The discourse of televised political news interviews and ethnic polarization in Kenya

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DECLARATION

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

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This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate this work to my late grandmother, Mary Mosero, my parents, my husband, my children, Annan and Neema and my siblings for their prayers and support.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

**BBC**- British Broadcasting Corporation

**CAK**- Communication Authority of Kenya

**CDA**- Critical Discourse Analysis.

**CIC**- Commission on the Implementation of the Constitution

**CORD**- Coalition for Reforms and Democracy

**ECK**- Electoral Commission of Kenya.

**FDGs**- Focus group discussions

**IE**- Interviewee

**ICC**- International Criminal Court

**IR**- Interviewer

**KANU**- Kenya African National Union.

**KBC**- Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

**KTN**- Kenya Television Network

**NCIC**- National Cohesion and Integration Commission.

**NTV**- Nation Television
DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS.

**Discourse:** This is a way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective (in this case political interview discourse).

**Discursive strategies**- production and dissemination aspects of political interviews and the interpretation given by the audience.

**Framing**- strategic selection of time, subject, topic and interviewees in a political news interview.

**Polarization**- A state in which communities belong to opposing extremes or polars when dealing with an issue.

**Political Communication**: communication of political information that is strategic and designed to achieve a set of objectives for the first source of this information

**Political news interviews**- Interviews involving a journalist (as an interviewer) and a politician or politicians (as interviewees) and is commonly conducted in the middle or the end of a news broadcast in Kenya.

**Production strategies**- The making of a political news interview by drawing on past events and making them part of the present occurrence.

**Text**: A text here relates to the political interviews being analyzed, other media texts include radio and TV programs, newspaper articles, and policy documents that were analyzed in relation to this study.
ABSTRACT

Political interviews have been used as genres for dissemination of political information. The way they are presented is a subject of concern as they are thought to be causing division among the Kenyan audience along political party and hence ethnic lines. The purpose of this study is to look at the discursive practices in political news interviews and the interpretation they are given by the audience that may lead to ethnic polarization. The main objective of this study was to analyze the influence of televised political news interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya. Two theories were used to support this study: Theory of Media Framing and Theory of discourse and ideology to show how messages are selected and packaged and the ideological influences they have. The study adopted a qualitative design. A total of 6 recorded televised interviews were studied, two from Citizen TV and one from each of the four sampled stations. Data collection and analysis was simultaneously done by transcribing the interviews and interpreting them using Critical Discourse Analysis alongside other methods such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and document analysis. Data presentation was done through discussing the interpretation against the institutional, societal, historical and political contexts in which the interviews are conducted. The findings of the study were that linguistic features are used subtly to cause polarization and it was found out that naming and referencing was commonly used to create an US vs THEM mentality among audiences hence polarization. It was also found out that the media treat audiences as markets and products hence presenting sensational news to attract ratings and eventually profits. It was concluded that political news interviews actually lead to ethnic polarization based on the production processes, language use, and ideological stands and through the use of media frames. The key recommendation from the study was that there should be audience awareness programmes on the processes and operations of the media.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Many media genres are used for dissemination of political messages, for example, broadcast news, discussions, information interviews, documentaries, features, profiles, and political analyses and events. These are carried out through various channels, more so the television. Television has a special place in political communication because of its advantage of visuals and sound; hence politicians understand how important mass media have become to retaining power and influencing citizens (Howard, 2006). Howard adds that television helps to create a new reality populated by spin doctors, pollsters, pundits and media consultants. Thus, eventually political life begins to conform more closely to the image of politics that television portrays it to be through frames. This study focuses on the political news interview as a means of reaching the desired audience. The broadcast political interview is a kind of formal interview with usually high ranking political representatives as part of a programme aimed at informing. It is produced in a studio or official office and might have a live audience. There are basically two roles in the political interview, interviewer (IR) and interviewee (IE), which characteristically are assumed by a journalist and a politician respectively by virtue of their professional roles. The journalists change the contours of public discourse and the definition of
public issue. Hutchby (2011) observes that the broadcast political interview is a specially staged audience event. Despite being technically absent (except in cases in which there is an audience in the studio) the audience is the main recipient of the event. However, it is constituted as massive and as Clayman and Heritage (2010) put it, an overhearing audience (or distributed recipients as referred to as by Hutchby (2006). Due to technological development, this audience is not just an ‘overhearing’ audience because they are now able to shape the structure of the interview through phone-in calls and social media platforms interaction as witnessed in the political interviews in Kenya. This view by the researcher is supported by Montgomery (2007) who asserts that there are pressures on the forms of broadcast news from the interaction between and convergence of different news platforms – radio, television, print and the internet. Audiences for broadcast news now have available to them news in a variety of formats from a variety of alternative platforms. Radio and television news may be streamed to a laptop computer or downloaded as a file or podcast, and email responses of a live news programme may be incorporated into the bulletin programme itself. This view is also supported by Cotter (2010) who sees the audience as co-participants in the construction of news discourse.

Kenya’s media have grown over the recent past due to the liberalization of airwaves in 1989. Liberalization brought with it competition amongst media organizations which have often opted to air sensational content to the public. Television political interviews are some of the sensational genres that journalists use to make their stations popular. In fact, the Kenyan media have had their share of blame from critics for transmitting messages that lead to division of the nation along ethnic and political lines (BBC policy paper, 2010). These interviews are carried out using strategically manipulated language. Critical discourse based analyses (Bell & Garrett, 2005) and (Fairclough in Cap & Okulska, 2013) of political interviews examine the specific functions regarding language production and language reception such as medialization, conversationalization and ideology. Medialization looks at the impact of mass media and reception of language;
conversationalization considers the influence of mundane everyday talk in institutional discourse and macro oriented ideology is examined with respect to manifestation of different types of discourse (Cap & Okulska, 2013). In critical discourse analysis, political interviews are not only examined from a top down perspective as a genre which is embedded and dialectically connected with socio-cultural contexts and with other discourses but also as a multi-voiced encounter and media event, thus capturing the inherent complexity of the genre. The way language is used in such interviews was investigated as it is through language that political ideology is passed to the audience and groups are represented Van Djik (2008).

The popularly held image of Africa is that of a continent with countries incessantly rent by ancient ethnic struggle that complicate and slow down the development of national consciousness (Okoth & Ogot, 2000). Many countries in Africa (Nigeria, Egypt, South Sudan, Burundi and Kenya) have faced deep turmoil due to lack of peace. This state is caused by among other things: religious differences, unequal distribution of national resources, ethnic segregation, political hegemony and conflict and social mobilization through media channels. Whenever nations are at war, mediation takes place. Like in Rwanda, after the 1994 genocide, the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission was established to spearhead peace education, train leaders and conduct seminars on cohesion (UN, 2015). Gacaca courts were additionally instituted where victims of genocide were to learn the truth about the death of their families and perpetrators were given an opportunity to confess their crimes, show remorse and ask for forgiveness. It was closed in May, 2012 having achieved its objectives. The African union is also on a joint effort to contain the Burundi and South Sudan crises that have persisted and were intensified in 2015 due to power struggle.

