

**THE YOUTH IDEOLOGY: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF  
DIGITAL-ANALOGUE METEPHOR IN 2013 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN  
KENYA**

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## DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

### Declaration

This research is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university in Kenya and beyond.

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## **DEDICATION**

This is for Jane and Jephneah who sacrificed to see value and honour etched on my skin. God Bless you Mum and Dad.

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For the success of this research, I am greatly indebted to God and many people. I thank God for both the gift of life and chance to carry out this research, hallowed be thy name. I appreciate Egerton University as an institution for the totality of its instrumentation for the realization of this scholarly end. I appreciate my Supervisors: Dr. Josephine Khaemba (Egerton University) and Prof. Vicky Khasandi (Laikipia University) for their unwavering patience to advise and guide me all through the research period. I pay homage to all my lecturers: Professor Felicia Yieke Laikipia University), Professor Wendo Nabea (Laikipia University), Professor Onyango Ogola (Laikipia University), and Mr. Sammy Gachigua Gakero (Egerton University). You collectively opened up my mind to the scholarly world to appreciate the entailments of research in social science; may God light your ways. . I thank my classmates: Erick Evans Ochieng, Stellah Nasimiyu Matofari, Samwel Kipsang, Manoah Otuoma Mukhwana, Esther Adhiambo, and Beatrice Wangari Maina who gave me moral support and encouragement. Finally I couldn't do much without the support of my family. I thank my wife Viola, my niece Ruth, and my daughter Sharlet who would always set the alarm clock for my early morning studies.

## **ABSTRACT**

Digital-analogue metaphor was a political construct that described the two major competing forces in the 2013 elections: Jubilee and the CORD coalitions of political parties. The study set out to demonstrate the ideological property of metaphor using the digital-analogue metaphorical catch phrase that was adopted by the Jubilee Coalition of political parties. The main objectives of this study were to map out the conceptual bearings of the digital-analogue metaphor as used in the 2013 election campaigns by the Jubilee coalition, to examine whether the digital-analogue metaphor did shape electorates' attitudes, beliefs and ultimate voter decision in 2013 presidential elections and finally to critique the digital analogue positioning of the Jubilee coalition of political parties. The study sidestepped other metaphors used at the election time and located itself in a time frame between 24<sup>th</sup> December 2012 and 1<sup>st</sup> March 2013. The scholarly context of this study was marked by ideology in political communication, politics and metaphor in political campaign communication as well as ideology and persuasion. Lakoff's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory was the guiding principle to this study for it hoists metaphor above its linguistic value to consider the conceptual property on which this study is founded. This study adopted an interpretative research design targeting all the telecast campaign coverage between 24<sup>th</sup> December 2012 and 1<sup>st</sup> March 2013. This period stipulated for the video data fitted this study in the sense that the Jubilee Coalition of political parties was inaugurated on the said date in December 2012 and the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 2013 marked the end of Campaigns. The video clips as well as the FGD participants were purposively sampled in terms of specific relevance to the objectives of this study. The study made use of video method of data collection as well as FGDs. The video clips used in this study were sought from the mainstream TV channels namely Citizen TV of Royal Media Services (RMS), Kenya Television Network (KTN) of Standard Group (SG) and Nation Television (NTV) of Nation Media Group (NMG). The clips were transcribed and then interpreted for their conceptual relevance to the digital-analogue metaphor. This study established that the digital-analogue metaphor was a discursive narrative that served the Jubilee Coalition victory of electoral attitude and therefore support. The metaphor aptly carried and conveyed the youth ideology as a political campaign concept that was largely definitive of Jubilee coalition campaigns of the 2013 polls. The findings of this study will avail an opportunity to scholars and the society in general to understand how metaphors can transmit ideologies which shape the socio-political attitudes of the public.

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## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<b>KANU</b>	Kenya African National Union
<b>CORD</b>	Coalition for Reform and Democracy
<b>FORD</b>	Forum for the Restoration of Democracy
<b>LDP</b>	Liberal Democratic Party
<b>ICC</b>	International Criminal Court
<b>IEBC</b>	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
<b>CMT</b>	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
<b>RMS</b>	Royal Media Services
<b>KTN</b>	Kenyan Television Network
<b>SG</b>	Standard Group
<b>NMG</b>	Nation Media Group
<b>FGD</b>	Focus Group Discussion
<b>CCTV</b>	Closed Circuit Television
<b>ICT</b>	Information Communication Technology

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the study

The aspect of age mediating political competition was not new in Kenyan politics even with the onset of post-colonial regimes. For instance Tom Mboya, who was among the first African representatives to the Legislative council (Legco) is one of the youthful forces who pushed for new course of national politics. He exploited the dual advantage of being a member of the Legco and a trade unionist. Just at the age of 28, Mboya chaired the 1958 All Africans People's Conference in Ghana in which he challenged the African obsession with old age as the defining characteristic of leadership (MShaii 2009). Until recently, youthfulness was considered debilitating to one's ascension to positions of political power. In fact, the aggregated attitude to the youth within the first four decades of independence was such that the youth were considered as societal burdens of some kind, who have to be carefully 'handled' (Mshaii 2009).

Despite the long sustained debate encircling youth and politics, the definition of 'youth' has become discursive and heavily dependent on context. The common use of the term 'youth' relates to age. Age therefore becomes the defining property of 'youth' (Barkan, 2003, 2004). However, in Kenyan sociopolitical spaces, the concept of 'youth' is still confusing as seen in discrepancies in the statistical information about the youth (Mshaii, 2009). Accordingly, the youth segment is put between 25% and 50%. Some agencies consider 13 years as youthful while others consider 15 years to 40 years as youth even as the National Youth Policy considers 15 year to 30 years as youth (Republic of Kenya, 2007). The Kenyan constitution considers 18 years to 35 years as the youth bracket. Commended is the definition of the National Youth Policy document (Republic of Kenya, 2007) which accommodates diverse perceptions of youth including cultural and political understandings. However, this seemingly composite perception of youth has been disregarded to allow the biological and physical facets to take prominence thereby running the risk of the youth being unconsciously tagged to adolescence or immaturity.

After leading Kenya to independence, Kenyatta's politics was defined by attempts to maintain the familiar and the known as opposed to the risky and the uncertain prospects of social change (Jost et al. 2007). Accordingly Kenyatta adopted the capitalist economic

ideology of the west and encouraged competition and hard work besides sustaining repressive hand to the youth like Tom Mboya and Josiah Mwangi Kariuki who were carefully checked from political ascension. Both were assassinated in 1975 and 1969 respectively. Both Moi and Jomo Kenyatta did not keenly institutionalize political parties away from their own personae. This is because either by defacto or de`jure both regimes reigned on the singular KANU party back to back. The absence of competitive politics occasioned by singular party invited ideological lull (but not void) save for Harambee and Nyayo philosophies whose critics like (K'olale, 1992) have rendered them pseudo-philosophies contrived for patron-client structure of politics. The contention as to whether *Harambee* and *Nyayo* were ideologies or not is as elusive as the very definition of ideology. However, the operational definition of ideology in this study (a set of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify ends and means of organized social action, and specifically political action irrespective of whether such actions aim to preserve, amend, uproot or rebuild a given social order) expressly admits Haarembee and Nyayo to the realms of ideology. Following the repeal of Section 2 A of the Kenyan constitution – that had deterred multiplicity of political parties – there erupted multiple political parties. While this study agrees with Amutabi (2009) and Jonyo (2004) on the ethnic orientation of the many political parties in Kenya, it negates the proposition of ideological barrenness in these parties. The study resonates with Freedman's (2004) assertion that 21<sup>st</sup> century has witnessed a mutating concept of ideology like 'Youth ideology of the Jubilee Coalition of political parties at 2013 presidential elections.

This study singles out the 2013 elections in Kenya conscious of certain peculiarities. First, the 2013 elections were among the most fiercely contested elections in Kenya's political history. The elections also came at a critical time being the first under the new constitution and again as the first after the 2007 electoral dysfunction that sparked violence in which 1133 died (Commision of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence, 2007). Most importantly, the 2013 elections stand as unmatched contest between what was perceived to be the old against the new guard. Indeed the question of generation politics has featured in Kenyan politics for well over two decades but it was only in 2002 that President Daniel Moi yielded to public pressure to step down and oversee a generational change of guard in national politics (Kagwanja, 2005). In his apt response, Moi endorsed Uhuru Kenyatta, the son to Jomo Kenyatta, first president of Kenya. However, "Project Uhuru" as a strategy of delivering generation change was defeated at elections. The political environment in Kenya had drifted from what had been invariably ethnic to generation politics that was marked by the perceived young and old. The

post-independent politics applies a relational aspect to “youth” this is the reason why Raila Odinga found some space in the “youthful” political group in Kenya during the 2002 elections even when he was 57 years.

The 2013 electoral process was also peculiar in the meaning that since the ouster of Moi regime in 2002, the nation has been tossed between hope and despair. Kenya was arguably the most optimistic nation on earth in 2002. However with mega economic scandals like, the Anglo leasing that was preceded by the Goldenberg scandal in the 1990s, then the electoral violence in 2007/2008 with other scandals thereafter, this hope had dwindled. With this awareness, political players only knew it too well that the country could slip into socio-economic disillusionment. Politicians were not only keen on what to say but also how they said it to move the electorate into voting them in. Consequently, they deliberately chose their words and rhetorical devices that would win them support from the voters, conscious of the prevalent socio-economic and political attitudes. This is the context within which the 2013 presidential election in Kenya was conducted.

By the 2013 Elections Uhuru Kenyatta was fifty two (52) years old, five years older than his running mate William Ruto and sixteen (16) years younger than the competitor Raila Odinga of the CORD coalition. He started largely as a businessman before he found his way into politics in 1997 as KANU Chairman Gatundu branch. In the same year he contested for the Gatundu South parliamentary seat but lost to Moses Mwihi. He however served in Moi’s government as a minister and nominated Member of Parliament. He was nominated as the KANU presidential candidate in a contested process in 2002 but at elections he lost to Mwai Kibaki. He then took up the leadership of the opposition. He withdrew his presidential candidature shortly before the 2007 polls to support Mwai Kibaki. Kibaki won the 2007 elections amid contestations that sparked violence across Kenya leading to the killing of at least hundreds of people and displacing others. The settlement of the conflict ushered in the coalition government in which Uhuru Kenyatta deputized Raila Odinga who was the prime minister. However, Uhuru with his later political partner William Ruto were indicted by the ICC for crimes against humanity in the 2007 elections.

