BEYOND THE TIRADE: THE PORTRAYAL OF KENYA'S HISTORICAL PROCESS IN MIGUNA MIGUNA'S AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

BY

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DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been presented for examination or award of a degree in any other university or institution to the best of my knowledge. I have carried out the work reported herein and all sources of information have been specifically acknowledged by means of references. No part of this document may be reproduced in any form without the permission of the candidate and Maseno University.

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ABSTRACT

Literature and history represent the morphing of social, political and cultural realities. The two employ similar techniques so that in a subtle sense literature is really an artistic reflection of history. The historical process is captured and transformed by literature. Miguna Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* have been dismissed by historians, the literati and even the common Kenyan as unworthy of academic pursuit. The commentators argue that being a barrister; Miguna lacks the skill to confront historical and literary issues. They argue that the tone of Miguna's texts is so overly livid that it smothers objectivity. The researcher rebutted these conclusions. He believed that they are unfair unless a concerted exploration of the texts is done. The study, therefore, proposed to investigate how Miguna's autobiographical works use literary strategies to portray Kenya's historical process. The specific objectives of the study were: to identify and analyse the themes portrayed in these autobiographical works; to examine how the literariness of the autobiographies aids the delineation of the historical process in Kenya and to analyse the literary significance of the autobiographies in interpreting Kenya's recent history. The study used New Historicism as a theoretical framework. New Historicism has evolved since 1960s. Marylin Butler and Stephen Greenblatt's version, popularised in the 1980s, was used to found this study. The theory advocates the textuality of history and the historicity of texts. Butler and Greenblatt argue that history is conveyed through social discourses which include literary texts. As these literary and other discourses are studied, history is recreated. The interpretation of discourses influences how historiography is undertaken. According to Butler and Greenblatt, there are no facts in texts – literary or historical – only interpretations. This theory was found of relevance to this study because non-canonical texts and discourses such as Miguna's, which are treated by the literati as anecdotal, are, under this theory, given the same weight as the canonical ones. The scope of this study was the portrayal of the historical process in Kenya as captured in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The study applied analytical research design. This design enabled this study do an in-depth analysis of the historicity of the autobiographical works. The data used for this study was collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected through a close study of the texts. Information that portrayed Kenya's historical process was extracted and analysed. Secondary data that touch on literary portrayal of the historical process was gathered from library research. Relevant journals, periodicals, relevant books and the internet were referred to. Both sets of data were analysed with reference to the study objectives and presented in analytical essays. The study used purposive sampling to select a hundred percent of Miguna's autobiographies. *Peeling Back the Mask* was published in 2012 while *Kidneys for the King* came out in 2013. Rather than choose one, both works were purposefully selected because they both extensively capture Kenya's historical process and so were information-rich texts that provided the researcher with a wider base from which to found the study and prop his arguments. This study has found, among others, that Miguna makes a fair attempt at using literary devices to portray Kenya's historical process. It has found, however, that the shrillness of his tone at times impinges on a balanced portrayal of the historical process. The study concludes that it was erroneous to dismiss Miguna's autobiographies as of no worth to the historian, the literati or the citizen. This study hopes to add to the corpus of the growing literature on Miguna's works as well as contribute to our understanding of Kenya's recent history having elucidated Miguna's work on it. The findings, recommendations and suggestions of this study, it is hoped, will present useful insights for students of literature who wish to do a study on *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*.

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The changes witnessed in the society are the products of multiple processes. One of these processes is the historical process. The historical process refers to the manner in which forces whether political, cultural, economic or ideological have impacted on a society and determined what the society has been, is and will be. These influences shape the process of change and development of the country over time. These changes are remembered decades or even centuries later and narrativised. These narratives reflect the country's historical process.

The portrayal of the historical process should be the domain of history as a discipline. However, the historical process has been depicted in both historical and literary works. This has been possible mainly because literature and history share both in content and form. Literature and history are concerned with the representation of the issues within societies. The forms of representation chosen by both literature and history employ literary techniques. Thus, the historical process is represented in literary works using literary techniques.

1.1.1 The Relationship Between Literature and History

The relationship between literature and history has been debated for centuries. One school believes that literature and history are distinct disciplines that should enjoy their niches unhampered by 'interferences' from each other. Another believes that literature and history are social creations so cannot avoid having common grounds.

1.1.1.1 Theoretical Divergences

Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle debated the place of literary works in reflecting societal realities. Austin Warren and Rene Wellek, in *Theory of Literature* record that both Plato and Aristotle agree that mimesis is a key feature of poetry (89). However, that is as far as their agreement lasts. In *The Republic*, Plato says that the material world is an imperfect copy of the ideal world and that the representation of the ideal world using artistic modes such as literature threatens the stability of that perfect world. This is because the material world, being an

imperfect imitation, offers false images of the ideal world as ordained by the gods. In Book X of *The Republic*, Plato discredits Homer thus:

> Then must we not infer that all these poetical individuals, beginning with Homer, are only imitators; they copy images of virtue and the like, but the truth they never reach? The poet is like a painter who, as we have already observed, will make a likeness of a cobbler though he understands nothing of cobbling; and his picture is good enough for those who know no more than he does, and judge only by colours and figures (463).

He therefore argues that all poetry should be banned from society save for the type that praises the gods. On the contrary, Aristotle is of the view that poetry (his expression for all artistic works whose medium is language) rises above description of the particular because it desires to represent universal truths. In *The Critical Tradition: Classical Texts and Contemporary Trends*, David Richter, paraphrasing *Poetics,* says Aristotle "considers poetry (and rhetoric), a productive science; logic and physics to be theoretical sciences, and ethics and politics practical sciences" (38). Thus in Aristotle's ordering of these sciences, poetry is of most consequence. It impacts its environment and creates something fresh. Despite their differing positions, Plato and Aristotle agree that literary works do not operate within a vacuum. The literary works are derived from the society.

Being works of literature, *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* cannot escape Plato's accusations of being a third remove from the ideal world. Despite that, their representational nature is salvaged by Aristotle who would argue that works such as Miguna Miguna's are not meant to be ideal, but to recreate a world beyond the factual. This argument means *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*, as artistic works, can be discussed to find out how the author interprets history in them. This had not been done by any researcher.

In *Ars Poetica*, Horace argues that poets can and should imitate nature (178-9). Horace emphasises that imitation should be accompanied by a moral teaching but must be enjoyed. Richard Clarke in an essay entitled "History and Principles of Literary Criticism" says Horace coined the phrase 'teach and delight' (20). No one has studied how *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* entertain the reader despite their nature as moralising diatribes.

Formalism and New Criticism belong to the first group. They argue for a puritanical reading of literary texts. To them, history is inconsequential to literary study. Julie Rivkin and Michael

Ryan, in *Literary Theory: An Anthology* (3), report that to the Formalists and the New Critics literature would be being 'unliterary' if it concerned itself with issues specific to particular disciplines. It would lose its individuality. The phrase 'to make the stone stonier' was intended to make literary study even more rigorous and unique (Rivkin and Ryan 4). Literature would be the preserve of the initiated, so to speak.

The Structuralists supported the Formalists. Jonathan Culler, in *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction*, notes that the Structuralists 'sought to place the study of literature on a scientific basis through objective analysis of the motifs, devices, techniques, and other "functions that comprise the literary work"' (124).

In the traditional orthodoxy, interpretation of a text was based on 'tracking influence, establishing the canon of major writers in the literary periods, and clarifying historical context and allusions within the text' (Culler 124). Literary study, embraced everything that informed a period. In essence, it engaged in projecting a country's zeitgeist. The Formalists and New Critics felt this was trespassing into zones strange to literature. The system-based theories 'accused the traditional historicists of interdisciplinarity; having to confer too much with history ignoring literature in the process' (Rivkin and Ryan 505).

Formalists and New Critics wished to divorce literature from history. They dichotomised literature and history. History was to be propped upon facts while literature on imagination or creativity. This binary was difficult to create because there is no unanimity as to the meaning of the term 'history'. According to *Oxford Dictionary of English*, history is 'the study of past events, particularly in human affair; a continuous, typically chronological, record of important or public events or of a particular trend or institution' (831). However, Raman Selden, Peter Widdowson and Peter Brooker, in *A Literary Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory,* note that there are two possible definitions of history. History can refer not only to the events themselves but also *the telling of a story about these events* (181; italics mine). The second definition breaks the dichotomy the Formalists and New Critics wished to establish. The events the historian desires to capture have to be represented. The representation could take the form of a historical text or the literary one.

The Institute for Literature and History at Aarhus University in an essay entitled 'Historical and Literary Sources: A Complementary View', argues that historical sources 'are not sources of history, but sources of knowledge about history; a source for interpretation and thus in the nature of a literary text. The historian and the literary critic may both become its interpreters, although not necessarily of the same kind' (3). Rivkin and Ryan are in agreement that "both (historical and literary texts) are representations - so none is closer to the truth of history" (505). The researcher thus deduced that there should not exist a contest as to which rendition of history (literary or historical) is superior and which inferior. They share the plane of being interpretations of history. Interpretations are as good as the foundations upon which they are established. As long as these foundations are solid, it becomes wrong to discredit an interpretation because it does not share in our method. No study had as of the time this research was done considered Miguna's literary texts, *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* as literary interpretations of history.

Andrew Bennet and Nicholas Royle in *An Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory,* distil from the above theories four main arguments about portrayal of the historical process in literary works. These are:

> 1. Literary texts belong to no particular time; they are universal and transcend history: the historical context of their production and reception has no bearing on the literary work which is aesthetically autonomous, having its own laws, being a world unto itself.
> 2. The historical context of a literary work – the circumstances surrounding its production – is integral to a proper understanding of it: the text is produced within a specific historical context but in its literariness it remains separate from that context.
> 3. Literary works can help us to understand the time in which they are set: realist texts in particular provide imaginative representations of specific historical moments, events or periods.
> 4. Literary texts are bound up with other discourses and rhetorical structures: they are part of a history that is still in the process of being written. (126)

The fourth group bears the most relevance to this study. It posits that literature is part of a repertoire of discourses in our society. Literary texts are created alongside historical happenings rather than merely recording what has already transpired. The fourth position is instructive in three distinct ways. First, it frees literary works from being studied for their literariness per se but also how that literariness impacts portrayal of other societal realities. Secondly, it releases the texts from being viewed only through the parochial prisms of linguistics, culture, politics

and biographics. Lastly, it accords literary texts a position of eminence and equity relative to other discourses. *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* could be looked at as discourses. The thinking of this fourth group conveys the intentions of this study. There was no study that had explored *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* as composite of the repertoire of discourses that interpret Kenya's historical process.

1.1.1.2 Confluences Between Literary and Historical Interpretations

Even though literary and historical interpretations may assume different methods, literary study today has become pervasively historical. The historian now characterises his discipline as one in which knowledge is diachronic. Rivkin and Ryan observe that 'there is interdisciplinariness about history and one of the disciplines that have found a space in historiography is literature' (507). Literature and history find confluence in different areas.

Narration is one confluence point for history and literature. The author of the article "Historical and Literary Sources" notes that 'the historical moment is repeated in the narrated moment. The real historical atmosphere is repeated as the narrated realistic atmosphere' n.p.). Narration is a literary technique. Narratives are constructions. Linda Hutcheon deduces in **'Literature Meets History: Counter-discoursive "Comix"'** that the employment of the narrative in historical texts implies that the historical events are constructed (5). Historical accounts have been respected for their objectivity. To point to the constructed nature of history is not tantamount to questioning the truth-value of the historical narrative itself but is a welcome acknowledgement of the narrativising process in which all historians are engaged when they select, order, and narrate the events of the past. Hutcheon concludes that "facts" deemed historical are perhaps more *made* than *found.* (6; italics are hers). The researcher thought it necessary to do a study whose focus would be on how an autobiographer carries out selection, ordering and narration of the 'facts' to interpret the history of Kenya. Such a study had not been done with regard to Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King.*

Keith Green and Jill LeBihan, in *Critical Theory and Practice: a Coursebook*, focus on the past tense used in both the historical and the literary narrative. They opine that the past tense

enables the text to declare itself as authoritative in some way: the events described are already completed and the narrative reflects this (94). The historical representation is granted a semblance of the objective. In the same way that the simple past tense provides literary objectivity to literary renditions, the same effect may be felt when the tense is employed in historical works. Even though in everyday circumstances the simple past tense does not necessarily imply truthfulness (a person may have said an untruth in the past), it should be borne in mind that in this instance we are referring to a narratological strategy that is identified with literature but whose import may be felt in the historical text. Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* are told majorly in the simple past tense. The consequence of the simple past as a narratological strategy in Miguna's autobiographies had not been pursued by any other researcher.

Authorial bias exists in both literary and historical interpretations of history. The researcher has already observed that historical texts are reconstructions. Bias cannot be avoided because as Green and LeBihan axiomatically put it: 'Historical interpretation is necessarily political' (93). Politics is parochial. Politicians are known to twist facts to suit their convenience and to appeal to the masses. History mutates. That historians often set out to further some political positions cements the existence of bias in historical text. Abigael K. Guthrie in her thesis "Language and Identity in Postcolonial African Literature: A Case Study of Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*" quotes the familiar aphorism Achebe employs in *Home and Exile*. Achebe notes that, 'Until the lions produce their own historians, the story of the hunt will glorify only the hunter' (4). The hunter will tell a narrative that valourises himself at the expense of the lion he has killed. The struggles of the lion before the hunter finally slew him will be expunged as the hunter's supposed heroism is extolled. In texts, the side that the writer supports will dictate the author's rendition of events. The similes and images, the tone, the mood and the overall impact of the work will reflect this. Literary works are interpretations that, just like historical ones, are intended to influence the reader to view the world and people in a particular way. Green and LeBihan thus observe that history is not merely an arbitrary collection of objective facts, but something which has been organised, shaped and made significant by human endeavour (96). The human endeavour underscores the bias. How authorial bias intervenes to influence interpretation of history in Miguna's autobiography had not yet been explored.

The language employed by both the historians and the literati is connotative. Language is chosen that best captures nuances of emotion, attitude and tone. Lois Tyson in *Critical Theory Today* observes that whereas scientific language, and a good deal of everyday language, depends on denotation, literary language tries to be beautiful or emotionally evocative. Literary language depends on connotation: 'on the implication, association, suggestion, and evocation of meanings and of shades of meaning' (138). The language applied in historical texts is highly literary. A historical text 'organizes linguistic resources into a special arrangement, a complex unity, to create an aesthetic experience, a world of its own' (Tyson 138). If the historian is describing a war, the scene will be complete with the establishment of setting, the creation of an atmosphere of anxiety, a detailed description of the characters involved and a tone that will betray on whose side of that war the historian leans. To capture all these, appropriate diction is necessary. The effective employment of an array of linguistic devices to realise the portrayal of Kenya's historical process in Miguna's autobiographies was yet to be explored in any research.

From the foregoing, the researcher established that literature and history have many confluence areas including narration, bias and connotative application of language. Indeed literature and the history enjoy a symbiotic co-existence. It is also established that literary and historical texts are interpretation. Finally, and more profound, the researcher has demonstrated that literary text is as good a portrayal of the historical process as the historical texts. Establishing the above issues makes it viable to consider the merit in Miguna Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* as portraits of Kenya's historical process. Such a study had not yet been carried out.

1.1.2. The Autobiography

Philippe Lejeune defines the autobiography as 'a retrospective prose narratives written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality (*On Autobiography* 4). Lejeune informs us that the first autobiography was *The Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister* authored by W.P. Scargill in 1834.

Scholarly interest in the autobiography was aroused by Georges Gusdorf's 1956 seminal essay, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography". Since then, the place of the autobiography as an important supplement to literature and history has continuously been written about. Jennifer

Jensen Wellach in "Building a Bridge of Words: The Literary Autobiography as Historical Source Material" contends that prior to Gusdorf's work, there had not yet been established a theoretical framework through which the autobiography could be explained as impacting on both literary and historical representations (1).

In this section, the researcher investigated how the literati regard the autobiography with respect to interpretation of historical events. James Olney in *Studies in Autobiography* observes that autobiography was "a kind of stepchild of history and literature, with neither of those disciplines granting it full recognition" (xiii).

A school of thought believes that the autobiography (given that it is an individual's effort and that the individual is its subject) is likely to lose the objectivity required of historical representations. One of these critics is George Eliot. In *The George Eliot Letters* (quoted in Gary Scharnhorst's "In Defense of Literary Biography", he regards autobiography contemptuously as a "disease of English literature; something like uncovering the dead Byron's club foot" (23). In Eliot's opinion, the life achievements of an individual do not attain the threshold to warrant a literary commentary. The literary text, according to Eliot and his brand of critics, is autonomous. The text can be used as a reference point in understanding the author's life but the author's life cannot be relied upon to interpret a literary text. A work of literature has an independence of its own. A literary work is superior to the author's lived life.

Agreeing with Eliot, Birgitte Possing observes in "Biography: Historical" that the autobiography 'traditionally places the individual at the center of the narrative, instead of larger analysis of dynamics, structures and events' (2). The autobiography risks condemning to the periphery all other realities existing in the society. These realities may be quite important insofar as interpretation of historical realities goes.

The other reason as to why autobiographies are treated as suspicious sources of history is that autobiographers tend to go through ego trips. Their achievements will be convoluted while their failings will be understated. As Jennifer Jensen Wallach notes in "Building a Bridge of Words: The Literary Autobiography as Historical Source Material", 'autobiographers misremember or

deliberately deceive" (1). Since autobiographies are reconstructive and evaluative exercises, the events that have gone by are relooked at from a revisionist angle. The rough edges and one's social failings will be smoothened by glossing over their gravity. The autobiographer will explain these failings away as unavoidable instantaneous occurrences that would never have occurred if the autobiographer had been forewarned.

A. J. P. Taylor claims that "written memoirs are a form of oral history set down to mislead historians," and are "useless except for atmosphere" (quoted in "Building a Bridge of Words: The Literary Autobiography as Historical Source Material" 4). According to Taylor, the only thing lacking in historical accounts that literary works capture is the ambience or atmosphere - the emotions, vivid description, production of character and a picturesque presentation of setting.

Historians such as William R. Ochieng' are skeptical of the motivation behind autobiographies. In "Autobiography in Kenyan History", Ochieng' says:

> What makes an individual assume that the story of his life would be of interest to others? Is there a doubt, or a problem, in his past which he must explain? Is he simply digging a niche of permanence in history? Is he a megalomaniac? Or is he truly concerned that he is a great man and therefore worthy of emulation? (1)

However, some critics believe that autobiography, biography and life stories have a lot of relevance with regard to completing the worlds of literature and history. These two had been thought to be independent of each other Boris Tomashevsky in "Literature and Biography" problematises the relationship between the author and his work. He delves into the history of Great Russian writers to demonstrate that the content of their works were inseparable from the lives they lived and how they related with their fellow countrymen. He says the works of writers like Voltaire and Jean-Jacques Rousseau were inseparably linked with their lives: those who admired their writings were worshipers of their personalities; the adversaries of their writings were their personal enemies (48).

Historians will also find autobiographies helpful because the content of the works are portraiture of the events as they play out in the physical world. Tomashevsky adds that the interrelationships of life and literature became confused during the Romantic era. He argues that

there was a point when it was difficult to decide whether literature recreates phenomena from life or whether the opposite was in fact the case: that the phenomena of life are the result of the penetration of literary clichés into reality (51). Autobiographical works can pervade life to an extent that the lives of the authors as portrayed in their works become the mode which used by his readers to tailor how they live their lives.

W. B. Yeats also emphasises the place of autobiography in literary interpretations and historical representations. He says in *Autobiography*: "It is myself that I remake" (12). Thus, the art of autobiography involves a process of reconstruction of the writer's life. It is the self-picturing that the writer is indulged in. "Self-portraiture is a synonym of self-knowledge" (Yeats 12). "When a man is attempting to describe another's character, he may be right or he may be wrong but in one thing he will always succeed, in describing himself". Reconstruction requires skill. Devices have to be employed in order to relive the events that have occurred. The devices are literary. A connect is, therefore, unavoidable between literature and autobiography. A study that pursued this interconnectedness with special reference to Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* was necessary.

1.1.2.1 The Kenyan Autobiography

In Kenya, the earliest autobiographies were written by expatriate colonialists. Karen Blixen authored *Out of Africa* in 1937 while Elspeth Huxley wrote *The Flame Trees of Thika* in 1959. These were foreign writers who could not tell the African story. They talked about the pastoral world in the expansive farms that their colonial government had appropriated to them. Historical realities such as racial tensions during colonialism were not their key concern. When such tensions found their way into the works of the Blixens and the Huxleys, it was treated peripherally. It is for because the early autobiographers did not give due attention to the Kenyan reality that the researcher elected to focus on Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The author is a Kenyan native. His works foreground the tensions in the politico-historical plane.

The first autobiography by an African was Tom Mboya's *Freedom and After*. It was published in 1963. In the text, Mboya talks of his struggles to acquire an education, his part in realising

independence and warns about the pitfalls the young Kenya must avoid in its journey towards nationhood. Since Mboya wrote his autobiography so much has happened in Kenyan history. There would be no novelty on studying such a text whose content has been overtaken by events and about which so much has been written. Oginga Odinga's *Not Yet Uhuru* published 1967 is a contemporary to *Freedom and After*. That is why *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* were found more appealing for this study.

Of recent, there has been a proliferation of autobiographies. A majority of these autobiographies are those of people who are age wise in the same bracket as Tom Mboya, had Mboya lived. They are people who are/were at the sunset of their lives and perhaps fear exiting the stage of life without leaving anything to be remembered by. These autobiographies include Wangari Maathai's *Unbowed: A Memoir* (2007); Bethwell Ogot's *My Foot Prints in the Sands of Time* (2003); G. G. Kariuki's *The Illusion of Power: Reflections of Fifty Years in Kenyan Politics* (2001) and Njenga Karume's *Beyond Expectations: from Charcoal to Gold* (2009). These actors in Kenyan history take us too far back into the past. They are more concerned about their personal narratives at the expense of the unfolding Kenyan history. In addition, they are/were not as close to the shapers of Kenya's historical destiny as Miguna was. Thus the researcher chose Miguna's autobiographies over all the others.

Lastly, there is a group of autobiographers such as Rasna Warah. She penned *Triple Heritage: A Journey of Self Discovery* in 2013. The text talks about racial relations and tensions after independence. Warah talks about the confusion the Indian faces in light of independence: the native regards the Indian as an associate of the British coloniser. The Indian helped the British erect the railway that enabled the British access Kenyan interior and exacerbate the exploitation of the native. On the other hand, the generation of Indians to which Warah belongs has known no other home other than Kenya. Warah's foregrounded intrapersonal conflicts at the expense of the larger historical realities that have defined this country. It is for this reason that this study chose Miguna's autobiographies that foreground national issues over Warah's parochial ones.

1.1.2.2. The Intersection Between the Kenyan Autobiography and History

Jennifer Muchiri, in "The Intersection of the Self and History in Kenyan Autobiographies" reiterates the apical contribution the autobiography makes in impacting interpretation of historical events. She notes that autobiographies are 'complex scripts on the dynamics that make, remake and unmake nations' (4). Stated differently, the autobiography captures the turning points in a country's journey. The destiny of a country cannot be captured adequately by mere statement of facts as history wills it because the historical process is so intricate. It is in portraying the complexities of a country's journey that the autobiographical form becomes most appropriate.

The researcher has already noted the skepticism with which historians regard the autobiography. Even then, the historians too are aware that they cannot do without the autobiography. It is William R. Ochieng' who has already questioned the motive behind the autobiography who ironically comes to the aid of the genre. In the article "Place of Biography in Kenyan History", he notes that 'autobiographies provide interpretations of events, not merely records as is the case with history' (6). Again, the article cements the fact that there are certain realities that can best be captured by the autobiographical form.

According to Wellach, the literary styles employed in the autobiography have great import for historical works. She says the researcher must pay careful attention to issues of literary style, for there are certain aspects of historical reality that can best be captured by artfully wrought literary memoirs(2). Skillful autobiographers are uniquely equipped to describe the entire universe as it appeared from an acknowledged perspective, as well written life writing has the ability to portray the complicated interplay between the thoughts and emotions of a historical actor (2). In her conclusion, she reiterates the uniqueness of the autobiography thus:

> … a particularly valuable historical resource, because unlike the novel, it is based in fact and refers to a real past rather than to a fictional world. Because of this, [it] can give us facts, which are literally verifiable, as well as insights into the way the historical reality it recounts was structured (16)

The autobiography is hinged on facts of life. Literature provides the creativity required to reflect these lives. There is, thus, a tripartite interconnectedness between autobiography, literature and

history. This study explored this tripartite association with specific reference to Miguna's autobiographies, an area that had not been pursued before.

A number of recent studies have looked into the intersection between the literary text and history. Amos Burkeywo Boiyo, in "Narrating Kenyan History through Fiction in Yvonne Owuor's *Dus*t", interrogates how elements of fiction are employed in portraying Kenyan history in the novel. Using fictional characters, Boiyo says the novelist constructs a narrative that closely mirrors Kenya's history. However, Boiyo's work talks about fiction in general. This study concerned itself with the autobiography. However, it did not look at *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*.

Larry Mutinda Ndivo's 2013 thesis "The Quest for Redemption in the Kenyan Criminal Autobiography looks at how authors of the criminal autobiography apply literary devices to edify themselves. For instance, these autobiographers craft their stories in a manner that they leave out incidents that would incriminate them. Clearly, Ndivo's work was based on the autobiography but focused on the edification of the criminal autobiographer rather than the intersection between the autobiography and history. It is how this intersection is realised using literary techniques that this study hoped to achieve by focusing on *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*.

Jennifer Muchiri in the essay "The Intersection of the Self and History in Kenyan Autobiographies" comes very close to the subject matter of this study. In the essay, Muchiri examines narratives within the historical periods in which they are penned and how the subjects inscribe themselves into the history of the nation. She argues that reading Kenyan autobiographies allows one understand the history and making of the Kenyan nation. She looks at how individuals have inscribed themselves into the Kenyan history right from the time of the Blixens and the Elspeths to the more recent autobiographers such as Wangari Maathai. Muchiri, however, does not foreground how the inscription of the individual is achieved through literary technique. This study focused a lot on literary technique.

Samuel Ndogo is prolific when it comes to appreciation of how autobiographies portray Kenya's history. In the essay "Narrating the Self and Nation in Kenyan Autobiographical Writings" published in 2016, Ndogo interrogates how memory is utilised not merely as a tool for remembering the past but also as a narrative strategy and trope. Ndogo's principal focus in this work is the memory. He foregrounds it at the expense of other literary strategies. In his corpus of autobiographies, also, he does not include *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The current study focused more on literary techniques that can be applied in narrating Kenya's history with particular focus on Miguna's autobiographies.

1.1.3. Critical Reception of Miguna's Autobiographies

Critical reviews of Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* have either vouched for or dismissed the literary merit of the autobiographies. The former group believes the works are honest; the latter dismiss the works as unworthy of attention. Charles Kanjama belongs to the former. In "Rocking Raila's Boat", Kanjama argues that Miguna needs to be lent an ear just as any work would (*Critical Biography* "Life Matters" 1). Though Kanjama's essay does not suggest how Miguna's autobiographies should be studied, it recognises that there is merit in Miguna's works. Kanjama's essay provided the researcher with the impetus to study Miguna's autobiographies.

Wafula Buke belongs with the latter. In "Miguna Miguna: While You Were Away" in *Sunday Standard* of 24 January 2010, Buke does not believe Miguna has the moral standing to comment on any individual. For Buke, the likes of Miguna do not understand the sacrifices made by those who never fled to exile while they (Miguna and his ilk) scampered to safety. Buke's dismissive commentary spurred the researcher to delve into *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* as to establish the veracity of his claims.

A third group creates a middle ground between the first two. They believe that texts such as Miguna's autobiographies should not invite acrimony. Joseph Ngunjiri, a blogger, belongs to this group. In "Miguna's Book: Nothing New So Let the Readers Decide", he argues that controversial texts such as Miguna's are common and should be studied not for their objectives but their artistry (*Maisha Yetu*12 Jul. 2012). Ngunjiri's position was of relevance to this study.

This study investigated how the artistry of *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* has impacted Miguna's interpretation of Kenya's historical process.

Joyce Nyairo has written two critical articles relevant to this study. One is "Miguna's Memoir Annoyed Many, But it was the Book of the Year". In the article, Nyairo reviews Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask*. After dismissing Miguna's critics as academically lazy and unable to do their own texts, she delves into the inconsistencies in the work that might tarnish the import of even a well-written autobiography. She points out a few errors of fact. Whereas Miguna claims in *Peeling Back the Mask* that the Kenyan constitution was amended in 1983 to make Kenya a *de jure* one party state, the historical fact is that the year was 1982.

Nyairo also has issues with Miguna's subjective portrayal of Post Election Violence of 2007/2008 in Kenya. She feels Miguna is prejudiced against the Party of National Unity (PNU). She argues that whereas Miguna captures the brutality of the uniformed forces against the ODM youth in Kisumu, there is no outrage in Miguna's voice when he talks of the PNU supporters who were burnt alive in a Kiambaa Church on the eve of New Year of 2008.

Nyairo repeats two weaknesses of the autobiography as genre: it is subjective and it might misrepresent facts. Nevertheless, she has nothing but accolades for Miguna. She says Miguna's autobiographies add to our knowledge of the experiences of the Kenyan exile and Miguna's "story of a deprived childhood in rural Nyanza [provides] knowledge about the failures of a centralised government to provide uniform opportunities for citizens across the country." (1).

Nyairo praises Miguna's use of language: "Miguna has a persuasive style and a clever way with words. It draws you into his story and compels you to keep reading. This gift of the gab and witty turn of phrase is characterised by a penchant for overkill, as if he has to cook everything twice! (2). This study delved into *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* to interrogate what Nyairo terms Miguna's 'persuasive style' and 'clever way of words' which glue one to the texts. Nyairo merely mentioned them in passing. A full-fledged study was necessary.

Another of Nyairo's articles is "The Half-truths Biographers Tell". Nyairo reviews Yusuf King'ala's biographical work, *The Autobiography of Geoffrey W. Griffin: Kenya's Champion*

Beggar. The biography is about Geoffrey W. Griffin – the former Starehe Boys' Centre Director. Again, she points out factual errors in King'ala's work. She disputes King'ala's assertion that Mwandawiro Mganga attended Griffins Pre-University NYS training about 1983. She says that by 1984 Mganga was already a Masters student at University of Nairobi. But more than all else, Nyairo seems to argue that King'ala is being economical with information about Griffins' sexuality. She poses: "King'ala keeps coming back to it but he is too timid to pose the direct question: 'Was Griffin gay?'". This serves as a reminder that autobiographers can mislead, misremember or simply become ambiguous.

Nyairo then suggests ways in which deficiencies of fact and bias could be overcome. One way in which a biographer can overcome factual errors is by consulting a variety of sources. Other voices and additional points of views may also be introduced to validate the autobiographer's recollections. She observes that, though King'ala's biography employs multiple voices, it overuses dialogue and is tiresomely linear in plot. Nyairo suggests that had King'ala had Griffins' diaries and personal letters, the true story of Griffins would have unfolded.

Nyairo's analyses point to the weaknesses of autobiographies. These weaknesses have been infused in the discussion as to the merit of *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* in interpreting Kenya's historical process. This study also explored how the styles Nyairo proposes to overcome authorial subjectivity have been employed.

The commentaries discussed above are essays carried in newspapers. It was therefore necessary to do a full-fledged study to follow up on the insights that were being made by commentators such as Kanjama, Buke, Ngunjiri and Nyairo. That is why this study focused on portrayal of the historical process in Miguna's autobiographies.

Tom Mboya Ogot has written a project paper on *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. It is entitled "Miguna Miguna and the Autobiography". Ogot explores how faithful Miguna's texts are to the autobiography as a genre. His conclusion is two-fold: positive and negative. On the positive side, Ogot says Miguna's autobiographies part the curtain so that the general public may see the goings on during the formation of and the life of the Grand Coalition

Government. Secondly, Miguna's autobiographies give insights into the hidden character of the political players that the public has never known about.

However, Ogot says that Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* are wanting on several grounds as autobiographies. He says:

> Miguna Miguna's inconsistencies in the personal narratives; his lack of sincerity in most of what he writes about; his deliberate distortion of facts; his explicit and implicit motives or intentions of writing the personal narratives; and his crowding of himself out of his own (personal) narrative by concentrating a lot on narrating about other characters' narratives demonstrates the lack of knowledge of the autobiographical genre on the part of the author. (116)

Ogot's preoccupation was with how faithful Miguna is to the autobiography as a genre. Ogot has not discussed the contribution of Miguna's autobiographies in portraying the historical process. As of the time of writing this thesis, Ogot's was the only full-fledged project paper on Miguna's autobiographies. This study therefore took a different tangent from Ogot's.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

By and large, the historical process is recorded by history as a discipline. However, all other disciplines have a symbiotic relationship with history in varying degrees. Literature is one such discipline that has a very close affinity with history. Miguna Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* are works that sound shrill and for that reason have received harsh and dismissive commentaries. When they are not being dismissed as tirades of a bitter former employee, the author is derisively regarded as hired loose cannon. Beyond the tirade, a chorus of condemnation and dismissals, the literary reality is that the works have captured Kenya's historical process. Through the author's struggles, frustrations, dreams and aspirations, a critic sees the agonies and aborted dreams of a vast majority of Kenyans. This study had set out to examine how Miguna deploys literary techniques in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* to portray Kenya's historical process.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

The study aimed to:

1. Identify and analyse the themes that define Kenya's historical process portrayed in Miguna Miguna's autobiographical works.
2. Examine how the literariness of Miguna's autobiographical works aids the delineation of the historical process in Kenya.
3. Analyse the literary significance of Miguna's autobiographical works in interpreting Kenya's recent history.

1.4. Research Questions

This study was guided by the following questions:

1. Which themes that define Kenya's historical process are captured in Miguna Miguna's autobiographical works?
2. How does the literariness of the autobiographical works buttress the portrayal of the historical process in Kenya?
3. What is the literary significance of Miguna's autobiographical works in interpreting Kenya's recent history?

1.5. Justification of the Study

The study brought a new perspective to the appreciation of *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. It took seriously how the literary elements in the works are employed to portray the historical process. Secondly, Miguna's books were relatively new. *Peeling Back the Mask* was published in 2012; *Kidneys for the King* in February 2013. Little had been written about either. This study added onto the growing literature on Miguna's works. Because Miguna was personally involved in the historical events he describes in his autobiographies, the researcher felt a study of these autobiographies would grant as a clear picture of the historical process in Kenya. Finally, it is hoped the study will contribute to our understanding of Kenya's recent history as it elucidates Miguna's work on it.

1.6. Scope and Limitations of the Study

The physical scope of this study was Miguna Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The subject matter of the study, however, was the investigation of the portrayal of Kenya's historical process in these autobiographies. The study focused on the historical period covered in Miguna's autobiographies – from pre to postcolonial Kenya. The investigation was limited to these two texts because it is these autobiographies that, of all the works by Miguna, pervasively portray Kenya's historical process. These works are rich in information on Kenya's historical context that was required for this study.

1.7. Theoretical Framework

Generally, Historicism is a theory that assigns a central and basic significance to social context. This context mutates. This study was bounded by New Historicism. This theory evolved from earlier Historicisms right from the 1960s. However, Stephen Greenblatt and Marylin Butler's strand which was postulated in early 1970s and matured in the 1980s was used in this study. This theory was considered apt for this study because it foregrounded history again as an element of literary interpretation.

New Historicism came after New Criticism. New Historicism is greatly indebted to the French philosopher Michel Foucault for its theoretical foundations. Foucault argued that the social 'is in the modalities of discourses and discursive practices that produce both knowledge and the social itself, and the modalities function differently in different 'epistemes' (Rice and Waugh 227) . Foucault understands 'epistemes' as a historical period that is unified by the rules and procedures – the modalities – for producing knowledge. Discourses, discursive practices or in plain terms texts were constrained by the rules and procedures that defined a particular period. Foucault attempted to discover the 'rules' of a particular discourse period, and then related them to the study of knowledge and power. Foucault saw history as evidence of power struggle. Power influences discourse and knowledge. Power, according to Foucault:

> is not necessarily a repressive, tyrannical thing; it is a generative, productive force. Power is that which binds together the disparate forces of a society (even though that binding is illusory). No event stems from a single, coherent cause, but is the product of a vast network of signification and 'power'. (Green and LeBihan 117)

By depending vastly on Foucault for a predecessor, New Historicists departed from the Formalists who had marginalised the problem of history. The publication of Stephen Greenblatt's *Renaissance Self-Refashioning* in 1980 re-introduced a full-blown return to some kind of historicism. H. Aram Veeser in *The New Historicism* (xi), Lois Tyson in *Critical Theory Today: A User - Friendly Guide* (291) and Raman Selden et al in *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory* (181 – 2) have filtered out the tenets of New Historicism.

The first tenet New Historicism blurs the erstwhile perceived binary between literature and history - that the former is imaginary and the latter empirical. Literary and historical texts are now both considered narratives and as such are not factual but are works available for interpretation. Interpretation is inescapable because of the inevitable bias arising from the point of view of writers. To the New Historicists, it is important the historians acknowledge the subjectivism in their analyses. They must explain the manner in which their interpretation of history springs from their cultural positioning. They must forget that what they write is factual but the product of interpretation of events consciously or unconsciously because of their cultural conditioning. As Lois Tyson puts it: 'the more unaware historians are of their biases – that is, the more "objective" they think they are – the more those biases are able to control their narratives' (286). This study considered Miguna's autobiographies as discourses just like all the other discourses in the society. All discourses exhibit factual inaccuracies including Miguna's autobiographies. As such, such incidents should not be used to discredit the autobiographies. This study explored Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* without focusing only on how factually accurate the information in them are, but how these inaccuracies affect interpretation of Kenya's history in these texts. The focus is also on the imaginative rendering of Kenya's historical process because both historical and literary interpretations employ imagination. The tenet of deconstructing the imaginary/empirical matrix binary between history and literature enabled this study to proceed without being encumbered by it the resulting limitations.