When ethnic polarization in Kenya reached its peak in 2008, in a post-election violence, there was concern from the citizens and the international community that Kenya resolves the crisis. Therefore, the international mediation began where perceived symbols of
mediation like Desmond Tutu (South African religious figure), John Kufuor (Former president of Ghana), Kofi Annan (Former UN Secretary General) were invited. It was Kofi Annan led team of Eminent African personalities that gave rise to the power sharing deal that saw the creation of the Grand Coalition government (Oyugi, 2013). The ethnic tension was quelled momentarily but there has been persistent political tension to date as manifested through hate speech and ethnic profiling, where political leaders have been quoted uttering polarizing remarks (NTV, 2015, November 1; Citizen TV, 2015 November,4). There have been efforts by successive governments to put mechanisms in place that would deal with the ethnic polarization and tension in Kenya. They include:

The Constitution of Kenya Review commission was revived to provide civic education and review the draft constitution. This gave rise to the Kenya constitution (2010) through a referendum and was largely perceived as a unifying factor. The Commission on the Implementation the Constitution (CIC) was formed to oversee the implementation of the new constitution. In addition, there were electoral reform initiatives where the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission was also instituted to replace the defunct Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) after recommendations from the Kriegler report were adopted. The National Cohesion and Integration Commission was setup in 2011 through an Act of parliament to ‘encourage cohesion and integration by outlawing discrimination on ethnic grounds’ as well as reforms and power sharing where Kenya’s coalition government was established to end ethnic violence and to implement broad political, constitutional- legal, policy and administrative reforms to address the fundamental causes of post –election crisis. The other body is the National Human Rights Commission that has many functions, one of which is to ‘receive and investigate complaints about alleged abuses of human rights’ (Ogada, 2011). Land ownership disputes have been major causes of ethnic polarization. Therefore the National Land Commission was established to, among other functions, ‘initiate investigation on its own or on a complaint, into present and historical land injustices and recommend appropriate
redress (Land Commission Act, 2012). The court has been considered as a deterrent agent to hate speech but the levels have not reduced. For instance, some leaders have been charged more than once for making derogatory remarks that are potentially polarizing, they have been charged in court but they have not stopped. They are elected political leaders in the 2013-2017 term and who are perceived to have a lot of influence and some of the include: Jakoyo Midiwo, a member of parliament, for claiming that there was a plot to assassinate Raila Odinga, the leader of opposition; Moses Kuria, a member of parliament, for alleged incitement of youths against a certain Kenyan community; Senator Johnstone Muthama, a senator, and George Aladwa, an opposition activist, for incitement remarks and Governor William Kabogo, a governor, for hate speech against a community, who even said he had money to defend himself in the court (Wainaina, 2015, November 3). The media has also been expected to be a cohesive device. As a mirror, the press serves as an important reflection of the state and nation building process. It provides insight into political dynamics and the level of dialogue within a society and progress of reconciliation and peaceful resolution of disputes (Masime, 2010).

Media organizations which today comprise print, broadcasting and online channels are purveyors of political ideology through reportage, editorials, commentary and analysis (Mcnaire, 2010). In democratic political systems, the media function both as transmitters of political communication which originates outside the media organizations and as senders of political messages constructed by journalists and other procedures. Obviously, politicians must use the media in order to have their messages communicated to the desired audience. Political programmes, policy statements, electoral appeals and pressure group campaigns have a political existence- and have a potential for communicative effectiveness- only to the extent that they are reported and received as messages by the media audience. Consequently, all the political communicators must gain access to the media by some means. Media institutions have gradually developed around key activities of publication and dissemination. Lumumba, Mbondenyi and
Odero (2013) assert that the media have been a subject of political interference in addition to their myriad economic, infrastructural and human resource constraints. They also overlap with other institutions, especially as these expand their public communication activities (Mcquail, 2010). Mcquail additionally notes that mass media are powerful because that power generally includes a national media industry capable of reaching most of the population, a degree of consensus in the message dissemination and some measure of credibility and trust in the media on the part of the audiences. Politics is routinely conducted on the assumption that skillful media presentation is absolutely vital to success in all normal circumstances (Mcquail, 2010). However, the audience is not a passive one that receives mass media messages without contesting their validity and motives.

Hutchby (2011) observes that the news media do not simply report in a neutral and impartial way. In the political arena journalists give accounts of political events that are laden with value judgments, subjectivities, and biases. He explains that while the extent and direction of media bias vary in a modern democracy, the fact that it exists makes the media organizations to be viewed as important actors in the political process. Between the sending of a political message and its reception by an audience, it gets altered in various ways. Consciously or as a consequence of the media production process, so that its meaning and impact on an audience may change. It is observed that the communities which are already polarized end up getting further polarized where the audience take respective stances as it has been observed in the Kenyan context.

Television is a popular medium to disseminate information, entertainment and political messages in Kenya. A commonly used genre of political communication is the political news interview. Clayman and Heritage (2004) argue that the news interviews involve a distinctive constellation of participants, subject matter and interactional forms. The interviewer is known as a professional journalist rather than a partisan advocate or celebrity entertainer. Interviews have some connection to recent news events; either as
primary actors (government officials) or as informed commentators (certified experts). The discussion normally focuses on matters related to recent news events, is highly formal and is managed through questions and answers. The political interview is a generally in-depth type of formal interview with major political representatives often constituting a programme of its own, and staged either in an official room in a television studio without any audience present (Dimbley in Clayman & Heritage 2004). What the talk is about, how it shall start and the parts played by the participants is predefined by the broadcaster. The roles of interviewer and interviewee are played by respectively a journalist and a politician appearing in his/her professional role. The encounter is staged for the benefit of the general public, who is absent and passive, and is constructed as a mass audience (Clayman & Heritage, 2004). The ultimate addressee of the communication is therefore not the interviewer but the audience. The researcher notes that in the current technological explosion, the audience is not absent and passive as is stated by (Clayman & Heritage, 2004) but instead it is an active audience that is constantly in contact with the news events hence gives its views and to an extent determines the news angle and the emphasis with which the events are covered and presented.