William Ruto had his entry into politics in 1992 as was Organizing Secretary of Youth for KANU '92 (YK92), a group that was formed to drum up support for President Daniel arap Moi in the 1992 election. He was elected Eldoret North MP in 1997 defeating Reuben Chesire. After serving another term as Member of Parliament following his win in 2002, he

placed his bid for presidency but failed to get a nomination. He had to back his ally Raila Odinga for the troubled 2007 election against Mwai Kibaki. Like his later ally- Uhuru Kenyatta, he was indicted by the ICC for crimes against humanity in the course of the Kibaki-Raila negotiated regime in which he served in two ministerial positions successively before the major political realignments in anticipation of the 2013 polls. He joined hands with Uhuru Kenyatta having fallen out with his former henchman Raila Odinga.

As the key figure of the CORD team, Raila Odinga is relatively older at sixty eight (68) years. His entry in politics came in 1982 when he was linked to the coup attempt against president Moi and was ultimately charged with treason. He was imprisoned without trial for six years. He was arrested again just after release for his activism for multiparty politics. He was released on June 12 1989 only to be arrested again. He had to leave Kenya for the Netherlands following the alleged assassination threats from the government. He came back to Kenya in 1992 to be among the lead agitators for multiparty democracy with Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD) just having been formed. FORD however split into FORD Asili and FORD Kenya. He ran for the presidency in 1997 but came third after Moi and Kibaki. He joined Kanu shortly and was awarded a position of Energy minister. Upon missing the presidential bid support by Moi, he left Kanu to form Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) that teamed up with the National Rainbow coalition that defeated KANU in the elections. The later fall out between Raila and Kibaki was occasioned by the new constitution debate that had polarized the entire Kibaki cabinet. Raila had to quit government with his supporters to champion the nation against the draft constitution which was defeated at a national referendum in 2005. This contest gave birth to the Orange Democratic Movement as a political party. Raila ran for presidency in 2007 but was defeated by Kibaki amid dispute that gave rise to the 2007/2008 post-election violence. He then fell out with his ally William Ruto time after the 2007 polls with the ICC and Mau Forest evacuation matters greatly at play. This was what paved way for the realignments witnessed at the 2013 election campaign time. Accordingly Raila found Kalonzo Musyoka, Moses Wetangula and others for the CORD coalition while Uhuru Kenyatta found William Ruto Charity Ngilu, and Najib Balala for the Jubilee Coalition.

On his part, Kalonzo Musyoka was sixty (60) years old by 2013 and his way into politics started back in 1983 when he contested for the Mwingi North constituency and lost. However, he won the seat in a subsequent by-election held just after two years. He was re-

elected in 1988 and served as a deputy speaker of the National Assembly. His person has been ubiquitous in Kenyan politics through many parties namely: KANU, LDP, ODM, ODM-Kenya and now Wiper Party. He joined Raila in 2012 in CORD to vie as running mate.

The Jubilee Coalition and CORD with Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Amolo Odinga as presidential candidates respectively were therefore the main political forces at play. Jubilee coalition dichotomized the campaigns alluding to contemporary technological attitude of the world switching from analogue to digital broadcasting. However, the digital-analogue notion had been prevalent in public social spaces since the onset of information technology in Kenya. Digital and analogue were perceptions that described the digital divide marked by education and age. The digital-analogue metaphor was prominently drafted into political discourse as an apt import from the communication technological world, following the International Communications Union's (ICU) decision in 2006 to migrate terrestrial TV broadcast from analogue to digital by 17 June 2017. The digital-analogue metaphor seemed to hinge on the ideology that acquaintance with the new media was deterministic of social progress (Gachigua, 2016). Accordingly, the Jubilee Coalition conducted their presidential campaign as the digital generation while depicting their principal rivals, CORD, as the analogue generation. The specific context of this contrast is that the Kenyan government had set a policy to migrate from analogue to digital television broadcasting by 13<sup>th</sup> December 2013. However, this deadline had been challenged in court leading to a delay. On the presidential campaign stage however, the tone had been set. The "analogue" politicians had to be phased out. Their generation, their priorities and approaches were painted as outdated. As if to drive the digital message home, the Jubilee manifesto promised that if Jubilee won the elections, all class one pupils in Kenya's public primary schools would be given free laptops.

With the adoption of the analogue-digital metaphorical catch phrase, the Jubilee coalition intended to cultivate a particular attitude in the voters: that it is time for the new generation leadership that has new ideas unlike the old which has been outmoded. This was a direct projectile to their competing CORD coalition which as a matter of fact was composed of leaders who hitherto had been identical to the earlier regimes. The CORD members were also viewed as old and therefore too tired for robust and efficient service delivery. In a nutshell the Jubilee coalition wanted to cultivate the attitude of putting away the dysfunctional old for the functional new in all spheres of sociopolitical development. Jubilee coalition therefore



adopted a manipulative strategy to get everybody onto their bandwagon. The fact that months before the 2013 elections, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto – principals of the Jubilee coalition - had been indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC) with crimes against humanity following the 2007 polls and their aftermath presented yet another mediating factor in the outcome of the 2013 elections. This was hypothetically a hefty campaign capital for the CORD coalition on one hand but a hefty liability for the Jubilee coalition on the other. This study questions the truthfulness of Jubilee ideological presuppositions as they affirmed their suitability for office despite the perceived inadequacies that came with the monumental ICC challenge.

### **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Political campaigns leading to the 2013 elections in Kenya featured metaphor prominently both as a persuasive and manipulative tool to voters given that the election were highly contested. Although some literature has been put forth on matters political and political communication in Kenya, there has not been any focus on the persuasive or manipulative power of metaphor. This study takes a step further to demonstrate an ideological function of the ‘digital-analogue’ metaphor that supposedly gave the Jubilee coalition an advantage to electoral victory in spite the ICC indictment perceived to be the defining impediment to them.

### **1.3 Objectives of the study**

This study was guided by the following three objectives:

1. To map out the conceptual bearing of the digital-analogue metaphor as used in the 2013 election campaigns by the Jubilee coalition.
2. To assess the digital-analogue ideological positioning of the Jubilee coalition.
3. To examine whether the digital-analogue metaphor did shape electorates' attitudes beliefs and ultimate voter decision in the 2013 presidential elections

### **1.4 Research questions**

This study sets out to answer the following questions:

1. What conceptual mappings does the metaphor digital-analogue yield in the context of the 2013 election campaigns?
2. To what extent did the digital analogue metaphor influence electorates' attitude, beliefs and ultimate voter decision in 2013 presidential elections?
3. What is the validity of the digital-analogue ideological positioning

### **1.5 Significance of the study**

It is important to subject the digital-analogue metaphor to a scholarly insight to understand how it (among other factors) gave the Jubilee coalition a manipulative advantage to electoral victory despite the categorical ICC impediment that they faced. Metaphor is considered to have been ubiquitous in Kenyan political campaign discourse for years. It is therefore important to study the use of metaphor and the persuasive power that it portends to the audience since the ultimate goal of any campaign discourse is to persuade the audience to a given ideology or political wing.

### **1.6 Scope of the study**

This study only considered the digital-analogue metaphor as used by the Jubilee coalition at the 2013 election. Much of the discussion in this study foregrounds the Jubilee campaign communication since the coalition is the author of the metaphor under this study. The data used was located within the time bracket between 24<sup>th</sup> December 2012 and 1st March 2013. Any other period falls out of focus for this study. The second form of data is limited to target population of Eldoret Municipality because it is cosmopolitan and is thought to have offered bulwark support for Jubilee Coalition.

### **1.7 Limitation of the study**

The study is limited to the digital-analogue metaphor as adopted by the Jubilee coalition in the 2013 election campaigns. The Jubilee coalition is greatly highlighted for they authored the metaphor in this study; the CORD coalition barely gets minimal focus for the referential property of the ‘analogue’ segment of the metaphor that was purportedly referent to them. This study locates its data within the time frame between 24<sup>th</sup> December 2012 – the date, on which the Jubilee coalition was formed – and 1<sup>st</sup> of March 2013 when the campaign period was officially closed by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC).

## **1.8 Definition of terms**

**Analogue** - a system of information transfer in which information is translated into electric pulses of varying amplitude. In this study analogue is an import term from the technological world to refer to the old or outmoded in the face of new technology represented by the CORD coalition lead persons.

**Conceptual domain** - is a conceptual representation, or knowledge, of any coherent segment of experience.

**Conceptual metaphor** – a metaphor in which one domain is understood in terms of another such that the properties of one entity are applied to the other to influence attitudes

**Digital** - a system of information transfer in which there is translation of information into binary format (zero or one) where each bit is representative of two distinct amplitudes. As used in this study, it refers to the new, trendy and perceptibly efficient technology. It also refers to the youth. It was a technological import into the political context to describe the Jubilee Coalition ensemble.

**Mapping** - are sets of conceptual correspondences between elements of the source and target domains in a conceptual metaphor. These correspondences are technically called “mappings.

**Source domain/conceptual domain/vehicle** - refers to an analogical concept which is used to understand another concept under explanation or description.

**Target domain** - refers to the subject being explained or described in a metaphor construct.

**Ideology** - a set of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify ends and means of organized social action, and specifically political action irrespective of whether such actions aim to preserve, amend, uproot or rebuild a given social order.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAME WORK

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the works of other scholars on persuasive communication. Specifically, it looks at ideology in political communication, metaphor in political campaign communication as well as ideology and persuasion. The chapter also brings to light Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as the guiding principle of this study.

#### 2.2 Ideology and politics

Ideology as a concept in social science has been argued to be the most elusive concept to define (McLellan, 1995). Introduced into social science by the French philosopher Antoine Destutt de Tracy at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, the concept of ideology originally described the ‘science of ideas’. However, as applied in social science it has acquired multiplicity of other nuances, for example, Marxists pejoratively considered ideology as delusion or false mystification about the world or, as put by Engels, ‘false consciousness’ (Heywood, 1992). Other perspective to ideology have considered it as: an organization of opinions values and attitude (Adorno et al.1950.b) while Loewenstein (1953) looks at ideology as a consistent integrated pattern of thoughts and beliefs explaining man’s attitude towards life and his existence in society. On his part, Mclosky (1964) says ideology is: “*a system of beliefs that are elaborate, integrated and coherent that justify the exercise of power, explain and judge historical events. Identify political rights and wrongs, set forth the interconnections between politics and other spheres of activity*”. This study borrows the assertion of Seliger, (1976) about ideology that: ideology “*... is a set of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify ends and means of organized social action, and specifically political action...*”). Ideology is a flexible conceptual tool whose attributes and contradictions are as many as the definitions posited. Having affective, cognitive and motivational properties (Jost et al. 2009), ideology is arguably central in political communication, a communication defined by Denton and Woodward (1990) as a pure discussion about the allocation of public resources, official authority and the state sanctions. Political campaign communication seeks the conferment of official authority to power seekers to allocate the state resources and make state legislations. In general, political discourse or communication is a class of genres with politics as its domain (Van Dijk, 1998b). Accordingly we have parliamentary debate and campaign communications as part examples of specific genres in political communication largely shaped by political cognition, discourse structures and socio-political contexts. Denton and

Woodward seem to eclipse the source of the message in political communication to put premium on what Brian McNair (2011) refers to as intentionality.

