenyans said 'never again' and unanimously ushered in a reformist Constitution designed to address the festering national sores and lead the country firmly on the path to sustainable peace, stability, democracy and progress.

The old order that had failed was shunted aside and new laws and new institutions crafted to act as the building blocks of a brave new order. The people also resolved to always be on guard against actions and utterances that may incite them to violence.

Hence, the new culture that both exposes hate speech and incitement, and also encourages whistle-blowing in the event of malfeasance and excesses by those in authority.

It was clear, for example, that the violence which nearly plunged the country into the abyss was the outcome of a dysfunctional Electoral Commission that could not deliver a clear result after a highly-charged presidential election.

The situation at the time was very tense with finger-pointing, war-cries, allegations of planned rigging, and open ethnic mobilisation ahead of the polls. It is thus greatly disquieting, just a fortnight to the polls, to hear claims about plans to rig an election that is shaping up to be extremely close.

Genuine, verifiable fears

It is right, of course, that the red flag be raised early enough if there are credible fears of plans to rig the elections. Whistle-blowing is necessary if it works to forestall catastrophe; but there must be a fine distinction between raising a genuine alert and crying wolf.

It is important that any suspicions on the management of the election be handled expeditiously and with all seriousness. But it is just as important that any alerts raised be based on genuine and verifiable fears.

It is also important, so as not to stoke unnecessary tensions, that any fears be raised at the right forum within government and the relevant agencies, rather than through statements by campaign functionaries or in political rallies.

It is instructive that those making rigging allegations are members of the Executive within the coalition government; and thus should first seek answers from within.

We now have credible institutions such as the Independent Elections and Boundaries Commission and a reformed Judiciary that would suffice to handle the fears expressed.

It is time people at all levels guarded their tongues and followed the right procedures to set things right. At a time like this, what Kenyans need are assurances that the electoral process will be free and fair, and that any shortcomings will be adequately addressed.

APPENDIX XXV: ED 22

Opinion

Thursday March 21, 2013

DAILY NATION

Transition: Drop the theatrics and move on

It is a pity that just as the term of the Grand Coalition government comes to an end pending the installation of a new administration, President Kibaki and Prime Minister Raila Odinga should be crossing swords over a relatively minor issue on the transition.

While President Kibaki has directed that ministers who were elected to various positions like governors, senators and MPs should quit the Cabinet immediately, Mr Odinga has asked them to stay put until a new government is sworn in.

Earlier, when the chairman of the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution, Mr Charles Nyachae, insisted that all ministers, including the Prime Minister and the Vice-President ceased to hold office once the General Election was held on March 4, Attorney-General Citha Muigai advised to the contrary.

The divergent views simply demonstrate that there are many interpretations of the law. For the public, all these things only create confusion and raise temperatures for no good reason.

This is not the first time a government's term is expiring. It has happened in the past and there is a precedent to follow.

Certainly, matters have been complicated by the new Constitution that has reorganised government and the political structure. It has also created a long transition period between an election and assumption of office.

Given the fluid nature of the transition, with petitions over the presidential elections still pending before the Supreme Court, it behoves those in government to act with prudence and sobriety. They should adopt a more mature way of handling such potentially explosive issues.

It is too late in the day for the principals to continue shadow-boxing. They would be better served shepherding the delicate transition.

Reject term extension

The government has rightly rejected calls by primary school headteachers to prolong the first term school calendar by a week, saying that claims the extension is necessary to help pupils recover the days lost during the General Election are a mere excuse.

The days lost will, at best, count for a day or so more than the mid-term breaks usually given to pupils every term. It is, therefore, not convincing to argue that pupils lost so much time that they must be allowed an extension.

If granted, the prolonged term could easily throw the school calendar into disarray like the teachers' strike did last year. The strike meant that national exams had to be rescheduled. We must avoid such solutions this time round.

Rather than ask for an extension, the teachers should seek alternative ways of covering aspects of the syllabus they may have missed during normal lessons. It is time the headteachers used their imagination instead of resorting to fire-fighting techniques every time there is a slight disruption.

This way, we can keep the school programme on track and allow our children their much needed April holidays.

APPENDIX XXVI: ED 23

12 | Opinion

EDMUND KARUAH
TOUGH HOUR

SUNDAY NATION
March 17, 2013

SUNDAY NATION

Petition outcome to test our democracy

Yesterday, the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy filed a petition at the Supreme Court challenging the declaration of Uhuru Kenyatta as President-elect by the IEBC a week ago.

The petition is a significant milestone given our recent history. In 2007, the disputed presidential election results triggered unprecedented violence primarily because the Judiciary, as an institution had, in the eyes of Kenyans, degenerated into a tool for use by the Executive at their convenience.

It was, therefore, understandable that the aggrieved parties could not expect honest arbitration in a dispute with a sitting Executive that had largely hand-picked members of the Judiciary.