Clayman and Heritage (2004) observe that the audience plays no active role in the interaction but ultimately, they are the target consumers of the information from the interviews. However, it is important to observe that viewer participation via phone- in calls and use of social media interaction is common in Kenyan political interviewing process where viewers are prompted to participate and indeed they do. (Clayman and Heritage, 2004) also note that the discussion normally focuses on matters related to recent events and that questions put to the IE are of public interest and purportedly originate from a social interest mandate granted by the general public. The IR aims to find out firsthand the details and inconsistencies of policies carried out (or to be implemented) by the IE or the party /government she or he represents. As a result of this disparity of interests, it is therefore not unusual to see the occasional conflict between
the IR and IE (Roca-Cuberes, 2013). It is observed that most Kenyan political interviews often have two politicians from opposing sides and the journalist acts as a mediator (*The Big Question* and *Opinion Court* on *Citizen TV*, *The Check point* on *Kenya Television Network*) but there are some instances when one politician is hosted in the studio and is taken to task over particular actions or decisions of the side he/she represents (*Jeff Koinange Live on Kenya Television Network*, *The Trend* and *AM live* on *NTV*). It has been observed that the interviews often turn confrontational between the journalist and the interviewee and also between the interviewees.

The interviewing practice worldwide is guided by particular codes of practice. In Spain for instance, the main code is that of the Spanish Federation of journalists Association in which IRS’ conduct is subject to professional ethics. In the UK’s *BBC*, IRS are legally required to maintain the stance of formal neutrality. In the USA, references used are those from Radio and Television News Directors association and the Society of professional Journalism (Roca-Cuberes, 2013). Kenya’s media practice is guided by various Acts of parliament like The Media law (2013), The Kenya Constitution (2010) and various internal regulation mechanisms. The Kenya Media council Act (2013) is mandated to prescribe standards of journalists, media practitioners and the media enterprises. However, it does not mention what exactly should guide political interviewers. Additionally, The Kenya Information and Communication Act (2013) cautions that ‘news, values or comments on ethnic, religious or sectarian disputes shall be published or broadcast after proper verification of facts and presented with due caution and restrain in a manner which is conducive to the creation of an atmosphere pleasant to national harmony, unity and peace.’

In the USA, prototypical news interviews are featured on nightly programmes such as *Nightline* (*ABC*) and *The Newshour* (*PBS*), and weekly programmes such as Meet the press, (*NBC*), *Face the Nation* (*CBS*), and *This Week* (*ABC*). In the UK, prototypical news interview-based programmes include *Newsnight* (*BBC2*), *The Sunday Breakfast*
with Frost (Clayman and Heritage, 2004). CNN and Aljazeera are other international channels that broadcast political interviews based on ideologies of political parties and if there is any form of polarization, it will be along party lines (Mcnaire, 2010). Unfortunately, it is observed that political interviews in Kenya take party lines which are inseparable from ethnic groups (Masime, 2010). The television interviews are broadcast during prime time in perceived popular channels like NTV, Citizen, KTN and K24. They always focus on controversial and sensitive issues (like the Okoa Kenya referendum call, role of provincial administration in Kenya, Kenya Defense Forces’ presence in Somalia and other controversial topics) which often take political angles. The politicians invited from the government and opposition sides always take hardline stands and this is thought to further dividing the audience along political leanings and tribal lines.

Journalists usually frame their messages in a way that respective politicians will crystallize their supporters. Framing has a powerful impact on people’s thinking. Gibson and Lando (2016) observe that the tendency to frame messages is common among interviewers and the responses given by the interlocutors from both sides of the divide indicate the way they want their respective supporters to perceive their messages. They hence project an image of being trustworthy and strong. Politicians express their opinions and standpoints and present their argument in order to influence and convince their supporters and potential supporters. As Wilson (1990) points out, politicians use words and sentences in an emotive way; it is part of their aim to create a feeling of solidarity, to arouse emotions such as fear, hate or joy. This often leads to ethnic polarization. Political polarization arises when political argument reflects partisan differences. These arguments are often propagated by the media where the way they are carried out shapes behaviour of people and shapes various policies (Jensen, 2012).

Since political ideologies are transmitted via language, the study of language as used in the political media is necessary. Language and politics are inseparable as it is through
language that political intentions and ideologies are articulated and understood (Fairclough, 2013). Critical discourse analysis is concerned with how social and political inequalities are manifest in and reproduced through discourse (Van Dijk, 2001). Critical discourse analysis extends its analytic focus to examine broader features of the reproduction or consumption of discourse. Van Dijk (2014) underscores the role of cognition in the understanding and interpretation of texts and discourse practices. He argues that the need to understand the role of social activities in order to understand how wider inequalities inform particular discourse in the interpretation of acts. The production of discourse structures that signal underlying bias such as impoliteness or the use of derogatory vocabulary is a consequence of activation of attitudes, and mental constructs, hence polarization.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Although Kenya is cited as a model of political stability and economic development in Africa (Jonyo, 2013), it is faced with challenges of political violence because of polarized ethnic communities. In Kenya, political mobilization along ethnic communities has resulted in ethnic polarization. Different ideological views have seen political parties appeal to ethnic emotions and indulge in patronage and corruption (Oyugi, 2013). These have led to heightened perceptions of ethnic inequality and/or exclusion within the political system. Complaints have been voiced over the high level of hate speech against communities, unhealthy political mobilization and bias in the analysis of contentious issues. Despite several mechanisms to combat this polarization its prevalence is still being felt, especially in mass media discourses.

Ethnic polarization in Kenya has been caused by, among other factors, political discrimination, perceived historical injustices, land ownership disputes, unequal distribution of national resources and biased representation of ethnic groups in the mass media (Oyugi, 2013). The poor, biased and misrepresentation of ethnic groups is the
focus of this research. The proliferation of vernacular radio stations and commercial television stations has also been argued to contribute to ethnic polarization (BBC Policy Document, 2010) yet the news media are meant to be informative, educative and unifying agents. Due to heightened political activity in Kenya and the changing political landscape, the media have been accused of having thrust themselves as agents to carry political ideology rather than carrying its most basic mandate of informing, educating and entertaining.

Among the media genres that have been actively used for this purpose is the political news interview. Feldman, Kinoshita and Bull (2015) argue that for politicians, attending interview programmes is taken as their best tool for political communication. In Kenya, concerns have been raised that the way televised political interviews are conducted may often result in political polarization among the audience for whom such interaction is intended. Hence this study critically looked at the discourse of political news interviews as one of the causes of ethnic polarization.

A comparative study on public and commercial broadcasters in Spain (Cuberes-Roca, 2013), showed that commercial broadcasters were not dedicated to objectivity and neutrality during the broadcast of these political news interviews. Hutchby (2011) found out in his study ‘Non-neutrality and argument in the hybrid interview’ that journalistic practices found in commercial broadcasters were not committed to objectivity but blended political reporting with stance taking and infotainment with an aim to influence business interests and the promulgation of conservative and populist ideas. These studies, however, did not consider that the discursive practices of these political news interviews can lead to framing and so may have a polarizing effect on the audience.