Secondly, whereas the traditionalists saw history as linear and progressive, the opposite is true for the New Historicists. Greenblatt and Butler do not see the relationship between historical events as being causal of each other. They argue that there is usually a multiplicity of events at

play. They also challenge the assumption that history is progressive. This is because a society may experience advancement in one area of social life but then digress in other areas. Lois Tyson also adds in *Critical Theory Today: a User Friendly Guide* that perception of progress for one community may not be shared by another community living in the same environs (286). For example, while colonising Africa, the European believed that they were more culturally advanced as compared to the Africans. This study of *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*, benefited from this tenet of New Historicism because the interpretation of the occurrences in the text were considered from different angles. This broad-based analysis greatly enriched the study of these autobiographies.

Thirdly, in traditional historicism power, was thought to be confined to one person or one group of powerful people in the society who were usually in higher social stratum. However, in New Historicism, power:

> *circulates* in all directions, to and from all social levels, at all times. And the vehicle by which power circulates is a never-ending proliferation of *exchange*: (1) the exchange of material goods through such practices as buying and selling, bartering, gambling, taxation, charity, and various forms of theft; (2) the exchange of people through such institutions as marriage, adoption, kidnapping, and slavery; and (3) the exchange of ideas through the various discourses a culture produces. (Tyson 284)

New Historicism considers two sets of power: that of containment and subversion. In Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*, apart from the power wielded by the centre, power issues from other quarters. For instance, the University Students' Union wields power that the political class cannot take for granted. More fundamentally, it is demonstrated that ultimately power belongs with the hoi polloi who intervene to topple incorrigible regimes. People power, subversive to the Moi regime, serves a positive function directing the country to its desired destiny.

Fourthly, where traditional historicism was totalising and monolithic, New Historicism favoured the transient, the particular and the marginal. New Historicism departed from the timeless, the general and the central (Green and LeBihan, 113). Greenblatt and Butler state that according to their strain of New Historicism there are no momentous moments; everything is in transition (Green and LeBihan, 113). Every historical event and situation is unique and must be

considered as such. All texts are caught up in the here and now of their production. This tenet of New Historicism was found important to the analysis of Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*'s. The concerns raised in these texts were considered fluid and temporal. They were as true as far as the texts said so. The claims made in the texts have been treated as personal. This makes them marginal. These are the kinds of texts New Historicism focuses on. Most of the situations portrayed in these texts are transient. For instance, Raila Odinga is no longer the Prime Minister of the Republic of Kenya.

Finally, in traditional historical orthodoxy, the individual was a passive recipient of societal doctrines. Historical periods defined the mode of behaviour of all individuals. Personal identity was shaped by the culture within which an individual existed. But Greenblatt and Butler's New Historicism argues that just as the individual is shaped by the society, so is the society shaped by its human constituents. Individual identity and its cultural milieu inhabit, reflect and define each other (Tyson 284). The relationship between the individual and the society is mutually constitutive and dynamically unstable. The old argument that determinism and free will are separate (that an individual can either submit to societal rules or exercise their wills) cannot be settled under New Historicism. The theory believes that the proper approach to the relationship between the individual and his context should be to look at the processes by which individual identity and social formations - such as political, educational, legal and religious institutions and ideologies – create, promote, or change each other. This tenet of New Historicism enabled the study analyse the influence that the individual and its constituents exert on each other in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The researcher examined how Miguna hopes to shape the thoughts of others about people and events in Kenyan history.

In summary, to the New Historicists, 'cautious, rigorous and contextualized interpretations are undertaken to foreground the fact that every social occurrence is relative' (Waugh and Rice 227). An analysis of a text should be guided by 'the textuality of history and the historicity of texts' (Rivkin and Ryan 506). This study attempted an interpretation of Miguna's autobiographies focusing on how the portrayal of the historical process in Kenya has been textualised.

1.8.0 Research Methodology

This section dealt with the manner in which the study was carried out. It identified the research design that was most appropriate for this study and justified its suitability. The section also explained the mode of sampling used, the procedures employed and the manner in which the data collected was analysed and presented.

1.8.1 Research Design

The study adopted an analytical research design. David J. Luck and Ronald S. Rubin in *Marketing Research* argue that an analytical research design "emphasizes a discovery of ideas and possible insights that may help in identifying areas of further rigorous study" (56). This approach is "a function of researcher's insights and impressions… generates results either in non-quantitative form or in the form which are not subjected to rigorous quantitative analysis" ("Introduction to Research Methodology" 5). This design was most appropriate for this study because this study was exploratory in nature. The study was intended to provide a direction for studying *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* amidst scanty literature on these texts. In addition, the type of data the study sought was not that to be statistically interrogated but one whose appropriateness would be argued out by the researcher.

1.8.2 Sampling Population

Miguna has written literary works of all genres. His anthology of poetry, *Afrika's Volcanic Song* was published in 1994. *Toes Have Tales*, a novel, was published in 1995. The anthology and the novel are his reminiscences about a difficult childhood and a past marked by struggle. The two works also chastise African leaders for failing to help their countries muster their own destinies. While at Osgoode Hall Law School, he had a newspaper column entitled "Disgraceful Osgoode". He compiled these articles into a book, *Disgraceful Osgoode and Other Essays*, in 1994. The essays hit at the racist nature of the Canadian society. In 2012, Miguna published *Peeling Back the Mask* which is about his childhood in Kenya, his exile and the political developments in Kenya. It focuses more on the Daniel arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki presidencies. Nevertheless, it supposes to expose Raila Odinga's duplicitous character. In February 2013, prior to the elections in Kenya, he published *Kidneys for the King*, a sequel to *Peeling Back the Mask* in which he continues his exposure of behind the scenes political schemes in Kenya.

1.8.3 Sampling Method and Sample Size

The study has used purposive sampling. This method was chosen because it would enable the researcher single out texts that portray the historical process. New Historicism needed texts that would perfectly allow its practical application. The sampling method enabled me exclude texts written by the same author that do not touch on the historical process. I have been able to exclude other texts, by Kenyan authors such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o who had earlier written novels that portray historical process in Kenya. The method has also led me to choose *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*, because these texts are new and have not been researched on much. Of the works by Miguna, it is *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*, which pervasively capture Kenya's historical process. This study has thus used 100% of the author's works that extensively portray the historical process.

1.8.4 Methods of Data Collection

The data for this study was collected through library research. The study entailed a close reading of *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. Primary data was collected through textual analysis of *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. Areas of the texts that had the required information with respect to the objectives of the study were highlighted. These extracts were used to support the researcher's arguments. The research derived secondary data from relevant publications, journals, books and internet sources that touched on the historical process.

1.8.5 Data Analysis and Presentation

Information that conveys the historicity of the texts was taken through detailed interpretation in line with the objectives and theoretical framework of New Historicism. The literariness of the autobiographical works was discussed. The devices were first defined by referring to various texts and critics. The effectiveness of the devices was then explained. Finally, how they were applied in perpetuating the portrayal of the historical process was analysed. Since the study was very analytical in nature, the discussions have been presented in analytical essays.

1.9.0 Ethical Considerations

The candidate undertook this study at Maseno University. This study was done with the approval and knowledge of the Department of Literary Studies, School of Arts and Social

Sciences, Maseno University. In addition, all sources of information used in this work were specifically acknowledged by means of references.

1.10.0 Literature Review

This section looked at the Kenyan literary text and its concerns. Tied to this, the study also looked at critical responses to Miguna's autobiographies so as to demarcate what has not been addressed. The study also looked at the contribution of literariness in impacting the historical process. Finally, this section debated the issues of historical and literary objectivity and truth so as to evaluate the literary significance of Miguna's autobiographies in interpreting Kenya's recent history.

1.10.1 Themes Portrayed in Miguna's Autobiographies

This study dealt with a fresh writer. It wished to reveal elements of Kenya's recent history which may be a continuity of Kenyan historical and economic realities reflected in the earlier literary works and criticisms. *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* have a lot in common with their predecessors as regards themes that define Kenya's history. Such issues include oppression and injustices. The difference however is that Miguna's autobiographers focus more on recent history. This study analysed the portrayal of corruption; constitutionalism; political patronage, intolerance and failed institutions as well as ethnicity and tribalism as central to Kenya's historical process.

Maira Martini of *Transparency International* in a report entitled "Kenya: An Overview of Corruption and Anti-Corruption", states that 'corruption manifests itself through various forms including petty and grand corruption, embezzlement of public funds, and a system of political patronage well entrenched within the fabrics of society' (3). Kenya exhibits all the shades of corruption one can imagine of but the most common form is that where people use their positions of authority for their benefit or for the benefit of their immediate relatives. Michela Wrong, in an article carried in *The Voice*, intriguingly entitled "'Everyone Is Corrupt in Kenya, Even Grandmothers': Is East Africa's Economic Powerhouse Becoming the Continent's Newest Lootocracy?", analyses just how stuck into the muck of corruption Kenya is. Miguna's decision

to focus on corrupt public servants is instructive as it is in these offices where the stench of corruption is most pungent.

Corruption in Kenya has historical roots. Regimes in Kenya have perpetuated and perfected the culture of sleaze that has now become synonymous with the history of Kenya. Wrong adds that under Moi, there was the Goldenberg scam; Mwai Kibaki's presidency had Anglo Leasing tendering scandal; the coalition government was marked by the Maize and Triton rip-offs while the Jubilee Government have the laptop and Standard Gauge Railway Scams (5).

Kenya's first progressive post independence Constitution was promulgated on August 27, 2010. Prior to this, there had been myriad amendments done to the independence Constitution. In this section, even as the researcher states that constitutionalism has been an important component of Kenya's historical process, he argues that it has had not so rosy a history because amendments have been engineered by the political class for political exigencies. There was never a concerted review to better tailor the independence Constitution to the needs of the common Kenyan; rather amendments were rushed in order to deal with emergent political crises facing the executive.

The political class has tinkered with the constitution to square political scores or contain political dissidence and/or dissent. Alternatively, amendments have been geared towards consolidating the leader's executive authority. These piecemeal alterations to the constitution by the ruling class have not pleased everyone especially those outside the loop of the executive. They discerned the parochial agenda of the ruling class and came out to oppose the amendments. For their trouble, they became marked men and women whose civil rights were muzzled.

Kenya is supposed to have three arms of government: the executive, the judiciary and the legislature. The executive is the presidency. The judiciary is the courts while the legislature is Parliament. The executive runs the government; the judiciary arbitrates criminal and civil cases while the legislature makes laws which the judiciary interprets. The Constitution of Kenya envisages separation of power among the three arms (13). There is supposed to exist pseudo-autonomy of the three arms so that each arm may operate without pressure or interference from any of the other two. But this autonomy only exists in theory. In practice, however, the executive has accorded itself the prefecture role over the other arms of government.

Patronage was conceived immediately Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first president took over the reins of power in 1963. He orchestrated rushed amendments in order to concentrate power in the Presidency. To patronise, one has to feel they are present at all places at the same time. Kenyatta knew that he was not omnipresent. He took the next available option of appointing people personally answerable to him to literally be his eyes and ears and report all the on-goings at the grassroots to him. These officers were no longer beholden to the people of Kenya but to Kenyatta. He hired and fired them. Kenyatta applied the principle of carrot and stick. He rewarded the officers who demonstrated unflinching loyalty to him but punished those that were wavering in their commitment. Loyalty was repaid through gifts such as pieces of land while punishment could involve loss of positions in government. An air of fear, apprehension and backstabbing took root because all the officers competed to curry favour with Kenyatta. This is how intolerance found its way into Kenyan politics. Those perceived to be disloyal were treated with cruelty, aversion and some time even executed. Government officers, therefore, did not follow through recommendations in the policy papers that were neatly arranged in the shelves in their offices. They waited upon the executive to communicate its preferences which were expected to trickle down to the grassroots. Officers have had to constantly look over their shoulders wondering what the executive is thinking.

Kenya was not in existence, territorially, before the scramble for and partition of Africa. Keith Kyle in, *The Politics of the Independence of Kenya,* puts the scramble in the late 18th Century when European powers laid claim to territories in Africa (6). Key among these powers was Britain, Germany, Portugal, France, Belgium and Italy. The demarcations were intended to manage conflicts among the European powers as they exploited the economic resources in Africa. Africa was therefore cut up into territories administered by different European powers. Tribes that initially lived independent of each other were conglomerated within boundaries and were forced to answer to a singular colonial authority. This was not easy for the colonialist. The colonialist was numerically inferior. They had to use the natives to realise their economic aims. At times, the colonialist used the leadership structures within the communities to indirectly govern the natives. It is in this light that certain chiefs were made paramount by the colonial government. They were given inducements and gifts that ensured they were loyal to the colonial master.

The presidency became so ethnicised that anyone not belonging to the president's tribe was regarded as an outsider and all schemes were invented to check their popularity. That Kenyatta appointed "Kimani Kariuki and Wanyoike Thunge, two former Mau Mau guerrillas, as his bodyguards provided constant reminder to Kenyatta's detractors that he still had Mau Mau links" (Ochieng' 45). Even Kenyatta's closest friend, Njenga Karume in his autobiography, *Beyond Expectations: from Charcoal to Gold*, acknowledged that Kenyatta did appoint more Kikuyus in government and that "every place one went was either headed by a Kikuyu or was manned by a majority from that tribe … from the civil service to private business to the diplomatic corps and other institutions, the Kikuyu, were, in most cases, the top administrators." (6).

Having dismissed Jaramogi Oginga Odinga from the Vice Presidency and expelled him from Kanu, Kenyatta had to deal with Tom Mboya whom he had used to liquidate Odinga. Mboya was assassinated by a Mr. Njenga who swore that he had received his orders from above, implying Kenyatta (Ochieng' 64). In the same breath, so personalised was power under Kibaki that Joe Khamisi notes: 'It was difficult to figure out who was actually running the country. Was it the ailing Kibaki, or his powerful wife, Lucy? How deep was the influence of the Mount Kenya Mafia? Was the Vice President in the loop or was he an innocent bystander?' (95).

At independence, an Africanisation programme was put in place to ensure harmony among the people of Kenya. However, because of ethnic myopia, Barasa Kundu Nyukuri, in a paper entitled, "The Impact of Past and Potential Ethnic Conflicts on Kenyan's Stability and Development", argues that the term Africanisation was revised to limit the benefits to the community that had the Presidency. The policy was first described as 'Africanization', then 'Kenyanization', and eventually, by some unofficial baptism 'Kikuyunization' and currently 'Kalenjinization'. Nyukuri adds that this terminological mutation succinctly explains how a policy, otherwise well-conceived, deteriorated to the ethnicisation of employment in the civil service (11).

In politics, politicians would turn to the basest of stereotypes to secure their ethnic constituencies and demonstrate that the other tribes are not fit to rule. Joe Khamisi avers that:

> … the disagreement between Odinga and Matiba was more about the leadership of the party than the stewardship of the party. It was also about ethnicity and cultural prejudices. In the bitter debate that raged, Central Kenya leaders coalesced around Matiba and came out strongly against Odinga, with appeals to Kikuyus and Kenyans in general to reject him because he was "an uncircumcised person" (*a kihii*) (57)

Oyugi quotes George Nyanja, who was later to become an MP for Limuru, as declaring publicly that, "Odinga cannot lead anybody because he is not circumcised" (51). The voting patterns in the 1992 and subsequent elections would reflect the ethnic strengths of the tribes in Kenya.

As of the time of doing this research, no study had been carried out that treated the themes that capture Kenya's historical process portrayed in Miguna Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*.

1.10.2 Literariness and the Delineation of Kenya's Historical Process in Miguna's Autobiographies

Jeremy Munday, in *Introducing Translation Studies,* argues that form and content can complement each other to form a coherent framework (109). Many critics who argue in this manner believe that it is the technique used by a writer that determines the overall purpose of a piece of writing.

Formalists had argued that form was everything worth focusing on in a literary study. Terry Eagleton, in *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, says that the formalists perceived content as a mere motivation of form. According to Dong, in *The Beginning of Modernism in the New Era*, the formalistic pre-occupation with assemblage of devices such as metaphor, similes and symbolism has been criticised as being narrow-minded as it ignores aspects of literary analysis which are peripheral to form but which are significant in achieving a wholesome appreciation of a text (79).

Modern literary theories and theorists have emphasised the relationship between content and form. In fact, a majority of the theories and theorists contend that the latter is a tool employed to actualise the former. Fadaee, in his study, *Symbols, Metaphor and Similes in Literature*, says style or form serve primarily as a means of enhancing the accuracy and truth of a sentence. Mishra, in his article, *A study of Form and Content*, notes that the Marxist concept of form is based on man's relation to his society and the history of his society such that Marxism

altogether opposes all kinds of literary formalism. According to this school of thought, form is an offshoot of content such that form is of no value unless it is the form of its content (67).

G.W.F.Hegel observes in *Philosophy of Fine Arts* that every definite content determines a form suitable to it and a faulty form arises out of a faulty content (93). Hegel hence identifies form as the manifestation of content. The relationship between content and form is a dialectical one. Rene Wellek, for instance, in *Concept and Criticism,* argues that there exists the inseparability and reciprocity of form and content in pieces of literature (117). Chidi Amuta, in the essay, *A Dialectical Theory of African Literature,* notes with emphasis, that there is a dialectical relationship between form and content and any kind of discrimination is a product of the analytical gaze of the critic (173). To him, content and form are not undifferentiated entities in themselves but a whole complex of interrelationships.

The researcher quoted the above literary authorities to reiterate the existence and significance of the relationship between content and form. The researcher has also done this to ground this chapter as, in it, we have argued that the myriad literary devices employed in Miguna's autobiographies are expressions of form used to further the portraiture of the aforementioned themes – the content.

In this study, we focused on four main literary techniques: dialogue, irony, figurative language and satire. We looked at how the application of each style promotes the portrayal of the historical process. Secondly, we interrogated to what extent to which particular styles curtail the interpretation of the historical process. Lastly, we looked at what Miguna could have done to make the employment of the styles better achieve the motives of the author.

In the *Republic,* Plato distinguishes between *mimesis* and *diegesis* (461). The former refers to character discourse while the latter to the poet or narrator's discourse. This indicates that in Narratology, language, based on how the interlocution is done, operates at different levels. In *An Introduction to Narratology*, Monika Fludernik says utterances in the narrative discourse operate at four levels: direct speech, speech report, indirect speech and free indirect discourse (65). Speech report, Fludernik explains, presents the words of another person in a summarised form and the propositions of the person are not reproduced word for word (66). In indirect speech, what is actually said by the speaker follows introductory phrases such as '*Paul*

exclaimed that …'. They are easier to identify because of the introductory phrases. The free indirect speech is more oblique, less formal and less syntactically laborious because the introductory inquit phrases such as '*Paul exclaimed that…*' are dispensed with and the actual words of the speaker are presented, immediately, in the appropriate tense. In direct speech, the actual words spoken by a character are placed in quotation marks. The aura, emotion and tone required in the narrative are provided through explanatory sentences or paragraphs within the narrative discourse.

Fludernik repeats the above dichotomy in "The Dialogic Imagination of Joyce: Form and Functions of Dialogue in *Ulysses*". However, in the second article, she discusses how the varying levels of utterance are manipulated by James Joyce in *Ulysses* to create meaning in Joyce's poetic narrative. Fludernik insists, in *An Introduction to Narratology,* that narrative discourse is superior to any other utterance in a text because 'the narrative discourse controls what is presented, and in which form (direct speech, speech report, indirect speech or free indirect discourse), and it also determines what is omitted, abridged or shows some kind of bias' (65). This is despite how dire the need for authenticity may be.

It is common for writers of prose to employ dialogue as a literary device. Plato presents his ideas using the dialogic mode. This is best executed in *The Republic*. Kent F. Moor, in "Plato's Use of Dialogue", explains that Plato wrote dialogues and not treatises so as to keep 'the interchange between speech and philosophy before the reader' (1). Through dialogue, the reader experiences the participants' speech instantly and is able to decipher their differing world views simultaneously. This would be lost in the instance of a treatise whereby what is received is the distilled opinion of the author. This study focused on the employment of dialogue in interpreting Kenya's historical process.

Dannagal Young, in "Irony in Literature", says irony applies to situations where there is a gap or disconnect between what is expected and what actually happens. He adds that it can also be an implied discrepancy, or gap, between what is said and what is meant (3). Raj Kishor Singh, in an article "Humour, Irony and Satire in Literature" understands it as the use of words to convey a meaning that is the opposite of its literal meaning (1). He adds: "It is a technique of indicating, as through a character or plot development, an intention or attitude opposite to that

which is actually or ostensibly stated" (ibid). The key confluence point between Young and Singh is that irony involves a discrepancy. The incongruity could be in a situation or what a person says. This is why Young and many literary critics classify irony into the dramatic, situational and verbal.

In the article, "A Glossary of Literary Terms", the author says dramatic irony occurs when a character naively speaks what he or she believes to be the truth, and/or acts on what he or she believes to be the truth, while the audience knows that he or she has got it all wrong. The writer gives the example in which a character declares, "I will be safe from my enemies as soon as I jump over this wall," and the reader (but not the character) knows that a horde of ravenous man-eating tigers are waiting for him on the other side as an example of dramatic irony (5). It is apparent that dramatic irony is limited to the play form. Situational irony, according to Dr. Hallet, in "Elements of Fiction", is the discrepancy between appearance and reality, or between expectation and fulfillment, or between what is and what would seem appropriate (17). Verbal irony, as explained in "A Handbook of Literary Terms", refers to a situation where something contradictory is said.

This study encountered many instances of irony exhibited in Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King.* It debated how the instances of irony promote or impede the portrayal of the historical process in the said autobiographies.

Bennet and Royle state that "literary texts are characterized by the use of figures of speech or tropes" (76). Figurative language deviates from the ordinary use of language. Figurative language goes beyond the everyday. In everyday use, language is meant for communication. Bennet and Royle's view is shared by the author of the article "A Glossary of Literary Terms" (1). Figuration involves the employment of language to communicate information that goes beyond the literal. Literal language, Bennet and Doyle add, is language "that calls a spade a spade" (ibid).

The use of figurative language is not ornamental. It is central to the production of meaning in a text because:

> The manipulation and exploitation of figurative language may … have fundamental implications for the political, social, even economic constitution of our world. The very

> way that we understand the world may be said to be mediated by the kinds of figures that we use to speak about it. (Bennet and Royle 78)

In this study, the researcher agreed with Bennet and Royle that figurative language is not a tool of literary ostentation but is integral to meaning production in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The figures of speech used by Miguna in the autobiographies are essentially intended to dictate how the political, social and economic realities in the text are to be interpreted.

Singh says that satire involves the use of irony, sarcasm, ridicule, or the like in denouncing or deriding folly, vice etc ("Humour, Irony and Satire in Literature" 4). For M.H. Abrams, in *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, satire is the literary art of diminishing or derogating a subject by making it ridiculous and evoking attitudes of amusement, contempt, scorn, or indignation (1). He adds that satire is supposed to ridicule the failing of rather than the individual himself. The ridicule is limited to corrigible faults and excludes those faults for which the individual is not responsible. Seaquam, in the article "Satire, Allegory, Parody", agrees with Singh and Abrams on what satire comprises when he says it 'arouses laughter or scorn as a means of ridicule and derision with the avowed intention of correcting human faults" (27).

Satire can be categorised as direct or indirect. In the direct or formal type, the satiric voice speaks directly either to the reader or to a character in the satire while in the indirect one the satire is expressed through a narrative and the characters, who are the butt, are ridiculed by what they say and do themselves (Seaquam 26). Aristophanes, Juvernal, Horace, Martial and Petronius were great satirists (Seaquam 26). Their works differed in tone. Certain writers were acerbic while others were mild in their derogation of persons and institutions. It is because of the tone that we have Horatian and Juvenelian satires. Horatian satire tends to be gentler and more sympathetic than the more biting and bitter Juvernalian satire, in which the author - Swift is a great example - frequently rails savagely against the evil inherent in man and his institutions (Seaquam 26). A good satire is one in which there is a balance between the Horatian and Juvernalian modes. Satire is widely applied in and *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King.* This study interrogated how the employment of satire impacts the portrayal of the historical process in the said autobiographies as such a study had not yet been undertaken.

1.10.3. The Literary Significance of Miguna's Autobiographical Works in Interpreting Kenya's Recent History

Literature is a referential discipline. It is imitative of a reality external to the literary text. New Historicism, the theory upon which this study was grounded, is premised on the argument that "any 'knowledge' of the past is necessarily mediated by *texts* or, to put it differently, that history is in many respects textual" (Bennet and Royle 115). However, this position is not limited to New Historicism. It was expressed in 1967 by Jacques Derrida in his work, *Of Grammatology*. Most post structuralist literary theories are hinged on the historicity of texts.

The literary text thus operates two worlds: the internal textual world and the external experiential world. The internal world is the world of the text which is whole as an artistic unit. The external one is the reality outside of the text that the text strives to reflect. As Kent E. Robson observes in "Objectivity and History", "When one sets out to write history, he or she tries to describe and interpret objects, persons, and events … these objects exist … there are real people in the world, and there is an external world" (91). Jerome Bruner is agreed that the text deals in "depiction of reality" ("Self-Making and World-Making" 69).

The writer has the burden of textually mediating reality in a manner that is both public and personal. Public because it must have a character and reflect events that the general populace can identify with. The undertaking is private because the rendition must have the artistic signature of the mediator. Thus, Rashni Duhan observes in "The Relationship between Literature and Society" that "a literary man is as much a product of his society as his art is the product of his own reaction to life" (192). Paul Jay, in "What's the Use: Critical Theory and the Study of Autobiography" refers to a requisite external "truth value" (39). Birgit Florr in "The Relationship between Fiction and Autobiography" adds that a text "refers to a reality outside of its own world … that can be verified or falsified" (2).

Literary referentiality is controlled by the author. The historical events are proffered through the lenses of the doer of the rendition. Historiography is thus encumbered by authorial idiosyncrasies. It is not easy to achieve such a thing as clean textual history. Mark Bevir remarks in "Objectivity in History" that "any understanding we develop of the past necessarily will be infused by prejudices arising from our particular historical situation" (328).

This external reality is acutely demanded in Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* because the events the narrator describes in the texts are rather recent and were witnessed by a large number of Kenyans of the majority age. This study looked at how Miguna uses "the literary forces that shape autobiography" (Bruner 69) to achieve a sense of reality.

In this section the researcher reviewed literature on how the autobiographical first persona, which is the point of view applied in the autobiographical form, can be utilised to interpret the historical process. The study also interrogated the intersection between historical and literary truth and how that intersection impacts portrayal of the historical process. Finally, the researcher, reviewed literature on the interplay between historical and narrative truth.

The subject of an autobiography – the I – always invites suspicion. Given that history is a societal enterprise, many a commentator contends that the preoccupation of the autobiographical form with the personal colours the narrative to a level that obtaining historical credibility requires great skill. The motive of the autobiographer is to redeem a past self riddled with imperfection. This assertion is repeated by Rockwell Gray, who in "Autobiography Now", states that the autobiography is "a personal history which saves one from shame, isolation, alienation and reduction to anonymity" (50).

Paul de Man, in "Autobiography as Defacement" problematises the subject of the subject of autobiography. He argues that one cannot tell who the 'I' in an autobiography is because "the subject in an autobiography is defined less by its history (i.e., its author's past) than by its status as a linguistic referent or trope" (921). Life as portrayed in an autobiography is produced and determined by the technical demands of self portraiture. As such the referential qualities that the text is supposed to have are too highly mediated by the demands of self portraiture to be reflective in any simple way of life outside of or prior to the life produced in and by the text embodying it (de Man 924). Thus, eventually, both meaning and the subject in an autobiographical work are generated rhetorically and tropologically, rather than historically.

The researcher wished to disabuse critics of the perception that the autobiographical 'I' has no merit at all for interpreters of the historical process. That it has weaknesses is a given but it is not bereft of strengths. The researcher argued that however protean the 'I' may be, there is a

confluence point between the narrator and the author. This confluence ensures that there is congruence between the subject of the narrative and the narrator. This relationship, really, is the basis of an autobiography. It is to cement the narrator-author relationship that Jerome Bruner, in "Self-Making and World-Making", notes that in an autobiography:

> A narrator in, the here and now, takes upon himself or herself the task of describing the progress of a protagonist in the there and then, who happens to share the same name. He must by convention bring that protagonist and the narrator eventually fuse and become one person with a shared consciousness (69).

James L. Peacock and Dorothy C. Holland observe that there is "a somewhat unified self as an anchor of the narration" (368). This study debated how the autobiographical first persona as a literary device affects the interpretation of Kenya's recent history in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The study banked on the commonality in ideology between Miguna and his narrator. This is an area that had not been researched.

In early 1960s the foundations upon which knowledge was based was thrown into total disarray. Rationality, truthfulness and objectivity had previously been the springboards for epistemology. However, Thomas S. Kurn, in his book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* published in 1962, questioned these very bases for origination of knowledge. Soon after the publication of Kurn's text, disputation of these foundations of knowledge gained traction. Critics were trying to outdo themselves as regards the veracity of claims philosophers had made. In "Objectivity and History", Kent E. Robson, names quite a number of them. Louis Midgley in "A Critique of Mormon Historians: The Question of Faith and History", for instance, maintained that history is a matter of assertion without objectivity, rationality or truth and thus the Mormons should assert their faith (13, 28, 31).

Robson concludes that the crisis introduced by Kurn's book should have concerned philosophers of science as well as historians because "if there is no truth, no objectivity, no basis on which to argue the rationality of one account over another, one can claim that different accounts are simply based upon prevailing sociological prejudices and biases" (87). This, he contends, does not bode well for epistemology. He, as well as other members of the literati, has designed frameworks upon which epistemological rationality, truth and objectivity can be reclaimed.

It is important to be clear that there is a difference between historical objectivity and narrative objectivity. Objectivity as understood in history and the sciences involves judgment based on observable phenomena and uninfluenced by emotions or personal prejudices. In short, it is empirical. The researcher agreed with S. D. Sargar who in "Autobiography as a Literary Genre" says that autobiography is a retrospective exercise that involves selection and shaping the life of the protagonist as desired by the narrator (1). Narrative objectivity does not obtain from judgment based on observable phenomena and bereft of prejudice. In fact, it is prejudice that informs the reconstructive process. Idiosyncrasy governs what fits into the narrator/protagonist's designs for the narrative. Narrative objectivity involves the organisation of these prejudices in a manner that they manifest themselves immutably in the course of the narrative. The consistent manifestation of these prejudices grants the narrative credibility. Narrative objectivity is thus defined in terms of how consistently and credibly the prejudicial character of the literary text is sustained. This consistency enables Sargar conclude his essay by asserting that "autobiography becomes a very skillful combination of subjectivity and objectivity" (4).

On closer introspection, the supposed binary opposition between historical and scientific objectivity, on the one hand and literary objectivity, on the other, is more academic than real. This is because, whether historical, scientific or literary, what, we the readers, consume is a mediated form of the actual event. The actual event and time is lost both to the historian as it is to the autobiographer. Kent E. Robson argues that scientific events are not repeatable and testable since "all events are confined to a specific place and time which, when they are over, are never repeated. The best that one can do is to construct, possibly in the laboratory, a new event that is hopefully similar enough in relevant ways to the previous event; but the tie is conceptual and linguistic" (90). The enactment of a similar event does not compare absolutely to the original. The latter is only an imitation of the previous. No imitation is perfect. The two events are spatially and temporally discontinuous.

The researcher agreed with Robson that even the scientist merely conceptualises what the first scientist may have done. He hopes that his apparatus are per the specifications of his predecessor; his reagents are of appropriate concentrations and quantity and the environment for the performance of the experiment compare to that under which the original ones were conducted. This study is cognizant that these it is in the nature of these parameters to deviate

from what is required. It is also in the nature of the scientists to improvise. The scientist and the historian must use language to express their discoveries and claims. Whether they want to or not the language will betray the absence of absolutism supposed to be inherent in the whole scientific enterprise. Syntactic constructions steal away the imagined scientific objectivity from the renditions.

For example, if a historian begins a rendition with: "Abraham Lincoln stood at the Square and thundered that freedom should be granted both to the slave and the slave owner", the character and meaning of freedom has already been shaped. Abraham Lincoln no longer makes a dispassionate assertion. The syntactic construction communicates the historian's bias: he supports campaigns against racism. The bias impinges on his mediation of the event. Birgitte Possing is then able to assert, in "Biography: Historical", that in history, "perception of a central figure became the result of a communicative process between two cultures and two people, not an objective description" (5). Thus whether one is engaged in scientific, historical or literary epistemology, he cannot claim to be free of personal prejudices because in all the cases the events are reconceptualised, reconstructed and represented using language.

Mark Bevir and Kent E. Robson argue that objectivity of some kind can still be negotiated. Mark Bevir, in "Objectivity in History", begins by conceding that "we cannot have objective historical knowledge because we do not have access to a given past against which to judge rival interpretations … because any understanding we develop of the past necessarily will be infused by prejudices arising from our particular historical situation" (328). He adds that the objects of the past, like all objects, do not have stable meanings or identities (329). He summarises the objections against objectivity as three-fold: "the historicity of our being, the influence of power on discourse and the absence of any stable meanings" (329). Mark Bevir thus puts aside any attempt to argue for historical objectivity based on accessing a given past. He argues for historical objectivity founded on criteria of comparison. He prescribes that objective interpretations are those which best meet rational criteria of accuracy, comprehensiveness, consistency, progressiveness, fruitfulness and openness" (1).

Kent E. Robson, in "Objectivity and History", begins by giving a run down as to how certain critics have stringently argued for lack of objectivity. Many of them have embraced vulgar relativism. Some, such as George Berkeley and David Hume, have even questioned not only the

surety of knowledge but whether there exists even an external knowledge when "we cannot know that we ourselves exist, let alone others" (89). He concludes that if Berkeley and Hume's lines of thinking are allowed to inform argument the outcome would be "no criteria for deciding between good and bad history, good and bad science, good and bad logic, good and bad philosophy and good and bad values" (88). The purpose of "Objectivity and History" is then to argue against the lack of objectivity, the lack of truth and the lack of rationality in history and science.

This study analysed Miguna Miguna's autobiographies *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. Given that the autobiographies focus on historical events and attempt to reflect reality, this study greatly benefited from the criteria Bevir and Robson set out of especially the parameters of accuracy, comprehensiveness, consistency, progressiveness, fruitfulness and openness. By the time this research was carried out, no research had explored how these parameters could be applied to the interpretation of the historicity of *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*.

Mark Bevir says that there exists a difference between fact and truth. Fact, Bevir says, is "a piece of evidence which nearly everyone in a given community would accept as true" (333). A truth, on the other hand, relates to how things really are in the external world. A fact is the product of theorising about observations. Observations are not independent reception of phenomena but perceptions. A concept exists in the world because it is perceived and agreed upon by the society that it does exist and should be conceived as such. As such facts are not constant. What is factual for a given community at a given time within a given context may not be factual for another community that experienced the same event at the given time and within a similar context. A fact is personalised. Truth is impersonal and can be experienced and interpreted similarly by anyone despite their observational biases.

Kurn, as has been indicated, argued that there is no truth, no objectivity and no basis upon which to argue the rationality of an account whether scientific, historical or otherwise. Robson says that were Kurn to be allowed to have his way, philosophy of knowledge would be plunged into vulgar relativism. It is in the interest of knowledge that the existence of truth is reiterated and the boundaries of truth in knowledge defined. Robson argues that there still exists a higher

or middle ground that can be used for testing good history (89). Contrary to what Berkeley and Hume suggested, Robson says the events, people and objects that historians and the litterateur aim to interpret actually exist and are real; science has proven them to be. He adds that there is a defensible theory which says that one can truly describe objects and events in the world (91). These descriptions and re-descriptions are either true or false. Ian Hacking, in "On the Frontier", agrees with Robson when he asserts that the entities, states and processes described by correct theories really exist and that scientific realism is true (112). Robson and Hacking do not dispute the fact that observation is the product of theory; they assert, though, that there are true/correct theories/observations upon which philosophy of knowledge can be based to achieve truth.

Bevir agrees that truth is obtainable from good use of observation. He says that facts whether historical or scientific are judged to be so when they arise from exemplary or have been tested against exemplary observations. He dismisses the empiricist argument that we can have pure experiences away from the external world. According to him, empiricism cannot lead us to truths because "the nature of perception depends on the perceiver" (330). The dependence of perception on the perceiver leads him to the conclusion that "because our experiences embody theoretical assumptions, our experiences cannot be pure [so] cannot provide unvarnished data for determining the truth or falsity of our theories" (331). Thus, Bevir argues for an objectivity based not on conclusive tests against a given past, but on a process of comparison between rival theories. In such a process we would accept an interpretation as objective and correct on the basis of rationally justifiable criteria, not one we are certain is true (332). Truth arises out of waves of discourses. New Historicism critiques how discourses deal with historicity.

Bevir and Robson converge at how events are conceptualised. Interpretations are narrated. The narration is what gives us a historical literary account that we can interrogate. Robson argues that language has to be used to connect an event to an object or to a person. As such "there are rules for constructing true sentences that enable us to take an endless number of persons and ascribe attitudes to them" (91). Facts exist as the events that occurred or as true descriptions of the events. Though descriptions cannot "change, mold or sculpt" the events themselves, we can have true and false descriptions of events that occurred. We can endlessly describe an event that occurred in true ways ("Autobiography: Nature, Elements and History" 18). Narrative truth resides in the descriptive instruments the writer employs and the syntactic choices he makes.