Having witnessed the dangers of having a judiciary that does not pass the credibility test, Kenyans voted for a radically reformed institution when they passed the current Constitution in 2010.

The end result was that the Supreme Court as constituted today is peopled with men and women who went through a rigorous and public vetting process.

That Cord has the faith that these men and women sitting at the apex of the judicial system can deliver fair and just judgment not only places awesome responsibility on the Judiciary; it also marks a fundamental break with a traumatic past.

In essence, we are seeing the beginning of the fortification of Kenya as a society that believes in the rule of law where everyone has the right to equal and fair opportunity in court.

It is a bold rejection of violence as a means of settling political disputes and restores our faith in ourselves and our ability to resolve our disagreements within the realm of civilised practice.

Embracing the rule of law leads to immediate and greater freedom. In our case, it means freedom from loss of life, freedom from displacement and rape, all because of the freedom of voting for candidates of our choice.

Viewed in this context, the petition by Cord should be a welcome development even to those on the other side of the political divide.

And just as the Supreme Court faces the ultimate test, political parties and Kenyans in general have a unique opportunity to redefine how they want to perceive and relate with independent key institutions such as the Judiciary.

Filing a petition is one thing. Getting the desired results is something different altogether because the Supreme Court is expected to rule without fear or favour. It is, therefore, presumptuous for Cord to start whipping up the expectations of its supporters because, in a court of law governed by competence and integrity, the verdict can go either way.

Even more importantly, institutions such as the Judiciary cannot exist and be seen to be impartial only when they arrive at conclusions that are convenient for particular interests.

Conversely, the Judiciary cannot cease being impartial just because it makes rulings which aggrieved parties do not agree with. Politicians must, therefore, tread softly because reckless and unsubstantiated utterances will lead to the unjustified discrediting of institutions painfully put together.

Finally, it is not for nothing that the Constitution vested the Supreme Court with the final authority to rule on presidential petitions. It was out of the recognition that political disputes must be concluded at some point for the country to forge ahead.

The Supreme Court, for its part, must move to expeditiously hear and determine the petition so the country can shift gears and focus on its many socio-economic challenges.

APPENDIX XXVII: ED 24

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Thursday, November 22, 2012 / The Standard

STANDARD
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Opinion

For fairness and justice.

EDITORIAL / HATE SPEECH

Name and shame leaders preaching divisive politics

If there is a time the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) under the chairmanship of Dr Mzalendo Kibunjia is being called to account and lead its mandate from the front, it is now. Like the commission has often said, no insult is too petty, no ethnic-laced utterance too trivial to matter and no Kenyan too 'big' to be seen to operate above or outside the law.

As Kenyans smart from the bungled 2007 general election and regis-

ter afresh these coming three weeks to go to the ballot box again in March, the lessons of 2008's post-election violence, the 2007 and 2002 tribal clashes are far too near to forget.

Daily the faces of despair and longing for a place to call home stare at us from these very newspaper pages and TV screens from transit camps of internally-displaced persons from prior year evictions. Should they not prick our collective national conscience so that we do not tread that path again?

Just yesterday, we urged all Kenyans of goodwill not to be drawn into the web of tribalism, racism, xenophobia and all other negative -isms that drag everyone back to the Stone Age.

Today again, we feel the remarks by a personality no less than a Cabinet minister who should know better, should never publicly issue inflammatory statements.

Granted, he has roundly been condemned by a cross-section of leaders and clergy, but that is not enough. Just like the potentially inflammatory statements by a section of northern Kenya leaders landed them before the courts, this should be a classic candidate.

GROSS INSUBORDINATION

The minister spoke even as the President was leading from the front exhorting all eligible citizens to register as voters so that they can take part in determining the face of the next government. This should amount to gross insubordination of the appointing authority, which had confidence that this leader could serve all Kenyans in a Cabinet position on a national docket.

The partition comments he issued to non-indigenous people residing and working in Nairobi County left little to the imagination. It is also worrying

since he was also one of the top leaders who supported the settlement of Internally Displaced Persons on land claimed by his community.

Leadership is not inborn, for if it were, some individuals would move Heaven and Earth to acquire the coveted genetic material. Leaders are made. Leadership is nurtured. And being at the top is a position that is earned over time. That is why the selfsame minister is on record as defending the place of senior citizens on the leadership board by virtue of their long years of experience.

Politics of yesteryear are replete with instances of zoning by parties, tribes, races and religious groups. That is why the clamour for the aptly-named Second Liberation sought to overturn this skewed system and grant equal opportunity to all that profess a Kenyan identity.