1.3 Research objectives
1.3.1 General objective

The general objective was to analyze the influence of televised political news interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

1. To describe the influence of linguistic features in televised political news interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya.

2. To examine the influence of discursive practices in political news interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya.

3. To assess the influence of media framing in televised political news interviews on ethnic polarization

4. To establish the effect of the intervening socio-cultural practices surrounding televised political news interviews in ethnic polarization in Kenya.

1.4 Research questions

1. What is the influence of linguistic features in televised political news interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya?

2. What is the influence of discursive practices in televised political news interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya?

3. What is the influence of media framing in televised political interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya?

4. What is the effect of the intervening socio-cultural practices surrounding televised political news interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya?
1. 5 Justification of the study.

Chilton and Schafner (2002) have proposed to study political discourse from the text and talk perspective. This perspective stems from the hypothesis that political activity does not exist without the use of language. It is true that other behaviour are involved (e.g. physical coercion); But the doing of policies is predominantly constituted in language (Chilton & Schaffner, 2002). Since it is quite obvious that political language is designed to achieve specific political goals- to make people believe in certain things, it is a prime example of what can be called a critical discourse analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis is considered a prominent research paradigm for a functional based analysis of language, language use and discourse and communication. To capture the diversity of society, and culture, discourse analysis and discourse practice are determined processes and products, these realizations are related explicitly to a wider frame of reference regarding possible form and functions of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. In that frame of reference, political interviews are no longer seen as structures of interplay of questions and answers but rather as multi-voiced orchestrated encounters (Chilton & Schaffner, 2002). Political interviews hence offer themselves as suitable genres for analysis of political messages and the effect they have on the public.

This study postulated that the media can be used more as a unifying factor in Kenya. Political news interviews that are laden with political ideologies can be conducted in an ethical manner in order to be unifying factors. This study is envisaged to benefit the audience to be able to evaluate messages that target them and seek information actively before accepting to believe or act on given messages from politicians. Journalists who take interviewer roles would be encouraged to critically create balance between economy of the media and public interest and hence media houses to ethically distribute their content and ensure they play the role of uniting rather than dividing the country. Since these interviews are surrounded with crises that affect communities and cause
ethnic as well as political tensions, interviewers need expert knowledge on political interviewing so as to present issues in a way that will not divide the audiences. Through linguistic awareness campaigns as proposed by Van Dijk (2006) and Fairclough (2014), the politicians, the journalists and the audience can be sensitized to carefully examine the effect of their language or even the choice of their words during their public communication. Words have meaning and resultant consequences.

1.6 Scope of the study

The study looked at topics given focus by television stations as priority areas for political news interviews during the period surrounding the 2013 general elections. These topics include: discussions on the Kenyan Constitution amendment, taxation and tax burden, justice, insecurity, national integration, ICC cases, the referendum and government projects like education and health. The study sampled six television stations namely Citizen, KTN, NTV, K24 and KBC due to their perceived popularity. Other stations were not considered as they are seen to have limited viewership (CAK, 2012). There are also vernacular radio stations in Kenya that have been accused of fueling tribal animosity. The Media Council of Kenya (2015) observes about the state of national cohesion in Kenya is as a result of media bias. However, this study only focused on television stations that air political interviews during prime time sessions as the viewership culture of hybridity has been created in Kenya where news are very important but within the news, the political news interviews are held. This study did not cover campaign debates carried by media during the campaigns period leading to 2013 general elections but looks at the political interviews that were held for a period of six months (three months before and three months after the 2013 general elections).

There are many media texts that can be analyzed pragmatically but this study only looked at political interviews. This is because the political interview is used to disseminate political information in Kenya. It has been reported that the political
interview gives politicians the platform to give detailed analysis of various political issues (Clayman & Heritage, 2004). The study dealt with verbal language. Non-verbal behaviour of politicians, though important in determining meaning, was not analyzed. This is because studying both verbal and non-verbal communication in a single study would amount to huge amounts of data. However, using Gail Jefferson’s transcription guidelines, intonation and stress patterns were included as paralinguistic aspects that gave meaning to texts during transcription and interpretation of discourse. Normal orthography as opposed to detailed phonetic transcription was used.

The study used two theories: Theory of News Framing and Theory of discourse and ideology. These theories were used to show how mass media are used to affect communities and how relations of dominance are constructed and resisted as well as looking at the effect of news frames in the audience.

1.7 Limitations of the study

In the course of this study various challenges were experienced. The notable ones were the following:

The political news interviews were strictly given after a rigorous process of seeking for permission to copy them for analysis. Access to the electronic library in the media stations requires one to pay fees for admission. This made it extremely expensive for the researcher but nevertheless, they were purchased.

Another difficulty was in accessing the political analysts who were key respondents in this study. They are busy and therefore getting them was a big challenge. The researcher asked for reference from political analysts who were accessible and from journalists because they have had great contact with the political analysts.
The journalists work on strict time lines and are hence very busy. It was challenging to get them to respond to the questionnaires. To counter this challenge, the researcher used in depth interviews instead of questionnaires. This because it was established that an interview would be given easily but they took time to fill a questionnaire and at times they would only do it in the presence of the researcher.

Transcription of the political news interviews was a very tiresome exercise as it is lengthy and involves transforming spoken language to a written form in order to carry out analysis. The researcher took leave from work in order to carry out the research.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This study examined political interviews in Kenya to establish whether they polarize the audience ethnically. The choice of interviewees, topics and language use in the interviews are seen as key factors in influencing the opinions of audiences. Therefore, News Framing Theory and the Theory of Ideology were used to explain how polarization may take place. Linguistic features, discursive practices, socio-cultural practices and news framing are key variables to understanding ethnic polarization.

2.2 Theoretical review

This study was supported by two theories: Media Framing theory and Theory of Discourse and Ideology. These theories were important as they provided an understanding of the subject and also gave analytical focus to guide the analysis and interpretation of data.

2.2.1 Media Framing Theory

According to McCombs (2004), media framing is the second level of Agenda Setting. It is a mechanism of influence in which journalists employ a frame of interpretation in presenting an issue to the public. In other words, media coverage is characterized by active construction, selection and structuring of information to organize a particular reality in a meaningful manner for the public (Jasperson & Kikhia, 2003). The Media Framing Theory focuses on how the mass media decide what people think about. Baran and Davis (2013) explain that the Framing Theory examines the idea about how people use expectations to make sense of everyday life. Additionally, Reese, Gandy and Grant
(2001) observe that framing is the way events and issues are organized and made sense of especially by media, media professionals and the audiences. The basis of the Framing Theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. This field of meaning can have an effect on the audience’s beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour by connecting a particular meaning or interpretation on an issue.