There exists a difference between historical and narrative truth. The criteria that Bevir alludes to leans more towards the historical. However, some elements in it are of fundamental relevance to literary scholarship and were borrowed for this study. Historical truth is phenomenological in outlook. On the other hand, literary truth (and autobiographical truth) is "ornamented", "imaginative" ("Autobiography: Nature, Elements and History" 10, 12). For the autobiographer, the historical truth is subordinated to the imaginative truth. The reason is that an autobiography is more of an art than a historical record. The literary value of an autobiography supersedes its historical or objective purpose. The literary elements that a literary artist employs to recreate a life may reflect the event more realistically than a historical one.

The autobiography seeks absolute truth. As Mahatma Gandhi says in *My Experiments with Truth*, absolute truth overcomes the limitations of time; it is existential (3). The reflective recreative search for the self in autobiography yields a truer persona because as of the time the events were occurring the person did not have the time to interpret them. Georges Gusdorf, in "Conditions & Limits of autobiography: Essays theoretical and Critical", concurs with Gandhi. Calling the autobiography a "second reading", he concludes that it is truer than the first because "it is a search of the self through his history" (43).

Be that as it may, the truth of autobiography is not created or probable truth. It is based on real life experiences of the author. So the manner in which the events are presented should be convincing. Robson strongly argues: "true account of historical events can be given without lapsing into falsehood and irrationality" in the name of literary license (91). Despite the absoluteness of the narrative/imaginative truth, the "autobiographer has to perform a twin role of a historian as well as a litterateur" ("Autobiography: Nature, Elements and History" 11).

The bulk of information above gave the researcher a method by which to interrogate truth. This knowledge benefitted the study because the researcher found parameters of truth to which Miguna's pronouncements in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* were subjected. This is an area that had not yet been researched on.

1.10.4 Conclusion

In this section, we have gone beyond whether *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* qualify as autobiographies; we have gone further than the truth value of the texts; we have accepted that Miguna is sometimes insincere; we have acknowledged that Miguna often distorts facts and we have stated that the texts are autobiographical. We have done all these so that we may focus on how Miguna manages literary devices so as to buttress his portrayal of Kenya's historical process. This is an area that the other critics have not carried out full length studies on.

CHAPTER TWO

THEMES PORTRAYED IN MIGUNA MIGUNA'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

2.1. Introduction

> One cannot divorce me from the zeitgeist of my generation. Nor can one successfully separate me from the material and historical circumstances that have shaped my life. I belong to the generation of Kenyans born from the 1960s to the early 1970s who were too young to have experienced the nationalist aspirations and ferment that culminated in independence. But we were (soon) old enough to read the disappointments etched on the faces of those who had hoped for so much more from a Kenya where their own countrymen were now the masters. We were old enough to experience crushed dreams, grand corruption and barbaric abuses of power. *(Peeling Back the Mask* Xxii)

Miguna Miguna, as the above quotation attests, is a writer caught up in a historical moment which he clearly defines. He is conscious about his responsibility as a writer in mediating this period in history. His consciousness, as a writer, he avers, has developed alongside the historical transformations in Kenya. Miguna is cognisant of the struggle for independence to which he was non-participant as he was not yet born but he construes in the faces of the native Kenyans the abortion of the promise that was supposed to come with the arrival of independence. Even then, he applauds the freedom fighters' sacrifices towards the realisation of freedom for the Kenyan native. In these autobiographies, Miguna dramatises the irony of independence because all that took place at independence was the taking off of a white master and planting, firmly, of a black one in the former's stead. The continuation of the minority rule and plunder of resources as was with the colonial dictatorship takes shape.

Before Miguna, a number of African writers have reflected on the despair post independence African leadership has occasioned. In his work *The Trouble with Nigeria*, Achebe laments in the opening paragraph: 'the trouble with Nigeria is simply and squarely a failure of leadership' (1). Francis Imbuga in *Betrayal in the City,* speaking through Mosese, talks of: 'Now we have nothing to look forward to. We have killed our past and are busy killing our future' (27-8). Myriad vices such as corruption; retrogressive constitutional amendments; political patronage, intolerance and failed institutions and tribalism have all been due to unresponsive leadership. These issues were explored in this study and are central to the portrayal of Kenya's historical process.

2.2. Corruption

Miguna Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* focus on grand corruption prior to and during the life of the Grand Coalition Government (2007 – 2013).

Miguna is clear that corruption was prevalent during the colonial period. Miguna did his Kenya Advanced Certificate of Education at Njiiri High School. Anthony M. Wanjohi says in "Development of Education System in Kenya since Independence" that the system of education in Kenya from 1964 to 1985 was 7-4-2-3 (1). There was seven years of primary, four years of lower secondary (form 1 -4), two years of upper secondary (form 5-6), and three years of university. It is the two years of upper secondary that Miguna Miguna did at Njiiri High School. Before the students joined the University they went into a community service programme called National Youth Service (NYS) for nine months. Miguna says Njiiri High School had been named after a senior chief who was a Home Guard and a British collaborator. The school is named after Njiiri because he donated the land on which it stands. The land was huge. Miguna states: "*And of course, everybody knew* how such tracts were acquired by colonial collaborators before and even after independence" (*Peeling Back the Mask* 36; italics mine). The manner in which Miguna structures this statement is significant. Miguna invites us to a Kenya where proximity to the authorities, colonial or otherwise, enables one amass wealth for oneself. Miguna suggests there is apathy over the whole issue of land misappropriations. Perhaps, the people have become too timid to confront the challenges relating to land.

By extension, Miguna is introducing Kenyans as a people who know what ails them but lack the will to find a cure for their malady. They dare not challenge the inequities of the powers that be. He is also suggesting that one of the causal factors to this lethargy is that the collaborators (represented by Senior Chief Njiiri) took over power at independence and so there was no ideological shift that would have righted the wrongs inflicted by the colonialist. Miguna, in essence, treats us to dark humour to demonstrate that uprooting corruption would be a herculean task. Miguna Miguna is not the author of Kenya's official history. New Historicism as a theory helps us interpret this section of Miguna's work in the sense that we are focusing on the interpretation of Kenya's history from the perspective of a marginalised voice.

Miguna also uses paradox in the extract to show the hypocrisy in Njiiri's gesture. Njiiri's donation of the piece of land was not an act of philanthropy. He had got it free of charge on

account of collaborating with the colonial administration. The land was huge; he only gave a piece of it on which a school sat. Even as the villagers might have applauded his 'generosity', the reality is that his was a generosity of a selfish kind since he wanted to look good before the natives he had betrayed by consorting with the colonialist. The paradox employed here is meant to expose the collaborators for false philanthropists. It is also intended to demonstrate the irony of the armed struggle that the Mau Mau undertook. It was an act of futility because those who did not lose a limb got the land in abundance even as the freedom fighters returned to the degrading settlement schemes. Miguna, in writing these lines, wants to shock the collaborators with the goriness of their treatment of the freedom fighters so as to do some recompense by addressing the sticking land problem. However, he also warns the rest of the country that the history of cruelty in Kenya has been long. Aggressive land appropriators have become callous.

Daniel Branch in "Loyalists and the War against Mau Mau in Kenya"; argues that one of the factors that led to loyalty and collaboration is failure of the Mau Mau fighters to deliver the *ithaka na wiadhi* (freedom and land) that they had promised to (2). He says this could not be because the superior colonial weaponry was trained on the fighters. This was only worsened by the division among the natives. Miguna is stating that the freedom struggle failed because of betrayal from collaborators such as Senior Chief Njiiri. In this instance we have recorded a history reality through the use of the literary device, paradox. New Historicism blurs the imaginary/factual dichotomy between literature and history. This tenet of New Historicism enabled the researcher embrace *Peeling Back the Mask* as an interpretation of Kenya's history.

Another glimpse into the corruption that dogged Njiiri's is recounted on page 38 of *Peeling Back the Mask*. It is 1983 – Njiiri High School's Silver Jubilee. A drawing competition of the closest resemblance to the former paramount chief is organised. The day is graced by President Moi, Mwai Kibaki (then Vice President and Finance Minister) and Joseph Kamotho (then Minister Higher Education). Miguna wins the competition. He is awarded a certificate and a cash prize of 50 shillings. In his signature gesture of largesse, Moi gives 10,000 shillings to the students 'for being good students' (38). There must have been many guests at the commemoration. Foregrounding of the executive is a narratological strategy that Miguna wanted to exploit to some purpose. By associating Kenya's executive to the colonial relics (Njiiri and Njiiri's), Miguna intends to achieve a parallel. He is saying that the current political

establishment is comfortable with the status quo because their modus operandi is similar. The present political establishment has no compunction disinheriting the original owners of property in the same manner the whites had done.

The 10,000 shillings was for buying a bull for the students to feast on. The money is handed over to the principal, Mr. Ndung'u. He is to be accompanied by Miguna to Thika. They move from place to place but each time Mr. Ndung'u abandons Miguna in the car as he goes negotiating the price of the bull. By evening no bull had been purchased but 'he dropped me back at the school and announced that "we" had purchased the bull' (38).

Miguna's narrative voice is what Monika Fludernik, in *An Introduction to Narratology* calls autodiegetic – a narrative in which the first person narrator is the main protagonist. This is the voice employed in an autobiography. However, in the extract we have made reference to, the voice becomes extradiegetic – the author abandons the limiting scope of the first person narrator opting for omniscient narrator. This is felt in intrusions that are clearly the author's opinions. Sentences such as, 'That was a huge amount at the time' (38), 'It was a clever Machiavellian way of buying loyalty and support' are meant to remove the event from mere report sentences. They are meant to sway the reader to interpret the incident the narrator's way.

The author, through the shift of the narrative voice, persuades us to feel that Moi and his government were rapacious. The dishing out of Ksh. 10,000, which at that time was 'huge' because the boys had been 'good' points to a lack of fiscal discipline. One must want to question the source of this money that is being plundered. Miguna also observes, through these authorial intrusions, that Moi intended to entrench himself as a leader through dishing out of these goodies (Machiavellian tactic). Through the donation, Moi was sure to get the support of the impressionable youth.

Moi also knew very well that Mr. Ndung'u would want to benefit himself from this windfall. Ndung'u was trapped because an investigation would reveal that the money was not used for the purpose intended. He had no option except become a Moi trumpet who would forever sing of Moi's benevolence. The shift in voice therefore presents more acutely the prevalence of corruption in the government and the manners in which it is perpetuated. A populace is presented that is neck high in the murk of corruption so much so that no one can proclaim that

corruption is suffocating the country. Miguna's placement of "we" in double quotes in the above phrase is meant to indicate that he was not party to the lie that Mr. Ndung'u had just orchestrated. He achieves distance from Ndung'u's actions and gives a semblance of being apart from the rot called corruption. Miguna wants to cut himself out as among the very few who still loathe corruption. This is in resonance with the ideology behind his autobiographies – repugnance to malfeasance and sleaze.

In place of the bull, the students get portions of beef. Applying black humour, Miguna quips 'That was our feast' (38). This dark humour underlines Miguna's bitterness with corrupt leaders. As with Njiiri High School's Ndung'u, Onjiko High School's Opondo Nga in *Peeling Back the Mask* 'was pilfering school provisions, leaving the students hungry" (29). The students organise a successful strike in the latter case. Miguna is demanding that the corrupt systems can only be overhauled through revolutions. The systems are beyond reformation; this is why in *Kidneys for the King* Miguna calls for de-formation.

Moi tries to woo students and teachers of Njiiri High School to his side by giving them incentives. He recognises that they too wield power. In most cases, people think that all power stems from the highest office in Kenya, the Presidency. In this case, Moi cannot take the students and teachers' power for granted. Power is seen to issue from varied sections of the society. This is the third tenet of New Historicism highlighted previously. This tenet allowed the researcher to explore how various levels of power play out in Kenyan History. Indeed the consequence of assuming other powers is seen when Opondo Nga is deposed as the principal of Onjiko High School.

The student leadership at the University is as well stuck up in corruption. The promise of a generation free of this vice is illusory. Some student leaders are decoys for the University administrators and government. In *Peeling Back the Mask*, there is the rhetorician Aloyo about whom Miguna comments: 'It was alleged – and most students believed – that Aloyo wasn't just a puppet of the University administration and the government, he was also misappropriating students' funds' (54). The metaphor 'puppet' for Aloyo vividly shows how educational institutions exacerbate corruption. Two other student leaders were Nduma Nderi and Karanga. Miguna says this about Nduma Nderi and Karanga:

> Nduma Nderi – the pathetic government project – was graduating that year. So, the government replaced him with another stooge called Kiranga. Kiranga, like Nduma, was regarded as intellectually weak and morally and political [sic] compromised. Nduma had had lots of money, courtesy of the Special Branch agents on campus. They dutifully transferred the largesse to Kiranga, who traversed all the campuses with a well-oiled but tiny entourage. He also had glossy posters, which were strewn on every wall and lamp post. (55)

The cumulative use of adjectives to refer to Nduma Nderi is purposeful: pathetic government project, stooge, intellectually weak, well-oiled but tiny entourage, glossy, strewn. 'Pathetic government project' implies that Nduma Nderi is deficient of independent thought; he can only be a vessel through which others carry through their agenda which are mostly heinous. The word 'stooge' is applied in the next sentence to strengthen the wanting leadership heft of Nderi and Kiranga. Being intellectually weak, Miguna puts them to ridicule because they are expected to lead the academic crème de la crème of the country. Miguna then, through contrasts chides the duo's campaigns.

Their entourages are 'well-oiled' but before we have admired them, Miguna brings in the word 'tiny' which steals the appeal from them. Machinery that is well oiled ought to attract adoration. Why then do the students keep off the Kiranga-Nderi apparatus? It is because there is a stench about them. It is the stench of corruption. Miguna then contrasts 'glossy' with 'strewn'. Glossiness implies opulence. Opulence should go hand in hand with order. But the posters are strewn. Perhaps this follows up from the tiny entourage that cannot put up the posters in any orderly manner. The strewn posters are symbolic of the possible leadership inadequacies of Kiranga. If he could not manage the tiny entourage that accompanies him, how was he going to manage the affairs of a whole University studentry? As the posters are strewn, so is his leadership rudderless. The glossiness of the posters also points to the craftiness of Kiranga. He is supposed to be a mere University student. How then is he able to amass the resources for the production of these expensive posters if not through corruption? Through the University students' rejection of Kiranga and his coterie in preference to Wafula Buke's (which Miguna easily identifies with), Miguna points to the manner in which people ought to deal with the corrupt – haul them out of office despite the odds. Miguna, in this case, chooses and contrasts the above words and phrases to belittle the merchants of corruption.

The political class is the most corrupt in Kenya. This is well portrayed in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. Moi created an enabling environment for his ministers to pilfer public funds. As Blaine Harden observes in *Africa: Dispatches from a Fragile Continent* 'kickbacks demanded on major government projects jumped from between 5 and 10 percent under Kenyatta to between 10 and 25 percent under Moi' (46). No sector in Kenya escaped Moi's influence. *The New York Times* records that those officers above the rank of major got free farms, gifts of the government (4). Moi bettered all his lieutenants in corruption. Moi is ascertained to have spent $ 9 million illegally according to *Africa South of the Sahara 1991* (4). Miguna in *Kidneys for the King* says Moi had irregularly acquired

> his residence in Nairobi's Kibera estate which used to be the official residence of the vice president; both the Kabarak University and the Kabarak High School in Nakuru; the Sacho High School in Baringo; the Sunshine Secondary School in Nairobi; Kiptangich Farm and Tea Factory; The Moi Educational Centre; et cetera (24)

Miguna lists the property that Moi grabbed, providing their spatial locations in order to give his narrative external truth value. This is quite common with autodiegetic works. Birgit Florr in the essay "The Relationship Between Fiction and Autobiography", says that the above sentences made by Miguna are report sentences that the reader assumes '"possess a truth value" that "they … relate to a reality outside of the text and that this relationship can be verified or falsified" (1). Miguna is saying that if the readers doubt the credibility and reliability of his claims, they simply need take a walk and check out the property he has mentioned with the Ministry of Lands and registrar of companies. He is not vain; he is able to substantiate his claims of corruption against Moi. These report sentences imbue his narrative with believability. Miguna's *Kidneys for the King* desires to be historically objective. The claims he makes are empirically verifiable. New Historicism considers that literary interpretations can achieve factuality just as historical ones. The erstwhile assumed binary opposition of imaginary/factual is greatly blurred.

To Miguna, Raila had the potential of being corrupt even before being the Prime Minister in 2008. In *Peeling Back the Mask*, Miguna says Raila Odinga solicited money to strengthen his campaign war chest using proxies. Miguna had sent Herbert Ojwang' to South Korea:

> Raila had originally hired Ojwang' – a long-time KANU operative – in 2000, for the purpose of soliciting funds (both irregularly and regularly) from Asian, Arab and foreign businessmen. (Indeed, for a considerable amount of time, even former President Daniel

> arap Moi used Ojwang' to funnel illicit funds to members of the Kenya opposition, including Raila and his other colleagues in Ford-Kenya.) (346)

Miguna wants to paint Raila as corrupt but he knows that mere report sentences will not have the desired impact. The author keeps intruding into the narrative so as to exhort the reader to receive the narrative in the author's way. This is clear from the multiple parentheses in the above quote. 'a long-time KANU operative' intends to show that Raila has already entered the dark underworld of corruption. He was already able to single out its high priests and engage with them; he was an old hand in the vice. Raila was not going to provide a way out of graft. The phrase 'both regularly and irregularly' is not constructed thus merely for symmetry. The author is more concerned with the second part - irregularly. In fact that is why it is placed last; to provide that unpleasant after taste that corruption elicits in the author. It leaves the imprint that the irregular solicitations supersede the regular. The longer parenthesis (Indeed, for a considerable amount of time, even former President Daniel arap Moi used Ojwang' to funnel illicit funds to members of the Kenya opposition, including Raila and his other colleagues in Ford-Kenya) lumps up all the politicians together and makes us conclude that there is homogeneity about their deviousness.

Herbert Ojwang' metamorphoses from a conduit for corruptly acquired funds and becomes a metaphor depicting the tenuous nature of corruption in Kenya. Corruption is not an orphan; it has people that will perpetuate it and a political class that will be most ready to embrace its peddlers. The parenthetic intrusions of the author have roped Raila together with the other architects of corruption and moved further; the intrusions have shown that politicians are too compromised to fight corruption. Miguna has achieved his objective of demonstrating that Raila's mannerisms sit well with corruption. The conclusion Miguna wants us to make is brought out later more overtly and yet again parenthetically: '(Presumably, hundreds of millions of shillings were funneled to Raila's non-existing campaign kitty. The truth is that Raila didn't contest the 2002 presidential elections; he chose instead to support Kibaki. So, where did all those hundreds of millions disappear to?)' (163)

Miguna chooses to single out Mohamed Isahakhia and Caroli Omondi rather his other business associates who might have been cleaner. This is clearly to beef up the narrative of a corrupt Raila. In *Peeling Back the Mask*, Miguna writes that Isahakia had served as the managing

director of the National Museums of Kenya before leaving under a dark cloud of corruption which saw him arraigned in numerous criminal courts for theft, fraud and misappropriation of millions of shillings of tax payers' money (169). Caroli Omondi is Raila's errand boy. Omondi is sent to collect money from the funders, mostly corrupt businessmen, drug dealers, tax evaders and gun runners (170). In one instance, Omondi was 'ferrying piles of cash in his vehicle, stashed in plastic bags… collected from Moi's former personal assistant Joshua Kulei'(170). Reference to Isahakhia's stint at National Museums of Kenya is analeptic. It flashes back on earlier events in the life of Isahakhia so as to form and sustain an opinion about him. In Miguna's opinion, Isahakhia is and has always been incorrigibly corrupt; the flashback Miguna provides on him attests to this.

The point of departure here, though, is that, Miguna, unlike various other accounts in his autobiographies, is not as specific with regard to time. He does not specify when the Caroli incident happened. In fact, he says the incident happened 'one Saturday'. Spatially, he is specific - OiLibya Petrol Station in the Westlands suburb near The Mall shopping. Miguna says Omondi told him the amount was Ksh. 54 million. It does not sound credible that Miguna could forget the date of such an eventful encounter and yet remember the staggering amount involved. He appears to be in a rush to moralise: 'I shook my head and walked away' (170). Perhaps, Miguna just applied hyperbole to further the perception that Raila's right hand men are corrupt.

Then Miguna introduces William Samoei Ruto, a key pillar, then, of Raila's ODM. In *Peeling Back the Mask,* Miguna has taken a stand on Ruto from the start: 'Ruto was undeniably a controversial figure. He has been in and out of various Kenyan courts over allegations of fraud, land grabbing and corruption.'(382). In *Kidneys for the King*: '… many observers have questioned the source of Ruto's immense wealth ... less than twenty years after graduating from university and with no record of sustained regular employment, he had become a billionaire. How did this happen? (191). Again, Miguna's choice of words on Ruto betrays his perception of what sort of person Ruto is. Miguna impels the reader to accept this perception through word choice: undeniably … controversial, in and out of various Kenyan courts, fraud, land grabbing and corruption, many observers, immense wealth, no sustained regular employment, billionaire. 'undeniably controversial' resonates with 'many observers'. A subterranean angle is being

proffered that Ruto as a man without scruples is nationally acknowledged. The phrases highlighted follow a sequence: 'in and out of various Kenyan courts, fraud, land grabbing and corruption' leads to the 'immense wealth' and 'billionaire' with 'no sustained regular employment'. Whereas Miguna applies semantics, what he is saying in simple terms is that Ruto has become a billionaire because of fraud, land grabbing and corruption.

However, like most writers, Miguna is covert; he tantalises his readers with possibilities of the meaning of his words. This is only emphasised more when instead of using a sentence that would put to rest the question of the source of Ruto's wealth, Miguna poses the rhetoric question: 'How did this happen?' We cannot agree more with Nyairo who says that Miguna's 'gift of the gab and witty turn of phrase is characterised by a penchant for overkill, as if he has to cook everything twice!'(5) Listen to him talking of Ruto later in *Peeling Back the Mask*: 'And Ruto, who had a reputation as a man with a sharp nose for making money, must have known that the Ministry of Agriculture was where 'excess fat' was; to put it in Kenyan business parlance' (299). He repeats ideas using different phrases to emphasise the truth in his claims.

According to Africog's report of December 2009 entitled 'The Maize Scandal', the timeline for the scandal is early 2008 and June 2009. Many politicians messed up an intervention that was to cushion the common man from hunger. They acquired subsidised maize which they later sold to millers and in the process made exorbitant profits (1). An investigative report by Parliament's Departmental Committee on Agriculture, Lands and Natural Resources questioned how the tendering for the imports was carried out and implicated the Chair of the Cabinet *ad-hoc* Committee on Food Security, Prime Minister Raila Odinga, and some members of his family in the irregular award of a tender (4). In *Peeling Back the Mask,* the involvement of the Office of the Prime Minister and the Prime Minister himself in the Maize scandal is captured with alacrity. But what is most telling, again, is the manner in which Miguna concludes the paragraph:

> A close friend of mine and a member of ODM's national executive committee told me how she and other ODM members, including Raila's daughter Rosemary Akeyo, were issued with allotment letters by the then Agriculture Minister William Ruto. These letters would contain the number of bags allotted and an inflated (artificial) selling price. All they were required to do – and did – was to tender these allotment letters with Asian businessmen (mainly millers) in the Industrial Area in Nairobi and be paid the difference

> between the actual and the inflated price. The "businessmen" would then take the letters to the NCPB for their allocations ... And I got this information from a person who was directly involved. (417)

In this quote, Miguna is so journalistic. He appears to want to protect his sources. To grant the narrative credibility he says his informer was 'directly involved'. Miguna would rather have had the former PM pursue the source of information and the culprits rather than mitigate the impact of the scandal. It does not cross Miguna's mind that perhaps Raila had the information he was claiming exclusive ownership of. In this sense, the weakness of the autodiegetic narrative is clear – the narrator might imagine they know everything yet they do not. As it turns out, Miguna's reference to Raila's acquaintances is only a red herring. The real kill is Raila. He is supposed to be smeared with the filth from his associates so much so that he cannot deny being filthy himself.

In 'The Maize Scandal', Africog indicates that 15 members of the 11th Parliament were involved. They included Henry Kosgey (then Minister for Industrialisation), Kilemi Mwiria (then Assistant Minister for Higher Education Science and Technology), Kareke Mbiuki (then Assistant Minister for Agriculture), Emilio Kathuri, Isaac Ruto and Gitobu Imanyara (6). Miguna does not mention these people in his text. A narrative is the product of the information it includes, the exclusions is makes and the assumptions it operates from. The author always makes these choices for the narrator only that the levels vary. Miguna's narrator has no room for discretion; he has to operate within the author's ideological confines and idiosyncrasies. When a censure motion against Ruto is brought in parliament, Miguna foregrounds Ruto saying he was being scapegoated – the person behind the Maize Scandal was Raila (*Peeling Back the Mask* 420).

Political parties are awash with corruption. In *Kidneys for the King*, Miguna observes:

> Credible stories were rife with underhand deals involving ODM T-shirts and the printing of flyers, manifestoes, the party's constitution, nomination materials etc. It has been estimated that the party lost tens of millions of shillings through these crooked deals, all done under the watch of Nyong'o. During the 2007 general elections, ODM was able to get more than 2.5 billion in revenue on party nominations only. In addition it was common knowledge that potential candidates bribed party and secretariat officials in order to obtain nomination certificates (48 – 9; *Peeling Back the Mask* 185, 218).

Miguna qualifies 'stories' with 'credible' so as to make his statement ring authentic. However, he does not provide the yardstick with which one story is declared credible and others incredible. As with most authors, he wants us to suspend disbelief and believe him. The suspension of disbelief once accorded will enable us see, in his opinion, the corrupt entity that was the ODM. Miguna thinks that mere choice of a word is guarantee enough to make his claims as well as his narrative believable. It is true that the word choice goes a long way to embellish a narrative but it can only embellish it; it cannot accord it the much needed external truth value that Miguna must anxiously crave in the above quote. Miguna abandons his claims when he uses the passive voice. He says: 'It has been estimated that the party lost tens of millions of shillings'. Whereas Miguna is capable of producing proper documentary elsewhere in his works to support his various claims, here he depends on rumours. He uses phrases such as 'it was common knowledge'. Such a phrase conscripts his claims to heresy. Here, a good narratologist, especially one that employs the autodiegetic form, ought to use multiple sources to add credence to their claims as Nyairo proposes.

It is near safe to say that there are very few institutions that Miguna has not touched on in order to expose their rot. Of the Constituency Development Fund (CDF),Miguna says in *Kidneys for the King*: 'Some MPs have been caught converting the funds to their personal use such as buying vehicles, houses, or otherwise just spending it on personal needs and agendas…diverting the CDF funds to their personal bank accounts' (206). He also shares with many Kenyans the perception that the Judiciary is corrupt. Lawyer Ahmednassir Abdullahi is quoted by Emeka-Mayaka Gekara in an article entitled "Book Tells of How Judges Bartered Justice for Vacations, Cash and Sex" in the *Saturday Nation* of September 6, 2014 as saying: 'Kenya's Judiciary is so rotten that its stench has assumed a sense of normalcy. [It] sells justice using litigants' balance sheets as the scale. Magistrates and judges take judicial notice that in present-day Kenya, money is mightier than the law' (1). Daniel Kennedy Aganyanya in *The Judicial Purge 2003 – That Never Was*, Aganyanya says that judges are corrupted using fully paid-up vacations and cash while female defendants entice the judges with sex.

In *Kidneys for the King*, Miguna believes that Willy Mutunga, the Chief Justice at he time failed because he submitted to political manipulation. Miguna says, 'I've heard rumblings over the seemingly extravagant manner that members of the Judicial Service Commission, of which

Willy is the chairman, recently purchased brand new Mercedes Benz vehicles for all members'(84). What Miguna says in the above quote could be true but his claim is heavily compromised by phrases such as 'I've heard' and 'seemingly extravagant'. The external reality that Miguna seems to place a lot of premium on is further eroded when he uses phrases such as 'the legal profession has been abuzz with rumours that that one senior lawyer who sits in the JSC has essentially taken over the control of the Judiciary' (84). His claims that 'this very individual (who has mysteriously become a billionaire) [is] not just transferring judges and magistrates, but also influencing decisions by the Judiciary in his favour or in favour of his friends' (84) can more easily be falsified than verified. Miguna adds: 'I'm privy to serious evidence that allegedly links Willy to … a vicious cartel of their colleagues who have taken effective control over the Judiciary – and some have gone [as far] as saying of Willy too – not to advance or protect public interests, but to line up their pockets and advance their own petty personal interests' (85). The image of a ravenous cartel occupying the Judiciary effectively tells how corrupt and eccentric the officers have become. The rapacity in the Judiciary is cemented by the use of the idiom 'line up their pockets'.

In this subsection, the researcher focused on the portrayal of corruption as an element of Kenya's historical process. The portrayal of corruption greatly benefited from the tenets of New Historicism as a basis of analysis.

2.3. Constitutionalism

Miguna Miguna treats the question of constitutionalism in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. A history of constitutionalism in Kenya reveals that amendments that have been undertaken in Kenya are meant to establish political monopolies. A progressive constitutional order was meant to break these monopolies. From the outset, it is important to state that, in his autobiographies, Miguna lampoons the architects of these parochial amendments. Miguna exposes the selfishness of these leaders even as he identifies with the progressive forces fighting for a Supreme Law that would ensure public good. This study therefore also analysed the struggles by the progressive forces to free the Constitution from the stranglehold of the ruling elite. Miguna Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* demonstrate that the progressive Constitution that is now the Supreme Law of the land was realised through a lot of struggle. Miguna observes in *Kidneys for the King* that: "For more than forty years, thousands

of Kenyans had lost their lives, their families and their livelihoods fighting for freedom; freedom of conscience, thought, association and movement; freedom to live like human beings" (115).

The independence Constitution was parliamentary. The Prime Minister was Head of Government while the President was Head of State. With the enactment of the Republican Constitution in December 1964, this ceased to be the case. Pro-establishment politicians have peddled the argument that the Kenyan Constitution always had traits of the parliamentary in it. Miguna says that during constitutional deliberations after the 2003 elections, President Mwai Kibaki's Party of National Unity (PNU) would argue that the Constitution was both presidential and parliamentary and that Kenya would be improving on it by making amendments that would ensure wider representation at the grassroots. Miguna responds thus in *Peeling Back the Mask*:

> Contrary to a myth being propagated by those who had exploited the existing schizophrenic system, I pointed out that it was *not* a presidential system. Although it had parliamentary roots, due to numerous mutilations under both Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Moi, the repealed constitution had mutated into a fully-blown mongrel with no singular genetic trait. Because it was neither parliamentary nor presidential, the essential ingredients that distinguished one system from the other were missing; even the benefits of either system could not accrue to the people of Kenya (336).

The employment of the word myth is meant to emphasise that the Constitution was not presidential as claimed. Miguna uses the word to contest the claim that the Constitutional was presidential. A myth is a class of tales that explains the existence of natural phenomena such as death. Myths are believed to be factual. As such, the use of myth implies that the opponents of the new Constitution wanted the old Constitution to be believed to be parliamentary. However, a myth may also refer to a belief one embraces or a view one harbours whose authenticity has not been proven. More often than not, the belief is false. The researcher believed Miguna wants the second meaning of myth to hold so as to expose the falsity in the claims that the Constitution was presidential.

The image that Miguna uses to describe the mutilated independence Constitution is telling: fully blown mongrel with no singular genetic trait. Fully-blown corresponds with Aids infection at the ultimate stages. The virus has eaten up the body so much so that the cells are helpless. If the mongrel is equated to the Constitution, then Miguna is saying the Constitution has lost its

original form – metaphorically. The virus is equated to the selfish amendments. The Constitution has acquired attributes that deprives it of all principles. It is an amalgam of all and nothing. It has no overriding character. The purpose for which it was envisaged has been lost in the mire of exigent motives. In short, it is not a document that would provide the country with a frame to prop its governance. The image gives a picture of a document that cannot be salvaged. It cannot mutate for the better neither can its weaknesses be mended. The only recourse would be to get rid of it. Miguna has then artistically argued for a constitutional overhaul using the mongrel as an appropriate metaphor. New Historicism envisages a borrowing of methodology to interpret historical events. The employment of literary technique has been put to good use here.

The mongrel is a dog of inferior breed. Referring to the Constitution as a mongrel attaches inferiority to it. It is inferior owing to the mutilation it has undergone. Moreover, a mongrel is a potential carrier of deadly diseases. The mutilations are equated to the diseases. The Constitution is anti-progress. It limits the citizens' enjoyment of their god-given rights and lessens the feeling of nationhood that should pervade the country. In short, through the mongrel metaphor, Miguna provides fresh impetus for the replacement of the old Constitution. Kenya deserves better. This is Miguna's demand. In Miguna's demand, we see citizens as not being passive consumers of doctrines passed down to them. He demands a say on how Kenya is governed. New Historicism in the fifth tenet the researcher outlined envisages that the members of a society impact the society in the same manner that government decree influences his life.

The last bit of the image, (with no singular genetic trait), is expanded upon in the last statement of the quote: even the benefits of either system could not accrue to the people of Kenya. The Constitution is amorphous; it is an admixture of the parliamentary and presidential systems. The ratio of either is no longer determinable. Miguna is opining that the amorphousness should provide the impetus for the impeachment of the Constitution. Metaphorically speaking, the mongrel had to be slain. Miguna puts metaphor to good use so as to provide greater indigence for constitutional review. Miguna also uses the metaphor of the mongrel to express derision as to the extent to which the political players were willing to go in order to frustrate the actualisation of a new constitutional order. Miguna observes that:

> … Kibaki had authorised former Attorney General Amos Wako and former cabinet minister Simon Nyachae to go on secretive retreats and prepare a retrogressive draft constitution whose sole intention was to consolidate power in the hands of the sitting President. It was this draft constitution that was later derisively referred to as the Wako Mongrel. Raila had led the campaign against the Wako Mongrel, urging the people to vote No in the November referendum by ticking the no box that had an orange as its marker. (*Peeling Back the Mask* 156)

This quote achieves two things. It does reiterate the selfishness and myopia of politicians. It was Kibaki who had promised Kenyans a new Constitution within the first one hundred days after he ascended to power. Now he was the president, he was frustrating the realisation of the same by applying unorthodox means. Public participation had been annihilated. The quote also reveals the fact that the people no longer wanted to live with any mongrel. The mongrel is challenged in the referendum. The plebiscite returns a resounding 'No' vote. Nevertheless, the drama does not stop there: "[Raila's] was a brave stance that saw his LDP kicked out of the coalition government" (*Peeling Back the Mask* 156).

Defiance to the establishment had claimed another casualty. Selfish constitutional amendments have always met opposition from progressive elements. By forcing the Raila Odinga's Liberal Democratic Party out of government, President Kibaki had wanted to deny them financial firepower and make them conform to his egregious designs. Agitation for the new constitution meant foregoing the freebies being in government offered.

Miguna argues that politicians whether they fought for the new Constitution or against it are duplicitous. Miguna cites an example in *Kidneys for the King*:

> But it wasn't the "traditional merchants of impunity" that were undermining the implementation process by designing defective systems and attempting to impose compromised individuals on crucial constitutional and state offices, even former liberation fighters, like Mr. Odinga, who most Kenyans had assumed were committed to a new constitutional order, constantly blew hot and cold, and on numerous occasions sided with the forces of retrogression over the progressive elements. (55)

By quoting "traditional merchants of impunity" Miguna, perhaps, wishes to indicate that the monicker is a misnomer. Miguna claims that the progressives and the "traditional merchants of impunity" cannot safeguard the Constitution from violation. The progressives do not really defend the Constitution. They have been consumed by the antics of the retrogressive elements.

Miguna's phrase, more so the 'traditional' part connotes the length of time that the realisation of the new Constitution has been frustrated. There has existed a coterie whose sole purpose is to frustrate the realisation of the new Constitution. Their interests supersede those of the country. They are presented as peddlers of propaganda.

The word 'merchant' indicates that they are always in business and as a vendor argues out the goodness of his wares, so do they trumpet the soundness of their philosophies. Miguna suggests that they are always on the prowl; they entice and cajole the clientele. When the retrogrades have carried out their mission satisfactorily, the progressives, or what is left of them, are left floundering. They are clueless as to how to redefine their country's constitutional destiny. They do not have the verve with which to mount an onslaught against their opponents. They oscillate between standing with the masses and communing with the peddlers of political ignominy. The progressives bamboozled by the merchants of impunity, ping pong between virtue and vice. Miguna's idiom 'blew hot and cold' becomes very accurate in capturing their confusion. Raila Odinga was one of the people who had fought for a good part of the forty years of agitation for a better Constitution. It is to people like him that Miguna makes reference in *Kidneys for the King* (115). Miguna is disturbed that Raila would abandon the cause he had for so long fought simply because he now had trappings of power. Miguna has employed irony to capture his flip-floppiness. 'The Flip-Flopper' in *Peeling Back the Mask* refers to Raila.

Kenya became a *de jure* one party state in 1982. All avenues of venting grievances were blocked. Agitation for a progressive Constitution that widened the democratic space could not be avoided. The hanker for a new constitutional dispensation is an indispensable component of Kenya's historical process. It is well captured in Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The former text focuses more on the period when Miguna was a student then became a barrister in Canada. *Peeling Back the Mask* explains the contribution of the exiles in fighting a democratic society in Kenya. *Kidneys for the King* deals more with the bottlenecks erected on the Constitution's way by proponents of the status quo. Many agents of change were forced into exile. In exile, they commenced agitation for a new Constitution. They used pamphlets, held seminars and conferences as well as organised demonstrations in major

European capitals to communicate their displeasure at Moi's oppressive regime. Two of the publications that have their roots in Europe are *Pambana* and *Mwakenya*.