Political communication is a practice of political establishments in the form of governments as well as political parties about which this study is centered. In putting political parties into perspective, McNair (2011) identifies the defining aspects of political parties as an aggregate of more or less minded people coming together within an agreed organizational and ideological state to pursue a common goal. In the same vein, McNair proceeds to suggest, as indeed many other scholars in social science have, that the goals or objectives of a political party or any such group reflects the underlying value systems or ideology. However, from contemporary practice of political communication one can ask: with the receding influence of traditional ideologies of Marxism, Conservatism Liberalism and the like, does ideology prescribe or describe political communication and, in turn, practice?

Since competition is imminent in elections of multiparty democracies, campaign communication especially in modern day politics is greatly a manifest of marketing – the science of ‘influencing mass behaviour in competitive situations’ (Mauser, 1983). Political marketing ensures effective and favourable self-presentation to electorates and commercial it targets the public audience from whom electoral support is sought in a competitive environment. The set of such a contest is presented through some ideological screens that (Van Dijk 2006) calls ideological square. With the rise of democratic societies, conferment of political power seems to have been commoditized in the public market and power seekers market themselves inform of values, ideals and policies that can persuade the voters. There exists a functional discrepancy between the world political ideologies in the face of cold war and the ideological positioning in present democratic societies. At independence, traditional political ideologies served to orient states to the factional dichotomy of polarized world politics of either the West or the East. The founding president of Kenya for example borrowed much from the colonial sociopolitical and economic template (Onyango, 2015).

Therefore if Jomo Kenyatta’s regime was organized around any ideology, then it squarely fitted onto the colonial master’s template of capitalism and utter conservatism as opposed to change. The end of cold war saw the emergency of a scholarly debate on the ‘end of ideology’ in political communication and practice and several arguments were raised for this (Jost, 2006). This argument stands as far as ideology will be looked at within the time line of between 1947 and 1991: the cold war period. Political parties competing at election in

democratic states define themselves in terms of certain political, social and economic ideals from what Van Djik (2001) refers to as the sociopolitical context. This study is antithetical to the 'end of ideology' debate as it singles out a 21<sup>st</sup> century case study to demonstrate that shared ideals and values characterize individual political parties in competitive political activities democratic societies.

#### **2.4 Metaphor in political campaign communication**

While politics is largely understood to be the process of determining who gets what when and how by the influential (Lasswell 1951), political communication, according to Woodward (1990) is a discussion about the allocation of public resources, official authority and the state sanctions. Landau (2014) confirms the ubiquity of metaphors in political discourse that leads to the aforementioned process and raises the important question of whether or not the metaphors influence how the audience understands and evaluates political issues. The use of symbols and metaphors according to Edelman (1964), awaken the latent tendencies among the masses.

Metaphor in political communication is both a linguistic and conceptual tool that enables politicians to make close contact with the audience so that the two parties constitute a community. Metaphor furnishes the persuasive power of political communication discourse (Cohen, 1978; Weinberger, 1995) by making the communication to be audience oriented. The emotional and moral faculties of people are said to be mediated by thought to produce metaphors that enable us adapt change in personal and social environment (Charteris-Black, 2008). Metaphors at play in campaign politics may give a combative polarization modelled along the 'us-versus-them' dichotomy. Such metaphors are said to be metaphors of conflict. Conflict metaphors imply a concept that attempts to control or struggle with a force. This argument inherently gives descriptive explanation as to why "digital-analogue" is a conflict metaphor that conceptualized the Jubilee Coalition's view of the self and that of their opponents, in CORD coalition. According to Black (2008) Conflict metaphors offer effective rhetorical advantage especially in campaign politics because it identifies political opponents and creates an automatic set of oppositions thereby highlighting the political spectacle even as it clarifies political instances. Additionally, recent literature on the persuasive power of metaphor has it that metaphorical language is key to emotive appeal to the audience. It therefore stands as an important ingredient of political language since political communication is about persuasion or manipulation by appealing to emotion and reason or as put by Edelman, awakening latent tendencies among the audience. This standpoint also

articulates the classical views of Aristotle who conceives the power of emotion as the cornerstone of political language. According to Aristotle, pathos is the main component of persuasion in rhetoric which is not disparate to the two other components: logos and ethos. Political emotional experience precedes cognitive processes. Taking it that emotion reflects attitude, we can argue that a favourable attitude about a speaker will motivate a rational process about what he says in the audience and the inverse is true. Emotion therefore directs attention towards what is perceived as the most important. Society is confronted by a myriad of socioeconomic issues all competing for attention and the need for selection cannot be gainsaid (Marcus, 2002). The powerful suggestive mechanism activated by metaphor triggers underlying emotions and pegs them to political individualities (Beer & De Landtsheer, 2004).

Metaphor as a linguistic element has gained a lot of attention from many scholars. Earlier scholars have treated metaphor as a poetic device for poetic imagination and rhetorical flourish pinned to language alone, devoid of thought and action. This view has however been quashed by contemporary scholars in communication and cognitive linguistics. In this vein, metaphor is considered pervasive in everyday life in both thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). It is in fact argued that a metaphorical construct in language is analogous to a solar eclipse; it hides the object of study while revealing some of its salient features both in one huff (Pavio, 1979). In sync with Pavio's view therefore is the argument that metaphor does not only define the pathway of perception but also determines the pattern of perception to which people respond. Metaphor used in communication is therefore partial for it foregrounds one aspect about a subject as it hides the other. Metaphor intensifies selected perceptions and ignores others thereby helping one to concentrate on the desired consequences of favored public policy (Mio, 1997).

A bulk of metaphor literature especially in light of political communication has largely concentrated on how it applies in political campaign as a rhetorical device not shedding much light on how metaphor can be used to form a seed crystal around which a particular ideology describing a specified group of a given social interest can form. The digital-analogue metaphor as exploited by the Jubilee coalition was conscious of this functional metaphor property in the sense that it, among other things, highlighted the perceived youthful nature of the Jubilee Coalition that portended robust socio-political and economic revolution on one hand and the worn-out and nonstrategic policies of the CORD coalition whose lead members were, from the outset, of a more advanced age and had been greatly ubiquitous in the



previous political regimes. Used repeatedly, such a metaphor becomes symbolic and functions - like it did - as coded speech which can effectively dull or stir the critical faculties of the audience.

Semino's (2008) focus on Tony Blair's speech on 30<sup>th</sup> September 2003 at Bournemouth demonstrates how metaphor can succinctly express one's thought pattern and again, be used to justify a standpoint as part of a persuasive or manipulative strategy. In the entire realm of human communication, metaphor usage is seen as the core of human thought and creativity and is considered to be political (Browski, 1972). Politicians use metaphors for symbolic representation, justification of action and to create political reality that when accepted, can shape perceptions and lead to logical consequences.

## **2.5 Ideology and persuasion**

This study defines Ideology as a set of ideas by which men posit, explain and justify ends and means of organized social action, and specifically political action Seliger (1976). This definition is devoid of any normative or pejorative treatment of ideology as implied by traditional critiques especially Marxists who pictured ideology as nothing more than false consciousness. After the second world war, some researchers denounced political ideology as meaningless constructs with the terms 'conservative' and 'liberal' becoming obsolete politically or psychologically (Durrheim, 1997, Ray 1988). However, later scholars negated that claim and demonstrated reliable link between political ideology and corresponding political variables that reflect the social psychological needs (Andrea L. Miller, Margarita Krochik, n.d.). Perhaps the scholars subscribing to the end of ideology viewed ideology in a left-right constricted space not considering the widened latitude in which present ideologies in democratic societies apply.

In political communication, ideology is pragmatically a discursive construct of relative political standings in the presentation of them-versus-us (Van Dijk 2006). The eccentric nature of ideology is what hosts the manipulative property of political ideas in light of the fact that political players have their primacy on moving voters' support no matter how.

In trying to explore social manipulation or persuasion, this study precludes the social power abuse perspective to ideology function and brings to the core the cognitive mind control and discursive interaction. Manipulation implies exercise of a form of illegitimate influence by means of discourse (Van Dijk (2006). Manipulators make others to believe or do things that are in their best interest but against the best interest of the manipulated. As a cognitive mind

control, manipulation involves interference with the processes of understanding the formation of biased mental models and social representations such as such as knowledge and ideologies and can as well be a discursive interaction because it aims at creating relative standpoints to socioeconomic issues and mounting cogent argumentations for those to be manipulated to shift their beliefs, change attitude and engage action. This resonates with van Dijk's concept of ideological square as introduced in the preceding parts of this literature. However, there exists a point of departure between manipulation and persuasion in the sense that in persuasion the interlocutors are free to believe or act as they please depending on whether or not they accept the argument of the persuader whereas in manipulation, recipients are assigned a more passive role (van Dijk, 2006).

The manipulator often tends to get the recipients to what this study considers a cognitive leash leading them to his/her favoured belief, attitude change and then action. For this to happen, there should be a social criteria that defines the involved social actors in terms of group membership – like political party, age group and any such defining social segmentation. The social actors can also be defined by the institutional positions, profession, material or symbolic resources among other factors. These actors manipulate how recipients understand one event, action or discourse. Manipulating social cognition can be illustrated by some monumental events like the attack on World Trade Centre in New York September 11<sup>th</sup> 2001 or the bomb attack on the Spanish commuter train on March 11<sup>th</sup> 2004 could well illustrate such. In the latter case, the conservative Spanish government wanted to manipulate the nation into believing that ETA instead of the Islamist group Al-Qaida which unfortunately turned a political flop as they were voted out in the subsequent poll.