The theory assumes that the mass media draw the public attention to certain topics, it decides what people think about as journalists select the topics. This is the original agenda setting ‘thought’. The way in which the news is brought, the frame in which the news is presented, is also a choice made by journalists. Thus, a frame refers to the way mass media and media gatekeepers organize and present the events and issues they cover, and the way audiences interpret what they are provided with. Frames are abstract notions that serve to organize or structure social meanings. Frames influence the perception of the news on the audience, this form of agenda-setting not only tells what to think about, but also how to think about it. The news media make every effort by trying to appear neutral and objective. But the writers and editors who report the news are anything but objective. They construct a subjective picture of reality, selecting and organizing a confusing flood of information in a way that makes sense to themselves and their audiences (Vreese, 2013). For example, when a journalist selects a topic that he or she is going to write about, they are inevitably drawing the audience’s attention to a particular topic, which is the original concept behind the agenda setting theory. However, the way or the frame in which the information is presented to the audience is also decided by the media practitioners or the gatekeepers. The framing theory refers to not only how the audience is influenced and interprets what is presented to them by the media, but also refers to the media’s ability to persuade its audiences to accept one meaning of a concept over another.

Vreese (2013) observes that the news frames make the world look natural. They determine what is selected, what is excluded, what is emphasized, and hence presents a
packaged world. The news media also tend to frame issues in various ways. One element that pervades the study of media and politics, from news production, through content into audiences studies, is the notion of ‘framing’ as the process through which societies produce meaning or as persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation. (De Vreese, 2015). This is interpreted by social scientists as the series of information and communication short cuts that people take in order to communicate and the relatively entropic nature of reality in a comprehensive way. According to Entman (as cited in Severin and Tankard (2010) to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment, recommendation for the item described.

Severin and Tankard (2010) define a frame as ‘a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration’. Reese (2007) defined frames as ‘structures that draw boundaries, set up categories, define some ideas out and others in, and generally operate to snag related ideas in their net in the final version; it also attests to how the story was conceived by those who produce the news- as well as how it is received by the audience. Mcquail (2010) adds that in a journalistic context, stories are given meaning by reference to some particular news values that connects one event with other similar events.

The concept of frames is best understood within the context of the social construction of reality approach to the news media. (Van Gorps, 2007) describes this approach as social construction of reality theory that is grounded on the premise that we live in a fundamentally ambiguous social world, a world in which persons, objects and actions have no inherent or essential meaning. If the meaning is not inherent, then it must be created- imposed on action, events or things through human action. But action is limited by and relative to the context in which meaning is generated. Moreover, because action
in situations is inevitably structured by groups that dominate, those situations, and those
groups enjoy an inherent advantage in determining the meaning derived from actions in
situations.

The notion of context is important. It serves to remind us that the transaction between
news media and political antagonists never takes place within a political vacuum. They
take place within a larger social and political context that has an important influence on
the construction of frames by antagonists, the news media and audiences. As Gamson
and Lasch in Johnson-Cartee (2005) point out, every political discourse exists within
certain ‘issue culture’ on which groups and individuals use a ‘catalogue of available idea
elements’ in which groups and individuals use symbolic devices to express their ideas.
The context to which a particular frame will resonate within the professional and
political culture of the news media will vary over time and place because the political
and cultural base of the news media.

While media frames, largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for
journalists who report it and in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports.
Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation of
selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration by which symbol-handlers routinely
organize discourse, whether verbal or visual. Frames enable the journalist to process
large amounts of information to assign it to cognitive categories and to package it for
efficient relay to their audience. The news media construct frames for conflicts but
attempting to fit the information they are receiving and a package that is professionally
useful and culturally familiar (Severin & Tankard, 2010). The process is best understood
on the basis of which journalists attempt to find a narrative fit between incoming
information and existing media frames.

It is useful to think about the similarities between this process and the ways in which
individuals process political information. Severin and Tankard (2010) emphasize that
people attempt to deal with new information based on what they have already come to believe about political world. Existing schemas serve as organizing tools that allow individuals to recognize, sort, compare and store new information and images they have collected to create news stories. They do so by trying to find an existing media frame that fits their data. Once the media have their attention drawn to a particular conflict they begin a directed search for information. They then attempt to use information and images to influence the masses. Frames are sometimes defined by those in power and then picked up and transmitted by the news media. Severin and Tankard give the example of the USA president Reagan’s administration, news from Latin America was framed in terms of communist threat to the USA. Donald Trump’s campaign too as the successor of USA’s president Barrack Obama was framed as anti-Islam. Yet, as they state, alternative frames could have been used. Particular frames are used in the communication of political messages in Kenya. Shah and Domke (as cited in Severin & Tankard, 2010) observe that media framing can have an effect on the way audience members end up interpreting an issue.

Frames define the boundaries of discourse surrounding an issue and categorize each political actor involved in the issue in a particular way. Heated political contestation surrounds these boundaries, as well as what an acceptable definition of a given issue really is. Pan and Kosicki (2001) argue that framing analysis needs to place political and social actors in the center of the process. The framing potency of any actor comes from the resources one can bring to bear, one’s strategic alliances and one’s stock of skills and knowledge in the arts of frame sponsorship and management. Through such resources, they argue, political actors weave “webs of subsidies” to privilege the dissemination and packaging of information in the most advantageous directions. Hence by studying the way journalists frame their reports, frame analysts can learn a great deal about how journalists (often unconsciously) present reality, frequently highlighting aspects of reality over others (Reese, 2001).
Framing also involves making choices about what readers want or need to know. Cotter (2010) mentions that in the newsroom, via its plethora of newsgathering activities, news values govern each stage of the reporting and editing processes by establishing selection criteria which include the following stages: story conceptualization, story construction (where reporters decide who to interview, what information and detail to include, how to frame the story, what element to lead off with), the story position and evaluation. Journalists work by providing decision making parameters, justification of these decisions and a hierarchy of importance in terms of news story outcomes. The news values of timeliness, proximity, prominence, conflict, bizarre and human interest govern the choice of news.

Media Framing theory was used to show that journalists draw attention of the audience to contentious issues by packaging them in one way over the other. They also select the political actors that they wish to use to represent the ideals of each side of the political divide.