Maina wa Kinyatti notes in *Mau Mau: A Revolution Betrayed* that *Pambana* first came out in May 1982. It was a publication of the December Twelve Movement (DTM) whose mission was to dislodge KANU because of KANU's betrayal of the people's independence. DTM regarded independence as sacred (63). The ideals of *Pambana* were picked up by dissidents within the country. In *Peeling Back the Mask*, Harrison Okong'o Arara, a former member of the now defunct Kenya Air Force is arraigned before a court of law accused of being in possession of two clandestine publications, *Mpatanishi* and *Pambana*. The publications are alleged to be distributed by the Kenya Revolutionary Movement (KRM) and Kenya Patriotic Front (KPF) respectively. The *kangaroo* court set up to try him, *naturally,* finds him guilty and sentences him to a five-year jail term. He is asked to say something in mitigation. He says:

> I don't ask for any leniency from this court for to do so is to recognise its right to judge me. I expect no mercy and ask for none, for if there is no mercy for millions of Kenyans, what will mercy to one individual serve? The documents I am accused of possessing are truthful and honest. It is unfortunate that truth and justice have been sacrificed for selfish interests. Those apostles who have attempted to rescue justice have found themselves in detention, prison or exile. I am proud and happy to join the company of such illustrious sons and daughters of the land… (106)

Miguna's choice to quote verbatim what Harrison Okong'o Arara said at the court has a rhetorical effect on the narrative. It adds some reality both to the experiences of the individuals in the narrative and the narrative itself. A real character voicing their experiences gives immediacy to the experiences. The sacrifices and courage of those that fought for the Second Liberation are relived. The kinds of Arara are held in high esteem by Miguna. He equates them to apostles. This metaphor grants them a spectre of a higher calling. They are standing on a pedestal of knowledge and enlightenment. Through the Constitution, they see a world in which justice will be realised. The use of direct speech grants credibility to Miguna's narrative. The direct speech lifts Miguna's work from being a mere narration to a re-enactment of the court scene. The case of Arara reflects that whereas it was imagined that with independence the Kenyan nation was progressing, the opposite is actually true. The Kenyan society had actually moved backward. It was practicing the oppression that the colonialist had practised. Kenyan

History is brought out as neither linear nor progressive. Multiple forces have ensured there is a constitutional lockdown. New Historicism is founded on a non-linear portrayal of history that takes cognisance of the multiple forces at play in the society. The theory informed this analysis.

After the Grand Coalition Government of Kenya was formed in 2003, the in thing was to appear to be supportive of a new Constitution. A Committee of Experts was formed to guide the realisation of a new Constitution. The Yes and No teams designed cards based on their inclinations. The supporters had green cards while the naysayers used red cards. The colours red and green convey disparate connotations. Green is a soft colour. Its softness implies accommodation. The electoral body had such ideas when they picked green for supporters of the draft document in 2005. Violence and danger attaches to the colour red. It warns of impending danger in committing a folly. The naysayers were by flashing the red colour discouraging people from making a gross mistake. Giving the Constitution a red card meant it would not be applied in Kenya.

Some government officials in the Grand Coalition government were secretly uncomfortable with the provisions the Committee of Experts had suggested. However, they pretended to be supportive. In campaigns, they supported the new Constitution, but in private, they undermined it. Such politicians were tagged 'watermelons'. A water melon is green on the outside but red on the inside.Reporting for *BBC News* on August 3rd, 2010, Will Ross, the East African correspondent in the article "Kenyan Referendum Vote Brings out Fruity Colours", had warned about this group:

> In this vote, you need to look out for the watermelons - the term for politicians who currently back the new constitution, but who are, in fact, against it and will work to uphold the status quo even if it is passed. They may be green on the outside, but they are red on the inside. And perhaps the true red colour of the watermelons will soon be revealed (1).

Miguna validates Ross's reservations in *Kidneys for the King.* He says that Kenyans believed that Uhuru Kenyatta, then Deputy Prime Minister, was one of the watermelons. Miguna argues that Uhuru, doubling as Minister for Finance had attempted to undermine the realisation of the new Constitution by delaying the release of funds meant for civic and to effect crucial roles during the constitutional review process (190).

Kalonzo Musyoka, the Vice-President then, is thought to have been a watermelon as well. Kalonzo is reported to have attended a church service in which he asked the church (which had declared opposition to articles in the new Constitution) to speak and be heard. Whereas he was campaigning for the adoption of the new Constitution in public, in quieter and not so receptive environments, Kalonzo was championing against it (*Kidneys for King* 116).

Miguna Miguna is suggesting that the watermelons could not be trusted. After the promulgation of the new Constitution on 27th August 2010, the watermelons would wage an onslaught against implementation of urgent yet significant clauses. Most of the clauses required devolution to the counties of roles previously played by the national government. The detractors feared relinquishing their hold on the national purse. As Minister for Finance, Uhuru Kenyatta controlled the national purse. Miguna says he became a key detractor to the actualisation of the transitional clauses. John Githongo, a Kenyan governance crusader, is quoted by Will Ross as having warned that if the new Constitution was approved new conservative groupings would be formed in the political, business, security and bureaucratic sectors. He had said the group "will do everything they can to monkey-wrench implementation of the new constitution" (2).

The watermelons dithered between saying 'Yes' and 'No'. The 'No' group, on the other hand, marshaled all its resources, financial and otherwise, to defeat the new Constitution. Miguna christens the No Group "Red Brigade". This is pejorative. A brigade is a unit of the army. The army protects its country's territories against external aggressors. Death cannot be escaped. Citizens could end up as collateral damage. A brigade is under the command of a senior officer. The juniors simply obey unquestioningly the leader's command. Miguna is saying that the citizens must behave differently from the robot-like behaviour of brigades and question leaders. The colour red symbolises danger. Miguna is foreboding a perilous time if the citizens embrace this group. Miguna is dismissive of them in several instances.

Miguna presents the Red Brigade as indefatigable. The Evangelical Churches were the most vociferous members of the Red Brigade. They were virulent in their opposition to the draft. They shifted from one article to the other in the draft Constitution hoping to find weak areas. The first contention was that the draft legalised abortion. The draft said a pregnant woman had

a right to reproductive health and that abortion be allowed insofar as a pregnancy risked the life of the expectant mother. Miguna puts these protestations into perspective and finds that they ring hollow (*Kidneys for the King* 194 – 8). He finds it hypocritical that the Church wants to protect a life that no one is certain about (the foetus) at the expense of that is certain (the mother). Miguna also reminds them that the right to life is guaranteed under article 26 and that life begins at conception. The Red Brigade then shifted to article 45 that they claimed sneaked in homosexuality via the backdoor. Nevertheless Miguna reminds them that article 45 is clear that the consenting adults who wish to enter a marriage contract have to be of the opposite sex.

The Brigade then shifted to article 37 which gave the citizens a right to peaceful and unarmed assembly, demonstration, picketing and petition. They argued this would create anarchy as, being citizens, the disciplined forces would also demand this right. Miguna reminds them that the uniformed officers have a different code of ethics that governs their activities. Moreover, the key word is 'unarmed'. Failing there, the Red Brigade jumped to article 25 that stipulates that Kenya would become party to international laws. They argued that this would compromise the sovereignty of the country, and that infamous behaviour such as homosexuality would be sneaked into the Kenyan Law. All in all, Miguna is arguing that the Red Brigade is to be seen as a group that was overly desirous to block the New Constitution for dogmatic and parochial interests.

2.4. Political Patronage, Intolerance and Failed Institutions

Political patronage, intolerance and failed institutions are wide topics and so could have been discussed as independent issues. However, a strong causal relationship exists among them. For instance, the need to patronise institutions by the political establishment leads to intolerance towards institutions that do not co-operate. An institution patronised by the political class fails in its mandate. In this sub-section we have looked at the motive behind political patronage in Kenya, the extent of this patronage and how patronage impedes the ability of institutions to deliver on their mandates. The consequences of failure to submit to patronage are also discussed. Instances from *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* were used to support the researcher's arguments.

Peeling Back the Mask and *Kidneys for the King* demonstrate that government patronised institutions of learning. The incident recounted earlier at Njiiri High School confirms this. President Daniel arap Moi attends the function accompanied by John Joseph Kamotho (Minister for Higher Education), Mwai Kibaki (his Vice-President and Minister of Finance and other dignitaries (*Peeling Back the Mask* 37). This study argued that Moi's offer of 50 shillings for the winner of the drawing competition and 10,000 shillings to the school to buy a bull with which to celebrate the Silver Jubilee had a hidden agenda. Moi's intention was to publicise both himself and his government so as to indoctrinate these young people. Being impressionable, these young minds are bound to remember him as the down to earth leader who shared their little celebration. Moi was then hiding his talons under the guise of sensitivity and concern.

Moi, having given the Principal, Mr. Ndung'u 10,000 shillings which Ndung'u misappropriated, Ndung'u would be at his mercy. It can be argued that Moi expected Mr. Ndung'u not to buy the bull anyway. Moi was buying Mr. Ndungu's loyalty. Mr. Ndung'u, after this incident, would be too compromised to speak against corruption in Moi's government. Mr. Ndung'u, it is expected, would parrot at every assembly about Moi's generosity and Moi would have earned himself new converts. The researcher does not wish to repeat the impact of the narratological devices Miguna applies. Suffice it to say that the sequence of these devices is appropriate. Miguna begins by applying foregrounding. He foregrounds the presence of the high and mighty in Kenya's political chessboard – the executive, represented by none other than the president.

The presence of the executive serves a symbolic role. It demonstrates that the anxiety to patronise institutions ranks high in the agenda of the political players. The researcher had observed that Ndung'u, the principal at Njiiri High School went on and on eluding purchase of the bull and that eventually, the boys got pieces of meat which was to be their 'feast' (38). Of Ndung'u, the researcher contended that he must have been too awed by the President's gargantuan presence that he would have done everything to further the latter's political ideology. The 10,000 shillings was only the icing on the cake. Miguna leaves us with the dark humour - 'our feast' (38).

The National Youth Service was a government sponsored pre-University programme that students who qualified for the University after sitting the Advanced Level went through. The programme commenced in 1984. At face value, the programme ensured that these students gave

back to the society since most of the fees paid at the University by the students were subsidised. They would be taken through pseudo-military drills that ensured they built enough muscle to undertake such tasks as building bridges, constructing dams and cleaning streets. Their bases were in far flung areas such as Gilgil. It is from this point that Miguna starts reading mischief into this programme. In *Peeling Back the Mask*, Miguna argues that this programme was meant to deflate psychologically Kenya's academic crème de la crème. Miguna asserts that:

> … our morale was supposed to have been in tatters within three months. The physical, psychological and mental abuses had been deliberate. Moi's unyielding desire had been to break us down and render us unable to organise and mobilise as students. His intention had been to create a society of robotic sycophants who would delusionally sing about his supposed wisdom; leadership acumen and God-given right to rule over us (not govern) (48).

The images Miguna creates in the above quote capture the ultimate intention of the NYS programme. The image, 'in tatters', suggests that the university recruits were supposed to be made to feel that their academic ability did not matter much. The NYS programme would be an anti-climax in their academic journey. The students were being made aware that power did not reside in the books. It lay with the political leadership who may not have had the students' academic achievements. The political leaders had to be revered. The political leadership designed a programme that made the students despite their academic prowess here labour in the hot sun. Instead of the power in their brains being tested, the power of their muscles was. In fact, quite a number of the NYS candidates had wanting muscles. One of them, Miguna reports in *Peeling Back the Mask*, was Nicholas Gumbo, a former MP for Rarieda Constituency, Siaya County. He suffered from severe Tetanus which made his feet swell badly. However, Miguna reports that Gumbo would not hear of going back home because 'Gumbo believed that returning home would lead to him being stigmatised as less of a man, some kind of weakling' (42).

The NYS programme was therefore meant to embarrass the students. The young academic placed in a dilemma. Staying at the camp meant bearing the pain that the *askaris* (trainers) meted out with alacrity while to go back home meant doing so with your head down since your manhood itself had been found wanting. In a nutshell, the promising academic was both psychologically and physically brought down to the lowest level. The image 'in tatters' appropriately captures the student's shame. Psychologically and physically broken, they would

be ready to imbibe all that the decrees the political leadership handed down. Their morale being 'in tatters', the NYS recruits would easily be translated into 'robotic sycophants'.

In the course of their say at the camp, each month the students attended 'political sermons' given by KANU big wigs from Nairobi. The government functionaries would shout themselves hoarse about patriotism, *Nyayo* philosophy, development and the need to respect elders. Everything began and ended with *Nyayo Juu!* Miguna says the only thing lacking was sophistication, tact and a well-thought-out strategy (*Peeling Back the Mask* 46). The government functionaries would field questions. They expected formal, uncritical responses that blended well with the lectures they had handed down to the students. In the event that a student asked a question that ridiculed the KANU gospel, the student would be handled ruthlessly. An incident involving Simeon Nyachae, the then Chief Secretary and Head of the Civil Service, confirms this. After Nyachae's oration, Nyachae had welcomed questions and reactions. Miguna had risen and observed:

> "Sir, thank you for that illuminating lecture. You have informed us of how democratic the Moi government is. You have also condemned those who are challenging the government, stating that they are drug addicts, deranged communists and dissidents. Could you explain to us, Sir, why this democratic government has refused to allow Jaramogi Oginga Odinga from forming his own political party? Secondly, even if you argue that he isn't allowed to form his party because the Constitution forbids the operation of any other party except Kanu; why then can't Jaramogi be allowed to exercise his rights, like everybody else, by being allowed to pursue his political ambitions? Why has the same democratic Kanu government banned Jaramogi from running for office on its ticket? Finally Sir, could you explain to us how detaining political opponents without trial is consistent with Kanu's proclamation of democracy and the Nyayo philosophy of 'love, peace and unity?'" (46)

Miguna has chosen to quote what he said verbatim. This is instructive as it puts to employment certain narratological aspects. The direct speech makes immediate the events of that day. This immediacy would not obtain from simple reportage of what took place then. Within the quote, there is the use of sarcasm. Miguna does not mean that Nyachae's lecture was illuminating; neither does he remotely imply that Moi's government was democratic. Miguna qualifies lecture with illuminating and government with democratic in order to achieve juxtaposition. He creates the binaries: illuminating/Nyachae's vacuous lecture and democratic/Moi's authoritarian government. Having done that, he delivers the stinging verdict that to consider Nyachae's lecture illuminating and Moi's government democratic would be farcical. Literary techniques

have been put to good use. The researcher argues that whereas government's sole objective is indoctrination, the implementation lacks in tact.

Within the quote, there is the use of rhetorical questions. Miguna does not say directly that the Kenya African National Union's (KANU) government is undemocratic because it refused to allow Jaramogi Oginga Odinga to form his own political party. Neither does he say directly that he (Odinga) is denied the right to pursue his political ambition because of KANU's dictatorial tendencies that only allowed a single party. Nor that the undemocratic Kanu government had banned Jaramogi from running for office on its ticket and that detaining political opponents without trial was not consistent with KANU's claim to democratic practice and the supposed Nyayo philosophy of 'love, peace and unity. He uses questions for rhetorical appeal as opposed to using statements. In fact, so effective are the rhetorical questions that before Miguna could complete the last question, Nyachae was charging towards him. Nyachae was surprised because the dual purposes of NYS which were 'to physically and psychologically break us through constant menial chores, humiliation, denigration and mistreatment and to indoctrinate us into believing that Kenya had its owners; the rich, the powerful and the privileged' had not been absolutely successful (47). At that point, Miguna becomes a marked man. His name is handed over to Nyachae.

Without answering Miguna's questions, Nyachae rants about people that have no respect for His Excellency the President who had ensured there was peace and unity in the country. He then drives off in a huff. But the issue does not end there. The next day, Miguna is summoned by the NYS administrators and is handed a punishment for being rude and disorderly. He is to run up to *Kioko* (a hill two kilometers away) with a white pillow on his head (so that he could be seen going and returning). Once at *Kioko*, he was supposed to go round it ten times. He was then to uproot a stump in the camp. This incident underpins the intolerance the authorities have for alternative voices. New Historicism focuses on how power is played in the society. In this instance of the NYS programme, the political leadership ensures its power is felt through psychologically and physically exhausting its victim: the student. New Historicism enabled the researcher exhaustively interpret the NYS programme from the prism of power play.

At the University, it was well known that in every election there would be two camps: the one that stood with the students and the one that was made up of government protégés. Miguna refers to this in *Peeling Back the Mask*. He states that 'over the years many student leaders had been used by Moi in his quest for permanent political dominance. Surreptitious nocturnal visits to State House by student leaders had become routine' (53). In the text, Margaret Ben is a well planted government stooge. When Student Organisation of Nairobi Union (SONU) leaders are finally arrested for what the government considers breach of the peace, she is arrested alongside everybody else to conceal the fact that she is a government mole in the SONU (68). The combination of the words 'surreptitious' and 'nocturnal' implies there is something eerie about the moles that had infiltrated the student leadership. Government would use covert methods to influence the decisions of the student leadership.

Moi wanted a friendly student representation that would give him little trouble. This group would temper dissent towards the government. The students were the intellectual bulwark of the country and if they were contained, the rest of the country would be servile. Since they are young, the youth have the zeal and recklessness to pursue anything to its most unpleasant consequences. Containing them, at the University would allow the government some moments of tranquility. Had Moi's experiment with the NYS and student leadership worked, the indoctrination would have been complete.

Conformists such as Aloyo are derisively referred to as puppets to show how they submit to government patronage. We have also explained how the likes of Nduma Nderi and Maina Kiranga were used by the government to water down aggressiveness in student leadership. Those student leaders who were felt to be non-conformists were frustrated. For instance, Miguna says that Robert Wafula Burke, non-conformist student leader, had to transfer from Kenyatta University to University of Nairobi. He was harassed both physically and academically. He was accused of consorting with the Libyan Embassy, distributing the Communist Doctrine contained in the *Green Book*, in order to destabilise the government (*Peeling Back the Mask* 55). Buke lost his student status when the government cracked down on the dissident student leadership. He attempted to flee into exile but was arrested in Uganda en route to Libya or any of the Scandinavian countries (77).

The University administrators are government functionaries working hard to infiltrate student leadership. Immediately after the election of Miguna's group into Student Organisation of Nairobi Union (SONU) office, there is agitation for the students' allowances to be increased by Ksh. 1,500. However, the Vice-Chancellor, Professor Philip M. Mbithi has other ideas. Instead of listening to Miguna and his group's rules of engagement with the University, Mbithi is overanxious to rope Miguna into State House machinations. He wants Miguna and the new officials to organise a meeting with Moi at State House 'so that I can introduce the new SONU leaders to His Excellency the President' (62). Miguna is then supposed 'to call a press conference tomorrow and thank His Excellency the President for increasing your boom by Sh300." (62)

When the SONU leadership refuses to comply, Prof. Mbithi attempts to cripple the office financially. The University delays the changeover of the signatories to the SONU bank account to the new officials. The government cracks down on and arrests the student leaders (63). Spies monitor the student leaders' activities within the University. On the day that the officials are arrested and hounded into detention, members of the Special Branch are stationed at a room opposite Miguna's (63). The movements of the student leaders are tracked. This is demonstrated when Miguna and the new office wish to travel to Havana, Cuba for the Prague-based International Students' Secretariat (ISU). They are to attend the World Students' Conference from 6 to 25 November, 1987. Professor Festo A. Mutere, the Deputy Vice Chair (Academics) is in charge of such matters.

SONU receives the invitation referred to above on 5th November 1987. Prof. Mutere immediately writes to the Principal Immigration Officer at Nyayo House so that the latter may expedite the processing of the students' documents so that they may travel immediately. Full of hope, the student leaders rush to Nyayo House having earlier that morning applied for and obtained clearance from the University. While in the lift at Nyayo House, they are accosted and briefly detained. They are asked questions such as what they are going to do in Cuba yet they are not boxers. Government, and its extension, the administrators, are ready to apply tougher and more punitive mechanisms. After his arrest, the author says, aspects of a civilised society such as due process were tossed out of the window. Miguna observes ruefully that:

> As far as they were concerned, there was only one law and authority – and that was dictator Daniel arap Moi. The state security boys desperately wanted to piece together rumours and lies and concoct a case against me to put before one of their corrupt grand juries and inept judges' (70-71).

Moi was the Chancellor to all public Universities. This implies that the administrators were handpicked and they had to play to the tune Moi called (114). When the University fails to contain the dissident group, the only recourse is to expel Miguna and his ilk from the University. This was communicated through letters that were given to the student leader personally. The letter through which Miguna Miguna was expelled from the University of Nairobi is captured in *Peeling Back the Mask* (74). It is authored by Professor Philip Mbithi and dated 30th November 1987. The researcher believes that the manner in which these letters were delivered was intended to make the student understand that when all is said and done, each student was all alone. The colleagues that answered back to their slogans during the public meetings would not be present to give the leaders the support they now so desperately craved. Expulsion was also a warning to the others who would be entertaining ideas of challenging the University administration and the country's leadership.

Assassination was the ultimate weapon political leaders applied to contain dissidence. The first victim of political assassination was Pio Gama Pinto on February 25, 1965. Because Pinto was a communist, Kenyatta saw him as a threat to the capitalism that Kenyatta wanted to entrench in Kenya. Other assassinations would be executed with regularity: Tom Mboya, Kenyan politician (1969); Josiah Kariuki, Kenyan politician (1975); Lawrence Otieno Muga, politician and teacher in Kasipul Kabondo (1987); Robert Ouko, Foreign Affairs Minister of Kenya (1990), Father John Kaiser, a missionary (2000) (officially recorded as a suicide); Starlin Arush, Somali Peace Activist and NGO Worker (2002); Chrispin Odhiambo Mbai, Kenyan Constitution Review Commissioner (2005), and Melitus Mugabe Were, MP Embakasi (2008) (Wikipedia).

In *Kidneys for the King*, Miguna suggests:

> In fact, many have speculated – rightly or wrongly – that the immediate former minister for internal security and provincial administration, Professor George Saitoti "had to die" both to "create space" for Uhuru in Central Province, but also to deny Raila Odinga a potentially lethal running mate from the Mount Kenya region (201).

The choice of "had to die" and "create space" capture the cut-throat political games that characterise Kenya. It is a field where the most brutal carries the day. The lengths to which a politician would go to remain relevant are scary. People are equated to pawns on a chess board; the ending of a life is done as easily as one would move an object. No one is indispensable. Miguna's desire to capture this frightening state of affairs is however compromised greatly by the parenthetical insertion – rightly or wrongly. It punctures the narrator's assertion that such assassinations were rampant. Miguna would have done well to do without the parenthesis. Perhaps, the researcher guesses posits that through the parenthesis Miguna was protecting himself against possible libel.

Senior officers in the police and the National Intelligence Service are appointees of the President. The appointments are made on the basis of loyalty. As such, the appointees have carried out without question the desires of the executive. In *Kidneys for the King*, Miguna sheds light on the questionable behaviour of police: when Miguna reports to the police of the heinous plans by Raila's supporters who had confessed to him and were even willing to give testimonies, the police fail to complete investigations one year later (116); the security officers seconded to him when he goes to do his book marketing at the Coast do not seem to want to stop his aggressors. Instead they give him false security (298 – 9). The officers are partisan. One of them tells Miguna: "You are going to be shot here today, and we shall deliver your kidneys to *jakom*" (289). Three months after Miguna reports to a Mr. Kitur about his travails, none of the aggressors is arrested. Miguna claims that Kitur stops picking his calls (306). The reproduction of the words spoken by the police officer makes the threat both real and immediate. It adds to the chilling nature of the threat. The image of Miguna's kidney being plucked out is grotesque. The eeriness of politics as played in Kenya is also shown. Scaremongering is intended to brow beat opponents.

An even scarier scenario unfolds when there were elections in Lang'ata Constituency, Nairobi. Langa'ta Constituency was for a long time represented by Raila Odinga. In one of those elections, Raila is standing against Mr. Kimani Rugendo of a party called FORD Kenya. Raila supposedly uses a militia that takes control of all the polling stations. A confrontation ensues between Raila and Rugendo's gangs. In the ensuing melee, Rugendo is attacked using an axe.

Rugendo's attacker is identified as Nyam Nyam. The police do nothing to apprehend him. When the axe of one of Raila's men falls, a police officer picks it up and 'surprisingly handed it back to the young man' (362). It must be because of the above scenes that make Miguna rail at the police:

> The Kenya Police is in a mess. It is corrupt. It is inept. It is poorly trained. It is badly managed. It has no morals. It is poorly equipped. It isn't adequately resourced. It operates in fear: both fear of the unknown and of the political meddlers, the bribing businessmen and women, the drug peddlers, the pimps and prostitutes, and worst of all, a conniving, compromised public (264)

Miguna uses repetition in the above quotation for emphasis. The consecutive sentences that begin with 'it' achieve focalization. The camera is zoomed in on the police force. Each of the force's deficiencies is acutely brought out.

The media has been both a victim and an accomplice in political games. Prior to the 1992 proliferation of media houses in Kenya, the airwaves were preserved for government-owned Voice of Kenya (VoK). Citizens with alternative views had no access to the airwaves. Journalists could not manage to disseminate alternative views through the electronic media. KANU would simply lock them down. Polycarp J. Omolo Ochilo in his essay "Press Freedom and the Role of the Media in Kenya" categorises media outlets into three: government owned KBC and *Kenya Times*, privately owned Nation Media Group and Standard Group and 'the more vulnerable indigenous magazines and weeklies such as the *Weekly Review*, *Finance*, *The Nairobi Law Monthly*, *Parents* and *Step* (which) depends on the good will of the government of the day as their capital base is weak' (24). Ironically, it is this weak third group that stood up to the government. The second group was most pre-occupied with pursuing business thus had no alternative but co-operate with government. The government clamped down hard on this third group.

Joe Khamisi says in his book *The Politics of Betrayal – Diary of a Kenyan Legislator* that as far back as 1986, the Moi government arrested and detained several journalists, confiscated editions of foreign and domestic publications containing human rights stories and announced that it would review work permits for more than 100 domestic and foreign correspondents (43). This was meant to intimidate them into silence. Khamisi then exposes the experiences of Louise

Nyamora the editor of *Society* magazine who had a high profile case. The magazine was published in Nairobi but the government deliberately moved the case to Mombasa, five hundred kilometers away, making it difficult and expensive for the accused to meet costs of travel and accommodation during hearings. The magazine was crippled. The government then terminated Nyamora'case (44-5). The government arm-twisted its opponents. It incapacitated its detractors financially.

In early March, 2006, the government raided the Standard Group offices. The raiders were masked thugs carrying AK 47 assault rifles. They attacked *The Standard* newspaper offices in industrial area in Nairobi, burnt down the printing press, then drove five kilometers down-town and shut down its sister television station, KTN. *The Standard* claimed the raiders were police officers from the Quick Response Unit (QRU). Some have even theorised that the operations were led by Armenian mercenary brothers, Artur Margaryan and Artur Sargasyan, who had come into the country, lived large and seemed to have had government protection (*Peeling Back the Mask* 464). The masks worn by the thugs symbolise their sinister agenda. The raiders visiting massive destruction upon the media house was naturally follows. Masks are also disguises. The wearing of masks implies that the wearers are acting at the behest of somebody else. The attackers themselves were actually masks behind whom was the government. The attackers thus are symbolic of the governments oppressive and coercive activities intended to make the citizens subservient.

The government, for a long time, feigned ignorance as to who the attackers were. However, John Michuki, the Minister for Internal Security said in an often-quoted remark, '"If you rattle a snake, you must be prepared to be bitten by it,"' (Khamisi 274). The researcher speculates that the *The Standard* group was about to make a publication that would irretrievably besmirch the image of the government. Michuki's words are really a metaphor. The snake is the government; rattling it means antagonising it; the bite implies the government response to opposition. This metaphor amplifies the fact that the government was going to go to any length to contain dissident literature publicised against it. The government hits back with double savagery.

The researcher believes that in *Peeling Back the Mask*, Miguna dramatises how various players in elections, patronised by the executive, worked in synchrony to ensure Mwai Kibaki was re-elected the President of Kenya in 2007. Firstly, the members of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), had single-handedly been picked by the incumbent contrary to the Inter-Parties Parliamentary Group (IPPG) agreement of 1997 that demanded that the opposition is consulted (*Peeling Back the Mask* 183). The voting on December 27, 2007 went on faultlessly. The voter turn-out was impressive (Murunga 7). Kenyatta International Conference Centre (KICC) was the national tallying centre for the ECK. Results started streaming in a couple of hours after the exercise of voting ended at 5.00 pm. Interestingly, the results from the opposition, the Orange Democratic Movement's (ODM's) strongholds were coming in faster as compared to those of the PNU strongholds. When those from the PNU strongholds came in, they were for the parliamentary seats. As of late December 28, 2007, the tallying centre was gripped in tension. The ECK officials from Kibaki's party, PNU, strongholds were dragging their feet in communicating their figures.

Convinced that the elections had been stolen, the ODM brigade became unruly, grabbing microphones and screaming at Kivuitu and the other the commissioners. However, as if the PNU mandarins had envisaged such an eventuality, their instruments of violence stepped in. Miguna says: 'More than 100 General Service Unit (GSU) and Administration Police (AP) officers invaded the hall. They pointed guns at us and wielded truncheons to shove the protestors back. Yelling loudly, they struck many people, repeatedly'. (204)

Samuel Kivuitu, the chairman of the ECK during the 2007 elections, would present the winner's certificate to Kibaki. However, Mara J. Roberts in "Conflict Analysis of the 2007 Post-election Violence in Kenya" reports that when he was asked on January 2, 2008 whether he believed Kibaki won the elections, he said, "I don't know whether Kibaki won the election" (2; see also *Peeling Back the Mask* 215). Kivuitu's statement is quoted verbatim in each case to give credence to the belief that the 2007 vote was manipulated by the incumbent president.

When the ECK and the security forces have done their part, the media gets roped into the grand scheme. At 5.30 pm, the ECK Chairman Kivuitu and his fellow commissioners came on the

Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) TV and declared Kibaki had won the election by 4,578,034 (46.4%) to Raila's 4,352,993 (44.1%). The media appeared commissioned to obscure the actual results. Miguna observes that:

> …. the KBC TV and Citizen TV figures were carbon copy of the PPS results, putting into question the independence of the media houses... The Kenya Television Network (KTN) had been more fair, accurate and balanced; its figures matched closely those of reports we were receiving from ODM's agents (whenever they could be traced). The Nation Television (NTV) numbers were distorted but they were still much closer to reality than Citizen TV's. Notwithstanding all these, the three media houses (NTV, KTN and Citizen) would later refuse to share their polling figures with the public, or the independent commission of inquiry into the elections of 2007 (the Kriegler Commission) (212).

Steve Bloomfield adds credence to the researcher's argument that the media was complicit in electoral theft cover up. In his article "Kibaki 'stole' Kenyan Election through Vote-rigging and Fraud", he analyses how the felony was executed. He says in 88 of the 210 constituencies, the turnout was at least 1,000 votes higher in the presidential election than in the parliamentary poll conducted at the same time. This amounted to a total of 380,944 votes, considerably more than President Mwai Kibaki's winning margin of 231,728. Bloomfield observes that when suspected voting malpractices in opposition candidate Raila Odinga's strongholds are accounted for, the extra votes for Mr. Kibaki total about 350,000 (1). He reports that where results were queried, the returning officer was allowed to reduce the figure to a manageable level. Moreover, Kibaki's figures were convoluted while those for Raila were deflated (2). Miguna and Bloomfield have relied on figures to provide credibility to their narratives.

Miguna and Bloomfield's accounts are discourses that interpret history. They are concerned with what is transient and the particular events of the 2007 general elections in Kenya. New Historicism is founded on discourses considered marginal. Miguna and Bloomfield are making their observations on the periphery of official interpretation of history. This study greatly benefited on New Historicism's choice to focus on the fluid and temporal matters of history.

2.5. Ethnicity/Tribalism

The ethnicisation in Kenyan politics began with the founding President of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta. Ethnic bigotry was exacerbated by Kenyatta's successor Daniel arap Moi. Miguna

says in *Peeling Back the Mask* that: "Under both Kenyatta and Moi, Kenyans had been turned against each other through artificial ethnic manipulation, competition and rivalries" (xii). Ethnicity determines the prospects of a presidential aspirant. In *Kidneys for the King*, Miguna assesses the strengths of the Presidential aspirants in the 2013 general elections. He is convinced Raila could not win the elections because the major tribal formations, the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin, had formed an entente that would deny Raila any vote from either tribe (189-204). In 2007, the Kalenjin had voted for Raila almost to a man. Miguna argues that Raila was also not assured of the Luhyia vote because, Musalia Mudavadi, a Luhyia, was also in the race for President.

Miguna focuses on tribalism during the life of the Grand Coalition government: 2008-2013. Miguna deplores the fact that Raila Odinga chose to continue the culture of ethnicity that had so much fractured Kenya. In his application for the position of President on September 1, 2007 at Moi Sports Centre - Kasarani, Nairobi, Miguna says, Raila had pledged to rid the country of tribalism and corruption. However, as Prime Minister, he became hopelessly tribal and nepotistic in his appointments as demonstrated in Miguna's assertion that:

> I openly challenged the decision to appoint his older brother Oburu Oginga as an assistant minister for finance; his cousin Jakoyo Midiwo as both the ODM and joint coalition government chief whip (which is essentially a full cabinet position); sisters Akinyi Wenwa to a diplomatic post in Los Angeles, California and Beryl Achieng' to chair the Railway Workers' Pension Board; as well as the appointments of his cousin Carey Orege as PS in ministry of regional development; Elkanah Odembo (Jakoyo Midiwo's brother-in-law) as Kenya's Ambassador to the US; his cousin Paul Gondi as the executive chairman of the Geothermal Development Company; another distant cousin from Sakwa in South Nyanza, Ochillo Ayacko, as the executive chairman of the Kenya Nuclear Electricity Project and another cousin from Sakwa, Bondo, Joe Ager, as a senior officer of the Kenya Power Lighting Company. There were even credible stories that the newly appointed Controller of Budget, Agnes Odhiambo, was Ida's first cousin. Even the (then) National Social Security Fund's Managing Trustee, Alex Kazongo, and the Auditor General, Edward R.O. Ouko, were said to be related to Raila. In fact, immediately Raila was set to become Prime Minister, even before he was sworn in, he hand-picked another relative of his, James Ogundo, to be a member of the lucrative Constituency Development Fund (CDF) board. That was perhaps Raila's first appointment as Prime Minister (175-6).

Miguna lists the relatives of the former Prime Minister to push forward the narrative that the referent is very nepotistic. He uses statistics to cement this reality. He believes that when one reads this litany of Raila's relatives, there will be no doubt about the claims he makes. Kibaki

was bettering him at staffing sensitive dockets with Kikuyus. Mzalendo Kibunjia was the Chairman of The National Cohesion and Integration Commission's (NCIC). The mandate of the Commission was to ensure that the civil service reflected the face of Kenya, ethnically. Miguna thought Kibunjia a comedian who had not rectified the lopsided appointments in most sectors including the Office of the President, the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Internal Security and Provincial Administration, the State Law Office, Central Bank, Kenya Ports Authority, Kenya Revenue Authority, Consolidated Bank, Kenya Power, Kenya Industrial Research Development Institute (KIRDI) and Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation (ICDC) the Kikuyu –dominated all the senior positions – from head of department to minister (*Peeling Back the Mask* 439). Miguna balances Raila's tribal transgressions with those of Kibaki's. He thus applies parallelism to show the pervasiveness of tribalism in Kenya.

A phenomenon that the researcher would like to term reverse ethnicity is introduced (*Peeling Back the Mask* 260). It is a situation where people from the same ethnic community express derision towards one of their own when he proffers opinion contrary to that of the majority. The community hastens to present the antagonist as a traitorous agent of the community's competitors. The antagonist is violated and even brutalised. In *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* reverse ethnicity is revealed in the way Raila Odinga and/or his agents have handle political opposition in Luo Nyanza. Miguna says Raila, 'painted him (Raphael Tuju) with that culturally toxic tag of *andhoga* (betrayer), provoking Luos into frenzied, emotional, unfair attacks on Tuju, personally and politically' (529). The use of vernacular, *andhoga*, by the narrator makes the feeling of detestation towards Tuju real. It also captures the tribal enslavement that most Kenyan communities have been subjected to by the political class.

Another victim of Raila's reverse tribalism is James Orengo who stuck with Michael Wamalwa Kijana, a Luhyia in FORD-Kenya party. Wamalwa was in competition with Raila Odinga. Miguna says that Orengo 'refused to reduce himself to a tribal chief (*Kidneys for the King* 352). Orengo has to persevere 'barbaric physical assaults, humiliations, harassments, threats and machinations'. Orengo 'was trampled on, literally beaten up, spat on and left for dead' (352). The researcher argues that the writer's choice of the words 'trampled', 'beaten up', 'spat on' and 'left for dead' operate on two planes. The first plane is that of the actual physical abuse that opponents are subjected to so as to terrorise them into abandoning their political ambitions in

favour of the tribal king pin. The researcher believes that at a deeper level, there is the psychological torture. Being left for dead may imply that the antagonist is politically vanquished as happened with Orengo. When Raila purchased National Development Party in 1998, all the Luos flocked to it. Orengo was left politically dead because he had no political vehicle.

Miguna presents Raila functionaries as wary of their own tribesmen. He observes that: 'Caroli seemed more insecure around young Luo professionals than with non Luos. He felt threatened by their access to Raila. He wanted to be the only one that fitted that bill' (*Peeling Back the Mask* 268). The narrator uses irony to indicate the intricate nature of political relationships. Politicians are selfish people who invoke the tribal card for their expediencies. To buttress how heartless politicians are, Miguna notes:

> Being a Luo suddenly seemed to have become a crime for Raila. It had not been a crime when battalions of young, talented and hardworking Luos had been campaigning and raising funds for his election; nor when thousands of young Luos (and many from other communities) had bared their chests for police, GSU and AP bullets; nor when unarmed and innocent Luo civilians were shouting "No Raila, No Peace," and facing the security forces for months on-end, forcing Kibaki to the negotiating table and making Raila Prime Minister; nor when tens of thousands of Luos had been maimed, raped, gravely injured and displaced. But once Raila was in office, being a Luo, unless you were a relative of Raila's, did seem to be a hurdle to advancement (343).