It should not come as a surprise, therefore, that there could and should be more expressions of outrage against any grouping or person hell-bent on practicing the politics of exclusion. It smacks of unbridled impunity for any one person to stand in judgement over the basic and fundamental rights of any fellow Kenyan as these are automatically cast in stone by the Constitution,

"Good judgement comes from experience and experience comes from bad judgement."

— **FRED BROOKS**, Software engineer and computer scientist

ISLAND OF PEACE

This is not the only national leader cited for making divisive comments in recent times. There have been many other instances that have largely gone unpunished. Some have seen the respective culprits grilled for hours by detectives and even been hauled before the magistrates. In the extreme are the secessionists in Coast Province who have had to be physically deterred from excluding other Kenyans and investors from settling amongst them.

We believe national unity is a collective calling and therefore, everyone should be involved in making this country the "island of peace" and now beyond the daily dose of bigotry, hate speech, slander, speculation, and chest-thumping we are served from political rostrums. ■

APPENDIX XXVIIIED 25

Page 14 / EDITORIAL

Wednesday, January 16, 2013 / The Standard



Get off hate speech street and join real issues highway

Once again, we revisit our call for sobriety in the ongoing presidential campaigns for we feel they are threatening to get out of hand.

Several thousand shouting, cheering, ululating, stampeding and, most likely, high on hope-fuelled political speeches in Kitale, Uhuru Park, Muliro Gardens, Gusii Stadium, Kamirini Stadium, Tononoka Grounds, 64 Stadium or Kirigiti would beg to disagree since they are getting their "money's worth" in entertainment value.

Realists will beg to differ, as the posturing, recrimination, and chest thumping by the visiting politician-of-the day is just what it appears — hot air. So, if Cord's Raila Odinga, The National Alliance's Uhuru Kenyatta, Restore and Build Kenya candidate James ole Kiyapi,

Narc-Kenya candidate Martha Karua, Amani Coalition flag-bearer Wycliffe Mudavadi, and Eagle Alliance have the interest of the Motherland at heart as they have expressed across various media, public platforms, and private conclaves, then we must be tone deaf.

Satirists are having a field day from the verbal fodder being spewed forth by almost all the candidates as each tries to outsmart, outdo, crowd out, and shout down opponents.

And in this discourse lies the danger as much of the innuendo and counter-accusations hug the thin line between political campaigns and hate speech.

Who among these candidates shall be the greater statesman or woman of substance to start and finish a meeting working issues that will define their government should they get

elected? Who among them will engage in serious introspection and bring out the true leader probably buried beneath?

In the words of author C. JoyBell C.: "I am my own biggest critic. Before anyone else has criticised me, I have already criticised myself. But for the rest of my life, I am going to be with me and I don't want to spend my life with someone who is always critical..."

PATHOLOGICAL LIAR

It is not befitting of future heads of state to be throwing mud and trading barbs like youths do in a schoolyard. That office is too central to the national agenda to house a fickle person. This is what voters demand because the Constitution gives them the authority as it is vested in their hopes and desires.

However, if the candidates are unwilling or unable to sanitise their campaign rhetoric, they could take court action against opponents "they know" harbour criminal tendencies, looted public coffers, are pathological liars and insincere, poor administrators, or are bad news for family values and common decency. It is the very same candidates who do not tire to remind the world that the Kenyan Judiciary is now as white as snow and an unshakeable champion and bastion of justice.

In the absence of evidence of evidence of misdeed and ineptitude, let these leaders offering their services for Kenya's top job watch their language, strive to be the role models they should be and unveil their manifestos. Anything less is a betrayal of their social contract with the people of Kenya. ■

APPENDIX XXIX: ED 26

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DAILY NATION

Prepare Kenyans well for a possible run-off

It is almost certain now that unless there is a sudden and major shift in the remaining few days, we will not have a clear winner in the first round of the presidential election.

Opinion polls commissioned by the Nation Media Group confirm the trend seen from numerous separate polls in the past few weeks - the gap closing between the top two candidates to a statistical dead heat.

If these numbers hold, then Kenya is headed for the uncharted and unfamiliar territory of a run-off. Therefore, there is a need for all to be prepared for a second round of the presidential poll.

As the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission carries out voter education on a changed environment of devolved government and bicameral parliament, it must also pay special attention to the possibility of a run-off.

At the very basic level, Kenyans must understand that they can vote for president, and that whoever gets the most votes need not necessarily be declared the winner.

They must also understand the circumstances under which a second round can be called, and which candidates qualify for the run-off.

They also need to learn that the candidate who emerges with the most votes in the first poll is by no means assured of victory in the second.

Voter education must also cover a lot of new areas such as where power resides between the first and second round. It must be clear that there will be no vacuum, that the State remains intact and that there will still be no room for mischief.

Meanwhile, as the campaigns become more frenetic, we would urge all presidential candidates to ensure that peace and calm prevail.

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DAILY NA
Wednesday February 26