2.2.2 Theory of discourse and ideology

Van Dijk (2003) sees discourse as a form of everyday interaction both as monological text and dialogical conversation. He emphasizes that discourse has a fundamental role in the expression and reproduction of ideologies. Ideology is seen as a specific set of symbolic representations – discourses, terms, images, stereotypes- serving a specific purpose and operated by specific groups or actors recognized precisely by their usage of such ideologies. It is also seen as a general phenomenon characterizing the totality of a particular social or political system and operated by every member or actor in that system (Blommaert, 2009). It is also seen as a system of ideas, beliefs, and cultural practices that operate to the advantage of a particular social group (Mesthrie, et.al., 2004). Despite the variety of approaches to the concept of ideology, it is generally assumed that the term refers to a group or class consciousness whether or not explicitly
elaborated in an ideological system which underlies the socio-economic political and cultural practices of group members in such a way that their group or class interests are realized (Van Dijk, 2008). Van Dijk further asserts that Ideologies may influence what is accepted as true or false. Ideologies are self-serving and a function of the material and symbolic interests of the group. Among these interests, power over other groups (or resistance against the domination by other groups) may have a central role and hence function as a major condition and purpose for the development of ideologies. Ideologies thus operate both at the overall, global level of social structure, for instance as the socially shared mental 'monitor' of social competition, conflict, struggle and inequality, and at the local level of situated social practices in everyday life. Hall (2006) defines ideologies as:

The mental frameworks, the language, the concepts, and categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation, which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works. (p.26)

Lull (2006) adds that ideology describes the values and public agenda of nations, religious groups, political parties, candidates and movements and even business organizations. The term is commonly used to refer to the relationship between organized thought and social power in large-scale, political-economic contexts. It is also seen as selected ways of thinking that are advocated through a variety of channels by those who have widespread political and economic power.

In order to understand a discursive theory of ideology, one must appreciate the role that language plays in a representation of social life. Thompson in Lull (2006) starts from the premise that if ideology is the study of ideas and how they are distorted through an idealist framework, then one must consider that these ideas find their articulation in language. Language is seen as a tool not only for communication, but also for domination and liberation; for it is in language where human subjects understand their
relationship to relations of power. That conflict exists in the way society is signified suggests that domination is structured in language as a site of struggle over the control of meaning. Van Djik (2008) adds that both the ideology itself and the ideological practices derived from it are often acquired, enacted or organized through various institutions such as the state, the media, education, or the church as well as informal institutions such as the family. This assertion is supported by Lull (2006) who observes that the mass media and all other large scale social institutions play a vital role in the dissemination of ideologies. Thompson in Lull (2006) also says that in dominant ideology, symbolic forms including language, media content, political platforms, schools, institutional messages from governments, organized religions and so on are used to establish and sustain relations of domination. This study looked at the media’s role in the ideological processes.

Thompson’s theory is indispensable for an understanding of the intersection between ideology and meaning. If ideology operates through language as a constitutive medium, then ideology partly constitutes the way one lives out social relations through language (Althusser, 2008). For a critical analysis of language, dialectic between the human interaction and the social structures that mediate human subjectivity paves the way for a critique of how macro-structures of race, class and gender inscribe micro-contexts of conversation. This study focused on ethnic polarization through the discursive practices of political news interviews.

Thompson in Lull (2006) and Van Dijk (2006) state that theory of ideology and the study of language are two concerns which bear a close connection or that the theory of ideology has commonly sought to examine the ways in which groups make up the social worlds. While the nature and modalities of ideology have been analyzed in different ways, it seems clear that the study of language must occupy a privileged position in analysis. The analysis of ideology is in a fundamental respect, the study of language in
the social world since it is primarily within language that meaning is mobilized in the interest of particular individuals and groups.

Language ideologies broadly constitute the underlying associations of ways of speaking with social meanings and vice versa (Woolard, Schiffren & Kroskrity 2001; Van Dijk, 2006). Woolard et. al. (2001) further note that language ideologies are representations that construe the interaction of language and human beings in the social world. Such representations help individuals make sense of their position and the social relations within the communication spheres that they inhabit. Language ideologies thus concern more than linguistics alone, serving as points of reference in larger questions of cultural identity, power relations and social differentiation (Ahearn, 2011). It is the mediated link between social structures and forms of talk, standing in dialectical relations with, and thus significantly influencing social, discursive and linguistic practices. As a productive concept then, language ideologies help scholars to establish connections between micro-level interaction and macro-social categories, revealing the mechanics of discursive practices and the power relations that are embed therein. Therefore, an understanding of language ideologies as representation of the relationships among linguistic form, individuals and social meanings calls to mind critical approaches to discourse that aim partly to understand the ways in which a cluster of textual features, including vocabulary and grammar can encode the representation of an object or concept designed to serve the interests of a particular group (Fairlough, 1995). Ideology as Lull (2006) says, is a good place to begin critique of media, communication and culture. The concern of this study is to unearth political ideologies as are expressed using language through the media content of the political interview. This study therefore is located within the field of Critical Discourse Analysis.

Fairclough defines Critical Analysis (CDA) as an approach which seeks to investigate systematically ‘often opaque relationships and determination between discursive practices, events and texts and broader social and cultural structures, relations and
processes; how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (Fairclough, 2013). CDA regards discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 2007) and takes the consideration of the context of language use to be crucial in discourse (Wodak, 2001). CDA may be described as Neo-Marxist, claiming that cultural and economic conditions are significant in the creation and maintenance of power relations. The key figures in CDA are Fairclough (2000, 2003); Van Dijk (2001); Wodak & Meyer (2001). CDA treats discourse as a social practice and analyses the influences of social, political and cultural contexts on discourse. Since CDA sees discourse as both produced and shaped by ideology, it stresses the essential linguistic characteristics of social relationships, social structures, and the power distributed among them. Van Dijk (1993) elaborates this point when he mentions that CDA examines the way in which powerful gatekeepers in society influence social beliefs and values, and shape ideologies, through the standards they set for what is and is not acceptable, therefore revealing the power asymmetry in discourse. Furthermore, Wodak and Meyer (2001) explain that discourses are multi-layered and CDA studies discourses ‘distorted by power and ideology’, in order to investigate how they are embedded in cultural forms of life, which they constitute. It is generally agreed that CDA cannot be classified as a single method but is rather viewed as an approach which consists different perspectives and methods for studying the relationship between the use of language and social context. The following are the general principles of CDA:

The first principle is that CDA addresses social problems. It not only focuses on language and language use, but also on the linguistic characteristics of social and cultural processes. CDA follows a critical approach to problems in its endeavor to make explicit power relations which are frequently hidden. It aims to derive results which are of practical relevance to social, cultural, and political contexts (Fairclough & Wodak, 2007).
The second principle is that power relations are discursive (this implies that CDA explains how social relations of power are exercised and negotiated in and through discourse (Fairclough & Wodak, 2007). The next principle is that discourse constitutes society and culture, including relations of power (Fairclough & Wodak, 2007).