Miguna further notes that those people who have helped Raila have been dumped unceremoniously. He claims that Awiti Hezron Bolo, a Mombasa businessman and a key Raila financier; Larry Gumbe, who worked tirelessly at Raila's Liberal Democratic Party secretariat; Eric Opon Nyamunga, a businessman who helped finance Raila's campaign; Hannington Gaya, a businessman who had donated a Toyota Land Cruiser to Raila for campaigns and Obel Nyanja have all been abandoned. These Luos could no longer access Raila once Raila became Prime Minister in 2008 (426-7).

Miguna himself says he was also a victim of reverse tribalism. His own people turn against him. He is perceived as pushing the Kikuyu agenda against Raila. He loses his identity as a member of the Luo community. His name Miguna is transmuted to Njuguna, a Kikuyu name (*Peeling Back the Mask* 114). The researcher opines that the transmutation of Miguna's name to Njuguna underscores the deep-seated tribal animosity among Kenyan communities. It emphasises the

belief that loyalty to one's tribe must supersede all else. Miguna refers to Raila as a tin god (*Peeling Back the Mask* 337). A tin god refers to a person who believes that they are so important that they should not be questioned. Miguna uses the metaphor to capture his aversion for tribalism and at the same time express his defiance to Raila's authority.

Miguna emphasises Raila's nepotism by focusing on the manner in which members of his family paraded themselves to occupy electoral positions in the 2013 general elections:

> So, if the Odinga family scheme works in 2013, we will have Rayila on the presidential ballot, his brother Oburu Oginga, on the Siaya gubernatorial ballot, Ruth on the Kisumu governor's ballot, Rayila's "son" Fidel on the Lang'ata or Kibra constituency ballot, and Rayila's sister Wenwa on the Kasipul-Kabondo constituency ballot. In addition, Rayila's first cousin Jakoyo Midiwo will be defending his Gem parliamentary seat. On and on. (*Kidneys for the King* 351)

It is clear that ethnicity is a historical reality in Kenya as portrayed in Miguna's autobiographies. The researcher observes that the effects of tribalism are far reaching. Tribalism has exacerbated many evils. When one's tribesman ascends to the Presidency, in Kenyan parlance, it is understood that it is the turn for that tribe to eat. Miguna says that there was corruption in the Prime Minister's office. Luos working there turned a blind eye to it because it was being perpetrated by one of their own (*Kidneys for the King* 118). The misguided belief is that when one's own "eats", some crumbs will fall from the high table and they will have a taste of the national cake. This is reminiscent of Chinua Achebe's book *A Man of the People* in which the common people believe Chief Nanga's corruption should be forgiven because they feel Nanga is stealing on their behalf (114).

Raila, severally in *Peeling Back the Mask* chides Luos for being averse to making money. To him, the Luos make too much noise about scandals. A case in point is when Miguna goes to him complaining that Caroli Omondi, Raila's private secretary then, would give the Office of the Prime Minister a bad name. Miguna says this was when Omondi allegedly bought the Heron Court Hotel at a price rumoured to be upward of 800 million shillings. Raila's reply betrays his corrupt nature:

> '"Hmmm…hmmm…hmmm, is that so? Miguna, what's wrong if Caroli bought Heron Court, hmm? What's wrong with that? What's wrong with Luos? Why are they talking

> too much, hmm? Who told them not to make money?" Raila dismissed me even before I could open my mouth.' (421).

The dialogue and the rhetorical questions contained in Raila's response removes all doubt that there could have been that Raila condones corruption.

Ethnicised politics is responsible for the post election violence witnessed in 2007. The evils that were committed within that month defy description. Miguna reports in *Peeling Back the Mask* that:

> The Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV or what is popularly known as the Waki Commission) released its findings in 2009 and established among other things that "the incident which captured the attention of both Kenyans and the world was the deliberate burning alive of mostly Gikuyu women and children huddled together in a church in Kiambaa on 1 January 2008". The death toll was 17 burned alive in the church, 11 dying in or on the way to hospital, and 54 others injured who were treated and discharged (382).

The researcher believes that something this cataclysmic was bound to happen one day because it had become the practice to have tribal disturbances around election time. The 2007 scenario was aided, first of all, by Uhuru Kenyatta's decision to declare support for Kibaki, a fellow Kikuyu. This must have angered the other tribes in Kenya who must have started doing arithmetic on how to dislodge the Kikuyu. Everything mutated quickly from unseating Kibaki to denying the Kikuyu another chance at the Presidency. Jethron A. Akallah states in his essay "The Second Kibaki Term: Seeking Stability within Turbulent Waters" that as soon as Uhuru declared support for Kibaki, Uhuru 'would lay the stage for the 2007 elections as "the rest of Kenya versus the Kikuyu"' (194).

In *Kidneys for the King* the 41 against 1 strategy that the ODM applied in 2007 is also revealed. Miguna states that though the ODM have denied it, the party actually conceived, devised and executed 41 against 1 strategy where Odinga and the ODM team deliberately presented the Kibaki regime as a Kikuyu government, which was primarily motivated and driven by hegemonic agenda against all the other 41 Kenyan ethnic groups (135). He adds that in the ODM campaigns, the Kikuyu were presented as 'greedy, selfish, tribalistic and people that

could not be trusted with power' (135). Later, Miguna observes that if Uhuru ran in 2013, the 41 against 1 strategy would be replicated.

Khamisi says that the media played a part in fuelling ethnic hate and parallels the conduct of the Kenyan media to that of the hateful sentiments from Radio-Television Libre de Milles Collines, the notorious station blamed for contributing immensely to the Rwanda Genocide in 1994 (194). He adds that FM stations, particularly in the violence prone areas of Rift Valley and central Kenya, began a hate campaign that used coded language such as "Mongoose has come to steal our chicks", "Get rid of weeds" to whip up tribal sentiments. Inciteful tribal language songs were also composed some calling leaders "murderers … power hungry … lazy." (194)

2.6. Conclusion

In this sub-section, the researcher traced the origins of the ethnicised politics in Kenya to colonialism. Kenya's founding political fathers watered that tree of ethnicity. Ethnic animosity has been exploited for political capital. It is also apparent, that no sector of the Kenyan nation is innocent of tribalism. The researcher reasoned that tribal disdain was a key catalyst to the post election violence in 2007.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERARINESS AND THE DELINEATION OF KENYA'S HISTORICAL PROCESS IN MIGUNA'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the researcher delved into the issues pursued in Miguna's autobiographical works which are constitutive of the portrayal of the historical process. He could not, however, avoid commenting on literary technique in the previous chapter because they painted pictures of themes. This chapter departed from the previous one in that unlike the previous one whose focus was content; this one focused more on form. This chapter discussed how dialogue, irony, figurative language and satire buttress the portrayal of the historical process in the autobiographies.

3.2. Dialogic Interludes

For the purposes of this study the researcher still looked at the literary import of infusion of dialogue in the narrative discourse of Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* and how its use buttresses the portrayal of the historical process in the primary texts as well as reveal the author's intent(s). In Miguna's autobiographies, the dialogues vary in length. Some are brief whereas others are quite extended. The extended dialogues will only be paraphrased but key points and quotes will be made from them to support the arguments made in the analysis.

Two dialogues have been analysed from *Peeling Back the Mask* and one from *Kidneys for the King*. The first dialogue is reproduced below:

> "You are Mr Miguna, are you?"
> "Yes I am," I answered, unsure of what this was all about.
> "Why do you want to go to Cuba? Are you a boxer?"
> "I don't want to go to Cuba. And no I am not a boxer."
> "Well, what is this thing about you going to Cuba then?" He closed the note pad at this point. I hesitated. I was confused. I didn't know what the man was driving at.
> "Well, are you going to answer me? Cubans are only good in boxing."
> "We received an invitation today from the International Union of Students. They would like us to attend their annual conference, which is being held in Cuba this year…" I started before the man cut me off.

> "That's well and good. But why *you*? How did these people know *you*? Are *you* a boxer?"
> "I don't know. Perhaps they just chose two SONU officials at random."
> "We shall see about that. Anyway, go ahead and apply. Here, take the forms."
> "But I thought we could get the passports today. The conference is starting tomorrow" I managed to say this as the man waved me away. The two other men took me to another room where I was made to complete many forms. After another 30 minutes, I was told I could go. When I inquired about the passport, they stated that they would be in touch (*Peeling Back the Mask* 60).

In this dialogue, Miguna and Munoru are leaders of the SONU and have been selected to represent the studentry at a conference in Cuba. Travel documents can only be acquired at Nyayo House, 24th floor. However, the process of acquiring travel documents does not run as smoothly as they had anticipated. They are treated with suspicion and are unnecessarily delayed. The rhetorical questions asked by the immigration officer are intended to squeeze out any incriminating information that would expose the narrator as a dissident who is using the Cuba conference as an avenue for creating networks that would enable Miguna and his ilk actualise their nefarious agenda of destabilising the government of the day. The questions the immigration officer asks such as whether Miguna is a boxer since people only go to Cuba to pursue boxing border on the idiotic. But they are not. They are meant to lull Miguna before the officer asks the relevant questions.

The officer's gestures and movements are calculated. Even before writing on the pad, he puts it aside. This gesture symbolises the disinterest in the duty for which he is ostensibly employed – recording details of persons that wish to travel abroad; he is a well placed spy working to spot and diffuse threats to the government of the day. This gesture is accompanied by a sudden change of tone which catches Miguna off guard. 'You' is italicised. This implies that the interlocutor, the immigration officer, says it with stress for emphasis. The stress communicates that Miguna is a marked individual. The officer, and by extension, the government, has been following his activities. When Miguna protests that any of the SONU officials would have been picked for the conference, the officer's reply ("We shall see about that") is telling in two ways. First of all the use of 'we' implies that the officer is a cog in some wheel or that he is working at the behest of a higher command. Secondly, the reply is ominous; there is an eeriness that warns the recipient to be on the look-out always. The use of 'anyway' in the next sentence of the

officer's reply is indicative of the fact that he was not going to do anything that would aid Miguna get the passport and enable him travel to Cuba. He was being asked to fill the forms for the sake of it.

The researcher has already stated that the rhetorical questions asked of the narrator by the immigration officer are perfunctory. They are intended to delay Miguna as much as possible, possibly because the government is running some subterranean investigation on him. The questions may also be intended to make the student develop fatigue towards the whole enterprise of travelling abroad. It is essentially a psychological game initiated by the officer to make the students feel frustrated and furious and in that furious state, reveal some information that may grant the government access into the workings of the student body so that the government may nip any fledgling dissidence in the bud.

Overally, the dialogue exposes the schizophrenia that characterises the Moi government. It sees danger where there may actually be none. It is anxious to keep at bay any danger that might upset the system in the future. That is why they must know the underlying objectives, if any, of the student leaders. This is so as to tame the students so that the students don't mature into dissidents. The government is paranoid. This dialogue therefore buttresses the realisation of political patronage and intolerance as an element of the historical process in Kenya.

The second dialogue the researcher analysed from *Peeling Back the Mask* is in chapter ten entitled 'Kilaguni'. The dialogue is on pages 284 – 288. The coalition partners had planned to hold a retreat at Kilaguni Serena Lodge 'for five days from April 3 in order to address some simmering differences and put in place concrete mechanisms for the future management of the coalition government' (278). Nothing substantial is discussed. The partners cannot even agree on the agenda. Miguna describes the meeting a debacle at page 283, storm and palpable at page 284. Through suspense, Miguna builds the tension that charcaterises the meeting. It is instructive to note that unlike a vast majority of the other pages where Miguna uses generalised narration or interpretative commentary to carry the burden of narrative discourse; here, he uses a dialogue that runs into five pages. It is for the reason of its length that the researcher did not reproduce the dialogue.

That this meeting is meant to achieve nothing from the perspective of President Mwai Kibaki's Party of National Unity's (PNU's) side is apparent from the very start. The partners have seated themselves yet even before Raila 'could clear his throat, Mutula's hand shot up' (284). He wishes to indicate that the meeting was of such importance that it ought not to proceed in the absence of the President. The combative texture that characterises the rest of the dialogue is established when, rather than attend to Mutula's concerns, Raila says dryly: "Order, Waziri! First of all, are you a member of this committee? Joint secretaries, can you read out the names of committee members?" (284). The battle has begun. From Mutula and Raila's exchange, it is clear that no one is interested in diplomacy. The speed with which Mutula brings up a disputation indicates disinterest with diplomacy. The phrase that Miguna applies to capture the urgency of Mutula's utterance is so apt. Miguna presents Mutula's objection as timed to precision; it pre-empts and precedes even Raila clearing his throat. It looks like a rehearsed move intended to initiate and sustain an antagonism. The 'combativeness' witnessed in the rest of the dialogue is also connoted by the phrasal verb 'shot up'. Mutula is ready for a duel.

William E. Harkins argues in his essay "A Note on the Use of Narrative and Dialogue in *War and Peace*", that dialogue is important in establishing character (89). The dominant or peripheral position of a character in a narrative can be derived from how frequently they are made to contribute in a dialogue. This frequency can also indicate the role a character plays in the narrative. The researcher applied Harkins method to this dialogue. The participants speak the following number of times: Raila (11), Ruto (5), Kibwana (3), Kalonzo (3), Uhuru (3), Mutula (3), Orengo (2), Saitoti (2), Ngilu (2), Miguna (2), Wetangula (1), Mwakwere (1) and Elmi (1). The fact that Raila speaks the most number of times portrays him as the most dominant. This numerical advantage he is given over the others underlines the central position he holds in this meeting. This dominance is symbolic. It reflects on the fact that Raila is the one that the text, *Peeling Back the Mask*, is about. The other characters are cast as embellishments to the realisation of Raila as a character.

This dialogue reveals the contribution of each character in exposing the issues portrayed in the text. Ruto is more significant in the text as compared to Mwakwere. This reflects in the

statistical advantage Ruto enjoys over Mwakwere with regard to frequency of utterance in the dialogue. Miguna speaks only twice in the dialogue because he is the implied narrator of the events in the text. The speech reports and general narrations in the autobiographies are attributed to him. His position as the autobiographer is assured in the narrative discourse. This dialogue, in the researcher's opinion, then establishes that the worth of a character in a dialogue and text rests with the frequency with which the author allows them utterance.

Character sketches can also be constructed from this dialogue. Given his pole position in the dialogue, Raila comes out as authoritative. He is firm and focused. He is discerning and thus able to keep at bay cheeky agenda of the other players. He ensures that non members to the panel such as Ambassador Muthaura, Mr. Gichangi, Mr. Wanjohi, Dr. Alfred Mutua and Mr. Isaiah Kabira are removed from the meeting. The word 'purge' that he uses to ask for their leave leaves nothing to doubt as to the fact that they are not required there. He implies that they may harbour nefarious agenda which may infect the plans of the panel. He communicates quite clearly to them that they are unwanted through his choice of the word 'purge'. His tone is formal and businesslike. He refers to the gentlemen by their titles such as ambassador, mister and doctor. Raila comes out as somebody who is calling out for the exit of the 'strangers' not because of malice but because it is what the situation demands. This presents Raila as sly.

Raila's firmness is evident when, despite Mutula's protestations to stay in the meeting (Mutula says he speaks as a lawyer then as a Kenyan who has the democratic right to be there 288), Raila will hear none of it. On the three occasions that Mutula attempts to speak, Raila cuts him mid-sentence. When Mutula insists on sitting on in the meeting, Raila gives him the cold shoulder and proceeds as if Mutula is not in the meeting. Raila's firmness achieves its purpose eventually because Hons Mutula and Noah Wekesa who had all along been recalcitrant, leave in a huff. This incident reflects on the statuses of Raila and Mutula in the meeting. While Raila may countermand and snuff off Mutula's participation in the dialogue, Mutula is powerless to reciprocate. Raila's position is then juxtaposed with that of Mutula to show that power resides with Raila. The dialogue further recognises Raila's authoritative nature when the other members cannot help referring to him using titles of reverence such as sir and Right Honourable. However, what is most striking about the authoritative nature of Raila is that at the end of the

tense meeting, he has been able to squeeze something out of it: the agenda that the PNU side was trying to discard is actually adopted (and affirmed by Kibwana) as the groups break for consultations on the agreed agenda (288).

Harkins further argues in the article that a dialogue might be used to validate the narrator's opinion about his characters (89). Miguna has in *Peeling Back the Mask* argued that Raila's dictatorial mien cannot allow democracy to thrive in the ODM. He makes reference to the turnover of friends who have left Raila supposedly because of his authoritarianism (111, 258, 514). This dialogue would have vindicated Miguna. On the contrary, it does to Miguna what the dialogues in *War and Peace* do to Leo Tolstoy. In *War and Peace*, Tolstoy has adjudged Pierre as being garrulous and a lover of conversation (13). However, the Pierre that comes out in the dialogues in the novel is quite reserved. In the same vein, the Raila that we find in this dialogue is far from being dictatorial; he is just firm. He has to be firm in order to manage stubborn characters such as Mutula. The incongruence between the narrator's assessment and what is evident from the dialogue greatly erodes the authenticity of Miguna's narrative on Raila.

Two participants in this dialogue are as intriguing as they are contrasting: Mutula and Saitoti. Their shared motive is to derail the consultations. They only differ in methodology. Mutula's approach is rabid and querulous. He is a rabble rouser of the hue of a militant. Saitoti's approach is subtle. He simply wants to drag the meeting; introduce a lethargy that would temper the fire in the ODM group who appear anxious to have things move forward. His style is diversionary. As the ODM chases the red herrings he has thrown their way, nothing constructive and productive is taking place. His heart is not even in the discussion. This is revealed when while making a submission, he is interrupted by Raila. Miguna observes: 'Saitoti looked relieved to have been cut short' (286). Both Mutula and Saitoti play a nuisance role. The difference is in their approaches, the forms the nuisance takes and its degree and finesse.

Mwai Kibaki is a co-Chair to the panel. He is physically absent. His physical absence is symbolic of his being oblivious to the immediate concerns of his subjects. His physical absence is not to be confused for ideological absence. He is present ideologically, by proxy. The proxies are Mutula and Saitoti and to a large extent, the rest of the PNU brigade such as Kalonzo, Uhuru

and Mwakwere. That they are reading from the same script is abundantly clear; each places a roadblock on the agenda itself. After the session, Kibaki joins the group ostensibly for lunch but the researcher argues that he comes out only to gauge how well his generals have succeeded in their subversions. Kibaki is the covert architect of the subversions witnessed during the meeting. He lets his spade wielders be overt but he is the puppeteer engineering the contortions of his specimens. He is cunning. Mutula and the PNU side are defeated. This symbolises that however hard and long one might fight it, the general good always triumphs over every vendetta.

Amy Faulds Sandefur, in her doctoral thesis "Narrative Immediacy and First Person Narrative Voice in Contemporary American Novels", states that immediacy can be evoked "through … dialogue, having [a character] describe the experience with minimal interpretative commentary" (79). Sandefur's observation relates accurately to the above dialogue. The researcher has indicated that the dialogue was marked by tension. Miguna's choice to reproduce the dialogue in his autobiography brings out the tension more acutely. Miguna changes the format. Whereas in the previous dialogue, Miguna employed prose dialogue (opening quote, direct speech, explanatory tag), in this dialogue is in the play format (name of speaker, full colon, direct speech). Had Miguna speech reported this event, it would have lost both immediacy and agency. The dialogue adds local colour to the autobiography when Miguna uses the Kiswahili word *waziri*. This dialogue buttresses the portrayal of constitutionalism as an element of Kenya's historical process. It is ironic that after the bloodbath of 2007/08, rather than work on issues that would ensure no such thing repeats itself, politicians spend days arguing over trivialities.

The last dialogue the researcher analysed is in *Kidneys for the King* (pp 107 – 111). It is not a singular dialogue but a couple that are stringed together because of their shared objective. In this dialogue, a consignment of Miguna's book, *Peeling Back the Mask,* is supposed to be delivered at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport. Standing alone while waiting for his clearing agent, David, Miguna ruminates over the whole enterprise of writing the text. He wants to deconstruct the character and actions of Raila Odinga, "a leader who had for years been treated like a superstar and for some inexplicable reason recently, handled with kid gloves by the media" (106). In the first bit of the dialogue, Miguna uses flashback to bring forth the conversation he had had with Onyango Oloo, a friend, at the launch of Micere Mugo's book. Mugo's book had not been delivered on time. The people that attended the launch had to discuss a book they did

not have. The dialogue creates an atmosphere of apprehension. The author does not know the reason as to why Mugo did not have the book meant to be launched. This dialogue thus creates suspense as it leaves one wondering whether what happened to Mugo would happen to Miguna as well.

This dialogic flashback lays the foundation for the lengthier one that follows. It suggests that Mugo may not have been able to get her books in time because of the bureaucracy and corruption. The misfortune that Mugo found herself in is meant to warn Miguna that if he is not smart, the same fate as befell Mugo might befall him. Henceforward, his antenna is up: (I feigned confidence and maintained my composure, but deep inside, I was petrified" (107). Even when David tries to calm him down by assuring him that the plane that conveyed the books arrived at 8 p.m., he is "still anxious" (107), "extremely anxious" (108). This anxious apprehension is further emphasised by the narrator's application of repetition: "*The* big day, *the* long awaited book launch, was the next day at 10 a.m." (108; emphasis mine). The definite article underscores the singular significance of that day to Miguna. The mention of the precise time, 10 a.m., only serves to accentuate the day's significance.

The narrator, at one point, abandons the authorial interludes that he was using after the direct speech and slips into *discours indirect libre*. This shift better captures Miguna's state of worry: *"You see, we told you the man is crazy. All this hullabaloo was just a figment of his sick mind"* (107; italics are the author's). In this flow of consciousness, Miguna is imagining the derision that would meet the flop of his book launch. The italic foregrounds the malicious satisfaction his detractors would derive from the flop.

The dialogue then proceeds to outline the warped bureaucracy that is manifest at the airport. To Miguna's worry that it takes too much time to process filled forms, David replies, "Oh, it takes time. This is normal … We are used to this" (107) shows that there is laxity. One would imagine that time is taken because the officials are thorough. This is hardly the case. There is little to suggest that this is an international airport because "the Transglobal parking lot was drenched in the smell of fresh marijuana smoke" (107). The word 'drenched' implies that the smoking of marijuana at the airport is pervasive. This is because of lack of diligence, but more realistically

because the officers who are supposed to ensure such things do not occur have been made to take no notice. They have been corrupted by the criminals.

The informal tone is used throughout the dialogue. The researcher opined that a formal atmosphere would be expected at the airport. Miguna uses the word 'chief' while addressing David. It is expected that Miguna is the employer and David, the agent. The aura of informality is compounded by Miguna's use of David's first name all along. With informality, the official manner of handling situations is discarded. Dispelling with formality thus creates a chance for corruption to germinate. David doesn't cringe while talking about the corruption at the airport because the narrator has not raised an eyebrow on his smoking marijuana - an illicit drug in Kenya. The environment at the airport is ironic. It is supposed to be the most secure place where nothing illicit would be expected to take place. Yet all kinds of subversive activities such as peddling of illicit drugs thrive here.

The informal tone of the dialogue does lend credibility to the story in Miguna's *Kidneys for the King*. The information David offers is believable because he is giving it of his own volition. The conspiratorial texture of David's utterances cements the fact that he must be speaking the truth: "David moved closure [sic] to me so that the others couldn't hear" (108). David is high on marijuana. He is likely to divulge information he would not let out while sober. Intoxication rids him of inhibitions and self-consciousness. David's intoxication symbolises honesty. The lengthiness of David's responses as compared to Miguna's short inputs makes David appear candid. Miguna prompts David's detailed elaborations. The credibility of David's assertions, nevertheless, may be compromised by introductory phrases such as "I hear", "well", "I'm not sure" etc. This dialogue, because of its informal tone helps attain what Sandefur refers to as 'character intimacy' between Miguna, David and the reader (102). New Historicism as a theory assisted the researcher interpret this dialogue. History is seen here as being neither linear nor progressive. Despite attempts at advancement, the country is still imprisoned by corruption. History is interpreted as a non-uniform phenomenon that involves many backs and forths.

The image of weight is common in David's contributions (the big cats, fat cats, the fat cows etc). These images imply the rapacious nature of the people David refers to. They are greedy

and corrupt. However, weight, as in obesity, connotes sickness. Rapacity, here, though, is more of a pathological than psychological reality. The corrupt people just have the mindsets of thieves. Miguna asks David why his books cannot be cleared at the government cargo facility. David's reply reflects the greed that is prevalent: "Because there is *no government cargo facility* here. Transglobal has *exclusive rights* over cargo handling at this airport … Transglobal *is government* at JKIA!" (109). Well placed people have personalised and monopolised public facilities. Transglobal is paid 150,000 shillings for moving Miguna's books five hundred metres from the plane. Miguna is charged a further 18,000 shillings to have the books transported to his house in Runda. The Canters that transport the books are nearby ready to do a rip-off.

The italicisation of parts of David's speech brings out his bitterness at the monopoly. His biting sarcasm is felt in the italics *'is government'*. David's smoking of marijuana can now be interpreted as symbolic. Tired of seeing the looting of public wealth on a daily basis, he needs a mechanism to steel himself against the rot. He is basically a good person. If sober, he cannot be part of the networks that plunder national resource. His reply to Miguna's fury about the looting going on is caustic: '"You see, that's your problem; you don't want *us* to eat," David said, with an unusual emphasis on 'us', while pointing at the building. He meant 'them'"' (110). David is forced into a role he loathes but has to play in order to survive. This last dialogue helps in buttressing the portrayal of corruption and political patronage as elemental to the historical process in Kenya.

On the whole, the importance of dialogue is summarised by Monika Fludernik in "The Dialogic Imagination of Joyce in *Ulysses*". To her, without dialogues texts would lose "meaningful unity and texture" (2). She adds that marked dialogue, which is reference to direct speech, "occurs precisely in those episodes in which some kind of realistic presentation is aimed at …" (4). Thus dialogue aids the text in achieving reality. Kent F. Moors says "Dialogue distills and dissects points of views; dialogue compares and contrasts" (Plato's Use of Dialogue" 93). Dialogue differs from treatises that present the synthesised views of an individual. It allows for the presentation of variety of opinion which spices up the narrative. The narrative is freed from the monopolizing voice of the narrator. The narrative becomes exciting because a view is not handed down to the reader but the reader is invited to listen into the thoughts of various

participants and make his own conclusion as to whose opinion is sound and whose is not. For this reason Moors says dialogue "keeps the interchange between philosophy and speech before the reader" (77).

The researcher agreed with Sandefur's observation that dialogue allows for the "valuing of voices" (102). The character's role in the narrative is more poignant when his words are reproduced as they were spoken unlike when the narrator speech reports a character's opinion. To underscore the value of dialogue, Moors says that in a dialogue "[i]t is not the participant's argument alone which is revealed, but his entire essence" (78). The reader sees the soul of the speaker; his whole personality.

3.3. The Impact of Irony

In *Peeling Back the Mask*, there are many instances of irony; however, this study can only allow us to be selective of a few. After being dismissed from his position as an advisor to the Prime Minister, Miguna indulges us in the situational irony below:

> I had been accused, disgraced, judged and hanged without due process. And by Odinga, a man who had served eight years of detention without trial under Moi's repressive regime. Odinga has always billed himself as an 'agent of change' and as a 'progressive leader' who believes in the rule of law and constitutionalism. Yet here he was publicly humiliating his most senior personal adviser and friend. A friend who had supported his ambitions to become president of Kenya, stood by him loyally at his darkest hour in December 2007 after President Kibaki had stolen his presidential victory and had worked tirelessly for him ever since. Why had he treated me this way? What had I done? But even more importantly, had Odinga exposed himself as a man who couldn't be trusted with power? Was Odinga a true democrat and 'reformer' as he had for decades claimed? (xx).

The situational ironies in the above quotation are multi-layered. In the first instance, Miguna finds it queer that Raila should handle him in the same manner that Moi and his repressive dictatorship had done Raila. Miguna records that Raila had been detained for a cumulative eight years by Kenya's second president, Daniel arap Moi. As such, Miguna finds it ironic that Raila chooses to repay Miguna's support for Raila's 2007 presidential campaigns and working tirelessly for him thereafter with arbitrary dismissal from work. Miguna feels even more aggrieved because Odinga had billed himself as a respecter of the law and a fighter for a progressive constitutional order. He is shocked at the flagrant manner in which he has been

treated. One again, the New Historicism tenet that irony is neither linear nor progressive in interpreting this quotation. Raila had been believed to be an agent of change. However, he was now treating his associates worse than the acknowledged dictators would treat their detractors.

The import of this situational irony is that it presents politicians as similar once they begin to wield power. Miguna uses Raila to symbolise the corrupting nature of power. Moreover, the irony is a warning to citizens to be wary of politicians. Underneath the honey in the words of politicians lies the vial of deception. This ironic circumstance purposes to present Raila Odinga as a duplicitous character. The narrator believed that the questions carried in the quotation have been used by the narrator to achieve two rhetorical effects. They emphasise the narrator's shock at Raila Odinga's ideological about-turn. The questions also underscore the narrator's belief that Raila was never the protector of human rights he had always proffered himself to be. Miguna aims to further his argument that Raila is hopelessly deceitful.

Miguna is arguing in the above quotation that Raila forgot his history of struggle for a democratic Kenya. He instead pandered to expediency. Miguna had written hard-hitting newspaper commentaries against the PNU brigade. Most of them were in defense of Raila. However, Raila now felt that Miguna was giving him bad publicity and creating too many enemies for him. Miguna claims that Raila felt Miguna was making him appear incorrigibly intolerant to opposing opinions. So Raila had to shed him off. A parallel is drawn between the manner in which Raila Odinga treated Miguna and the way in which Kenyatta abandoned Jaramogi Oginga Odinga in 1966 when Kenyatta expelled Jaramogi Oginga Odinga from the KANU. Miguna notes that "yet it was Jaramogi who campaigned for his release when Jaramogi had the option of taking power himself" (*Peeling Back the Mask,* 22). Robert Ouko, Moi's Foreign Affairs Minister was another victim of the use and dump political scheme. The narrator argues that Ouko "served former President Moi loyally – and some have argued – blindly, until he was assassinated on 13February 1990 by the same power barons he had served with such distinction" (50). Miguna is suggesting that the backstabbing he was treated to has been experienced by the Jaramogis and Oukos before him. Even then he suggests that Raila is/was politically naïve to have betrayed him. This is because Miguna believes he too has power to muddy the political waters for Raila. Thus as argued in New Historicism that power springs

from multiple sources not just political offices the researcher was able to effectively interpret this quotation.

The other instance of irony revolves around the National Youth Service programme initiated by the Moi government. Miguna observes that at the end of his stay at the NYS camp in Gilgil:

> The young men who had arrived at Gilgil thin and weak were now muscular, fit and hardened. We hadn't learnt first aid, camp craft, fire-fighting or any national development issues or strategies; although our certificates dated August 22, 1986 listed all of those programmes. We had specialised in physical fitness, foot drill and press-ups. Yes, we might not have handled real guns, but we had learnt how to wield spades with lethal precision. We had conquered hills and mountains as well as learnt endurance. More importantly, living at close quarters for three months had allowed us to bond with each other – even created viable opportunities to understand each other. This was quite ironic. Those who had conceived of, devised and executed the plan to have us undergo a boot-camp hadn't intended it as a morale booster. On the contrary, our morale was supposed to have been in tatters within three months. The physical, psychological and mental abuses had been deliberate. Moi's unyielding desire had been to break us down and render us unable to organise and mobilise as students. His intention had been to create a society of robotic sycophants who would delusionally sing about his supposed wisdom, leadership acumen and God-given right to rule over us (not govern) (46 – 7).

The National Youth Service programme was a very important element in KANU's ideology of *Nyayoism*. *Nyayoism* was intended to inculcate in the populace subservience, patriotism, peace, love, unity and respect for elders in the society. The execution of the NYS programme, as constitutive of KANU's indoctrination grand plan, was most wanting in finesse and was characterised by naiveté and irony.

Peter Childs and Roger Fowler in the book *Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms*, state that ideology is a system of ideas constructed and employed by the ruling class to establish and sustain dominance over everyone else in the society (115). Dominance can be achieved through the use of force; however, subtler methods are preferred. This is where ideology finds utility. Ideology is intended to portray to the rest of the citizens that what is best for the ruling class is best for the rest of the citizens. When well executed, ideology should not be imposed. In fact, its consumers – the masses - must not know that it even.

The NYS recruits, one of whom was Miguna, were the consumers of NYS programme. The seepage of the programme into the psyche of the recruits should have been so stealthy that the 'victims' should never have been aware of its existence or brainwashing effect. Yet, in this quotation, the consumer understands the motives behind the whole ideology, the methods of its execution as well as its desired objectives. The consumer, who usually is supposed to be naïve, is presented as analytical of, informed about and aspiring to defeat the programme intended to programme him. This is made possible because the executor is crass in methodology. Rather than use subtle interventions as demanded of an ideology that is well executed, he purposes to shove the ideology down the throats of the consumers. Therefore, the NYS programme fails in the first premise of an effective ideology – the ignorance of the consumer about it.

Secondly, its executors – the Nyachaes – are revealed to be vacuous. They demonstrate uppity over skill. They fail to realise that ideology is not a sermon to a passive congregation, but rather a malevolent scheme whose wickedness must be tempered by discreetness and refinement. It comes as no surprise that the programme falls flat on its face insofar as its objectives go. The implementers, looking at failure in the face, rave, rant and direct paroxysms against the subject who has refused to swallow the proffered bait. Rather than go back to the drawing board and do a relook at their wanting strategy, the Nyachaes are insistent that their methods have to work no matter what. It is a classic case of choosing brawn over brain where the former would have been more effective and reliable.

Other layers of irony can be discerned from the above quotation. The NYS programme is purely for form six students awaiting entry to public universities. Miguna says it is ostensibly intended to have the recruits, who would benefit from government subsidised fee at the university, give something back to the society. They build dams, bridges and clear drainages. Nevertheless there are subterranean motives behind the programme. The NYS has many incomprehensible actions. To begin with, these recruits are the potential intellectual crème de la crème of the nation. They are the academic reservoir of the country. The faculty of this group that requires nurturing is the cognitive rather than the psychomotor. However, when at the end of the NYS programme the recruit leaves boot camp able to wield a spade with the dexterity of a police officer doing the same with a gun, one questions whether the students were being trained to be police officers or

intellectuals. In countries that have sounder visions, students who demonstrate academic excellence are immediately placed into programmes that will endow them with cognitive skills so that they acquire competencies that will ensure that they deliver to the society on the spheres in which they are exhibit greater potential.

In *Peeling Back the Mask*, Miguna submits that the grand plan of the NYS is insidious. The researcher explained in chapter two that the NYS is intended to debase the students. It exposes the students' areas of deficiencies while understating their achievements. The programme embarrasses the recruits because most of them have more mental muscle than physical muscle. They are ridiculed as they strain to achieve the physical manouvres overseen by supervisors, who lack in mental strength. Miguna has explained the pain the former MP for Rarieda, Nicholas Gumbo has to bear given that he suffers from acute tetanus (*Peeling Back the Mask* 42). The executors of the programme do not focus on Gumbo's mental strength; they challenge his manhood.

Nevertheless, as the *askaris* laugh at the students, they do not know that soon the recruits will overcome the excruciating pain and be transformed into a portentous concoction of brutish energy and intellect. What worsens all else is that the tormentors of the students lack the latter. What results out of the NYS programme is a pseudo-military outfit only that it is not uniformed. Therefore, it is not any wonder that during the time that NYS programme runs, the run-inns between the police and the students go on for days. This is because the police are actually battling their opposite number who had intellect which the police officer is not endowed with. The government creates, funds, feeds and trains an aggressor against its own self.

The clincher to this ironic NYS narrative is axiomatically put by Miguna: "We hadn't learnt first aid, camp craft, fire-fighting or any national development issues or strategies; although our certificates dated August 22, 1986 listed all of those programmes. We had specialised in physical fitness, foot drill and press-ups." (46). All in all, the irony in the NYS programme buttresses the portrayal of political patronage as constitutive of Kenya's historical process in *Peeling Back the Mask*.

Another instance of irony regards the merger between Raila's National Development Party (NDP) and the KANU in 1998. Miguna observes that:

> Soon after the 1997 elections, Raila's NDP had started a loose alliance with Moi's Kanu (Kenyan African National Union) party, that culminated in a merger between the two parties on March 18, 2002. The Moi-Raila marriage was a remarkable political union, not least because Raila had for years been one of the repressive Moi's most high-profile victims. Shortly after the August 1, 1982 attempted coup d'état against Moi's government, Raila had been arrested and detained without trial over his alleged involvement in the coup, having earlier been charged with treason. However, before his trial commenced, the charges were suddenly withdrawn and the prosecution terminated. He was released on February 5, 1988, but Raila had by then already served more than five years of unlawful detention and incarceration. His freedom was to be short-lived. On August 14, 1988 as he tried to rebuild his life, Raila was arrested again. He served his second stint of detention without trial until June 12, 1989. On July 5, 1990, Raila was arrested and detained for the third time – again without trial. Shortly after his release on June 21, 1991, Raila fled into exile in Norway (*Peeling Back the Mask* 152).

That Raila Odinga chooses to do a merger with the party and person who has detained him three times forcing him to run to exile would be befuddling. However, it is the researcher's argument that Raila's behaviour when he effected the NDP-KANU merger would be flummoxing only if considered in isolation. Sample the following other instances in *Peeling Back the Mask*. After the contested 2007 elections, violence broke out in which over 1,300 people died. The combatants had been Raila Odinga and Mwai Kibaki both of whom had vied for the Presidency. However, after the formation of the Grand Coalition government, Miguna says, Raila was now hesitant to fight for constitutional amendments that would ensure such bloodshed did not repeat itself. Together with Kibaki, he forgets that because of them, Kenya would have toppled over the precipice. Miguna, ruefully, explains Raila's new world-view thus: "It was as if all Raila had ever wanted was the trappings of power, which Kibaki had now given him" (266).