Social manipulation relies more in long term memory or episodic memory as opposed to the short term which is a real time understanding of words, phrases, clauses and sentences as well as nonverbal signals. Long term memory relies on fundamental role of mental models in speaking and understanding to evoke episodic manipulation (van Dijk, 2006). Manipulators in this case what recipients to understand discourse, or event as they see it by forming the mental model intended by the manipulator.

## **2.6 Theoretical framework**

This study is conscious of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) by George Lakoff (1993).The theory posits that metaphor is not just a linguistic phenomenon but a reflection of how concepts are organized in our minds. It goes beyond a mere linguistic description to give

understanding of one thing in terms of the other by mapping knowledge about the one concept (source domain) to another (target domain). As a theory CMT reigns in the field of cognitive linguistics and its early formulation negated the mere aesthetic value of metaphor in language. The understanding of our world is based on a system of related concepts of which some are emergent as others are structured metaphorically.

CMT firmly holds that construction of meaning is an experiential course and that many abstract concepts are metaphorically structured. Even as Lakoff and his associates focus a large part of their work on explaining the embodied origins of conceptual metaphors, questions about the social effects of metaphors are just as pertinent. How, for instance, might metaphors shape human attitudes, beliefs, and ultimately action in our social worlds? Lakoff provides some answers in his analyses of the metaphors ostensibly underlying and shaping political values and policies. Lakoff (1996) characterizes ‘liberals’ and ‘conservatives’ along the two ends of the American political spectrum, and argues that their different worldviews result from how they metaphorically conceptualize America in different ways. While both camps view the nation as a metaphorical family, the liberals conceptualize the ideal family as having a “nurturant parent”, while the conservatives believe in the necessity of a “strict father”. Crucially, Lakoff attempts to show that these metaphors are not merely ways to label ideological differences, but exert persistent and tangible influence on economic, environmental, healthcare, foreign relations, and other such policies. In sum, Lakoff has been instrumental in charting and inspiring research directions which collectively aim to show that conceptual metaphors arise due to our bodily makeup and they manifest themselves both linguistically and non-linguistically, and shape our thoughts, language, values, beliefs, and actions. This study finds CMT as an instrumental theoretical argument in interpreting the political campaign dichotomy of the *digital* group as pitted against *analogue* group. Based on CMT principle, the study maps out all the conceptual articulations of this metaphorical construct and track the ideological manifestation of the digital motif in the Jubilee coalition of political parties at the 2013 election campaigns.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the methods and procedures that were used to collect data. It also discusses the research design that was used, target population sample size and sampling procedure, data collection methods and procedures as well as data analysis.

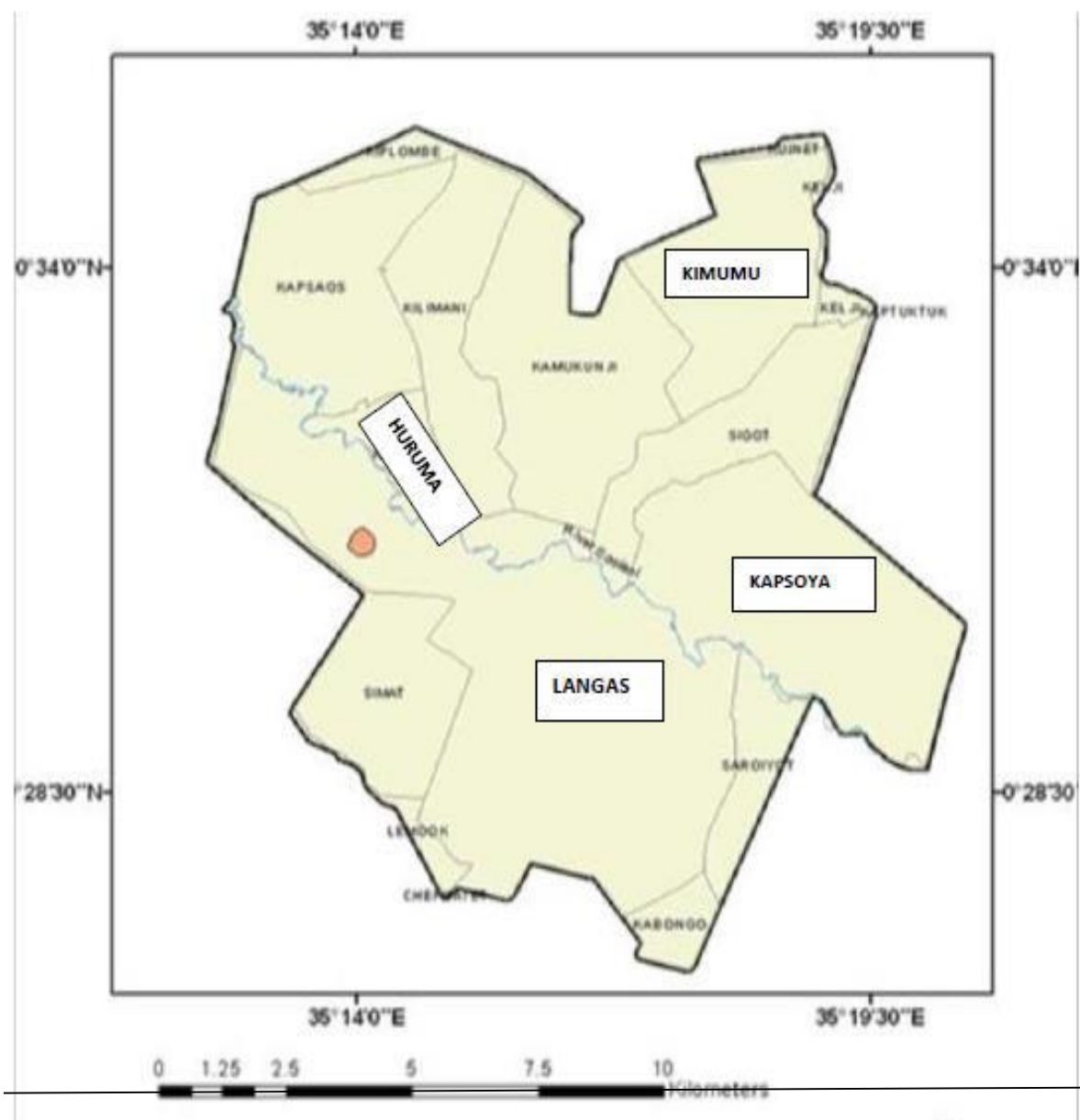
#### **3.2 Research design**

The study takes an interpretive research design which acknowledges our knowledge of reality including the domain of human action as a social construction by human actors (Walsham, 1993). People create & associate their own subjective meaning as they interact with the world around them and interpretive research centres on the way people make sense of their subjective reality and attach meaning to it. This design fits the study because it sets out to interpret the campaign messages of the Jubilee Coalition in an attempt to determine the digital motif and its descending perception as well as ideological front in the 2013 presidential elections campaigns in Kenya.

### 3.3 Location of the study

This study was done in Eldoret town which is one of the cosmopolitan towns and being the researcher's home territory it would be easy to mobilize and coordinate the FGD participation. The appropriateness of this location was also informed by the need for the participants to be at ease discussing their political attitudes which are always treated as personal.

#### Eldoret town map highlighting the 4 locations of the FGD



**Source:** Eldoret Municipal planning department

### **3.4 Target population**

This study has two forms of target population. The first involved all the footage clips of the Jubilee coalition campaign communications between December 24th and 28<sup>th</sup> February. And the second involved all the electoral population of Eldoret town in Uasin Gishu County. The clips were sourced from the main stream TV channels, namely Citizen TV of Royal Media Services (RMS), Kenya Television Network (KTN) of Standard Group (SG) and Nation Television (NTV) of Nation Media Group (NMG). These clips sufficed the objective of the study without any gaping need to consider the other TV channels since it would merely be replicative.

### **3.5 Sample size and sampling procedure**

The study purposively sampled eleven video footages whose content invoked indirectly or indirectly the digital-analogue metaphor during the stipulated campaign period. The quantification of this sample is based on the observation that other clips directly or by implication were highly repetitive. The FGDs involved a total participation of 69 people who were in Eldoret town by the 2013 Kenyan election. A total of eight FGDs were conducted segmented based on age. The first four FGDs involved participants below the age of 25, and the other four involved those beyond 25 years of age.

### **3.5 Data collection method**

The study used two types of data:

- a) The first was collected to enable the researcher discuss the first objective of this research. The footages were availed from the campaign trails of Jubilee coalition. The videos provided multimodal data that enhanced the authentic contexts of the campaign messages. There are many examples of studies re-purposing videos for research including home-made videos, broadcast media (Chouliraki,2006), automated CCTV recordings (Godwin 1994) and Youtube videos (Adami, 2010). These video clips were sourced from the Citizen TV of Royal Media Services (RMS), Kenya Television Network (KTN) of Standard Group (SG) and Nation Television (NTV) of Nation Media Group (NMG).
- b) The second form of data was availed from Focus group discussions (FDGs) which is to supplement the video method of data collection. Focus group interview aims at collecting high-quality data in a social context (Patton, 2002), which primarily help understand a specific problem from the viewpoint of the participants of research (Khan & Anderson, 1992). As a qualitative technique for data collection,

it offers away of ‘listening to other people and learning from them’ (Morgan, 1997). The validation of this technique in social science research is explained in its three distinctive characteristics identified by Denscombe (2007) as follows: i) prompt stimulus introduced by the speaker to focus the discussion. ii) The moderator who should inspire the discussion. iii) Interaction within the group. The specific video clips collected worked as a FGD stimuli. The purpose was to call to mind selected events leading to the 2013 election and to define the focus of the discussions. The interview constituted eight groups. The four groups involved participants aged between 18 to 35 years (articulating to the government definition of youth. And the other four involved those beyond 35 years. This age heterogeneity was to stimulate memories, discussion, debate and disclosures to give an aggregated perception of the metaphor conveying the idea of the youth versus the old in socioeconomic and political spaces.