Discourse is also ideological work, in other words, ideologies are often produced through discourse. To understand how ideologies work, it is not enough to analyze text, the discursive practice (how the texts are interpreted, received and what social effects they have) must also be considered (Fairclough & Wodak, 2007). With regard to this study, political news interviews will be subject to this approach to find out the discursive processes and their effect on the Kenyan society.

Another important principle is that discourse is history. Thus, discourse can only be understood with reference to their historical context. With regard to this, CDA refers to extra linguistic factors such as culture, society and ideology in historical terms (Fairclough & Wodak, 2007; Wodak, 2001). The other important principle is that the link between the text and society is media. CDA thus, is concerned with making connections between socio-cultural processes and structures on the one hand and priorities on the other. CDA does not take this relationship to be simply deterministic but involves an idea of mediation (Fairclough, 2013). Hence the study of political news interviews is justified to look at them as a means of transforming the society.

There is yet another important aspect is that CDA is interpretative and explanatory, CDA goes beyond critical analysis. It is not only interpretative but also explanatory in its intent (Farclough & Wodak, 2011). These interpretations and explanations are dynamic and open; and may be affected by new readings and contextual information. Fairclough applies the concept of discourse in three different ways using a three dimensional model where he states that every instance of language use is a communicative event consisting of three dimensions: the text, the discursive practice and the social practice (Fairclough,
Text involves the linguistic features of the text, discursive practice relates to the production and consumption of the text while the social practice is the wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs. In this study, the interviews were situated in the Kenyan society during and after election periods with specific focus on the 2013 General Elections.

CDA was therefore used to unearth the modes of operation of ideology in Political News Interviews at the level of socio-historical practices. Thompson in Hesmondhalgh and Tonybee (2008) distinguishes five modes through which ideology can operate: Legitimation, dissimulation, unification, fragmentation and reification.

Legitimation is the process by which relations of domination may be established and maintained by being presented as legitimate, that is just and worthy of support. According to Thompson, this is usually achieved by three discursive strategies-rationalization, universalization, and narrativization. In rationalization, an argument is mounted to justify something. Rationalization usually depends on a chain of reasoning. In universalization, a set of institutional arrangements which privilege certain groups only are presented as serving the interests of all. In narrativization, stories are used to naturalize socially interested constructions of the world. Narratives are presented as embodying truths and these are the often used as a single referent point for diverse communities.

Dissimulation is the process by which relations of domination are concealed or obscured. Euphemism is an obvious means of disguising unpleasant actions, events or social relations and of redescribing them positively. Unification and fragmentation are related processes in that they work in opposite directions – one seeks to unite and join people for ideological purposes and the other seeks to split people off from one another. Unification establishes a collective identity which unites individuals despite their differences. Fragmentation is a process of splitting people from one another despite their
similarities in order to divide and rule. Reification is a process of turning a process into a thing or an event. Processes are encoded using verbs which have actors and which take place in time and space. This study will focus on these modes: legitimation, unification and fragmentation in determining the ideology in Political news interviews.

2.3 Conceptual framework

Mugenda (2011) describes a conceptual framework as ‘a concise description of the phenomenon under study accompanied by a graphic or visual depiction of the major variables of the study. The description of the conceptual framework emphasizes the researcher’s overarching view of how the variables interact or could be made to interact under manipulatable conditions.

Formal properties of language (for example, vocabulary, turn-taking), the discursive practices, the socio-cultural practices and framing in the interviews are thought to cause ethnic polarization whose indicators are among others, hardline stances, hate speech, and inter-ethnic violence.

| Independent variables | Dependent variable |
Linguistic features in televised political news interviews:
- Vocabulary/lexis
- Meaning relations
- Transitivity
- Rhetorical tropes
- Naming and referencing

Discursive practices
- Production strategies
- Disseminations strategies
- Interpretation/decoding by audiences
- Intertextuality

Framing
- Reporting words
- Evaluative statements
- Contextualization of the text
- Selection of events

Ethnic polarization
- Hardline stances
- Hate speech
- Inter-ethnic conflict
- Derogatory references
- Stereotyping

Socio-cultural practices
- Economy of the media
- Political practices
- Ideological practices of legitimation, dissimulation, reification, fragmentation, unification
- Cultural practices

Intervening variable

Figure 1:1 Conceptual Model
2.4 Review of variables

This section provides a review of the variables above. They include: the textual analysis of televised political interviews, the discursive practices, the socio-cultural practices in political interviews and framing. It shows how these variables influence ethnic polarization in Kenya.

2.4.1 Ethnic Polarization

Any type of media communication is ultimately addressed to the audience, either the general audience or part of it. Consequently, broadcast news interviews have also to be designed bearing in mind that the final goal is to satisfy the audience by providing information about an affair of public interest. The audience is unknown to the communicators. The only information about the general public audience is that it is large, unseen, and heterogeneous. Members of this public expose themselves to mass media as individuals, they do not think of themselves as members of a larger group. The specialised audience is also scattered, anonymous and, to a certain extent, heterogeneous. However, it is homogeneous in the sense that it is made up of individuals who share a common interest (Clayman & Heritage, 2010). An individual can, at the same time, belong to the general public and be a member of the specialized audience, like the ethnic community in this study.

Ethnic polarization can be experience through ethnic conflicts. Van Dijk (2005) asserts that many ideologies sustain and reproduce social conflict, domination, and inequality. This conflict may involve backgrounds, context and ideological categories and is characteristically organized in a polarized way, that is presented as US vs THEM. This polarization is at the basis of much ideological discourse, that is, as the strategy of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation. In this study, an ideological analysis was done to determine absence or presence of polarization.
Clayman and Heritage (2004) state that a news interview does not exist in a vacuum; it is embedded within institutional, cultural, and socio-historical environments that give shape to it and are in turn shaped by it. As a primary locus for the direct and public confrontation between journalists and officials at the highest levels, the news interview is an important aspect of the contemporary public sphere, as well as an indication of the state of broadcasts journalism and national politics. It is observed that the news interview is likely to cause polarization. Ethnocentrism, anti-Semitism, nationalism and racism are terms related to ‘tribalism’ or ethnic bias in Kenya. The study of the role of discourse in the enactment and reproduction of ethnic and “racial” inequality has slowly emerged in CDA. These ideas influenced the direction of this research as the study aimed to look at polarization resulting from imbalanced discourse or an enabling environment where polarization may thrive.

Many studies on ethnic and racial inequality reveal a remarkable similarity among the stereotypes, prejudices, and other forms of verbal derogation across discourse types, media, and national boundaries. For example, in a vast research program carried out at the University of Amsterdam since the early 1980s, Van Dijk examined how Surinamese, Turks, and Moroccans, and ethnic relations generally, are represented in conversation, everyday stories, news reports, textbooks, parliamentary debates, corporate discourse, and scholarly text and talk (Van Dijk, 1993).