From April 4th 2009, the Grand Coalition government went for a retreat at Kilaguni Serena Lodge. Miguna calls it a debacle because nothing substantive was achieved with regard to the attainment of the objectives of Agenda 4(a set of suggestions and legislations that would ensure historical injustices are tackled so that the human slaughter that took place in 2007/8 does not recur). For one, Kibaki refused to leave his bedroom and join the others in the discussion to panel out the sticking issues. What Miguna finds confounding is what took place at lunch time because "Kibaki came out and had lunch with both Raila and Kalonzo. Watching them from our table, they looked relaxed and cracked jokes" (288).

The point the researcher desired to make by stringing these instances of irony together is to reiterate that on the chessboard of political games, the populace is a pawn being moved about by politicians whose interests not only keep shifting but are also very wicked. The interests of the public are remembered only when it is politically expedient for the politician. The camaraderie that is witnessed between Kibaki and Raila at Kilaguni Serena Lodge attests to the fact that the interests of this electorate are peripheral to those of the supposed leader. The acrimony that the two had displayed after the contested 2007/8 elections has been erased. The researcher ventured that maybe it is the electorate that imagines there was acerbity between Kibaki and Raila. These strings of irony buttress the fact that in Kenya, politics is played to satisfy the shifting political objectives of the politician.

From *Kidneys for the King*, Miguna captures two incidents of irony. The first one relates to the unethical dissemination of Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask*. Miguna observes that:

> Although this has been to my financial detriment, it has spread the good word and ideas contained in the book to literally every Kenyan household with a computer or a modern hand-held device. Some of my friends from Zambia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Cameroon, and Nigeria have also told me they have received PDF copies of my book (*Kidneys for the King* 34).

The narrator says that the unlawful dissemination of his first book, *Peeling Back the Mask*, is intended to financially cripple him – and it does. He is not able to recoup the money he had incurred publishing the book. His misery is only compounded by the fact that he has been sacked by the former Prime Minister, Raila Odinga. Miguna talks about the financial strain he undergoes trying to sell his book (36). Every human being is wont to opt for cheaper options. The citizens access the cheaper text in the PDF form rather than the more expensive hard copy. This only worsens Miguna's economic peril.

Kenyans are good at business. It is this entrepreneurial latency that informs their acquisition and dissemination (at a cost, of course) of the book in PDF form. The researcher argues that the irony in this case is that the opposite to the intentions of the narrator's saboteurs is achieved. First of all, while trying to incapacitate him financially, the saboteurs do not know that they are assisting in the dissemination of the very information they do not want disseminated. The *Daily Nation* newspaper, Miguna states in *Kidneys for the King*, had been serialising sections of *Peeling Back the Mask*. These sections were those regarded by the media house as making

revelations about Raila's insidious character. Miguna claims Raila's sympathizers were responsible for leaking his yet to be published book. The PDF would publicise the very weaknesses that Raila's cronies would have wished were hidden. Using biblical allusion, Miguna equates his ideas to the gospel of Jesus Christ. The parallel that is created is that in the same manner that Jesus Christ faced crimination in his spreading of his gospel so does Miguna while trying to publicise the inequities of the high and mighty in Kenyan politics.

The illegal publication of *Peeling Back the Mask* represents the ugly side of entrepreneurship – it can transform itself into unbridled greed. Corruption sets in. The hackers who got the PDF copy, the middlemen who distributed it and the general public that purchased the illicit copies are all guilty of being unconcerned about the immediate financial circumstances of the author of *Peeling Back the Mask*. This episode buttresses the portrayal of corruption as a significant component of Kenya's historical process. It also reveals the extent to which Kenyan politicians would go to stem political dissent. Thus, the portrayal of political patronage as an aspect of the historical process in Kenya is also buttressed.

Finally, Miguna also castigates the erstwhile perceived pro-good governance crusaders. He is implying that when these people finally have a chance to practice these ideals, they badly fall below expectation. A good example is James Orengo; a member of Raila Odinga's party, the ODM. Miguna says: "And all this grabbing and looting of public land is happening when *the progressive James Aggrey Orengo* is the minister for lands? I asked that rhetorical question knowing well that my companion couldn't answer it. (*Kidneys for the King*, 109; italics are Miguna's). In this instance, Miguna's clearing agent, David, are at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (JKIA) to collect a consignment of his book, *Peeling Back the Mask*. David confides to Miguna that '… the big cats have grabbed the entire JKIA … even the runways and hangers" (108). Clearly there is corruption here. Yet that is not the narrator's concern. That land is being grabbed is not the main issue. That the grabbing has extended to such sensitive facilities as an international airport is not unexpected. Miguna's borne of contention is with the fact that James Aggrey Orengo who belonged to the ODM, Prime Minister's ODM's party which in its campaigns had promised a break from the culture of impunity is now part of the government yet he cannot stop the grabbing of land at the airport. This is where the irony registers. There is a discrepancy between what Orengo and the ODM

had promised and what it is executing. It is this inaction that makes Miguna qualify Orengo with the phrase 'the progressive'. He implies that there is nothing progressive about Orengo. Attaching the phrase to Orengo is a snide reminder that there was never anything progressive about either him or the ODM. Orengo's case suggests that power has a corrupting effect and whoever gets it becomes a victim of it. This buttresses the portrayal of corruption as a significant component of Kenya's historical process.

Miguna Miguna has presented historical realities in this sub-section using the device of irony. The supposed imaginary/factual binary between literature and history is blurred. Miguna's autobiographies become interpretations of history in the same manner that historical texts could be. Blurring the imaginary/factual binary is a key component of New Historicism as a theory. This study greatly benefited from this tenet when analysing Miguna's interpretation of history in his autobiographies.

3.4. Figurative Language

Patrick Shaw was one of the security officers who had escorted the expelled SONU student leaders on November 30, 1987. He was a sleuth hired by the government to burst high level crime but also a "British secret agent-cum-head-teacher of Starehe Boys' Centre" (*Peeling Back the Mask* 78). Everybody had nothing but praise for him. Miguna says the newspapers called him 'a one man army' and 'a crime buster. Politicians and business magnates worshipped him. The public compared him to 'the Hollywood manufactured Rambo'. To underline his ruthlessness, Miguna reports that: "Shaw was BAD. He took no prisoners. He was slippery. He was tough" (capitalisation his 79). The author adds that if a petty thief heard the name 'Patrick Shaw' shouted, he dropped whatever he had stolen and ran for dear life (79). Patrick Shaw appears larger than life in the eye of the reverent public. It is possible that Shaw might have been particularly skillful in handling crime and criminals but the image proffered of him by the public is a little overstated – he is mythical.

Miguna captures the hyperbolic manner in which Patrick Shaw is presented so as to dismantle that image. He contrasts public opinion with his own assessment of Patrick Shaw. Miguna qualifies Shaw's being a "British secret agent-cum-head-teacher of Starehe Boys' Centre" with

the phrase "a notorious figure in Nairobi" (78). Miguna refers to him as "ugly, flabby and ruthless" (78). His complete assessment of this British secret agent is:

> Shaw certainly didn't look like Rambo. He was repulsive-looking; his entire body puffed up with slabs of fat, forming creases; and from this despicable looking filth oozed a persistent, peculiar stench. He was a walking latrine. It had never occurred to me until then that one person could combine so many negative traits. (*Peeling Back the Mask* 79)

It is instructive that Miguna implants his perception of Patrick Shaw within that of public. This achieves juxtaposition and contrast. Miguna applies nauseating images to describe Patrick Shaw. The excess fat that is made to hang on his body makes him look lazy. The weight implies that he has poor dietary regime and is possibly greedy. It could have been enough had Miguna stopped at his being oversize but Miguna cements the distaste through the use of the word 'ugly'. The ugliness is accentuated by the use of images of sight such as 'repulsive-looking', 'puffed up', 'slabs of fat', and 'creases'. Shaw appears sub-human. His anatomy is disorderly. An action movie star of the class of Rambo has physical appeal: the muscles are well toned; the weight is convenient. The hero should be swift. Patrick Shaw has none of these qualities. He is ugly. This ugliness is symbolic of the fact that Patrick Shaw stands for all that is loathsome.

Miguna then turns to the images of smell: filth, stench and latrine. Shaw is presented as revolting. The narrator accents the repugnance by using choice words: ooze, persistent, peculiar. The words imply that the unnerving stench of Shaw is ever-present; it is a part of his constitution. The narrator even applies alliteration to realise disgust towards Shaw: peculiar persistent. The plosive consonant /p/ in the above sequence underpins the violence of the narrator's abhorrence for Patrick Shaw. He cannot countenance Shaw. Shaw's appearance has the same galling effect of a bitter pill. As one would want to spit out such a pill, so would one want to see Patrick Shaw expended from society.

On the whole, Patrick Shaw is used metaphorically. He is a metaphor for all the brawnish methods applied by the government to instill and sustain patronage of key institutions. In a variety of instances, Shaw appears misplaced spatially and professionally. For instance, it is ironic to have a ruthless police officer as part of the administrators of a school. Such a police officer is expected to be dealing with criminals. This is why Miguna asks the rhetorical

questions: "So, what was Shaw doing amongst us? We weren't violent. We weren't armed robbers. Why was Shaw here with us, poor students?" (79).

The researcher's argument is that Shaw is not misplaced. He is strategically planted at Starehe Boys' Centre. His role is to indoctrinate the students. Shaw is a constant reminder to the students that the government will brook no dissidence. They are reminded that despite being students, the government will treat them with the same brutality as it would criminals. It has to register to the students that the government has placed its best officer (a British import) to manage them – the officer the mention of whose name the most hardened criminal trembles in fear. That Shaw is a British import speaks volumes about African countries' dependence on their former colonialisers. Africa suffers from inadequacy. The leaders do not trust themselves to tackle challenging circumstances. They must confer with the colonial master who confirms if the African countries are tackling their challenges right. If not, the Africans look for expatriates to tackle the challenge on the government's behalf. By bringing Shaw on board, the government illustrates that neo-colonialism is a part of the historical processes in Africa.

Actually, the government has focus in the future. It is taking precautions. It is pre-empting trouble. It is nipping in the bud would be dissidents. The students are being indoctrinated into the culture of subservience so that in future they pose no threat to the establishment. The tool of that indoctrination is Patrick Shaw. Shaw is then the physical realisation of government's unorthodox dealings with its citizens. Miguna finds something tangible upon which to vent his disgust towards an intolerant government – that thing is Patrick Shaw.

After the 2007/2008 post election violence in Kenya, a coalition government was formed. As the researcher has already discussed under the use of dialogue, the coalition government was marked by suspicion and lethargy. It was a government at war with itself. The coalition partners could not see eye to eye on anything. The acrimony in the coalition government is brought out through the images of war. The excerpts below bring out these images:

> Parliament became the next battleground between the two coalition partners. Kibaki had fired the first shot. Raila and ODM had mobilised, but would they return fire? Well, in a way Raila did. On April 26, 2009 he picked up the gauntlet Kibaki had thrown at him, cocked his gun and aimed it at Kibaki … (*Peeling Back the Mask* 366).

> If this was a real life confrontation, Kibaki would have emptied his magazine into the immobilised and trembling Raila. (*Peeling Back the Mask* 369).
>
> He would emerge from the woods, after it was too late. In other words, we had lost the war before it had even begun. We had generals and soldiers with guns cocked, but they lacked strategy, tactics and stamina. Many were too scared or compromised to even pull a trigger. (*Peeling Back the Mask* 378).

In the above quotations, Raila, the ODM leader, wants to be the leader of government business (LGB) in parliament because he was principally responsible for government functions in the house. He feels he needs to occupy that position so as to be able to mobilise MPs to support bills that he has vetted since he is the one that is quizzed by the back bench on government operations during The Prime Minister's Time. It would be illogical for him to defend bills he had no ownership of. The ODM, of course, is trying to win more power to itself by giving Raila such a vantage position. The problem is that the position the Leader of Government Business (LGB) is already occupied by the Vice-President, Kalonzo Musyoka. He is a member of the Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya which has splintered from the ODM a few months to elections. He has formed a post-election coalition government with Kibaki's Party of National Unity. Traditionally, in Kenya, the position of government business is a preserve of the Vice-President. Raila and Kibaki cannot therefore avoid conflict on the matter of LGB.

The sequence of images of war proceeds from the time Raila 'pulled the trigger by delivering the letter to Marende" (366). The setting for the war has been established through the use of the compound noun 'battleground'. The battleground is Parliament. The battle begins with Kibaki firing 'the first shot'. Kibaki's opponents are the ODM who have been 'mobilised' so are ready to react. The ODM takes the challenge and 'return fire'. The ODM commander 'picked up the gauntlet', 'cocked his gun and aimed it at Kibaki'. Pulling the trigger implies that by handing the then speaker, Kenneth Marende, the letter, Raila sets the battle in motion. His demanding of the position of LGB causes a chain reaction. Kibaki fires the first shot when he insists that his Vice-President, be the LGB. The battle is the heated debate which "was fuelled further when Marende made a historic ruling sending back the matter to both Raila and Kibaki for 'resolution'" (79). The first round is won by the ODM under the command of Raila.

The rhetorical question: "but would they return fire?" casts doubt as to whether Raila is capable of facing up to Kibaki. The rejoinder: "Well, in a way Raila did", implies Raila is non-committal. The narrator feels that Raila ought to have met Kibaki's aggression with hostility of equal measure. In the narrator's estimation, Raila lacks of grit. Raila dithers. He lacks the reflex to instantaneously deal with challenges Kibaki throws his way. Thus his opponent can easily obliterate him. The image of emptying a magazine captures the danger Raila places himself in. Kibaki does eventually empty his magazines many times on him later because he (Kibaki) always had his way with Raila. In contrast to Raila who approached negotiations in the spirit of give and take "all Kibaki seemed to be doing was taking" (249). Raila is always rendered witless by Kibaki's insistence. Raila begins brilliant projects, the narrator is suggesting, but he falters when challenges arise. Because of the absence of a consistent commander, the war is lost 'before it had even begun' and his rudderless 'generals and soldiers with guns cocked' 'lacked strategy, tactics or stamina'. Because many ODM faithful lacking directions, they desert or defect from the ODM. They are enticed by the PNU side not just through being corrupted but also the organisation of the PNU side relative to the ODM. Thus, they lack the courage 'to even pull a trigger'.

The fractious relationship that exists between the Coalition partners-the ODM and PNU-is portrayed through images of war. The tension and infighting is made alive. One can feel the ominous atmosphere that prevails between the partners. As the author of the article "Figurative Language in Reading and Writing" notes, these images aid the reader "visualize and understand" (2) what the author is writing. The images are also so apt in presenting Raila Odinga as cowardly, disorganised and unreliable.

Miguna envisages that because of Raila's dictatorship, a revolt was imminent in Luo land. He uses imagery to capture the impending revolt. He says:

> As we went to press, a furious tropical storm had erupted over Lake Lolwe, sweeping through Luo Nyanza like a typhoon. The king had demanded my kidneys, claiming that he needed it to survive. But the long suffering kidney harvesters of Luo Nyanza have revolted singing "Haki yetu! Haki yetu!" (Our Rights! Our Rights!), as they blocked roads and chased the king's undertakers. The people are rebelling in their millions against the latest king's fiat that all his loyalists, cronies and relatives must be given

> tickets to free rides in all human undertakings, including in elective posts in the March 2013 general elections (*Kidneys for the King* 367).

The quotation above refers to the Luo nation's rebellion against Raila's handpicked contestants for the 2013 general elections. This, the narrator says, is a practice that has been going on since Raila became the political kingpin in Luo land. The narrator suggests that the domineering actions of Raila have denied the citizens the opportunity to elect leaders that they prefer. The people are reclaiming their right to suffrage. Figurative language is applied to present the upheavals that characterise Luo land. The image of a furious storm captures the militancy with which the people are expressing their displeasure at being democratically suffocated. There is something portentous about their method as well; should anyone stand in their way, they should expect to be blown away. The image of sweeping underscores the fact that all the stratagems that have been employed previously to subjugate the Luo people will all be cast aside. The typhoon as compared to a storm is much more devastating. As such, the perils that Raila would encounter were he to insist on his dictatorial tendencies would be graver. The simile is apt in portraying the apocalyptic aftermath of such recalcitrance.

The length of the period that the Luo nation has borne oppression is realised through reference to Lake Lolwe rather than Lake Victoria. Victoria is a colonial appropriation and is more recent in comparison to Lolwe which is what the lake was called prior to the occupation of Kenya by the British. The authoritarian character of Raila is accentuated by referring to him as 'king' rather than 'leader'. A king's word is final. A king brooks no discussion. Raila then is presented as averse to democratic practice. The people are presented as cognisant of the changes in governance and rather than wait for their king to adjust, have chosen to revolt.

The kidney is a metaphor for the political livelihood of a politician. To claim it is to ruin one politically. Miguna is suggesting that Raila snuffs out opposition by plucking out their kidneys because his political survival depends on annihilating his opponents. It is appropriate that his operatives are referred to as kidney harvesters. The image of harvest connotes that the number of Raila's political victims is large. The harvesters cannot take it anymore, though, because they have realised they gain nothing from the crop they have been harvesting. The phrase 'long suffering' is appropriate in capturing the duration they have endured.

The narrator makes the citizens express their fatigue using Kiswahili rather than English. This localises the narrative. It accords *Kidneys for the King* what James R. Layton in "Hyperbole, Metaphor and Simile, Words Not to Be Taken Too Literally" calls "flavour" (778). Raila politically exterminates his opponents. The image of death is furthered by the transmutation of harvesters for undertakers. The chasing of the undertakers demonstrates the anger that the people feel because of slavish life they have lived because of political bondage.

This last quotation is derived from the tail end of *Kidney's for the King*. Actually, only two paragraphs follow this one. The paragraph provides hope that the forces of dictatorship will be overcome and the people who have been held hostage by hegemonic tendencies will set themselves free. When at the end of the text Miguna's narrator announces that: "And I am happy that my kidneys are safe" (367), it is to a collective kidney he refers. The people that provide alternative opinion to Raila's in Luo Nyanza have been granted a lifeline. The undertakers have learnt that their vocation is despicable. Room is now created for democracy to bloom. This paragraph clearly presents the Luo nation as enlightened enough now as to determine her own destiny. The narrator has presented this enlightenment through the use of images that demonstrate awakening. This quote buttresses the portrayal of political patronage, intolerance and fight for liberation as elements of Kenya's historical process.

All in all, the researcher reiterates that figuration is instrumental in meaning making. Through figurative language, the events in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* are re-interpreted. As Nietzsche argues in his essay 'On Truth and Lie in an Extra-Moral Sense', the truth in texts is constructed from the implications of the figures of speech applied (138). The characters are recast in new lights. The reader gets a more vivid picture of the events. The events are anchored on a setting through the images that provide them with local colour.

3.5. The Effect of Satire

Satire is pervasively used in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. Its use greatly impacts the literary delineation of the historical process in Miguna's autobiographies. The researcher began the discussion on satire with the quote below from *Peeling Back the Mask*:

> At one point, I asked if they had discussed and agreed on the campaign policy platform. Dick shot in, backed by Caroli and Raila's fundraising manager Tony Chege that Raila's campaign was going to be "against the Gikuyu hegemony". "We are going to win this campaign on the policy of 1 against 41. All we need to do is to make Kenyans hate the Gikuyus. We need to ask Kenyans whether they are prepared to elect another Gikuyu when we have had Kenyatta and Kibaki already…Propaganda, not public policy will win this campaign…" Dick explained, as the others nodded excitedly in agreement. (*Peeling Back the Mask* 171 – 2).

In the above quotation, Miguna is describing a strategy meeting of the ODM think tank. Being the brains behind the party, one expects of them well thought out interventions that would give the party victory. They should be able to draw up a cogent campaign policy document for the party. However, rather than do this, the Dicks and the Cheges slump into the basest of all political springboards – tribe. The strategy is to turn the other forty one tribes against the Gikuyu whom the ODM think tank reasons have had more than their fair tenure at the Kenyan Presidency. This ideology is not worthy of the ODM think tank because there ought to be some difference in reasoning between they and the common herd of Kenyans who, because of limited socialisation, have a heightened attachment to their ethnicity. The think tank offers no departure in thinking from the thinking of the ordinary ODM members.

In this quotation, the author is satirising both individuals and institutions. He is satirising political parties for being ideologically vacuous. Miguna is also satirising politicians for playing tribal politics. It is also an indictment on the intelligentsia, the so called think tanks, for failure to provide leadership to the rest of the citizens who are clueless about how to overcome tribal based politics. If anything, the think tanks are exacerbating tribalism. Miguna knows that the think tanks recognise the fact that tribalism is the bane of the country's cohesive co-existence. He is admonishing them for failure to find solutions to it. He also derogates political wheeler-dealers such as Chege who would sell their ethnicities for a few shillings rather than look for permanent solutions that would make the other communities feel included in the government. The case of the ODM think tanks buttresses the portrayal of corruption, tribalism and hypocrisy as elemental to Kenya's historical process.

In its manifesto, the ODM had billed itself as a clean party w. When addressing the party membership while offering himself for the position of President on 1st September 2007, Raila

Odinga said that he "was to be accountable over corruption, nepotism and tribalism in government" (*Peeling Back the Mask* 195). However, during its nomination of aspirants for different positions, the party becomes incorrigibly corrupt. Aspirants get their certificates through bribing national officials. This is contrary to what Raila's solemnly pledged. Raila is at the pinnacle of the ODM party and the buck stops with him. His allowing corruption to be perpetuated under his watch is the height of hypocrisy. The money collected from the aspirants is nowhere to be found. This is worrying because, if Raila's party is unable to manage the little 2.5 billion accruing from the nominations, there is absolutely no guarantee that he and his party would has the economic discipline to oversee Kenya's trillion budgets. Miguna thus observes that:

> There were credible stories of aspirants bribing national, secretariat and elections board officials … many were raising questions about where the more than Sh2.5 billion that the party had collected during the membership recruitment drive and the rush for ODM nominations had disappeared to. [E]very time money was needed – even as little as Sh50,000 – to buy lunch for strategy team members – they were being asked to go on 'begging' missions to Indian businessmen based in Migori and Nairobi. It was embarrassing to see private individuals – some with unknown political affiliations – carrying bottled water and food to Orange House, Rainbow House and Pentagon House. Everyone in ODM, including the senior most leaders, could have been poisoned and wiped out within minutes (*Peeling Back the Mask* 194 – 5).

The financial indiscipline that charcaterises the ODM is described in the quotation above. The party cannot even supply itself with primitive needs such as water. This is symbolic. It implies that if Raila's party is unable to meet the needs of its own group, the ODM would not be able to meet the basic requirements of the Kenyan populace. With the money unaccounted for, the secretariat goes on begging missions. The implication of this action is that in receiving the assistance from the Indians in Nairobi and Migori, the ODM is creating a fertile ground for corruption because once in power, the ODM would have to return the favour. This would come in the form of giving the Indians government contracts that would allow the businessmen recoup the money they had extended to the party during the campaign period. The ironic twist is that instead of preparing to check the corruption that has reached prominent levels, the would-be-government is preparing new grounds for corruption to thrive. In this instance, Miguna satirises the ODM party leadership for their greed, corruption and rapacity. His motive is to shame them into recognising the fact that Kenyans deserve better leadership devoid of these vices.

Miguna also satirises the hubris that political infects an individual with. He claims that Raila was a humble politician who metamorphosed immediately he becomes Kenya's second Prime Minister. Miguna notes that:

> In the 15 minutes Raila had stopped over at Pentagon House that day, something had jarred. He had looked and sounded different. Even his gait had changed. He had walked, gestured and spoken with a new 'authority'. We had all been astounded: the transformation seemed too fast to be believable (265).

Raila was sworn in as Prime Minister on April 17th, 2008. The events in the quote above occur a day after. Raila has gone to inspect his new offices at Treasury Building on Harambee Avenue. He leaves after the visit in a huge motorcade with all the noisy accompaniments of a Kenyan VIP. The connotative import of this spectacle is that Kenyans should not have expected Raila to behave any better after assumption of the position of Prime Minister. He had instantly embraced the ostentations of the ruling class. Miguna observes a metamorphosis in Raila's demeanor. His gait, speech, gaze, gestures and overall mannerism speak of authority. The change in Raila's demeanor is used by Miguna to satirise the puerile obsession that the African leader has with power.

In *Kidneys for the King*, we also have instances of satire. Miguna says leading clergy in Kenya "was virulently opposed to limited abortions aimed at saving expectant mothers' lives, yet they had never openly and consistently stood up against capital punishment that resulted in many possibly innocent people convicted in error being killed" (194). The clergy is presented as selective in its defense of the sanctity of human life. If life is sacred then the Church ought to have guarded the life of the convict and that of the endangered expectant mother with the same zest as they did that of a newly conceived child. The lives of the convict and that of the mother, one would argue, are a little more assured as compared to the uncertain one of the foetus which may be lost during the life of a pregnancy. The clergy is satirised for being hypocritical.

The researcher had already explained that, according to Miguna, the clergy in 2010 picked at different articles of the proposed Constitution with the intent of discrediting the whole document. Miguna dismisses each claim by making reference to that very draft Constitution. Of article 26 that deals with the right to life, the clergy claimed that by giving women the right to reproductive health, the constitution was introducing abortion in a roundabout manner (195).

Miguna counters this by saying that the proposed Constitution is categorical that life commences at conception. In article 45, the Church claimed that the Constitution allowed same sex marriage but Miguna quotes the Constitution as saying a legitimate marriage is that between two consenting adults of opposite sex (196). Article 37 gives every citizen a right to peaceful and unarmed assembly, demonstration, picketing and petition (196). This is interpreted by the Red Brigade as an invitation to anarchy because even the army would want to be licensed to demonstrate. However, the proposed Constitution is clear that what is allowed is "*authorised peaceful and unarmed assembly*" (ibid; italics Miguna's). The clergy is thus willfully misinterpreting the Constitution. The clergy has joined politicians such as William Ruto to oppose the draft document. This union has made the Church twist facts to further the Red Brigade's agenda. The author thus satirises the Church for allowing itself to be patronised by the politicians who have suspect motives.

Finally, Miguna satirises the media. In the quotation below he highlights the failings of the media:

> The Kenyan media repeated these defamatory falsehoods without care. They didn't even seek my comment as they often do when real criminals – drug pushers, money launderers, land grabbers, smugglers, and looters – are challenged or merely mentioned in the media. They didn't grant me the 'right of reply' even after I had requested the same. They were clearly serving their masters (*Kidneys for the King*, 154).

Miguna says that *The Standard* newspaper portrays him as a coward when he travels to Canada after the release of *Peeling Back the Mask*. *The Standard* newspaper claims the author flees fearing prosecution. He especially mentions Okech Kendo, an editor with the newspaper, who does an article entitled "Come, Baby, Come turns to Run, Baby, Run'. Miguna says calls Okech Kendo 'a frothing idiot, emitting all kinds of manufactured idiocy' (151). Such epithets reflect poorly on Miguna's autobiographical enterprise. The autobiography is a reflective exercise that should be tempered in diction and tone. Miguna's failure to govern his emotion, and more so while writing, betrays the fact that he is an untrustworthy mediator of events. His disdainful treatment of people of contrary opinion undermines his impartiality.

For over two and half years, Miguna has consistently contributed articles to *The Star* newspaper. All this while, the newspaper has lauded him for being prolific. However, after the launch of his

book, *Peeling Back the Mask*, *The Star*, in an editorial piece, describes him using phrases such as 'mercurial and reckless'. The newspaper further claims that has a penchant for overstating his case (153). The media wants Miguna to substantiate his assertions that the ODM has been culpable in the Post Election Violence that rocked Kenya in 2007/8. Miguna says this is hypocritical because the newspapers themselves often keep off cases in the courts saying it would be sub judicial to do so (153). On the whole, Miguna's assessment is that the media is lazy (ibid). He satirises the media's partiality.

Miguna says that the coldness the media exudes towards him is because his book, *Peeling Back the Mask*, has presented the Prime Minister Raila Odinga in bad light. Raila Odinga, Miguna argues, has coerced the media into turning the guns on him. Miguna satirises the media for allowing themselves to be patronised by the political class. He derogates their corrupt nature and demands that they revert to their role of telling the truth with impartiality.

Overally, satire is used to obtain special purposes in literature. In the article "The Satire as a Social Mirror: Jonathan Swift's *A Modest Proposal* in Context", the author says satire helps 'raise questions about serious matters that people may find difficult to discuss because of their serious nature. Discussing issues with humour and irony can take the sharpest sting out of the issue and make it easier to figure out and find a solution to. Satire can also be effective in catching people's attention since it often shocks and stirs things up.' (5)

The researcher argues that the issues Miguna addresses himself to in both autobiographies are serious. Miguna says that corruption in Kenya is endemic. Its effects are deep and far-reaching. It engulfs everyone. The profits accruing from it are handsome. Corruption fights back in Kenya. The fight-back is lethal. Those who have attempted to fight it have had to run for their dear lives. Miguna points out the case of the former permanent secretary for Ethics, John Githongo. Githongo has to seek asylum abroad to save his life. Miguna chooses to mock the perpetrators of corruption. He wills them to change.

Miguna treats some subjects with humour. The reader is entertained, laughing at the unbridled greed of politicians and unholy patronage of the Church by the political class. The danger in

talking about corruption in a country where it is the norm and the veneration for dogma makes it challenging to confront the dual issues. This is where satire becomes handy; it shocks and at the same time entertains. Talking about these untouchable issues through satire enthralls the reader; it glues the reader to Miguna's autobiographies.

Satire protects the writer from libel. Megan LeBoeuf opines that satire "has the ability to protect its creator from culpability for criticism, because it is implied rather than overtly stated; in this way, it becomes a powerful tool for dissenters in difficult or oppressive political and social periods' (2). Kenyan leadership has a history of clamping down on dissent. The political atmosphere is oppressive and difficult for those who harbour and wish to express leftist ideologies. It is because of this that, Miguna, uses the satiric mode to reveal his ideas.

Miguna's satire is direct. He addresses himself to the politicians, the clergy and the media. Miguna's satire is Juvenelian. It is bitter and biting. His tone is savage. So savage is it that Miguna sometimes overdoes himself; at times he is plainly abusive. This is evident when he says in *Kidneys for the King*: "Now, Okech could publicise his stupidity to the world, but he certainly couldn't change history through half baked and twisted reactions" (152). It is Seaquam's argument, and the researcher's as well, that good application of satire should balance the Horatian and Juvenelian streams. Miguna's application of satire tilts towards the harsh; it lacks the subtlety expected in a literary application. In Miguna's autobiographies, satire is put to good use but its employment would have been more rewarding, had he blended the Horatian and Juvenelian streams of satire.

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher explored how different literary techniques were employed to buttress the portrayal of the historical process in Kenya. Dialogue is used by Miguna to give the narrative immediacy. It also helps develop character sketches. Irony enables critics debate the conflicting perceptions that events in the texts invite. Figurative language vivifies events as well as gives the texts colour. The reader gets to textual truth by engaging in the interpretation of the figures of speech. Satire points out the weaknesses of people and institutions.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE LITERARY SIGNIFICANCE OF MIGUNA'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIES IN INTERPRETING KENYA'S RECENT HISTORY

4.1. Introduction

Literature is a referential discipline. It is imitative of a reality external to the literary text. New Historicism, the theory upon which this study was grounded, is premised on the argument that "any 'knowledge' of the past is necessarily mediated by *texts* or, to put it differently, that history is in many respects textual" (Bennet and Royle 115). However, the meditational character of texts is not limited to New Historicism. Bennet and Royle state that it was first expressed in 1967 by Jacques Derrida in his work, *Of Grammatology*. Most post structuralist literary theories are hinged on the historicity of texts.

How literary texts go about mediating reality was of concern to this study. The study explored how the literary strategies employed by Miguna Miguna in his autobiographies promote a realistic interpretation of Kenya's recent history. The researcher focused on three areas that impact a realistic production of Kenya's recent history. Therefore this chapter was constructed around:

1. Miguna's autobiographical first persona and the interpretation of Kenya's recent history;
2. Finding historical objectivity in the midst of narrative objectivity in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* and
3. The interplay between historical and narrative truths in Miguna's autobiographical texts.

4.2. Miguna's Autobiographical First Persona

The researcher commenced the analysis of the implications of the autobiographical first persona on the interpretation of Kenya's recent history by analysing a passage from *Peeling Back the Mask*:

> Admittedly, there were lots of challenges in Kenya as I prepared for my return home. There was ethnic exclusivism, xenophobia, discrimination and marginalisation of certain groups of people. There was flagrant nepotism and cronyism. Integrity, competence, education, training, experience and skills, which should be the basic criteria for employment and upward mobility, didn't matter as much as ethnic, racial and class

> affiliations. Caucasians, Asians, and the Kikuyu and Kalenjin elites – generally – were regarded to rank higher than other groups, in that order. The first and second categories derive their privileged status to colonial policies, while the elites of the third and fourth groups draw theirs from neo-colonial tribalism and abuse of power. In fact, growing up (and even up to this moment), I have never met an unemployed or homeless Kenyan Caucasian or Asian. Whether at Kenya's airports, hotels, restaurants or at social and political functions, those belonging to these two groups are always served first and more politely than their African counterparts. It's one despicable colonial and neocolonial legacy I have never accepted, and which is what I felt the burning desire to help change (xvii)

In the quotation, the narrator introduces social stratification. He does not say that it has happened suddenly but is traceable to the colonial days. By providing the background to racial and tribal differentiation, especially from the first person point of view, Miguna gives an in-depth understanding of the sticking problem of tribalism. The reverent attitude that the African displays towards the Caucasian race issues from the inhumane manner in which the colonialist handled his association with the colonised. The imprint of servitude that the colonialist left in the psyche of the colonised has not faded away. Subservience for the African is more of a reflex than a considered response to the presence of a human being of Caucasian extraction. The disdain with which the black Africans treat their own was engendered within the colonial construct. The feeling of contempt towards their own kind springs from a shared experience of helplessness at the hands of the heavy handed colonialist. That there exists no unemployed or homeless Kenyan Caucasian cements how political environments have shaped social and economic power. The fact that the web of associations is voiced through the first person grants the autobiography what Sandefur calls "narrative identity" (1).The first person voicing of these historical realities provides an eyewitness account that cannot be trashed as heresy. The voice brings this historical process right before us. As a consequence, the narrative becomes credible.

Gerard Genette, in his influential work, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method*, distinguishes the focaliser from the narrator (98). The focaliser is the one who sees and/or experiences the events while the narrator is the one who tells them. In autobiography, the focaliser is also the teller. The type of focalisation Miguna employs in the autobiographies is termed *focalisation interne* (internal focalisation). Fludernik explains in her work *Introduction to Narratology*, that in internal focalisation 'the perspective of one character dominates on the diegetic level' (102). Miguna uses the first person to bridge the gap between the focaliser and the narrator thus

providing immediacy and emphasis to the presentation of the vice of tribalism that pervade Kenya's history.

The autobiographical first persona give Miguna's autobiographies the wholeness that would miss in, say, a third person narrating presence where there is zero focalisation and the observations generate from multiple characters. The narrator in the third person often loses ownership of point of view. In the first person varying points of view are minimised. That of the narrator/protagonist is granted prominence. A synchrony at the level of narration obtains. The work is structured in a unitary manner. The cumulative consequence of choosing the first person is achievement of authority which is central to the believability of a historical interpretation. Miguna's narratives are able to achieve unity because of the use of the autobiographical first persona.

Miguna's employment of the first person in this excerpt also gives the autobiography narrative immediacy and vigour. Joanne S. Frye points out that the third person is restrictive because "[t]he 'she' can easily lull us into complacent and conventional expectations; the 'I' keeps us conscious of the possibility and change" (quoted in Sandefur 65). The immediacy ensures there is "fluidity in form and by extension in the characterization" in the work (Sandefur 7). The characterisation of the narrator is consistent. Miguna's choice of the first persona keeps the narrator awake to the narrator's experiences. Miguna's accounts are presented excitingly because they are made to unfold right before the observer's eyes.

The metaphor around which Miguna's autobiographies revolve is also vivified through the use of the autobiographical first persona. The overriding metaphor in Miguna's autobiographies is challenge to the retrogressive status quo. This aspiration can best be realised by the use of a first person narrator who shares Miguna's ideologies. This connection between the author and narrator makes the reader believe what Miguna communicates because the view of the narrator does not shift. Rockwell Gray, in "Autobiography Now", calls the motive guiding the narrator "the overarching metaphor" (45); Jerome Bruner in "Self-Making and World-Making" calls it "the organizing metaphor" (69) and makes Jerome H. Buckley, observe that "the autobiographer frequently resorts to a central myth or metaphor as a means of organizing the details of his

experience" (82). The organising metaphor defines how the narrator/protagonist juggles all the elements that go into the narrative. Miguna's autobiographies are able to be consistent because they have a uniting metaphor to guide them.

In "Narrative Technique: Who's Telling the Story?" the critic calls the first person narrator the authoring presence. This term underlines the proximity between the author and the narrator (2). A narrator is a "fabricated presence telling the story" ("Narrative Technique" 1). The fabricated self is an imaginative creation that may be stretched to embrace elements that the author believes will build his narrative. Even then, the elasticity of the embrace should be tempered by reality more so because the authoring presence is not only a narrator of the events but also their experiencing self. The author has to be alive to what he is realistically capable and/or incapable of granting agency to. Whereas Miguna has exploited the proximity between author and narrator to make his narrative "full of the confessional tone, authenticity and honesty" ("Autobiography: Nature, Elements and History" 11), there are points when he goes dangerously overboard – confusing the author for the narrator.