**TABLE1: JUBILEE CAMPAIGN VIDEO CLIPS OVERVIEW**

CLIP NO.	VENUE	EVENT	KEY ATTENDANCE	SPEAKER	SUBJECT
CLIP 1	KISII	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Simeon Nyachae, Sam Ongeru, Najib Balala	Simeon Nyachae	Leadership and generation change
CLIP 2	NAKURU	URP, TNA & RC Merger Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale, Joshua Kutuny	Joshua Kutuny	Swearing in the 4 <sup>th</sup> President of Kenya
CLIP 3	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Inefficiency of CORD Principal
CLIP 3	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Technology and social development
CLIP 3	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Technology and national security
CLIP 4	MTWAPA	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale, Ali Chirau, Mwakwere	William Ruto	Drug traffickers
CLIP 5	NAIROBI	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Najib Balala	Leadership and generation change
CLIP 5	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Najib Balala	Constitutional Implementation
CLIP 5	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Najib Balala	Expiry of the old generation
CLIP 6	RONGAI	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Uhuru Kenyatta	Youth abuse by politicians
CLIP 7	NAIROBI	First Presidential debate	All the 2013 presidential aspirants	Uhuru Kenyatta	The ICC question and the Would-be Service delivery
CLIP 8	RIFT VALLEY	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	CORD's insignificance in developing the



					country
CLIP 9	COASTAL KENYA	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Uhuru Kenyatta	CORD's perceived historical non-performance.
CLIP 10	KURIA	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Voter's choice
CLIP 11	WESTEN KENYA	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Voter's choice

### 3.6 Focus Group Discussions

A total of eight FGDs were conducted by the study at different locations within the Eldoret Municipality, namely; Huruma, LangaS, Kimumu, and Kapsoya estates. The intention of such a spread was to have an even representation of the entire Municipality. The FGDs were held on 21<sup>st</sup>, 22<sup>nd</sup>, 23<sup>rd</sup>, and 24<sup>th</sup> of October 2016 involving a total of 69 participants from the defined four locations within the municipality. They were put into eight groups of the following composition according to turn up: seven (7), eleven (11), ten (10) and seven (7) and then eight (8), seven (7), nine (9) and then ten (10). The interviews took an estimated time of one hour minutes per session. The table below gives a summary of FGD turn up per selected location and subsequent total number of participants.

**TABLE 2: FGD Summary of Participation**

DATE	LOCATION	TURN UP		INVITED
		SESSION 1 (S1)	SESSION 2(S2)	
21/10/2016	HURUMA	7	8	12 X 2
22/10/2016	PIONEER	11	7	12 X2
23/10/2016	KIMUMU	10	9	12 X2
24/10/2016	KAPSOYA	7	10	12 X2
<b>TOTAL PARTICIPATION S1 &amp; S2</b>		<b>35</b>	<b>34</b>	
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>		<b>69</b>		<b>96</b>

### 3.7 Data interpretation and analysis

The video clips got from the selected TV channels were transcribed. The study focused on the specific parts of each footage that serves objectives of this research. The message in each clip was analyzed in line with the digital-analogue metaphor conceptual mappings to unearth the set of ideas embedded in the Jubilee campaign communication. Since this study is basically interpretative, the findings were presented in a narrative format supported by evidence from the data. The conceptual mapping in this study is modelled along what Charteries- Black (2005) gives to Winston Churchill’s rhetorical speech that created ‘the heroic myth’ in the portrayal of the self and his cohorts in contrast with Adolf Hitler and his allies. The presupposition in the heroic myth is that Britain is on a selfless military course; that Britain is leading its allies against the forces of evil to salvage mankind from the forces of barbarism and tyranny perpetuated by Hitler.

The metaphor conceptualizes nation-states as human participants in terms of their status as heroes, villains or victims. Nation-states are presented to have thoughts, beliefs and feelings. Churchill therefore describes international politics and military as if they were personal hopes and anxieties. He successfully uses the metaphor that is full of emotive appeal both in the portrayal of the self and then that of the opponents.

This study too will interpret the various conceptualization of the digital-analogue metaphor with their ideological manifestations in the Jubilee campaign communications in the run-up to the 2013 elections. It will look at how Jubilee portrayed themselves against their opponents by analyzing the ideological conceptualization of the digital-analogue metaphor.

### **3.8 Data transcription and Translation Method**

This study used the Gisted transcription method to get the audio data from the video clips. This transcription only highlights the part of the audio data that would server the researchers' objectives. It is comparable to the news reports that sieve out much details to focus on what is key(Paulus, Trena., Lester, Jessica & Dempster, 2014). What and how to choose to transcribe audio data should be closely connected to the focus of the research as well as the methodological approach (Paulus, Trena., Lester, Jessica & Dempster, 2014). This research focused on the digital-analogue motif in the Jubilee coalition campaign discourse. The metaphor exhibited a consistent and integrated pattern of thought and beliefs characterizing the Jubilee coalition campaign politics.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the results and the analysis of the collected representative data from the main stream media in form of video footages of Jubilee Coalition campaign communication as well as data from the focus group interviews. The chapter is organized in three parts in articulation to the main objectives of the study. Articulating to research question one, part one presents the conceptual mapping of the digital-analogue metaphor as part two and three respectively discuss and explore the extent to which digital analogue metaphor influence electorates' attitude, beliefs and ultimate voter decision in 2013 presidential elections and critique the ideological positioning of the Jubilee coalition of political parties as embodied in their Digital-analogue dichotomy of the 2013 campaign politics that intended a positive self-presentation and a negative presentation of their opponents.

#### **4.2 Conceptual mappings of the digital-analogue metaphor and their ideological implication**

The explication of the digital analogue metaphor presents a myriad conceptual mappings that contextualized the 2013 Kenyan elections. The mappings gave a contrastive dichotomy of the two coalitions considered by this study.

##### **4.2.1 The actual (technological world) comprehension of the digital-analogue target domains**

Digital-analogue concept has a wider connotation than what the technological context of migration from analogue to digital broadcast inspired. The 'digital' is reflective of the computer technology and its application in work spaces that is considered largely as 'the state of the art' while the analogue connotes the old technology preceding the digital age. The following are the qualities that define digital-analogue technological world.

##### **Speed**

Digital technology works at an incredible speed. A powerful computer is capable of performing about 3-4 million simple instructions per second, a speed that cannot be paralleled to the analogue speed which is significantly slower.

### **Accuracy**

In addition to being fast, digital machines are also accurate. Errors that may occur are more often attributed to human error (inaccurate data, poorly designed system or faulty instructions/programs written by the programmer). The analogue system is prone to errors because it is sensitive to drift as components age. Digital instruments are free from observational errors like parallax and approximation errors

### **Diligence**

Unlike human beings, computers and other digital equipment are highly consistent. They do not suffer from human traits of boredom and tiredness resulting in lack of concentration. Digital machines are therefore, are better than human beings in performing voluminous and repetitive jobs. Since analogue machines exploit more human indulgence in their workability human errors are more likely to manifest.

### **Versatility**

Most digital machines are versatile machines and are capable of performing any task as long as it can be broken down into a series of logical steps. The presence of computers can be seen in almost every sphere – Railway/Air reservation, Banks, Hotels, Weather forecasting and many more. Analogue machines are less versatile and more limited to specific tasks determined by factory parameters.

### **Storage Capacity**

Today's computers can store large volumes of data. A piece of information once recorded (or stored) in the computer, can never be forgotten and can be retrieved almost instantaneously.

With these qualities, digital technology has been considered the state of the art in communication as well as industrial world.

In establishing the relationship between two domains in the conceptual metaphor, there has been contention between Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) incline to unidirectional approach on one hand and Black's (1979) push for a back and forth (bi-directional) approach. Despite the opposing scholarly intrigues about the directionality of conceptual mappings, this study inclines to the unidirectional mapping approach for its precise conceptual transference from the source domain to target domain purposing that one domain is to be understood in terms of the other. Since digital-analogue is a composite metaphor having two contrastive source domains, it can well be explicated with each of the two source domains viewed in isolation.

**TABLE 3: Digital-analogue source domains and their perceived qualities**

Source Domain	Inherent Qualities
Digital	New/young Focused on the young generation Efficient/fast
Analogue	Old Focused on the old generation Non efficient

#### **4.2.2 The idea of new generation leadership versus the Old generation**

The digital-analogue metaphor comes to reflect the age old generation politics that had the comparatively youthful segment of the Kenyan society considered inept and was seen as a societal burden about which politicians would worry in terms of their control and manipulation to loyalty. The Jubilee Coalition dispels this attitude conscious of their comparative youthfulness. The following excerpt taken from Simeon Nyachae demonstrates this generation politics at a point of transition.

**Excerpt 1** (see footage clip 1 Pg. 20)

*...nikiwa nimezeeka nawaambia nyinyi vijana... hata wee kijana ambaye atakuwa rais wetu. Ukumbuke sisi tunawaachia nyinyi mamlaka hii kulinda hao vijana mwalinde kabisa hatutaki ile lugha tumewaambia mwaka in mwaka out. Vijana for tomorrow we want vijana for today hio ndio kitu tunahitaji sasa.*

(Being an old man I tell you young people... even you the young man who will be our president, remember we are relinquishing power to you so that you completely take care of those young people. We no longer want the talk of the youth for tomorrow that has been there for years. What we want now is the youth for today).

Simeon Nyachae's stature in the Jubilee Coalition is iconic of the old generation's submission to the perceived generation change in leadership. Supposedly, he hands over power to the young (digital) generation on behalf of his perceived contemporaries. By the time of this election he was well over eighty years – like Kibaki the outgoing president – and therefore subscribing to the old generation leadership. The idea informing this piece of communication is that the old generation should make way for the new generation leadership. The speaker in this excerpt first confesses his old age presupposing that the analogue wing perceived as old should unconditionally allow transition to the new generation leadership. This idea also explains the inclusion of one Francis Ole Kaparo – who was about 62 years at the 2013 elections – as the chair of the URP wing of the Jubilee coalition.

The excerpt also submits that it is time for the young to take care of themselves. And that the 2013 poll event was a contest between the old and the young. This is highly meditative of the Kenya National Youth Policy that was formulated in the year 2007. The policy as encapsulated in the sessional paper No. 3 of July 2007 confirms that the youthful population (defined within the age limit of 15 -30 years) makes a bigger segment of the productive Kenyan population. This segment of the Kenyan population constitutes 60 percent of the total labour force yet many of them stay unemployed due to lack of opportunities. The Jubilee coalition seems to exploit the reality that the youth have been excluded from designing, planning and implementing programs and policies that affect them despite their bigger constitution of the national population. The youth as defined in the 2007 policy document, I characterized by the physical, psychological, social as well as political definitions.

The spirit of the youth is invigorated by the inclusions of personalities poised as young and authoring some discourse typifying the Kenyan you as demonstrated by the following excerpt:

**Excerpt 2** (see footage clip 2, pg.20)

*swadakta mazee. Si mnacheiki prezoo yuko bez. Mwaka ujao tarehe nne mwezi wa nne tutakuwa tuanaapisha rais wa taifa la Kenya anaitwa Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta. Tukimwaapisha rais tutakuwa tukimwaapisha mwenzake makamu William Samoei Ruto.*

(It is okay guys. You can see the president is around. Next year on fourth of April we shall be swearing in the president of the republic of Kenya called Uhuru Mwigai Kenyatta. As we do that, we shall be swearing in his colleague deputy president William Samoei Ruto.)

This is extracted from a speech made by Joshua Kutuny during the merger rally for Jubilee Coalition affiliate parties. The speaker uses Sheng, an informal code spoken mostly by the youth. This can be argued to be a deliberate political strategy to appeal to the youthful sensibilities among the Kenyan electorates. The political class keen on the youth agenda wanted to identify with the young nation and that indeed the Jubilee coalition government would be of the youth and about the youth.

#### **4.2.2.3 The idea of efficiency/speed**

The digital-analogue metaphor intends to juxtapose the perceived inefficient old of the CORD Coalition with the Jubilee's own perceived efficiencies at their political battle fronts as well as in combating the socioeconomic challenges facing the Kenyan nation. From the outset of the Jubilee coalition campaigns, the CORD coalition leader is perceived inefficient or slow as expressed in the following excerpt.

**Excerpt 3** (see footage clip 3, pg. 20)

*...kuna jamaa mmoja wa analogue amekwama kwa referendum iliyopita. Bado anazungumzia maneneo ya referendum iliyo pita kwasababu ni analogue, upgrade inachukua muda. Sisi tunata kumwambia referendum imekwisha, tuko na katiba mpya Kenya, na ni katiba ya Wakenya wote.*

(There is one analogue fellow stuck in the past referendum period. He is still talking about the past referendum because he is analogue and it takes him time to upgrade. We want to tell him the referendum is over and we have a new constitution for all Kenyans.)

The leader of the CORD coalition Raila Odinga is the one referred to in this extract and the digital property implied by the contrastive analogue label is speed. He and therefore his team



are portrayed as those who cannot adapt to new changes and their speed is as well slow (analogue) compared to the presupposed digital technology that is perceived to inform the Jubilee Coalition's mode of operation. Having been in politics for more than two decades, the CORD leader Raila Odinga is considered by the Jubilee group as iconic of an outpaced regime. In this case the part "digital" means fast and efficient as opposed to "analogue" implied to mean too slow and therefore non-efficient. This view is further propped in the later campaign discourse on how Jubilee party plan to combat socioeconomic challenges afflicting the nation using the modern (state of the art) technology. This is demonstrated in the excerpt below:

**Excerpt 4** (see footage clip 3, pg. 20)

*We are moving to a knowledge base, technology driven economy and we must arm our youth, young men and women with the necessary technology to contribute their talent, their expertise in transforming our economy so that we can grow it in double digits and eliminate poverty in our country. The Jubilee coalition team of the digital generation will change this country for good. This is the team that is going to change this country.*

The overarching idea in the excerpt is that once they get to office, the Jubilee team would bring on board technology to address the biting socioeconomic challenges defined by poverty, starvation, unemployment and insecurity. Their perception of 'digital' apparently signifies modern technology appealing to intellect (knowledge base) and technology. According to the speaker, it is modern technology that would drive the economy to double digit growth. The security concerns – characterized by terrorism, cattle rustling as well as land conflicts – would also be addressed through enhanced technology in security systems as presented in the excerpt below:

**Excerpt 5** (see footage clip 3, pg. 20)

*sisi tunasema kama jubilee coalition (we are speaking as Jubilee coalition) we will transform our security agents change the curriculum to ensure that we maximize on the personnel on the equipment on the software on the hardware that we have to secure our country so that we can truly grow this economy...*

Heavy premium is put on use of technology to upgrade security systems in terms of very specific variables of personnel, equipment, software and hardware. The poise of Jubilee coalition suggested here is that that is a team of technology savvy.

In illustrating their fitness for the job, the Jubilee team finds its capital on their competitors' perceived campaign liability of unmet promises of the previous regime in which Raila Odinga was second in command as the prime minister with Kalonzo Musyoka, arguably the third in command as the vice president. Unmet promises disadvantage the CORD team because they expressly confirm their lack of speed to meet people's expectations. To demonstrate their categorical ability to lead the nation, the Jubilee team even sets deadlines pertaining certain issues. The following excerpt exemplifies this:

**Excerpt 6** (see footage clip 4, pg. 20)

*Mimi nataka niseme nikiwa hapa Mtwapa, tuwapatie ilani hawa watu wanaouza unga na wanaouza madawa ya kulevywa. Tunawaambia, tarehe nne mwezi wa tatu wananchi wa Kenya wakipiga kura, hiyo biashara ya kuuza madawa ya kulenya itakomeshwa. Aidha watafute biashara ingine ama wahame kenya kutafuta nchi ingine.*

(I want to say this while in Mtwapa, we give these people who are selling cocaine (unga) and drugs (madawa ya kulevywa) a notice. We tell them on 4<sup>th</sup> of March as citizens vote, that business of selling drugs will end. Either they look for other business or look for another country.)

What comes out from the excerpt is that the Jubilee team has a readymade prescription to stop certain social evils. This is analogous to the Plug and play technology ICT technology that describes gadgets that come ready with articulatory technology to connect with computers systems. Accordingly, Jubilee is advancing a state of utmost readiness to solve problems that have afflicted the nation for years. The question of quashing drug trafficking can be taken to signify other social economic challenges afflicting the nation. This is crafted as a straight juxtaposition to a part of CORD legacy of broken promises as shown in the excerpt below:

**Excerpt 7** (see footage clip 5, pg. 20)

*We are switching on the digital generation. The digital generation is vijana chipukizi. Yawezekana kubadilisha Kenya hii. Kule Mombasa tuliambiwa lakini ilikuwa ahadi ya vitendawili. Tuliambiwa bandari itakuwa huru lakini bandari haijakuwa huru. Lakini Jubilee ikiingia kiongozi wetu Uhuru Kenyatta na William Ruto, bandari ya Mombasa itakuwa kama ile ya Dubai.*

(We are switching on the digital generation. The digital generation is about the youth of today. It is possible to transform this Kenya. We were promised that the port will be a free port but it was a just a riddle. Up to date it has not happened. But when Jubilee gets into power, our leaders Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto will make the port of Mombasa to be like that of Dubai.).

CORD are degraded in the extract because of a promise not accomplished – upgrading the Mombasa port to be a free port benchmarked to the Dubai port. The question raised here is: what informs this sanguinity in the speaker? Evidently, it is the “switching on of the digital generation that is supposedly robust efficient and fast.

#### **4.2.4 The Youth Agenda**

Perceived to be subscribing to transformative leadership, the Jubilee coalition is trying every means to connect with the youth. Their campaign strategy seems to be tailor-made for the youth. Arguably, this is informed by the statistical evidence that the youth (30 years and below) in Kenya constitute 75%. They form the 60% bulk of productive labour force despite the high rate of unemployment. The dominant idea in the campaign politics of the Jubilee Coalition is that the youth take the central focus in contravention to the perpetual neglect perceived to define past regimes to which the CORD coalition is tagged. Tracking the campaign communication of Jubilee coalition, the youth oriented pledges abound. The bulk of jubilee ideology has its capital on the youth focusing on fundamental placement of the youth as defined by economic development, youth and crime, youth and leadership.

#### **4.2.5 The Youth in economic development and national security**

The socioeconomic plight of the youth in Kenya dating a few decades back has stood to be the immense political capital for political actors contrary to the long upheld political apprehension that the youth are a societal burden about which politicians should worry in terms of their control and manipulation to loyalty. The Jubilee coalition conveniently exploited this marginalizing stigma to advance the concept of transformational leadership that would give the youth functional space for participation in the socioeconomic development of the country. Created was the narrative that the youth can take care of themselves. The following excerpt gives this example:

(See excerpt 1 footage clip 1, pg.20)

*... nikiwa nimezeeka nawaambia nyinyi vijana... hata wee kijana ambaye atakuwa rais wetu hata wee kijana ambaye atakuwa rais wetu. Ukumbuke sisi tunawaachia nyinyi mamlaka*

*hii kulinda hao vijana mwalinde kabisa. hatutaki ile lugha tumewaambia mwaka in mwaka*  
out. *Vijana* for tomorrow we want *vijana* for today hio ndio kitu tunahitaji sasa.

(... even you young man who will be our president. Remember we are relinquishing power to take care of the youth. Take care of them completely we don't want the talk we have been telling year in year out that youth for tomorrow. We want the youth for today. That is what we want now.)

Being the icon of old age, the speaker – Simeon Nyachae - in the excerpt is resigning to make room for the youth to take care of themselves “completely”. This view is shared by yet another speaker asserting that the current constitution can only be protected by the youth of today who took part in the constitution making process. The excerpt below presents this argument.

**Excerpt 9** (see footage clip 5, pg. 20)

*Wananchi wa kenya msiambiwe kwanba watu watakuwa wao ndio watetezi wa katiba. Waliokuwa na kamati ya kutengeneza Katiba alikuwa ni Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto na Najib Balala wakitengeneza katiba hii. Kwa hivyo katiba hii italindwa na vijana wa sasa, si wazee wanaokwenda nyumbani. Tunasema vijana chipukizi wakiingia, watalinda nyumba hii, nchi hii na kuleta Amani kule North Eastern, na kule Turkana...*”

(Kenyaans don't be told that those people will be the ones to safeguard the constitution. Those who were in the constitution review committee were Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto and Najib Balala making this constitution. Therefore this constitution will be guarded by the youth of today not the old who are going home. We are saying when the vibrant youth come in; they will guard this house, this nation and bring peace in North Eastern and Turkana.)

Here the Jubilee team is claiming ownership of the Kenyan constitution that was promulgated in 2010. This claim created an inference that the new constitution could only be safeguarded by the youth of the time to ensure peace. From a different perspective, the question of internal security is ascribed to youth unemployment. The youth are portrayed as having been idle and susceptible to manipulation by politicians as articulated by the following excerpt:

**Excerpt 10** (see footage clip 6, pg. 20)

...tunajua ya kwamba vijana wetu wanapiganishwa kwasababu kila kijana anatafuta ajira. Na ndio wanatumiwa vibaya na viongozi. Badala ya kutumia vijana wetu vibaya, wangehakikisha ya kwamba wamepata ajira kupitia sera kama kuhakikisha ya kwamba wamepata ajira kupitia sera kama kuhakikisha yakwamba tumebadilisha sharia procurement ya serikali ya procurement 30% iende kwa vijana. Tuhakikishe yakwamba vijana wamepata mikopo ndio waweze ku participate katika hio procurement... mambo hayo ndio sisi tunajua yakwamba vijana wetu wakiwa engaged, hawana nafasi ya kupigana wenyewe kwa wenyewe kwa sababu kila kijana ako napesa yake kwa mfuko.