The researcher believes that there are incidents when Miguna fails to demarcate what his narrating protagonist can and cannot accomplish. His narrator/protagonist comes out as vainglorious, opinionated and eerily superhuman. Consider his assertion that: "It's one despicable colonial and neocolonial legacy I have never accepted, and which is what I felt the burning desire to help change" (*Peeling Back the Mask* xviii). The narrator loathes tribalism and its appendages racism and nepotism. He expresses the hate by using the adjective 'despicable'. However, it is grossly swellheaded for him to imagine that he will be able to rid the country of this vice on his own. The reality is that he has no magic wand to wield and undo the perils caused by tribalism. Moreover, his 'burning desire" sounds vacuous. His agenda is wrongly premised. It lacks substance. The image created is that of a whirlwind that comes, causes havoc and quickly dissipates into nothingness leaving destruction in its wake. Many might get singed. True, liberation requires the daring of committed revolutionaries; nevertheless, actual change has been the product of united approaches and not the fantasies of an individual with a convoluted ego. He traps himself in the exaggeration of his self worth. This harms his interpretation of Kenya's historical process.

New Historicism guided the researcher in making the above assessment. An interpretation of history must take cognisance of multiple powers at play that determine the destiny of a country. It is therefore unrealistic that Miguna would be the only power to cause change in the society. The researcher was able to subject Miguna's assertion to scrutiny and concluded that his position does impinge on a realistic interpretation of Kenya's recent history.

The second quotation below further interrogates the felicity of the autobiographical first persona in delivering a realistic interpretation of Kenya's recent history. Miguna notes that:

> Let me make one confession: although I wasn't involved in this high-stakes electoral fraud (I wasn't even in Kenya then), I have always known about it – and I never reported it to the 'authorities.' From an ODM perspective, the 'authorities' were historically perpetrators of fraud. And the 'authorities' were our opponents. I was between a rock and a hard place, but I could still have blown the whistle, by publishing an op-ed or delivering a surreptitious letter to Raila's opponents. For that, I apologise profusely to ODM members, specifically, and to Kenyans in general. I'm a human being with human frailties like any other person. I mistakenly believed that Raila acquiring power so that he could transform Kenya was more important than the electoral infractions he had committed to get the ODM nominations (*Peeling Back the Mask* 174 – 5).

The confessional tone is more overt in this quotation as compared to the first. The quotation is introduced by "Let me make one confession". The confessional tone that can only be managed by the first person narrative makes the narrative plausibjle because the narrator tries as much as possible to be honest. The autobiography is the product of confessions. Some of the earliest works are The *Confessions of St. Augustine* and Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions*. Miguna has monumental benchmarks as he approaches his autobiographies. He has to pick from his predecessors the best practices that would give the voice of his narrator/protagonist's authenticity. One of these should be the confessional tone.

Miguna promises a confession in the above quote. However, his syntax gravely impinges on his honesty: he says he wants to make a confession yet in the same sentence he incorporates the word 'although'. He wants to accept culpability for some of the mess that the ODM was involved in but still feels he shouldn't. This is paradoxical. He betrays the purpose for which the autobiography is written. The autobiography envisages full disclosure. Nevertheless, Miguna's weakness is in tandem with New Historicism. Proponents of New Historicism such as Stephen Greenblatt and Marylin Butler, as well argue prejudice is attendant to mediation. Rewriting is

usually done in a manner that reshapes the autobiographers' personalities positively. In this instance, Miguna's narrator structures this sentence in a way that minimises his culpabilities but maximises those of others with whom he disagrees.

First, Miguna uses understatement while reflecting his involvement in activities of the ODM. The narrator says he wasn't involved in the high stakes electoral fraud – the nomination of Raila Odinga as the flag bearer for the ODM on September 1, 2007. The parenthetical 'I wasn't even in Kenya then' is meant to distance him from blame. It becomes puzzling then that he says: "I have always known about it". From the syntactic structure, he may have known about the fraud only superficially thus does lack the authority to confidently speak on it. He admits, without realising it, that he was as peripheral a player in the activities of the ODM. He was just any other party supporter. This greatly erodes the punch in his voice and the credibility of his story. If he had portrayed himself as an insider and admits being aware of and party to the malignant illnesses that imperil the ODM, his narrative would have borne some heft. Instead, his narrative has all the imprints of heresy. When he says 'I have always known' but cannot provide the sources of his knowledge, the sentence sounds pedestrian and factually vacuous.

Miguna's narrator has been a master at applying irony. He has consistently presented Raila Odinga as an individual who is viewed as a crusader for democratic principles by default. To Miguna, Raila, in actual fact, is a duplicitous clown. However, in the second quote, the narrator becomes the subject of his own irony. He, while anxious to dismiss the ODM house as an endemically corrupt entity, shows that he himself is deceptive. He wants the reader to believe his story yet he does not provide enough evidence upon which his story can be grounded. He wants to be viewed as an insider to the ODM's duplicities so that he be believed but at the same time says he was not in the thick of things, so to speak. His narrator appears scatter-brained. The narrative, being so sketchy, risks translating into a tabloid piece.

This string of sentences in the quotation equally gnaws at Miguna's narrative: "From an ODM perspective, the 'authorities' were historically perpetrators of fraud. And the 'authorities' were our opponents. I was between a rock and a hard place, but I could still have blown the whistle, by publishing an op-ed or delivering a surreptitious letter to Raila's opponents". Miguna's

narrator has, erstwhile, been the epitome of daring. Yet, here, a different narrator emerges. He is spineless; he is unable to face the so called 'authorities'. At one point he even dares the executive. At Kilaguni Serena Lodge retreat, at his insistence, the former PM is allocated a room as spacious as that of the president. It does not add up that now he cannot stand up to these 'authorities' that he attaches no faces to. Though the quotation of 'authorities' may indicate the potential danger, it sounds apologetic and weak for Miguna's narrator to cringe at the danger they harbour. Miguna's narrator's vows on coming back to Kenya to "*continue the struggle we had joined in the 1980s for true democracy in Kenya*, to pursue my own political ambitions and to seek justice for my late friend [Crispin Odhiambo Mbai]" (*Peeling Back the Mask*; italics mine xiv).

If this cowardly approach was the manner in which Miguna and his narrator were going to approach the three issues he was coming to confront, then true democracy in Kenya would never be achieved and Mbai's spirit would remain out there in the wild wailing for a long time, waiting for a more decisive actor to take the requisite steps so that it may be satisfied and rest finally. This researcher was left with the lingering feeling that Miguna's narrator might have come back to the country basically to pursue his political dreams. However, again, this selfish objective came a cropper perhaps because of his scape-goating of other people. Rather than tackle his political nemesis head on, Miguna's narrator engages in ideological posturing. No wonder he loses in the Nyando Constituency ODM nominations of 2007 (*Peeling Back the Mask* 187).

Even in the campaigns for Nyando Constituency parliamentary seat, Miguna presents himself as the good guy; all his opponents are bad:

> So fierce, corrosive, virulent and personal were the rivalries that Outa and Nyamunga's supporters had fought numerous times, guns had been drawn and two innocent youths had lost their lives. These two could never meet peacefully unless I was around. In fact, I was the only candidate who campaigned in Nyando without armed goons. I was also the only one who didn't bear a firearm. Twice, Gogo and Outa had separately and individually held joint rallies with me. My youths and security freely mingled with those of my opponents'. So, it was natural that they would appoint me their spokesperson (*Peeling Back the Mask* 187).

The narrator presents himself as peaceable. He is the one that tempers the 'fierce, corrosive, virulent and personal' rivalries among his competitors. He saves no negative adjective when berating his opponents. The cumulative effect of the adjectives is that the narrator's opponents are querulous and so simple minded that they cannot see that they are destroying the very Nyando that they hope to represent. The narrator/protagonist wants disgust to be felt when he says the lives of two 'innocent' youth had been lost. He juxtaposes the innocence of the youth with the fatal drawing of guns done by his opponents. He apportions blame on Outa and Nyamunga. The narrator is the voice of reason: "These two (Nyamunga and Outa) could never meet peacefully unless I was around". He is even able to hold peaceful joint rallies with his opponents (Gogo and Outa).

The narrator's choice of words in the above extract is quite revealing of his desire to reconstruct himself as a pleasant person. Whereas he calls his opponents' supporters 'goons', he refers to his own as 'youths and security' who are so peace-loving that they 'freely mingled with those of my opponents'. *Word Web,* an internet based dictionary, defines a goon as an awkward stupid person or an aggressive and violent young criminal. In either sense, the word goon evokes unpleasant images. Had he simply called his opponents just criminals, the distaste towards them would have been lessened. The narrator's choice of goon, then, reinforces the violence he wishes to associate with his opponents and thereby elicit abhorrence toward their supporters from the reader.

Nevertheless, what perhaps one might worry about is how young people inhabiting the same locality could be so different in behaviour. Reference to one group as 'youth and security' invites two pleasant emotions: sympathy and admiration. The youth are young and as yet do not have the economic wherewithal. They are financially unstable. They are presented as a poor lot merely looking for a means to a livelihood. Sympathy is exhorted towards their endeavours to eke a living. Miguna's narrator implies that the youth ought to be supported. They should be admired because, selflessly, they are providing safety for an ideologue, Miguna's narrator, who is going to liberate the people from political bonds of violence. They are involved in a just cause.

Having followed the narrator's thesis thus far, it is hardly surprising that he ends the quote with recording his appointment as the spokesman of the Nyando Constituency aspirants' caucus. He is the one who drafts the letter to Orange House, the ODM headquarters, expressing their dissatisfaction with the flawed nomination process in Nyando. Miguna's narrator is presented as more informed, diplomatic, urbane and technologically savvy. He does not forget to point out that "I was the only candidate in Nyando who carried a laptop and had proven writing skills" (187). One wonders by whose standards the writing skills were proven and honed and whether anybody has cared to investigate the level of written proficiencies among the other candidates. If Miguna believes that prolific op-eds are the yardstick upon which proficiency is based, then it is a partial parameter indeed. Miguna risks confusing his loudness, closeness to Raila or, may be, his verbal recklessness for proficiency. Miguna misuses his closeness to Raila and the media to make far reaching judgments and apportion himself a vantage position from which to interpret history. Nevertheless, the researcher was persuaded that Miguna's grounds for proficiency are suspect and selfish.

Miguna's narrator finds violence abhorrent but calls himself a revolutionary. In *Peeling Back the Mask* alone the term 'revolutionary' is used 15 times. Miguna's narrator characterises revolutionaries as of two types: the true ones and the fake ones. In the first group he places Che Guevara (66), Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Fidel Castro, Karl Marx, Muamar Gaddhafi (69), Friedrich Engels (71), Vladimir Lenin, Edwardo Mondlane and Nelson Mandela (85). In the second category, he places Ngugi (119) and Raila (346). That Miguna's narrator places Ngugi in both categories is confusing. He had just celebrated Ngugi as one of those whom, because of their revolutionary writings, was exiled by President Jomo Kenyatta (56). Later, when Miguna's narrator is in Canada and they organise a conference to promote Pan-Africanism and Ngugi demands his honorarium, Miguna turns around and regards him as hypocritical: "That was another valuable lesson learnt: people espousing revolutionary rhetoric won't necessarily practice what they preach" (119).

Ngugi's contribution in fighting for democratic governance is well documented. For instance, G. Odera Outa, in the essay "The Dramaturgy of Power and Politics in Post-colonial Kenya: A

Comparative Re-reading of 'Forms' in Texts by Ngugi was Thiong'o and Francis Imbuga", says:

> It will be recalled that it was this latter play (*Mother Sing for Me*) that formed a core part of Ngugi's famous Kamirithu, "people based theatre" which propounded his problems with the successive governments of Kenya, leading to the outlawing of, and actually razing to the ground, of the Kamirithu Educational and Cultural Centre where this whole project was based (349).

This is a historical fact. When Miguna's chooses to snap away Ngugi's revolutionary character because of a little disagreement between the two of them, Miguna does a lot of injustice to Kenyan history. He picks on a small point of weakness in his interaction with Ngugi, hues it with exaggeration and imagines that it will blot out the achievements Ngugi has had. The researcher argues that this is rather petty of Miguna. He attempts to contrast the supposed Ngugi and the real one. However, the contrast negates his argument that Ngugi is a charlatan. Only a few pages earlier, he had nothing but encomium for Ngugi. He even quotes Ngugi as the drive for writing *Peeling Back the Mask*: '"As Ngugi wa Thiong'o says in his *Barrel of a Pen: Resistance to Repression in Neo-Colonial Kenya*: "silence before the crimes of the neo-colonial regime in Kenya is collusion with social evil"' (*Peeling Back the Mask* xxi). It is paradoxical for Miguna to disparage someone he has just praised. The paradox negatively impacts the veracity of the claims Miguna makes in his narratives. Miguna's claims that Raila is a political fraud can become suspect.

Miguna claims to identify with revolutionaries. Revolutions and justified violence are concomitant to each other. However, Miguna reviles violence throughout these autobiographies. He presents people that employ violence as barbarous. In his now famous submission, "History Will Absolve Me", Fidel Castro, he of Cuba, argues that aggression only begets aggression. The only difference is whether the aggressor is noble in his aggressiveness or not. He insists that an aggression that is for the common good is justified. Frantz Fanon, in *The Wretched of the Earth*, equally justifies violence more so its use by the proletariat to free themselves of the yoke of the bourgeoisie. He says that the cure to colonialism which induced all kinds of complexes in both the colonised and the coloniser was pure violence (65). Miguna dotes on the fact that Fanon's work made it into the reading list during his university days. It becomes ironic that he does not

subscribe to these writers' belief that violence can be liberating. He seems only to be bandying the names of revolutionaries around so as to appear as if he belongs in the same league.

Miguna alludes to the great revolutionaries so as to achieve parallel between revolutionaries such as Frantz Fanon, Eduardo Mondlane and Nelson Mandela and himself. However, it is the researcher's argument that the realisation of his character in these autobiographies does not measure up to these icons. He lacks the mettle. His presentation is more of a lament than anything constructive. He dithers when he ought to take contrary stance against his own party, the ODM or the so called 'authorities'. He waits until he is kicked out of the ODM then begins to lambast his erstwhile comrades. William Ochieng could have had autobiographers such as Miguna in mind when he says in "Autobiography in Kenyan History" that: "most people who write their autobiographies tend to be those who fear that they have failed, or have not performed up to public expectation and therefore must explain their records" (81).

What the researcher has done in the last few paragraphs is not really to lampoon Miguna's narrating/authoring presence. It has more to do with the limitations of the first person narrative voice. Wayne Booth, in *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, says "the choice of the first person is sometimes unduly limiting; if the 'I' has inadequate access to necessary information, the author may be led to improbabilities" (150). The researcher opines that lack of adequate information is not one of the afflictions Miguna suffers. Rather, his weakness may be with how he mis(manages) the information at his disposal. The consequence is that his narrative is greatly imperiled.

On the positive side, however, Miguna attempts to balance the sometimes self-extolling claims with those that intimate that he is only being intimate. There are times that even he feels that he has gone too far in his self-glorification. In such instances, he appears to look around; feel embarrassed and injects statements into his otherwise subjective narrative so as to help blunt out, to some extent, the presentation of his person as perfect. In the second excerpt he says: "… I apologise profusely to ODM members, specifically, and to Kenyans in general. I'm a human being with human frailties like any other person". The apology injects sincerity into the narrative. The qualification of 'apologise' with 'profusely', cements the honesty in his voice. He

explains that, being human, he is susceptible to making mistakes and should not be judged too harshly on account of having made a few. His honesty in this instance grants his story credibility.

From *Peeling Back the Mask*, the image of the narrator/protagonist is of someone who has a condescending attitude towards other people. For instance, Miguna's narrator/protagonist uses the word 'clueless" a record six times with regard to his opponents (191,202, 221, 267, 292, 512). He applies other equally demeaning terms such as dour with reference to the opponents. It is ironic that he should now claim to be "a human being with human frailties". The other people that he lampoons are equally human. It is hypocritical of Miguna's narrator/protagonist not to be able to let pass other people's inequities yet expect his own weaknesses to be stomached. This irony, though he is unaware of it, is directed at his own self. Miguna's narrator appears not to be in charge of his narrative. He is unable to tightly secure a consistent self image.

On the whole, the narrating presence appears to have been too strong for the authoring self to control. This is dangerous because an autobiography operates best when autodiegesis is properly managed. The wantonness of Miguna's narrator/protagonist creates incongruence between the focaliser and the narrator. This significantly gnaws at the unity of the narrative and compromises the veracity of the claims the narrator makes. To check this, the author of "Autobiography: Nature, elements and History" recommends that the autobiographer should be neutral as stated below:

> … the author has to maintain a kind of balance between his own self praise and narration of other persons, events and places. There is every chance for an autobiographer to sound egoistic. Obviously, all the activities of man are centred around his 'I' but an autobiographer has to express himself through the little 'I'. He should be very neutral about the positive as well as negative side of his temperament (13).

In Miguna's autobiographies, the narrator/protagonist is so domineering that the voice of the 'real' Miguna is almost snuffed out. The narrator/protagonist comes out as overanxious to smoothen out any rough edges in his earlier life so much so that the character he creates is almost superhuman. The narrator has outdone himself. The character he has created is uncannily perfect. Though Miguna has set out to present an imaginative character, he succeeds in manufacturing an imaginary one. His character does not walk our earth. He finds everything in

the earth revolting. The failure to balance the two selves thus compromises the authenticity of his narratives.

Miguna must have realised that the texture of voice he chooses in *Peeling Back the Mask* is too bitter, self-glorifying and egotistic as to tell a balanced story. He attempts to make amends for this in *Kidneys for the King*. In the latter text, the narrator's tone has shifted, even if minimally, to being conciliatory in some sections. He invests in many a paragraph explaining his unsavoury actions and reactions he exhibits both in *Peeling Back the Mask* and at the book's launch. His tenor speaks of someone who is now sober, indulgent and has the time to enunciate what happened. This patience indicates that he has reflected on several issues. His voice evidences this. The voice we now come across, though still shrill and reactionary in most parts, sounds a little bit bereft of emotion and tantrum. It sounds more human and appears anxious to share with his audience the deepest of his feelings. He candidly explains his emotions in a manner that the reader would find it difficult not to feel a tinge of sympathy for the narrator/protagonist as seen in the quotation:

> But I recovered quickly, steeled myself, thinking quietly about how badly I wanted the event to succeed and thinking that I would spoil everything if I cried. There were powerful, overwhelming emotions rocking my body uncontrollably. These were emotions of all those days of struggle and suffering and sacrifices. The years of sojourn from Kenya to Tanzania to Swaziland to Canada then back to Kenya; years when nothing mattered except my unflinching focus to succeed and to shame the repressive forces that had conspired to undermine my life's purpose (*Kidneys for the King* 11).

The narrator/protagonist, in this instance, is an emotional wreck. His past – the tribulations, the frustrations and a history of gargantuan torment - have found convergence in the spatial temporal construct of the launch. The past pervades the moment and buffets the narrator mercilessly. The past, being constitutive of the narrator/protagonist's psyche, influences his logic. In a torrent, the words fall; the audience is astounded or enthralled depending on which side of the divide (detractor or enthusiast) they fall. The narrator has lost jurisdiction over his words. The image is one of helplessness: "there were powerful, overwhelming emotions rocking my body uncontrollably". The conjunctive construction "struggle and suffering and sacrifices" demonstrates that Miguna's pain is long drawn. The alliterative patterning "struggle and suffering and sacrifices", cements the anguish. The /s/ connotes one in pain. His brother, whose

eyes are “welling up”, only exacerbates the narrator’s trauma (11). The alliterative sound achieves sibilance.

Such vivid description could only obtain from a first person point of view since the focaliser and the narrator have synergised to weigh in on the narrative process. A reader of this paragraph feels as if he was there with the narrator at that launch. He shares the narrator’s apprehension, anxieties as well as triumph. The description is so realistic. A credible interpretation to a large extent depends on the skills applied to obtain reality. Miguna’s narrator/protagonist puts vivid description and imagery to effective use, in this instance, to hue the narrative with reality.

Miguna’s narrator/protagonist at that launch is, tone-wise, a stark contrast to the one narrating the incidents in *Peeling Back the Mask*. He laments that:

> I sat in the back and slumped sideways, closed my eyes and began the painful task of reflection and introspection. I instantly realised the enormity of my utterances. I knew I shouldn’t have gone that far. Challenging Raila Odinga, Caroli Omondi, and Mohamed Isahakia was all right. But clearly, I shouldn’t have stated that I could take “all these leaders to The Hague”. To start with, I couldn’t. I wasn’t an ICC investigator or prosecutor. I didn’t have an investigative, prosecutorial, or judicial mandate over The Hague. I wasn’t privy to the nitty-gritty of the evidence the ICC prosecutor had gathered with respect to the Kenyan situation (19).

The “Come baby, come” statement is an unintended outburst and a grave tactical error. It is said in the heat of the moment. The incident presents to the public the wrong perception of his persona – that he is recklessly thoughtless and vain. In *Kidneys for the King*, the narrator is petulant.

The narrator employs a variety of strategies to exhort faith from the reader. First, he indulges in full disclosure. This he achieves through vivid description. He captures every utterance, feeling and movement to the minutest detail. He does not pick the book; he grabs it from the lectern. He has been involved in violence which, though, he has previously condemned. He is rueful. The narrator quotes the exact words he uses. This is intentional. The flashback provides the requisite background needed for one seeking to apologise. His electing to use direct speech provides immediacy and ultimately sincerity to his recompense.

Manipulation of temporal and spatial variables is a skill that astute autobiographers employ so as to reap fruitful literary and interpretative returns. Autobiographies, being reflective exercises, the distance between the narrating self and the experiencing self definitely must impact on the accuracy and authenticity of the reflection. The real self or event, as Sodhi Meena observes in her essay *Indian English Writing – The Autobiographical Mode*, is replaced "by a new self made object, a cultural artifact - the book at hand, the autobiographical self" (33). Rockwell equally notes that "a writer is made by writing, the person created by the text, rather than vice versa" (44). Sandefur observes that in narratives such as those in which the narrator is an adult while the focaliser is a child "an adult narrator imposes his or her present interpretations and judgments on past experiences, the narrative goal is to determine the significance of previous experiences for the adult rather than to portray accurately earlier events or even the earlier self" (5). So conscious is Miguna's narrator/protagonist of the distance between the two selves that he commences *Peeling Back the Mask* with the statements below:

> I stood in front of the bathroom mirror and examined myself carefully. The man that stared back at me wasn't the same person who had arrived in Toronto as a frightened young political refugee from Africa almost 20 years earlier, on June 25, 1988. Of course, I remained the same ideologically. My core principles and mores remained intact. But I had grown older, worldlier and hopefully wiser. I had also become more socially and economically well-grounded. I was now a father and a husband, with all those roles' attendant social responsibilities and expectations. Most obviously of all, physically I wasn't the same penniless lanky fellow that I had been in 1988. (xi)

Miguna attempts to side-step the challenge of time elapse by embracing avant-garde trends in writing the autobiography. Rockwell, in "Autobiography Now", notes that currently autobiographies do not use a singular persona, apply confessional tone nor employ linearity and chronology of events. Neither are they reflections /reconstructions written when one is in the autumn of his life (44). Miguna's autobiographies "are drawn toward "unorthodox" forms of autobiography which stress the fragment, the overarching metaphor, the leitmotif, the epiphanic moment, or the select period of life (such as childhood)" (45). Miguna's autobiographies are structured in a manner that the narrator/protagonist is not overly concerned about his whole life. The autobiographies are focused on an 'epiphanic moment" – the time when Raila was the Prime Minister and Miguna Miguna his advisor on Coalition matters. The moment is epiphanic because it is the point when it was revealed to Miguna that the Raila is a fraud. Though there is nothing religiously revelatory about the revelation, the author/narrator's supposed

enlightenment is akin to that which earlier autobiographers such as St. Augustine may have experienced.

Miguna's autobiographies are so structured as to zero in on his epiphanic moment. He compresses periods of his life that are non-essential to his epiphanic moment then stretches those that are. This is done through the amount of acreage he grants the periods. In *Peeling Back the Mask*, Miguna's childhood is contained in Book One: Beginnings. Chapter One, Magina, that covers approximately 37 pages, is all that he accords 20 years of his life (1964 – 1984). The introductory pages, entitled 'Declaration', almost equal a quarter of the pages he allocates his childhood. It runs from page xi – xxiii (13 pages). Even then, most of what he says there lays the foundation for his discrediting of his object – Raila Odinga. Book Two: Exile, covers his exiles in Tanzania and Canada. The 22 years of exile (2 in Tanzania, 20 in Canada) are cumulatively given 66 pages. The six books that follow (Book Three: Return; Book Four: In the Trenches; Book Five: Standing Tall in the Corridors of Power; Book Six: Circling Wolves; Book Seven: Against the Currents and Book Eight: Peeling Back the Mask), covering 329 pages, capture the narrator/protagonist's exposure and struggle to overturn the intrinsic corruptness of Raila Odinga. If the Epilogue, Acknowledgements and Appendices, which vouch for the claims he has made in the autobiography are added, the number of pages granted Miguna's epiphanic moment rises to 440. Yet the duration involved here is only 5 years.

The same pattern of allocating the epiphanic moment more scope is duplicated in *Kidneys for the King*. The text begins with a "Pronunciamento" (9 pages) which, really, is the declaration. He allocates the "Introduction" 25 pages. The author/narrator connects *Kidneys for the King* to *Peeling Back the Mask* right from the "Pronunciamento". He poses: "Why a sequel to *Peeling Back the Mask: a Quest for Justice in Kenya*?" (*Kidneys for the King* 1). The reader expects intertextuality. This expectation is met. After the "Pronunciamento" and the "Introduction", Miguna's narrator/protagonist goes straight into pages disparaging the wanting status of politics and the questionable character of key players either in political or other critical institutions in Kenya. The next six chapters (Between a Shark and A Crocodile; The Fat Cats are Still in Charge; Of "Mad Men" and Fascism; Kidneys for the King; Transformation, Not Reforms and Rayila, the "Nettle Sting") provide a detailed account of the narrator/protagonist's displeasure.

Each chapter is metaphorically titled. For example, “Between a Shark and a Crocodile’ is reflective not only of the narrator/protagonist’s struggle against steep odds but also the dilemmas he has had to confront. These chapters make up 332 of the texts 367 pages. The period that the narrator gives 332 pages is only one year long.

This compression and stretching of certain periods really works well to grant the autobiographies authenticity. Miguna wrote *Peeling Back the Mask* immediately after he fell out with Raila Odinga. The happenings at the Office of the Prime Minister were still fresh in his mind. Contemporaneousness is a key element of the autobiography.

New Historicism assisted the researcher arrive at the above analysis. Firstly, New Historicism deconstructs linearity of history. In Miguna’s autobiographies, the plot is complex. The narrator is engaged in a back and forth exercise going to whichever time in history that the narrative takes him. Secondly, Miguna is concerned with his epiphanic moment; the here and now. He is focused on the particular moment in history.

The further into the past the event the author wishes to recollect, the more challenging the process of recollection becomes. Miguna’s texts could be thought to be less encumbered by the challenges of temporality because the span between the time of occurrence of the events and the time of their mediation is substantially short. The autobiographies bear immediacy such that the reader’s perception is that Miguna writes while in the midst of the experiences he is interpreting. As Jennifer Jensen Wallach would say, the autobiographers’ propensity to “misremember” is highly diminished (450). The autobiographies’ believability is enhanced as a result.

Because the focalising self in the autobiographies is aware of his weaknesses as a narrating self in light of the passage of time and the human propensity to misremember, the narrating self rushes over the incidents that happened much earlier. He knows that in concocting a book that Miguna boisterously refers to as “a 601 page tome” (*Kidneys for the King* 3), the length must measure up to its billing. Thus he makes up for the compressed sections by stretching others where he is certain of the claims he makes. The narrator cannot trust his memory with respect to the earlier years but he can the most immediate or present ones. In fact, his confidence in

reflecting the latter is boosted by the fact that they are contemporary occurrences and the sources of his claims are available in both official and non-official channels (the appendices in *Peeling Back the Mask* is 25 pages long). Thus, whereas it is acknowledged that autobiographies chiefly employ flashbacks, a flashback about an event that only recently happened (as with Miguna's launch of his first book) is likely to be more accurate. Similarly, when Miguna's narrator/protagonist attempts to employ vivid description, he is more certain to do justice to a recent event than one that occurred years before.

Techniques that actualise the manipulation of time are employed pervasively in the autobiography. While interpreting history, the writer applies literary technique. The author of "Autobiography: Nature, Elements and History" thus concludes that the "autobiographer has to perform the twin role of a historian as well as a litterateur" (11). From the foregoing discussion, Miguna has scored handsomely in executing both roles in the above quote, at least.

Finally, the weaknesses of the autobiographical 'I' in interpreting the historical process can be overcome by the introduction of alternative voices in the narrative. Joyce Nyairo, in "The Half-truths Biographers Tell", says "one can introduce other voices, additional points of view to complete the subject's recollections" (39). Miguna attempts to liberate the texts from mono narration by the employment of dialogue. He interrupts the narrative discourse with dialogic interludes so as to capture the differing opinions. He synthesises the dialogues in an attempt to accept his views. The dialogue has to be managed well for it to achieve the desired effect of communicating diverse opinions. Nyairo has observed that Yusuf Kinga'ala's *The Autobiography of Geoffrey W. Griffin: Kenya's Champion Beggar* "suffers from anaemic dialogue" (np). This is true of some of Miguna's.

To begin with, some of Miguna's dialogues are uncharacteristically too long. The researcher believes that dialogues ought to be infused in the narrative when it is absolutely necessitated by circumstance. It must come at a point when the narrator requires it to make a point that cannot be made through narrative discourse. The dialogue is appropriate when reliving, not just any event, but an event that provides a turning point to the narrative. The characters ought to own the dialogue for it to have any impact. Some dialogues in which Miguna is a participant suffer invasion from the narrator/protagonist. The product is that the voices of the other participants

are suffocated. Other dialogues appear simply choreographed to meet the narrator's narratival designs. A good example of this is the dialogue between Miguna and Dick Abuor Okumu (*Peeling Back the Mask* 543-549). Okumu's first words sound like panegyric chants:

> "*Ruath!* We value you. You are our light with which we see. You are a descendant of Lwanda Magere. I know you are our bull that scares others from our herd. I'm aware that you are sharp and know how to fight with your mind, pen and if need be, physically. But we are also aware that it is the brave rhinoceros whose hide is used to make shields. Please don't use cooking oil on a wild cat" (543).

Okumu might have said these words above but that Miguna elects to reproduce them here is meant to build his persona as an indefatigable fighter. The images constructed around the narrator/protagonist further the fighter perception – our light, with which we see, our bull that scares others from our herd. Throughout the dialogue, the narrator/protagonist literally marshals Okumu on what they should talk about. He coaxes Okumu into thinking as he desires him to. Moreover, the authorial interludes are meant to buttress the narrator/protagonist's prejudices against Raila.

Monika Fludernik observes that dialogues as represented in texts could be inaccurate. She notes that:

> Recordings of genuine spoken exchanges show that written representations of these have been stylized or 'purified'. Spoken exchanges in novels are grammatically and syntactically correct; they are more concise than real-life conversations since numerous repetitions, rephrasings, fillers and many other features of spoken conversation have been eliminated (*An Introduction to Narratology* 65).

The dialogues that should introduce other points of view are not true – they are (re)constructions. They have been shaped to fit into the narrator's design of things. The styles that we find in the dialogues may not have been used by the actual interlocutor but are the consequence of the narrator/protagonist's shaping of the conversation. The conversations have been taken through a sieving process over sighted by the narrating presence such that only parts of the conversation that would meet his motives find reflection in the text. Despite the autobiographical first persona being largely a good literary initiative, portraiture of the historical process suffers under the yoke of autodiegesis at certain times.

4.3. Finding Historical Objectivity in the midst of Narrative Objectivity

This study subjected an extract from *Peeling Back the Mask* and another from *Kidneys for the King* to the principles of historical objectivity laid out by Bevir and Robson to gauge how far the literary interventions Miguna employs help engender or frustrate an objective portraiture of historical processes in his autobiographies. The extract from *Peeling Back the Mask* reads as follows:

> In 1983, Moi's then vice-president, Mwai Kibaki (now President) had moved the motion in Parliament that inserted that infamous section 2A that made Kenya an official totalitarian state. Kibaki was then one of KANU's chief puppeteers. By 1988, Kenya had been ruled by Moi as a *de jure* one-party state for five solid years. In those days, many perceived to be 'radical' – university lecturers, lawyers, writers, journalists, university students, workers and church ministers – found themselves either in detention without trial, in jail after trumped-up charges and kangaroo trials, dead, or in exile. Things became so bad that, between 1982 and 1988, all formal political opposition to the regime had been effectively stifled and only university students had still found the courage to openly stand up and challenge the regime (xii).

This quotation succinctly captures the control the Presidency wields over the Vice-Presidency. The Vice Presidency is beholden to the Presidency both with respect to its job security and policy direction. The possessive 'Moi's', attests to the fact that the Vice-Presidency, and by extension all other government departments, are micro-managed by the Presidency. The narrator/protagonist accentuates the tyrranising character of the Presidency upon the Vice-Presidency through the use of the image of a puppeteer. The Vice-President is an automaton who does the biddings of the President whether they are beneficent to the society or not. For instance, simply because the Presidents has bidden so, the Vice-President rushes to present to a Bill that he knows encroaches on the freedom of Kenyans to make political choices. Kenya becomes a one party state.

Through the use of cumulative adjectives of revulsion such as infamous, totalitarian and chief, the narrator/protagonist underscores the folly of being a marionette. 'Infamous' denotes that the piece of legislation that conscripted Kenya to single party stranglehold was draconian. The adjective 'totalitarian' trumpets the feeling of political suffocation under one party rule. 'Chief' preceding 'puppeteer' emphasises the disgust with which Miguna perceives Kibaki's grand

sycophancy. 'Chief' also shows that Kibaki was particularly culpable and there was no way he can wriggle out of censure.

Miguna's narrator/protagonist stresses the error in Kibaki's action by saying that as of 1988, Kenyans had experienced tyranny for "five solid years". The modifier 'solid' placed between 'five' and 'years' is pictorially efficient. The researcher argues that it suggests a space of time, quite literally through the word order. 'Solid' makes the sufferings and pains of that moment sound concrete. The word 'solid' transports the experiences of those five years from the realm of the abstract to something that is palpably real and lived. The narrator qualifies the solidness of the excruciating experiences of these years by listing the aftermaths upon those that dared stand up to the system: detention without trial; in jail after trumped-up charges and kangaroo trials; dead, or in exile. By calling those who dared oppose Moi and were befallen by the listed misfortunes 'radicals', the narrator/protagonist expresses admiration for them.

According to Mark Bevir, an objective interpretation is marked by accuracy, comprehensiveness, consistency, progressiveness, fruitfulness and openness" (1). The narrator/protagonist's portrayal of the one party state misadventure is objective from both literary and historical points of view. It meets the factual threshold of the event. Spatial and temporal aspects of the event have largely been met. The place is Parliament, the time 1980s and the agent is Kibaki. Realistic consequences of the one party experiment are clearly spelt out by the narrator/protagonist. This rendition meets Bevir's criteria that an objective interpretation should be comprehensive (Miguna does not merely state an event but provides the flesh – the event and consequence – that makes its presentation complete). The interpretation also meets the criterion of consistency (the narrator/ protagonist has always expressed disdain towards elements that try to torpedo the ship voyaging towards the realisation of a new Constitution and a just Kenyan society). It is progressive (the version adds to an understanding of the constitutional change as the product of closeted thought processes) and fruitful because Miguna provides the readers with an interpretation the merits and demerits of which the readers can debate.

Nevertheless, Miguna is quite wanting on accuracy and openness. The narrator's grasp of historical facts is great; however, that of dates is suspect. For is instance, he is in error when he says that Kenya became *a de jure* one party state in 1983. Records indicate that the accurate

year is 1982. Preeti Patel, in "Multiparty Politics in Kenya", is categorical that a constitutional amendment in "June 1982 made Kenya *a de jure* one party occurred" (164). It is Nyairo who first points out this historical anomaly in her article "Miguna's Memoir Annoyed Many but it was the Book of the Year" (1).

If Miguna can miss the year when this historical event took place, then he has missed a lot many other things. Nyairo, in the same article, also points out that whereas "Miguna rightly depicts the University of Nairobi in the mid 1980s as an institution that danced to the whims of the Moi Government … he [Miguna] stretches this argument unduly when he lists books that were banned in those days as including those by Ngugi wa Thiong'o". And Nyairo should know because she was a post-graduate student of Literature at the University of Nairobi at the time. Miguna's openness is now in doubt because he misrepresents temporal realities. This invites a lot of doubt as to every other thing he night want to assert. Miguna's misses suggest that he didn't think through his autobiographies.

His choice of words in the quote we have above presents him as linear in perception. He cannot appreciate the genesis of the actions of his opponents. He operates binaries that know no confluence. This is depicted in his use of images and phrases. Kibaki is a chief puppeteer kowtowing to the decrees of Moi. The result is an infamous bill that effects a totalitarian governance style. Those that attempt to overturn the status quo are radicals who courageously march on to try and realise a democratic society. The partisanship in his voice largely erodes the objectivity of his interpretations.

In *Kidneys for the King*, Miguna's narrator/protagonist analyses the impending 2013 General Elections. He demonstrates a clear favouritism for any other candidate apart from Raila Odinga. There are crimes against humanity hanging over Uhuru Kenyatta, the Jubilee Coalition Presidential candidate, at The Hague. It would have been unfortunate for Kenyatta to gun for the Presidency in light of this. But for Miguna, the unfortunate thing would be 'the replay of the "41 against 1 strategy", where Odinga would try and incite non-Gikuyu communities to gang up against Uhuru on the basis that "Gikuyus have been in power for too long" and that it is time for others, too' (232). In Miguna opinion, Odinga is an out and out tribal chauvinist. Miguna even thinks for Raila. An autobiographer is limited in exposing the thinking of other characters. But Miguna is quite unique; he is able to enter the mind of Odinga. In what nears a stream of

consciousness, he reveals the nefarious, tribalistic schemes that Odinga is thinking up. The narrator interrupts the narrative discourse and quotes Odinga's thoughts. This quotation would have accentuated Odinga's selfish politics. However, it doesn't. These thoughts cannot be validated, as they would, say, through dialogue. The thoughts arise from the fertile mind of the protagonist, a mind that is fed more by personal dislike for Raila and not verifiable facts.