(As we said about our youth...we know that they are being incited to fight because they have nothing to do. That is why they are being abused by the leaders. Instead of abusing them, they should have ensured that they have employment through legislation to ensure 30% of government procurement is reserved for the youth. We will ensure that the youth access loans to participate in such government procurement...this are what we know; that when our youth are engaged, they won't fight among themselves since every one of them will have their money in their pocket.)

The excerpt attributes the perpetual youth delinquency to their economic dysfunction propagated by regimes perceived to be insensitive to the plight of the youthful generation. It is this economic impotence that has driven the youth vulnerable to abuse by the political class. Accordingly, the Jubilee coalition's considers crime emanating from the youth as excusable since criminal predispositions are ways of self-assertion in a system that had relegated them to the periphery of socioeconomic and political participation.

The Jubilee campaign communication therefore was keen to have a self-presentation of a team that was meditative of youth empowerment as opposed to abuse witnessed in the preceding poll events such as the 2007 elections and the aftermath.

### 4.3 Assessing the digital-analogue ideological dichotomy of the Jubilee coalition

As a discursive concept, digital analogue-metaphor harbours certain cognitive defects or inconsistencies with the existing sociopolitical context owing to the fact that metaphorical constructs are partial in their descriptions as they foreground certain properties while hiding others about the same subject. That is to say human beings author metaphors to serve their interests particularized by the need and context. In light of ideology therefore, digital-analogue metaphor inculcated a false or slanted perspective that arranged facts in a misleading way, or failed to mention certain facts or placed them in an inconspicuous context. Subscribing to the conceptual dimensions mapped out of the metaphor raises the following critical questions on age limit for political leadership, the concept of youth, and the critical argumentation arising from the questions above highlights the discursive properties in digital-analogue campaign discourse that can be analyzed at this level of the research. The authors of the metaphor in this study deliberately highlighted self-serving qualities and those of their competitors as they blurred those that were perceived to be liability to their campaign ideology or capital to their competitors; making it a typical conceptual eclipse.

#### 4.3.1 The conceptual eclipse in the digital-analogue metaphor

The mischief of metaphor in language is such that it hides some features of the subject described while revealing other attributes just in one huff. The Digital-analogue metaphor foregrounds and hides certain attributes on either side of the divide fittingly falling in van Dijk's square as shown in the table below:

**TABLE 3: Conceptual framework of Van Dijk's square**

Emphasizing Jubilee's aptitude and deserving nature for the job	De-emphasize Jubilees disadvantageous stance
Emphasizing CORD'S ineptitude and non-deserving position	De-emphasizing CORDS's good

#### 4.3.2 Emphasizing Jubilee's aptitude and CORD's ineptitude in leadership

The digital particle of the metaphor is intended to put premium on what is perceived to be express capacity for leadership as expressed in their campaign communications. The following extract demonstrates this.

**Excerpt 12** (see footage clip 5, pg. 20)

*Tunamwambia Mwai Kibaki umefanya kazi, wewe ustaafu uende nyumbani salama salmini. Tunamwaambia Raila Odinga pia aende nyumbani kama Mwai Kibaki. Tunamwambia Kalonzo Musyoka umekuwa Serikalini miaka thelathini. Pia wewe undend nyumani na Mwai kibaki.*

(We are telling Mwai Kibaki, you have worked, you retire and go home in peace. We are telling Raila Odinga to also go home like Mwai Kibaki. We are telling Kalonzo Musyoka you have been in government for 30 years you also go home with Mwai Kibaki.)

In the excerpt, the speaker sends the outgoing president home, with the two CORD lead personalities. Tucking Mr. Kalonzo (at 60 years) and Mr. Odinga (68 years) to Kibaki (at 82 years of age) is a form of endorsement that the three form a pack of old people tending to leadership impotence. What is eclipsed deliberately is the relative youthfulness of Raila and Kalonzo to Mr. Kibaki which at least counts to fourteen years. It is also not clear if Mwai Kibaki left office out of submission to old age or constitutional dictate. It is evident that we have had older leaders than Kibaki and a case in point is Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, who by 2013 was 89 years of age and still in power. The speaker exploits relative youthfulness as opposed to the constitutional youth put at 35 years of age. The validity of Jubilee flag bearers' youthful tag was only validated when conjoined to CORD personalities.

In the same way, the speaker highlights the perceived ubiquitous presence of CORD leaders in past regimes to discredit them. The implied question here is; "What new development agenda did they have for the people?" Accordingly, Kalonzo should go home because he has been in government for over thirty years. The speaker is keen to present the CORD leaders as exhausted in ambition and vision for the people and therefore expired. What is deliberately omitted is that both lead persons of the jubilee had been in the previous governments; William Ruto and Uhuru Kenyatta came into national politics and limelight in 1990s.

The ICC question at this electioneering time was propped by CORD as a defining factor of leadership integrity. The application of this factor saw the CORD team label their competing team as "coalition of the accused". This is what made them package their communication to the objective of diminishing the ICC challenge. This came out clearly during the presidential debate in which Uhuru Kenyatta was put to task to give a plan of how he would run the

country and at the same time attend trials of crimes against humanity at The Hague. In his response he says:

**Excerpt 13** (see footage clip 7, pg. 20)

Many Kenyans are faced with personal challenges and I take this to be a personal challenge ... if the people of Kenya do decide to vote for me as their president, I will be able to handle the issue of clearing my name while at the same time ensuring that the business of government continues ... in two days we will be having a status conference, that status conference will be handled through video conferencing.

The argument advanced by Uhuru Kenyatta in this excerpt is intended to explain the agility, and vigour to navigate through the double task of the ICC setback and country leadership. The option of videoconferencing during the hearing of his case seems confirm his own plan team to exploit technology in solving problems.

Despite the fact that Jubilee invested heavily on the subject of being young and for the youth as the pivot for change oriented leadership in their campaign discourse, it should be noted that it was coincidentally descriptive as opposed to prescriptive of Jubilee politics. The Coalition exploited the immediate social consciousness and statistical facts about national population age profile having the youth as the majority in the voter population. The origination of the digital-analogue metaphor was apparently not meditated but an easy pick from the prevalent technological world. The existing social psychology was that Kenya was at 50 years of independence and this is what informed the pick of Jubilee for a formal party identity. More fittingly, the coalition was live to the socioeconomic plight of the young generation and as such wanted to identify with them holding onto the fact that the youth form the majority of the voter population. Digital-analogue description of the 2013 electoral contest was easily sourced from the technological world and applied to the political. Tracking the Jubilee coalition campaign communications, you discover their perceived trajectory to solving socioeconomic challenges through modern technology that was loosely dubbed “digital”.

#### **4.3.3 De-emphasizing Jubilees ineptitude and CORD’S aptitude for leadership**

The campaign discourse of the Jubilee team down played their competitors’ ability to lead the country into unity, and economic transformation. They tap in history as well as CORD’s own campaign rhetoric as seen in the following excerpts:



**Excerpt 14** (see footage clip 8, pg. 21)

*Kuna kundi mbili: iko kundi ya kuongozwa na Uhuru Kenyatta ya kusema na kutenda, iko kundi ya kuongozwa na jamaa wengine ya kusema na vitendawili.*

(There are two groups: one lead by Uhuru Kenyatta that does what it says and another led by other fellow that speaks in riddles.)

As presented in the extract, Jubilee want to be sure of delivering their promises in their *Kusema Nakutenda*( *promise and deliver*) philosophy. Bring in the riddle a language device that characterised Raila Odinga’s campaign language is intended to trivialize CORD’s agenda. In this context, riddles are largely viewed as little pass-time language games for children lacking in serious commitment. Fact that the speaker use vague nominalization (other fellows) instead of particularizing to CORD of specific persons exudes a diminishing attitude of the Jubilee group to CORD.

The Jubilee Coalition uses the perceived poor track record for Raila and Kalonzo’s long time in government to supposedly confirm CORD’s ineptitude and this, coupled with the perceived age factor, renders them no longer capable to lead the country to development. As demonstrated in the excerpt:

**Excerpt 15** (see footage clip 9, pg. 21)

*Mheshimiwa Kalonzo, Musyoka, sasa karibu agonge miaka salasini ndani ya serikali. Sasa kama yeye amekuwa miaka salasini, na mimi na Ruto pamoja hatujafikisha miaka saba, nanai angekuwa maeleta suluhisho? Ni mimi ama yeye? Raila Odinga amekuwa waziri kwa serikali ya Moi, amekuwa waziri katika serikali ya kwanza ya Kibaki, amekuwa prime minister kwa miaka mitano, boss yangu wa kunitawala. Kama kuna mtu ambaye angeleta suluhisho ni yeye au mimi?*

(Honorable Kalonzo Musyoka has now been in government for almost 30years. If he has been in government for 30 years and William Ruto and have been there for hardly seven years in total... who should have given a solution? Is it me or him? Raila Odinga was minister in Moi government, he was minister in the first term of Kibaki government and he was the prime minster in the second term of Kibaki government, my boss. If we have somebody who should have brought solution, is it me or him?)

The theme advanced in the excerpt above is carefully sifted to highlight the inefficiency of the CORD figureheads and to establish a historical disconnect between the two competing

factions. It is carefully sifted because the speaker Uhuru Kenyatta and his ally William Ruto had also been in previous regimes in fact since 1997 with Ruto having served as Member of Parliament for three terms, and again three times as minister. Uhuru Kenyatta on his part had been in politics since 1997 serving in different capacities for finance and leader of opposition. The apogee of Jubilee's positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation is displayed in the excerpt below:

**Excerpt 16** (see footage clip 10, pg. 21)

*Mtakuwa katika chama ya kuunda serikali au ya kwenda upinzani?*

(Will you choose to be in a party that will form government or be in that team that will form opposition.)

The impression created here is that CORD's failure to win elections was imminent and voters could choose where to subscribe because it was sealed.

#### **4.4 Digital-analogue dichotomy and attitude manipulation.**

In taking care of objective two which is to examine whether the digital-analogue metaphor did shape electorates' attitudes beliefs and ultimate voter decision in the 2013 presidential elections, this study discusses the results of the second primary data gotten from the FGD and interviews. The questions set for FGDs sparked lengthy discussions among the participants trying to justify the stands taken by each one of them. On the question of whether or not they were acquainted with the digital-analogue narrative, all of them affirmed and explained that it was used in the campaign discourse of the 2013 elections. However, many of the participants were more conscious of it as applied in political discourse and less aware of its authentic origination from the ICT context particularly discourse around the world broadcast from analogue to digital migration. Notably therefore, the applied sense of digital or analogue in politics had blurred the natural use of the two terms. At least 50% of the 35 participants could hardly explain the importance of digital broadcast despite the generic feeling that it was better than analogue broadcast. It was noted that most of those with limited awareness had attained a comparative low level of education; below secondary school.

The question of the personalities referred to by the digital-analogue label elicited responses highlighting commonly shared perceptions. Fifty (50) or seventy two (72%) of the sixty nine participants considered the digital particle of the metaphor to mean young and therefore referent to William Ruto, Uhuru Kenyatta and his allies. However, when asked to explain 'youth' in the context of the study, it was found to be only relative; they could not explain the youthfulness of William Ruto and Uhuru Kenyatta without drafting in Raila Odinga and his team to occasion comparison. Clearly, Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka were tagged to the analogue particle of the metaphor. However, in their perception of the digital or analogue, some participants transcended the defined context of politics to refer to all the young people for the digital and all the old people for the analogue. It was at this point that another colloquial equivalent of digital generation (*dotcom generation*) that had dominated previous social discourse in Kenya – on generation gap in this information age – was recalled by five participants on different occasions. In light of the theory guiding this study the target domain of the digital-analogue metaphor is Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto for the digital and Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka.

The discursive nature of the metaphor came into light when the FGD participants were asked to tell the perceived qualities advanced by the metaphor. To the majority of them being digital meant being young or new and to them it was exciting. It was noted that the qualities

ascribed to digital or analogue expressly told the attitude. Other participants held the view that digital meant trendy or current and with this view, they definitely put the analogue sense of the metaphor into antiquity. Accordingly, Raila Odinga and his alliance are presented as old, outmoded in leadership and lacking in ambition. This reflects the Socioemotional Selectivity school of thought that explains ones social networking and goal setting in terms of future time perspective (Lockenhof, Corinna, and Laura 2004) this view was captured in a stunning remark from one participant that:

*Kama kuwa kijana ni kujifunza kuishi, kuwa mzee ni kujifunza kufa.*

(If being young is learning how to live, being old is learning how to die.)

The point of view in the expression above to age and leadership is such that older age is void of long term ambition that is a function of other personal character or behaviour. This is how the Jubilee Coalition wanted to project their competitors.

Other participants considered being digital as being efficient or up-to-date, contrasting with being analogue. One participant observed that the challenges facing the youth are too complex to be handled by the old leadership. This was quoted as:

*Hizi shida za vijana ni complex sana inaitaji watu vijana kama Ruto, Sonko Kutuny na wengine sio kina Raila.*

(These problems of the youth are too complex for old leaders like Raila, they require young people like Ruto, Mike Mbuvi, Kutuny and others)

Sonko and Kutuny are part of the Jubilee team that had bent their campaigns that not only appeal to the youth but also and identify with them. Kutuny used the Sheng – the non-formal code associated with the youth. During one of the campaign rallies this is how Kutuny speaks:

**Excerpt 2 (see page 22)**

*... si mnacheiki prezoo yuko bez. Mwaka ujao tarehe nne mwezi wa nne tutakuwa tuanaapisha rais wa taifa la Kenya anaitwa Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta. Tukimaapisha rais tutakuwa tukimwaapisha mwenzake makamu William Samoei Ruto*

(As you can see the president is around. Next year on 4<sup>th</sup> of April we shall be swearing in the president of Kenya. Uhuru Mwigai Kenyatta. As we do that we shall also be swearing in the deputy president called William Samoei Ruto)

His choice the words *mnachek*, *prezo* and *bez* were motivated by the need to connect with the youth who, from the revelations of the FGD discussions, was achieved.

72% participants conceded to the qualities of digital-analogue and pointed out that they indeed describe the persons involved. However, 28% held a different view that William Ruto and Uhuru Kenyatta had outgrown the youth. One of the participants commented that:

*Hao watu wote ni wazee, Jubilee na CORD lakini hakuna mwenye ni mzee sana mpaka hawezi ku-lead.*

(All those people are old, Jubilee and CORD but no one is too old to lead)

There was a rejoinder from five other participants who cited cases of some African leaders much older but still in power:

*Sasa tukisema ni wazee, na Mugabe je? Na Museveni naye?*

(Now if we say that they are old, how about Mugabe and Museveni)

Robert Mugabe, the current president of Zimbabwe, was 89 years by 2013 and Yoweri Museveni the president of Uganda who was 69 by 2013. Age therefore in leadership is a relative factor but not independent.

80% percent of the participants agreed to have been influenced by the competing qualities evoked by the digital-analogue narrative to make their decisions. Reasons were drawn from frustrations from the past regimes to which the CORD leadership was highly linked. One of them remarkably noted:

### **Excerpt 11**

*Jubilee wanataka kutumia technology kwa ukulima, security, masomo ...kila kitu kitakua hi-tech hata Hague ni kuenda skype...labda hio ndio itapambana na njaa na umasikini na alshabab*

(Jubilee wants to use technology in farming, security, education...everything will be hi-tech even going to The Hague will be via skype maybe that is what will combat hunger, poverty and the Al-Shabaab terrorist group).

The excerpt implies that people were on the verge of disillusionment and they expected a more efficient, and fast approach to solutions to these problems. Arguably therefore, Jubilee campaign ideology yielded optimism to many afflicted by poverty, unemployment and starvation.

Despite the optimism that participants who constituted the 80% were prevailed upon by the Digital-analogue narrative, it was realized that 50% of them felt betrayed and given another chance, they would vote a different entity.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

The purpose of this section is to recap the main findings of the study in a three tier presentation of summary, conclusion and recommendation. Notably, the central motif in the findings of this study is that digital-analogue narrative as greatly interlaced in the Jubilee campaign communication molded into a campaign ideology that set apart the two competing forces.

#### **5.1 Summary**

The explication of the digital-analogue metaphor within the framework of Lakoff's CMT and in the context of the 2013 election campaigns in Kenya inferred several conceptual bearings. The inferred bearings were purely discursive with the lexical particles of the metaphor borrowed from the natural context of technology and applied to the campaign discourse. While digital referred to the new or young, analogue meant old. The 2013 poll contest in Kenya was a contest between the young generation and the old.

The study also discovered that 'digital' as a label for the comparatively youthful Jubilee group meant a team that was perceptibly efficient and fast in addressing social issues. Analogue therefore implied the slow and inefficient old ascribing to the CORD coalition. The efficiency Jubilee was contained in the youthfulness and ambition to exploit technology in solving social challenges.

The findings in this study also ascertained that the label 'digital' was exploited by jubilee for a social articulation to the youthful nation that comprised the majority of the voter population. Jubilee poised as the would-be government of the youth by the youth and about youth. Their pledges during campaigns were seen to target problems greatly afflicting the youth.

It was clearly demonstrated by the FGD and interviews that the digital-analogue construct gave Jubilee either a persuasive or manipulative advantage. The participants were well aware of the digital-analogue debate at 2013 campaign time and 80% of the participants tagged Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto to the digital label as they considered Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka good for analogue label. It therefore explains why still 72% of the FGD participants agreed to have been influenced by the perceptions created by the digital-analogue narrative. However, possibility of voter manipulation by the Jubilee arose when this figure

fell to 50% when participants were asked if they would still be influenced to decide as they did. Many of them recorded frustration based on the unmet pledges that had been given strict timelines like security and fight against corruption and the flagship project of laptops for class one pupils.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

From the findings of this study, the digital-analogue metaphor wasn't just a bare language device for campaign rhetoric but a vehicle for the defining ideology of the Jubilee Coalition. In light of the first objective, the conceptual mappings of the digital-analogue metaphor gave a dichotomy of competing factions as the young (Jubilee) competing against the old (CORD) and that the agenda of Jubilee as opposed to CORD was the youth and their socioeconomic afflictions.

In light of the second objective, the metaphor defined who Jubilee was and how they wanted to be perceived relative to their competitors. It summarized the ideological incline that characterized their campaign discourse which in turn accorded them a favourable attitude from the voter. It was clear that majority of the voters were influenced by the ideology pedaled in the digital-analogue narrative.

Being discursive, perceptions created from the metaphor pointed to some caveat that was central to objective three of this research. The perceptions were subject to both the intended and achieved perceptions of digital-analogue to a critical perspective. In the spirit of the digital ideology as understood by this research, the Jubilee Coalition deliberately sifted content to demean their competitors while upholding themselves. Under this objective two questions arise:

1. Who is young?
2. Is youth the only attribute for good leadership?

The self-elevating arguments about CORD's track record advanced by the Jubilee are expressly prejudiced considering that the lead actors from either side of the competition had been in the past regimes for over fifteen years.

## **5.3 Recommendations**

Having explicated the digital-analogue ideological metaphor, this study recommends that in the quest for democracy through representation:



Political campaign discourse is by and large discursive and therefore prone to abuse; it lacks objectivity and only serves its authors. The voters should not be passive consumers of such discourse but be people who can interrogate campaign arguments to determine their fairness, feasibility and honesty. There should be a critical evaluation of campaign discourse for the public to decide based on deliberative and substantive policies from those seeking elective positions. Politicians can use language selectively to hide important information – that could be used by the public to ratify them for public office – to only reveal self-serving content.

Metaphorical language has far reaching cognitive impact to the audience when used to champion a social course. It is therefore recommended that metaphors be used in other forms of public engagement that champion positive course such as advocacy and affirmative campaigns. Metaphorical constructs gets the public to cognitive schemas by which they understand what could otherwise be too abstract, complex or remote.

#### **5.4. Suggestions for Further studies**

This study has focused on ideology in a post-cold war context – that had ostensibly characterized the world politics – ideologies with a special focus on how metaphor was exploited as a vehicle of ideological persuasion and (or) manipulation in a volatile multiparty political competition. The study has however evoked more scholarly intrigues worth further research notably:

- i. How other forms, other than textual, of political discourse convey certain belief systems that define and prescribe the 21<sup>st</sup> century practice of politics.
- ii. Investigation on how the 21<sup>st</sup> century socioeconomic contexts inform the ideologies of the time in the fast political regime turnover of democratic states.
- iii. The impact of information age particularly social media on the 21<sup>st</sup> century political communication's construction of ideologies.

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