The narrator's bias against Odinga is felt further in the statement below:

> But I now realise that my analysis was wrong. Even though I factored in relevant issues, I might have overplayed the depth and extent of the bitter rivalry between the Gikuyu and the Kalenjin. After Uhuru and Ruto announced their collaboration under the Jubilee Alliance, tectonic shifts have occurred in the political landscape clearly showing them ahead of Odinga, Kalonzo dis(CORD) alliance (233).

The narrator/protagonist is involved in a revisionist exercise. He revises the position that he had taken that an Uhuru Presidency was unviable. He now claims that the entente he has formed with Ruto makes Uhuru unbeatable. Miguna says 'tectonic shifts have occurred in the political landscape'. He means that the consequence of this alliance is gargantuan, the process is irreversible, and the political landscape has been re-oriented in a manner that the previous political formations have been buried under the rubbles left by this political quake. The casualties are, of course, the outfit associated with Odinga, the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD). To show that Odinga and his coterie stands no chance against Jubilee, the narrator applies neologism. He coins the word dis(CORD) by prefixing CORD with 'dis'. The prefix denotes the absence of unity of purpose in the CORD. The author juxtaposes Jubilee and CORD alliances and this neologism betrays his contempt for the latter. A cord strings together entities. In this case, the narrator is suggesting, it borders on the ironical to term 'CORD' an entity which lacks all the evidence of congruence.

Miguna was at the forefront during the clamour in 2008 for the post- election violence cases to be taken to the International Criminal Court. Now he has changed tune. He opines that Uhuru and Ruto were not the greatest players in the conflict. The Hague based court ought to have gone for Raila and Kibaki on whose behalf "murders, maiming, mass rapes, penile amputations, and other inhumane acts" were committed (233). His presentation of Uhuru is sympathetic. He says Uhuru "was then a mere Kanu member of parliament" (233). The narrator even hypothesises on what lines of defense he would take were he Ruto and Uhuru's defense

attorney. He would argue that his client attended the alleged meetings where plans to commit crimes were mooted "only on behalf of their principals" (234). He does not suggest how he would defend Raila.

The narrator then becomes self conscious. He says he is not proffering arguments in defense of Uhuru or Ruto but because "I strongly believe in the principle that it is better to allow one thousand guilty persons to be free than to wrongly convict one person" (235). The narrator/protagonist is arguing that all Kenyans were in one way or another responsible for the heinous crimes perpetrated in 2007/8; it would be wrong to sacrifice only two individuals. He says that the ICC involvement in the Kenyan case was a godsend as it would deter potential perpetrators of such crimes from executing them. But he quickly adds that, "However, justice demands that *all* the alleged perpetrators should be subjected to the same process" (235; emphasis his). This additional sentence cements the narrator/protagonist's consistent argument for the exoneration of Uhuru Kenyatta. The narrator introduces contrast between the manner in which the ICC is supposedly handling the case and what jurisprudence would dictate. The contrast is intended to cast aspersions on the manner in which the ICC is executing its mandate, that it is contrary to law.

The greatest indicator of the narrator/protagonist's attitude and bias against the ICC is carried in the quote: "Politics shouldn't interfere with a judicial determination. Yet once the prosecutor allows himself (like it now seems apparent in this case) to play politics with such an important judicial matters, we cannot let him off the hook so easily" (235). The narrator/protagonist is alleging that the ICC case has been politicised. However, he does not substantiate the claim. He is involved in pedestrian proclamations that do not befit the analyst he claims to be. His assessment is based on passion rather than logic. His emphasis of 'all' takes away the oblique view of an objective observer from him. The narrator/protagonist uses 'we' towards the tail end of the quote. It implies that he belongs to a school that believes it is an abuse of judicial processes to politicise the Hague trials. He says the prosecutor must not be let off the hook. This accents the narrator's parochialism. He appears to have bones to chew with the prosecutor. This transforms him into a partisan commentator whose interpretation is difficult to trust.

Despite his protestations that he is independent of thought, the arguments of Miguna's narrator crystallise into his eventual endorsement of Uhuru Kenyatta. *The Kenyan Daily Post* reports

Miguna saying: “I’m backing Mr. Uhuru. I want him to give Mr. Odinga a thrashing”. He argued that between Odinga and Uhuru, the latter was the less corrupt. He also discharged Uhuru of the accusations of land grab because, to Miguna, it is Uhuru’s father who grabbed the land and not his scion, Uhuru.

It is apparent that Miguna has, at times, interpreted history with a narrow-mindedness that is befuddling. He has failed the yardstick of openness because his interpretation has a leaning that he has refused to profess. He loses the candidness that is required of autobiography. Autobiography revolves around a guiding metaphor that runs through the text and which the autobiographer is not afraid to stand by. Miguna’s attempt at struggle against poor governance as his controlling metaphor is lackadaisical – at times it comes with an over surge while at others (and mostly when it should most be overt), it is lost in unwieldy polemics. Its realisation becomes timid because the author is trying to play safe. The interpretation ends up rudderless.

Lastly, Miguna’s narrator is non-receptive of criticism of his works. He conceives of his works as absolutist; yet, Jacques Derrida has insisted that however wholesome an interpretation may pretend to be, a discourse always includes “a trace (of that) which can never be presented” (*Of Grammatology* 132). Miguna’s narrator spews contempt upon anyone who punches holes into his claims. Newspaper commentators are his greatest casualties. He says that:

> Apart from the expected consternation from Raila’s quarters, the punditry reacted with confusion, unable to objectively read and review the book. Mutahi Ngunyi called it a “sleazy book, a tabloid, supermarket trash” and something not worth reading and from which one must “wash one’s eyes and ears with soap”. Makau Mutua called it a “hate-filled screed against the PM” that was too long. Another fake human rights activist-turned-politician Hassan Omar overdid himself by claiming that my book wasn’t properly researched and written because “it has no appendix” (20).

The narrator/protagonist does not respond to the questions raised by his critics. He simply dismisses them as so lazy that they cannot sit and review his *Peeling Back the Mask*. What the commentators have done, in the view of Miguna do not measure up to his definition of a review. The narrator is contemptuous of his critics because he had expected laudatory commentaries for his supposed achievements. On the questions of length of the book, it is not just Makau Mutua who has issues. Nyairo observes that the book is too long because Miguna can be hopelessly redundant. Nyairo says Miguna cooks everything twice. This makes his book lack précis.

Mark Bevir spells out rules of the thumb which guide the normative standard of intellectual honesty. The first of these is that "objective behaviour requires a willingness to take criticism seriously" (335). A critic should not just reject an argument because it contradicts her own. If a critic's views are absolutely unmarriageable with those of others, she should deploy "a speculative theory to reconcile a fact or argument with [her] interpretation" (335). Israel Sheffler opines that "any serious historian or scientist must make his or her work available to other historians and scientists for independent, impartial, and detached assessment" (92). Miguna's narrator does not engage in any speculative theorising. He does not entertain criticism of his works.

Miguna contradicts his vow at the launch of *Peeling Back the Mask*. Judie Kaberia, writing for the *Sunday Nation,* reports Miguna as saying: "Now that you have a book … you can read it. You can even write your own". Criticism builds a book. Objectivity does not arise from a singular version but "from comparing and criticizing rival webs of interpretations in terms of facts" (Bevir 334). The interpretative webs have tenets that contrast with those of other webs. A middle ground can be reached from the differing webs. A harmonised position can be obtained upon which historians and players in other disciplines can construct the objective. Some interpretations will be put aside as inconsistent with objectivity. Miguna does not desire to belong to any web. His interpretation is supposed to be absolute. This negates the whole enterprise of philosophy of knowledge. Robson observes that "no complete description of any event may be given by anyone" (91). When many descriptions have been gathered, one can determine how each description contributes to the continuing project of building an objective interpretation of an event.

4.4. Interplay Between Historical and Narrative Truths

This study analysed how the interplay between historical and autobiographical truths impacts the interpretation of Kenya's historical process in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The researcher interrogated how the narrator/protagonist's literary investments uphold or subvert historical truths. The researcher also critiqued how the soundness of the resulting autobiographical truths is affected. A passage was considered from either text. Miguna observes that:

> On Monday November 19, I presented a document to the strategic team on the "way out" of the nominations' mess. I had received an avalanche of emails from ODM enthusiasts all over the world. There were obviously real concerns the party might go up in smoke. Many people believed that Raila urgently needed to call a meeting of all ODM candidates – those with certificates and those without (we had to avoid referring to those without as "losers" because, in truth, it was impossible to say who had lost or won). The party had to reassure all those who had stood that this was a marathon relay race, not a sprint, that each person had a contribution to make; and each person stood to gain something in the end – after our victory. A suggestion was flagged, which I thought offered the best reassurance to those who hadn't secured certificates, that once Raila had won the presidential election, those who had run as candidates would be considered for positions in government, as a matter of priority (*Peeling Back the Mask* 194).

From the outset, credence is lent this quote because of its temporal placement of the grand rescue of the ODM. Providing the day, month and year makes us believe that the events actually happened. This enhances the truth value of the account. The narrator says that the document he presented to the strategic team spelt the way out of the mess the ODM had got itself in. He claims responsibility for the bail out. Quoting "way out" and qualifying it using the definite article, 'the', as opposed to the indefinite one, 'a', emphasises the agency of the narrator/protagonist in the grand bailout of the ODM after its nomination debacle. The narrator/protagonist implies that the rest of the ODM was clueless on how to clean up its act. 'Mess' is a choice word picked out from a range of many synonyms because of its apical connotative value. It does not only imply a difficult situation that one finds himself in; it also indicates that the situation is confused and disorderly. The attitude of contempt that the narrator/protagonist has had against the ODM is realised through the choice of the word.

Two words and a phrase in the second sentence demand notice: avalanche, enthusiasts and all over the world. Granted there were complaints about the nomination debacle but to express it in such hyper terms is exaggerative. The image of an avalanche again attaches unpleasant ramifications to the exercise. This rubs onto the leaders and consequently, makes the ODM party appear a distasteful entity. The narrator does not call the disgruntled members of the ODM its followers; he calls them enthusiasts. For the enthusiast, a belief in an entity occupies the core of his being. He is prepared to sacrifice his all for the sake of the entity. He has invested emotionally (and more so this), financially and otherwise in the party. It then becomes an anticlimax for the enthusiast to discover that that which they had placed such emotional premium on cannot pay dividends. The narrator/protagonist uses the word 'enthusiast' to

dramatise the disillusionment that was visited on the ODM followers when the party apparatchiks made a mess of the nominations. Fair elections is a key pillar of true democracy a practice that Raila, offering himself for the position of President on September 1st, 2007, had vowed to uphold.

The reverberations of the ODM nominations mess were felt all over the world. This does not quite connect well with enthusiast because most enthusiasts are likely to be restricted to a locale. The narrator's choice to gauge the backlash of the nominations fiasco from the e-mails he gets is a wee bit detached. It would not be a credible yardstick upon which to make far-reaching generalisations. His judgments are based on his privileged position. Educated, he has access to international social platforms such as e-mails. He then arrogates his observations on the vast mass of the populace. The discourse of the text exhorts us to view the ODM nomination debacle as reflective of the wanting organisational skills of its head, Raila Odinga. New Historicism as a theory helped the researcher reiterate the historicity of texts and the textuality of history. In this extract, a historical event is conveyed. It is done through discourse that is not hegemonic. Miguna is trying to exert power upon people by guiding their thinking. According to New Historicism power issues from multiple sources. In this case, it issues from Miguna.

The portentous consequence of the nomination mess is idiomatically conveyed: the party risked going up in smoke. The destructiveness of the aftermath of the failed exercise is captured through the image of the smoke. Proper damage control had to be undertaken by the party. The suggested way out is clothed in a metaphor: "it [the national elections] was a marathon relay race, not a sprint". The metaphor highlights the long-drawn nature of an election process and the need for determination and perseverance among the combatants.

The narrator has used exaggeration, imagery and metaphor to clarify the emotions and fears that attended the ODM nomination fiasco. The narrator/protagonist has graphically portrayed what would have become of ODM had nothing been done to contain the disquiet that was brewing within the party. The anxiety at the moment and the sigh of relief that was breathed when the catastrophe was averted are revisited through these devices. The literary interventions create another truth – a narrative truth that transcends the boundaries of historical facts and actualises a world that is palpably real. The picture procured is more powerful than a realistic one would ever have managed. The reader is able to feel with the narrator/protagonist how it felt at the time

when the events were occurring. Thus, Wallach's observation that written life has the ability to portray the complicated interplay between the thoughts and emotions of a historical actor is apt (446). This is possible only because the truth of the autobiography is narratival.

Narrative truth, though in this instance, distorts historical facts. Miguna's narrator magnifies the impact of the ODM nomination debacle. For him, the ODM nomination fiasco was of such magnitude that it attracted the consternation of the whole world. The catastrophic nature of the nomination debacle has been overplayed. Even while attempting to be candid/confessional, "an autobiographer has to maintain a balance between under writing and over writing" ("Autobiography: Nature, Elements and History" 19). In the above quotation, Miguna's narrator overstates his contribution in averting the implosion that would have resulted from the mangled ODM nominations. He understates what part may have been played by other players in deflecting further crisis. The over and under statements are quite clear from the syntactic choices the narrator makes. At the beginning of the quotation, the narrator uses the active voice: "I presented a document..." However, in the middle of the quote, the voice changes to the passive: "A suggestion was flagged, which I thought…" The active voice foregrounds the agent while the passive, the action. The agent here is Miguna's narrator. The narrator does not give us the agent of the suggestion which was flagged. He then quickly tells us his thoughts about the suggestion without identifying its agency.

True statements should be impartially constructed. They attempt to maximise the presentation of the issue and minimise the agent because the latter attaches attitude to utterance. If it was absolutely inescapable to rope in the agents then other agents ought to have been granted equal prominence similar to the narrator's. This does not happen. The consequence is that the modesty that informs the confessional tone expected of a well crafted autobiography is sacrificed at the altar of a narrator's scramble for recognition. The chipping away at the autobiographical prop of modesty equally eats away the external truth value the representation may have set out to achieve.

Another quotation that the researcher analysed is captured below:

> According to Eng. Olali and this is a story corroborated by Eng. Okello – Rayila got into an altercation with his standard six teacher, James Oremo, whom he hit with a stone. Oremo had wanted to punish Rayila for some minor infraction, but Raila refused to be

> punished. Unfortunately, Rayila believed that as the son of Jaramogi, he couldn't be punished by anybody. Rayila was once more reported to the school administration. Rayila's lack of discipline had become routine. The school administration was now frustrated and disgusted. They were fed up. They felt that allowing Raila to assault teachers would cause a severe damage to the image of the school. So they expelled Rayila from Maranda Intermediate School when they heard his father had travelled abroad to attend an international conference (*Kidneys for the King* 328 – 329).

The source is critical in granting authenticity to a narrative. The source is often utilised to corroborate the claims made by an autobiographer. This promotes the truth value of the texts. The significance of the source is emphasised by Robson who says: "No historian today can afford to overlook the sources, the documentation, the evidence, and the interpretations of others in arriving at new assertions" (93). The value of source applies to the historian as much as it does for the autobiographer. The narrator/protagonist in Miguna's text chooses Engineers Olali and Okello as resource persons. This is instructive in two ways. First of all, Raila is claimed to be an engineer so Engineers Olali and Okello would be his professional colleagues. Secondly, the two engineers are said to be Raila's contemporaries and as such should vouch for or dispute the claims that Raila is an engineer. In this case, they do the latter. The author creates a narrator who reports what Engineers Olali and Okello reported to him. The report that the reader finally receives and upon which the truth of the narrative is based is a fourth remove from the events themselves.

Moreover, the engineers are not the recipients of the stoning. They are supposed to have witnessed the act of stoning performed on the person of James Oremo, Rayila's class six teacher. It would make a big difference had it been James Oremo who had reported the act. In fact, it would have been closer to the truth of the event. Even then, what Oremo would do is make observational statement as to what happened. He will only be giving a perception as to what happened. Bevir states that there is no such thing as pure perceptions (330). Perceptions are grounded in theory. Theory derives from the community and dictates what perception will be categorised in which way. As such, even James Oremo will not be speaking for himself but will be voicing what the society recommends as the appropriate relationship between Rayila, the student and Oremo, the teacher. James Oremo's perception would be prejudiced against Rayila because the society demands subservience from the student towards the teacher.

The criterion for settling on Engineers Olali and Okello for informers has not been explained by Miguna. May be he was looking for engineers that would prop up his arguments. Autobiographers, Miguna included, are wont to select only those persons and events that shape positively their reconstructed self. The dialogue between Miguna and Dick Abuor Okumu in which Miguna guides the conversation to align itself with Miguna's objective of self glorification attests to this. Even if what the narrator says the engineers told him is what they actually told him, we do not know what else the engineers told the narrator. Perhaps they said something that would vindicate Rayila of misconduct. The researcher reiterates Jacques Derrida's insistence that all discourse includes a "trace (of that) which cannot be presented". Thus, the researcher could not fully embrace James Oremo's version of events as the truth because even he cannot fully represent the incident. He must tint the truth in his favour. Narrative truth benefits from alternative narrations of an event. Rayila's version of the event would have been enlightening but the autobiography is designed in such a manner that the narrator's voice edges out all others. That Raila's voice is not heard on this matter heavily compromises the veracity of the protagonist's claims about Raila. We only hear the voice of the narrator and that of his selected sources.

The truth value of the engineers' claims is eroded even further by the narrator's syntax. The narrator says: "*According to* Eng. Olali and this is a story *corroborated by* Eng. Okello …" (italics mine). The narrator wishes to make his claim authentic by quoting sources. The syntactic structure, though, defeats his purpose. Robson indicates: "True sentences correspond to actual relations among things to which [the writer] refers by [his] sentences" (93). "According to" attributes the claim to someone else just the same way that "corroborated by" does. The sentences do not directly refer to the events but to other objects that relate the events. When this happens, the claims are no longer true; they have been refracted by the biases of sources.

Whereas Miguna alters the name Raila to Rayila for literary reasons that we will shortly discuss, the flipside is that this alteration causes confusion with regard to which character the narrator now refers – Raila or Rayila. All along we have thought we were talking about the former. The sudden change interrupts the flow of the story and denies the narrative the desired unity. Moreover, the narrator makes one imagine that he is trying to play safe. Aware that the claims he has made against Raila are libelous, he changes the name so that he may claim that he is not

talking about Raila but Rayila. This is nugatory to the central premise of the autobiography – that the autobiography should be confessional in tone. Candidness is lost when the narrator keeps changing his characterisation. It is unimaginable, whether in history or in literature, that Raila and Rayila should be one and the same person.

The greatest infraction Miguna's narrator commits against narrative truth is overt inconsistency. At page 332, the narrator states: "Firstly, as I have indicated before, Rayila left Kenya in grade four, he hadn't completed intermediate school". Pages 329 and 332 are only three pages apart. Surely, Miguna's narrator cannot have forgotten that he has said Rayila has had an altercation with his class six teacher, James Oremo, in a span of three pages. Miguna's narrator claims that Babafemi Badejo's account, *Raila Odinga: An Enigma in Kenyan Politics*, is illogical (*Kidneys for the King* 332). In light of the Miguna's inconsistency, it appears that it is Miguna's narrator that is lying. Autobiographical lies are common. Wallach states that "a complicated understanding of historical truth shows that misrepresentation is revelatory" (450). Actually, incidents of lies are good for autobiographical criticisms. In this case, the lie by Miguna's narrator reveals his hidden motive of just wanting to malign Raila. He attempts to mould the story to fit into his designs however forced the facts are. He attempts uses sources to stitch it up but ends up losing the argument altogether. It would have helped Miguna's narrative if the narrator had paid attention to Robson's recommendation that the sources should be well researched before making new assertions (96). These regarding Raila are a bit off the mark.

Despite the shortcomings of the above quotation with respect to furthering the external truth in *Kidneys for the King,* a lot of literary capital invested in it accords the quotation a great deal of narrative and historical truth. By referring to the Engineers Olali and Okello, who are people of flesh and blood and who have shared a school with Rayila, there obtains an authenticity. Altering Raila's name to Rayila is intended to focus attention to an element of Raila's character. Rayila is a Luo word for the nettle sting, a plant whose leaves irritates the skin. Rayila is used more connotatively than denotatively. The plant metaphorically refers to Raila. Its stinging feature characterises Raila as a trouble maker or a ruble rouser. This reference connects well with this episode. The Raila Miguna's narrator creates is in his element. He engages the mighty in his search for justice. James Oremo is the symbol for the powers that be – the custodians of the status quo.

Raila's character is presented positively in the above quotation. He becomes the kind of courageous persona that Kenya requires to overturn the status quo. Oremo is transformed from being a mere class six teacher into a symbol of tyranny. It requires a man of mettle, such as Raila, to disturb Oremo's assumed superiority. Raila then is the antidote to the forces of oppression. The image of the nettle sting, more so the itch it causes the skin, captures Raila's persistence in seeking justice. By researching Raila's childhood and making reference to the James Oremo episode, the narrator avers that Raila's progressive credentials are written in his DNA. The narrator's attempt at caricature flops but a new narrative truth emerges from the interpretation of the symbols applied. This truth is apart from that which the narrator had intended. As Gandhi would say, an absolute truth is born. It re-interprets the James Oremo incident and alters the James Oremo incident into an opportunity to not only read meaning into the event but also obtain a side of Raila that the narrator had no idea of exposing.

In conclusion, a mish mash of historical and autobiographical truths is discernible from Miguna's autobiographies. However, Miguna's interaction with either could have been better. Had Miguna's narrator handled the interplay between historical and narrative truths methodically, what would have obtained is "honesty that does not become special pleading, integrity that exhibits a sense of proportion and balance, careful research that has not decided that the purpose of writing is propaganda or indoctrination" (Robson 96). As the researcher has demonstrated, some sections of the text are balanced; others are not only lopsided but prejudiced special pleadings lacking either proportion or balance. Other areas amount to propaganda meant to indoctrinate the reader to understand Raila and his political practice in a particular way – Miguna's way.

4.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the researcher discussed the significance of the autobiographical 'I' as a reliable representational voice. The researcher argued that the autobiographical first persona has strengths and weaknesses as regards interpretation of Kenya's recent history. Among its literary strengths is that it accords the narrative the immediacy that is central in interpreting historical processes. On the flipside, the autobiographical 'I' is a constructed self that is apart from the realistic, experiencing self. Secondly, the study explored how literary device promotes or subverts objective portraiture of Kenya's recent history. Finally, the study examined the

interplay between historical and narrative truths in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* and how literary devices that are constitutive of this interplay impact the portrayal of recent Kenyan history.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is a summary of the discussion that we have undertaken in the previous chapters. It reviews the objectives that we had stated at the commencement of the study so as to draw conclusions, make recommendations and arrive at suggestions as to the areas for further research. This study had proposed to explore three main objectives: to identify and analyse the themes that define Kenya's historical process as portrayed in Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*; to examine literariness and the delineation of the historical process in Miguna's autobiographies and to analyse the literary significance of Miguna's autobiographies in interpreting Kenya's recent history.

5.2. Summary of Findings

5.2.1. Themes Portrayed in Miguna Miguna's Autobiographical Works

This study had set out to investigate the perception among the academia and the general public that Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* were nothing apart from philippic enterprises lacking in academic relevance – whether historical or literary. What comes out from the texts, though, is a writer who has kept tabs with his historical reality be it historical. Miguna presents these issues with passion, providing a personal perspective to them. His portrayal provides a detailed appreciation of Kenya's historical realities and examines their impacts, both short and long term on the economic, political as well as social well-being of the Kenyan society. The issues are myriad but the study restricted itself to the most pervasive ones.

5.2.1.1. Corruption

Miguna's autobiographies validate the perception that the Kenyan society has been eaten up by the cancer of corruption. So widespread is corruption that one has to part with a bribe to enjoy services that they are taxed to enjoy. Miguna's texts zero in on corruption in public service where the malady of corruption is most practised, with far-reaching grievous consequences.

Miguna reasons that each regime in Kenya has manufactured its own scandal. The scandals have fleeced the overtaxed common Kenyan of the little benefits that could have accrued to her/him. Corruption has enveloped all institutions be they educational, the political class (he is particularly ruthless with Raila Odinga because he could have done better at fighting corruption), the judiciary, the media and almost every other supposed independent commission.

5.2.1.2. Constitutionalism

Miguna's autobiographies confront the question of constitutionalism. The Constitution has been amended severally by the political class for selfish interests. One reason for this has been to centralise and personalise power. Miguna says this was done by Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki. An imperial presidency took over and ran the country by decrees. The rule of law was dispensed with. All departments of governance received directions from the presidency. Another reason Miguna gives as to why constitutional amendments were undertaken was to check political competition. The consequence of these amendments was an intolerable society. The citizens were stripped of all rights such as of speech, association and participation in political processes. His conclusion is that the amendments have been unwarranted. He lampoons the architects of these constitutional coups.

5.2.1.3. Political Patronage, Intolerance and Failed Institutions

Miguna argues that the three issues are interconnected. Political patronage creates intolerance which leads to failure of institutions to discharge of their duties with independence. Patronage ensures that competing opinions are not tolerated. When this happens, intolerance sets in. In Miguna's autobiographies, the Kenyatta and Moi governments clamped down on dissent. Dissenting voices were subjected to mental as well as physical assault. Miguna says kangaroo courts, detention without trial and long term imprisonment were the order of the day. Perceived subversive literature was confiscated and writing telling a narrative apart from the official one was banned. Many dissidents took to exile rather than risk assassinations. Miguna documents a number of assassinations (those of Ouko and Mbai are among them) and is convinced that this mechanism of checking dissent is still alive in Kenya. Political patronage interferes with institutions carrying out their duties. They have no free hand to execute their duties. They carry

the duties out in a manner that pleases the appointing authority, mostly the President. Above all, Miguna argues that such forces of oppression must be fought using all the tools available.

5.2.1.4. Ethnicity/Tribalism

This study found that ethnic stratification was introduced by the colonial powers. The British government exploited ethnic differences of Kenyans to prop up a section while undercutting another. Regimes such as Kenyatta and Moi's exacerbated the vice. Kenyatta and Moi filled up critical positions and ministries with people from their tribes. Miguna says occupation of the presidency by a particular tribe is equated to an opportunity, in Kenyan parlance, to 'eat'. The members of the tribe in power enrich themselves. The rest of the country becomes marginalised. Miguna, in both *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for King*, documents how the Grand Coalition government perfected the art of tribalism and ethnicity. Kibaki packed ministries such as defense, finance and justice with people of the Kikuyu community. Raila, on his part, used the positions allocated to him to reward his relatives. The eating mentality makes contestation for the position of President a cut-throat affair. Unorthodox means are used by the political contestants to outwit their opponents. Some are plain inhuman. Miguna argues that tribal clashes and mass displacement of people around election periodS are all geared to advantage one side mostly the incumbent. He concludes that unless tribalism and feelings of marginalisation are dealt with, it will be impossible to get a harmonious Kenya.

5.2.2. Literariness and the Delineation of the Historical Process in Miguna's Autobiographies

Peeling Back the Mask and *Kidneys for the King* are literary forms. They belong to the autobiographical genre. They exhibit most of the elements of the genre such as autodiegesis. A number of literary devices have been applied to realise portraiture of Kenya's historical process. There is ingenuous application in some instances but want in others. The study focused on four devices whose import are summarised hereunder.

5.2.2.1. Dialogic Interludes

Miguna introduces dialogues in the course of his narrative. On the positive side, the dialogues inject immediacy and reality to the episodes that Miguna describes. This immediacy makes

Miguna's narratives sound credible. Portraiture of Kenya's historical process is furthered as a result of the narratival plausibility effected by the immediacy. On the flipside, though, some of Miguna's dialogues appear mechanised and designed to achieve Miguna's sometimes parochial motives. Some dialogues are reconstructions that, on the whole, make Miguna's writings sound like special pleadings for his motive in writing the autobiographies.

5.2.2.2. The Impact of Irony

Miguna uses many instances of irony. He applies irony so as to capture the mismatch between the speech and the actions of the players in Kenyan history. For instance, he presents a Kenya where the second generation liberators such as Raila Odinga have been ensnared by the very traps of corruption that they had vowed to uproot. The foundations of the Kenyan house are so rotten that the only credible hope for the country is to bring it down and reconstruct it afresh. His application of irony allows us to explore the complex depths of the characters of the players in Kenyan history. Irony imbues the autobiographies with multiple interpretative possibilities both of character and event thereby enriching the meaning of the texts. This allows for a wider understanding of Kenya's historical process.

5.2.2.3. Figurative Language

Miguna has extensively employed metaphors, similes and exaggeration in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The metaphors vivify certain episodes even as they aid the presentation of the character of players in these episodes. Miguna uses the similes to chastise people whose character he does not approve. He uses similes to magnify the personalities of those, such as himself, whom he approves of. He utilises unpleasant comparisons with references to the former so that the reader may share in his disgust towards their mannerisms. Miguna often overstates situations in order to amplify the extent of whatever vice he is trying to capture. Some of the hyperbolic applications are on point but others erode the mediational exercise that the writer is undertaking.

5.2.2.4. The Effect of Satire

Miguna's autobiographies are classic textual representations of satire. Miguna denigrates individuals, institutions, unions, political parties but most particularly political leaders. Applying the Juvenelian streak of satire, Miguna's texts are hard-hitting. They expose to

ridicule the inadequacies and inequities of the varied entities in our society. Miguna traces the backgrounds of a variety of political leaders, tries to match the ideologies they espoused then and that which they have adopted now. Miguna finds a serious incongruence. The disconnect produces irony which, together with sarcasm and ridicule, feeds satire. For instance in *Peeling Back the Mask*, the erstwhile Chairman of the ODM, Henry Kosgey, is caricaturised when he heads the party that promises a break from corruption and human rights abuse that characterised the KANU. Kosgey was a government Minister who is alleged to have been party to the scandal that engulfed the preparation for the All African Games in Kenya in 1987 (50). Miguna invites the reader to laugh at the hypocrisy of Kosgey. He at the same time castigates the Kenyan society for such duplicities so that Kosgey and his ilk may depart from such insincerity.

5.2.3. The Literary Significance of Miguna's Autobiographies in Interpreting Kenya's Recent History

Literary texts are exercises purposed to mediate events. Some of these events are historical in character. The literary text must mediate these external realities in a manner that is credible. Credibility is an important preoccupation because the mediator is always idiosyncratic and his predilections often seep into and refract his interpretations. Nevertheless there exist parameters upon which credibility, more so of a historical nature, are founded. Objectivity is a central pillar to the credibility of historical interpretations. A credible interpretation of historical events as Miguna attempts should meet Mark Bevir's rational criteria of accuracy, comprehensiveness, consistency, progressiveness, fruitfulness, and openness (1). Literary aspects employed must demonstrate an affinity for credible interpretation of history. This study interrogated the interplay between Miguna's literary choices and historical objectivity and truth and made the findings that follow.

5.2.3.1 Miguna's Autobiographical First Persona

The first persona applied by Miguna has its strengths as well as its weaknesses as regards interpretation of Kenya's recent history. The immediacy that obtains from its use provides credibility to the narratives. Miguna, being an actor in the events he describes, lends belief to the assertions he makes thus his story. The first persona helps the narrator create true sentences.

However, the researcher also noted that the narrator mismanages the first persona at times. He selects what to remember. He imprisons literary avenues such as dialogue that would have provided alternative voices to his own. Moreover, his choice of phrase to convey his ideas is equally over-opinionated at times. The independence of the narrative is badly watered down by the narrator's self-righteous self re-invention, at times.

5.2.3.2. Finding Historical Objectivity in the midst of Narrative Objectivity

Objectivity in literary texts and historical objectivity are not synonymous. Even then, there has to be a confluence between literary and historical objectivity because literary texts are referential objects. Miguna uses literary devices to this to overcome literary the subjectivities arising from literary objectivity. At times he succeeds handsomely; at others he fails dismally. The narrator's faithfulness to space, time and character makes his narratives sound objective. The narratives are comprehensive, largely consistent, progressive and fruitful. However, the narratives sometime lack accuracy and openness. When he misses critical years in Kenyan history, the reader asks many questions of his accuracy. One also feels that Miguna's narrative is overly livid. This lividness might banish the openness required of objective interpretations.

5.2.3.3. Interplay Between Historical and Narrative Truths

Scientific truth is thought to be empirical. Historical truth is based on exemplary observations. Narrative truth is ornamental. The truth in Miguna's texts is literary. Ornamentation in literary truth has advantages that neither any amount of empiricism nor any number of exemplary observations can achieve. For example, literary truth is not limited by facts external to the text; it creates its own facts and does not have to play second fiddle to historical facts. The truth that results is absolute. The truth Miguna creates in his texts is absolute. The absoluteness springs from employment of literary technique. Miguna extensively refers to sources. Whereas his choice of source might be suspect, source is central to truth in historical interpretations. On the flipside, Miguna misses critical aspects such as dates. This might have added veracity to his narrative. These errors eat into the stature of his narrative because the assertions he makes are falsified. Most of Miguna's assertions are verifiable from the multiple sources he appends; quite a few are falsifiable when read against canonical historical sources.

5.3. Conclusion

This study was mainly interested in interrogating the belief among the academia, commentators and the general public that there is nothing of academic or public interest in what Miguna writes. He first wrote *Peeling Back the Mask*, then later *Kidneys for the King*. Dismissal of his autobiographies was premised on the fact that he is a former advisor to the former Prime Minister, Raila Odinga with whom they fell out acrimoniously. It was argued that the acrimony that existed between him and his former employer clouds his rendition so much so that there cannot be anything in his writing except a tirade against his former employer. This study has established that at quite a few places, Miguna's texts are shrill in tone. At times his tone is philippic. He throws broadsides at the former Prime Minister quite often. That notwithstanding, Miguna's texts are a literary portrayal of Kenya's historical process.

The first objective of this study was to identify and analyse the issues that define Kenya's historical process captured in Miguna's autobiographical works. The researcher found quite a number of issues. Central among them were corruption, constitutionalism, political patronage, intolerance and failed institutions and ethnicity and tribalism. The study concludes that given the detail with which Miguna has treated these themes, his autobiographies cannot be written off as lacking of credible message to put across. He gives a personalised rendition of how these vices have impeded the economic development of the country and eroded Kenya's national fabric. He demonstrates that these issues are pertinent to any discussion on the historical process in Kenya. That he was an actor in the intrigues that produce these issues accords his voice a vantage position when it comes to telling the story of Kenya's history.

The second objective was to examine how the literariness of Miguna's autobiographies delineates Kenya's historical process. The researcher singled out dialogue, irony, figurative language and satire as literary devices pervasively used in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*. The study discussed the impact of their use insofar as delineating Kenya's historical process is concerned. The study concludes that the use of these literary devices delineates Kenya's historical process but with varying effect. Their application demonstrates that delineation of the historical process in Kenya rests with the interplay between matter and manner.

The third objective was to analyse the literary significance of the autobiographies in interpreting Kenya's recent history. As pieces of literature, the researcher established that *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* are referential to the historical realities in Kenya. The study debated the trustworthiness of Miguna's autobiographical voice in interpreting Kenya's recent history. The researcher concludes that Miguna's voice is a good reference point in understanding Kenya's recent history albeit it is parochial in some parts. In analysing the texts, the researcher looked at Miguna's level of objectivity. The conclusion is that Miguna's sources and literary interventions such as dialogues imbue his work with objectivity. Beyond that, though, his word use betrays his provincialism. As regards the truth value of these works, it is the researcher concludes that Miguna's works appeal to an external truth. Most of his assertions are more verifiable than falsifiable. In some instances, though, Miguna is either flippant or is too rash to confirm his facts. The latter scenario casts serious doubt on the truth of his claims which erodes his interpretation of Kenya's recent history.

Finally, it is hoped that this study has dispelled claims that Miguna's texts are tabloid-like tirades. *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* are indeed literary portrayals of Kenya's historical process.

5.4. Recommendations

The study recommends the following:

1. Miguna's *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* should be studied particularly in order to analyse the themes that he pursues in the autobiographies.
2. Readers should also study how the literariness of *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* helps delineate the historical process in Kenya.
3. Critics of the autobiographies should also focus on the literary significance of Miguna's autobiographies in interpreting Kenya's recent history.

5.5. Suggestions for Further Research

The study the researcher undertook was exploratory. A more incisive exploration of the literary elements in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King* is timely. Literary styles are pervasively used in the autobiographies. The researcher believes that the texts would provide

enough material to sustain a thesis that focuses on a specific style such as dialogue. The study would interrogate why Miguna invests so much in dialogue, the different levels or dialogue he applies, the choice of the location for the dialogues within the texts, their development of themes among others issues.

Further study of Miguna's works could also take a comparative tangent. For instance, Miguna has indicated that a writer writing about his experiences as an aide to a political leader is not new. In *Kidneys for the King*, for instance, he has alludes to Reverend Frank Chikane's *Eight Days in September: The Removal of Thabo Mbeki*. Chikane wrote the text days after the removal of Thabo Mbeki from the presidency of South Africa and the brief transitional period that Kgalema Motlanthe was in power. Chikane was the director general of the presidency and secretary to the cabinet (4). One could undertake a comparison and a contrast between Miguna's literary interpretation of historical process the Kenya's in *Peeling Back the Mask* and *Kidneys for the King*, on the one hand, and Reverend Frank Chikane's of South Africa in *Eight Days in September: The Removal of Thabo Mbeki*, on the other.

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