Besides stereotypical topics of difference, deviation, and threat, story structures, conversational features (such as hesitations and repairs in mentioning Others), semantic moves such as disclaimers (“We have nothing against blacks, but . . .”), etc.), lexical description of Others, and a host of other discourse features also were studied. The aim of these projects was to show how discourse expresses and reproduces underlying social representations of Others in the social and political context. Ter Wal (1997) applies this framework in a detailed study of the ways Italian political and media discourse gradually changed, from an antiracist commitment and benign representation of the
“extracommunitari” (non-Europeans) to a more stereotypical and negative portrayal of immigrants in terms of crime, deviance, and threat.

The outcome of a discussion representing an activity type is an implementation of the concluding stage of a critical discussion. At this stage, the participants in the discussion establish the result of their attempt at resolving the difference of opinion. The difference of opinion is resolved if the parties agree that the protagonist’s standpoint is acceptable and the antagonist’s doubt must be retracted (in which case the difference of opinion is resolved in the protagonist’s favor), or that the protagonist’s standpoint must be retracted (the difference of opinion is then resolved in the antagonist’s favor). In a political interview, the outcome of the discussion is not procedurally defined as in a legal trial, in which the institutional requirements impose that it should be made known in whose favor the discussion is resolved. In the political interview, the outcome is preconditioned by the characteristics of a political interview. In any case, it should be clear whether the institutional goal of holding the politician to account has been realized and more generally, whether the institutional point of the deliberation has been attained.

Typical of the political interview is that the interviewers always close off the discussion. This gives them the advantage that they can comment, but is not in any way institutionally obliged to do so, on the discussion as a whole. Clayman and Heritage in Andone (2013) observe that the comments of the interviewers have a cumulative sense or import of what has been said over the course of the discussion. Their comments do not establish whether the discussion has been resolved and in whose favor, but they can give a good indication of whether the institutional goal has been realized. The topics discussed in political interviews are associated with current news events. As regards the audience, it may or may not be present in the studio. It depends on the kind of interview if the viewers are allowed to participate or not but ultimately, the audience is targeted by such communication.
Mcnaire (2010) explains that the main context which presenters may openly play a more active role in political process is when they have the opportunity to interview political actors. Through the interviews, the journalists frame the information and make the audience think along polarized lines. The increased awareness of the importance of public relations by political actors means, that they routinely make themselves available to the electronic media for interview whenever there is a news story which concerns them or on which they are particularly competent to speak about.

In broadcast news programmes, the political interview is one element in a mix of reportage, commentary and analysis. Some journalists, however, have elevated it to the status of a programme genre itself. Montgomery (2007) states that political interviews can be divided into two subcategories: information interviews and antagonistic interviews. The information interview is a term which describes an interview that takes place between interviewer and an expert with the purpose of providing detailed information or analysis on a particular subject. By contrast, the ‘antagonistic’ interview is one that takes place between a politician and the interviewer in which the purpose is for the interviewer to force the interviewee to admit something disadvantageous to his/her political course, to contradict a colleague of the official one or admit deficiencies in the official line or their policies. The Kenyan television interview poses as an information one but ends up as an adversarial one between two conflicting forces. Political discourse is always adversarial in nature as illustrated in the fact that most political systems manifest competition between discrete parties, politicians or ideologies.

In this study the presence or absence of polarization was determined through the audience participation during and after the interview had taken place which was also supported by audience analysis. Van Dijk (2009) states that cognitive models are the interface between discourse and society; therefore to determine the presence of polarization, the audience was included in the research process through focus group discussions.
Van Dijk (2004) states that as systems of ideas of social groups and movements, ideologies not only make sense in order to understand the world (from the point of view of the group), but also as a basis for the social practices of group members. Thus, sexist or racist ideologies may be at the basis of discrimination, pacifist ideologies may be used to protest against nuclear weapons, and ecological ideologies will guide actions against pollution. Often, ideologies thus emerge from group conflict and struggle, and they thus typically pitch Us against Them scenarios.

Hall in Thompson (2013) proposes that the media, as a principal form of ideological dissemination, produces representations of the social world via images and portrayals. This manufactures a network of understanding that informs us ‘how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work’. Furthermore, he claims that we construct our understanding within an ideology, we ‘speak through’ ideology and that ideology enables us to ‘make sense’ of our social reality and our position within it. Hall asserts that ideologies become ‘naturalised’ and ideologically motivated representations mask themselves as ‘common sense’; within an ideology, politically constructed representations – such as representations of ‘race’ – are conveyed as being ‘given by nature’. This argument maintains that institutional representations enable us to classify the world in a system of categorisations of ‘race’. Hall suggests that these categorisations are grounded in a series of alleged ‘essential’ characteristics that reinforce the naturalisation of such representations further. Thus, in Western societies the dominant white ideology naturalises its existence to such a degree that it renders itself ‘invisible’, yet remains a pervasive controlling force.

In agreement with Hall, a significant body of research suggests that the media, as a key transmitter of representations and as a major source of information within society, has the power to control and shape attitudes and beliefs held in the popular imagination (Cohen & Gardener in Malik (2002); Ferguson in Awan, 2008)). In this research, the theory of Discourse and Ideology was used to establish how the interviewers and
interviewees present different ideologies and how they represent members of different ethnic communities in their arguments during the programmes and how these arguments are received by the audience. Negative representations through ideology about communities lead to polarization as it happened in Arab’s news translation. This is demonstrated by (Bazzi, 2009) using a survey of the period spanning between 2001 and 2009 and the historic attack in the USA known as 9/11. Reuters had two versions of its papers: one in English and another in Arabic. Bazzi gives these examples as some of the representations of the Arabs that would lead to polarization:

‘Powell got a firsthand view of the carnage.’ - Reuters English

‘Powell got a view of the blast site.’ - Reuters Arab

‘But ignoring what Arafat Aide called ‘massacres’ by the Israel army.’ - Reuters English

‘While ignoring completely the massacres which the Israel army has committed during its military campaign.’ - Reuters Arab

### 2.4.2.1 Ethnic Polarization in Kenya

In spite of its reputation as a tourist safe haven, Kenya faces multiple problems including poverty, unemployment, drought through climate change and unequal distribution of economic and natural resources, corruption and many contentious topics. Such problems regularly cause tension between individuals or whole communities. At election times, tensions seem to rise because Kenyan society is easily polarized by politics. Politics is a lucrative business in Kenya, where the state dominates the distribution of power and resources. Politicians are hence seen to be concerned with raw power which is attainable through relying on the ethnic card (Oloo, 2007).
Ongaro and Ambani (2008) observe that Kenya has grappled with the challenge of managing diversities since independence. They argue that the 2007 post poll conflict threatened the nation’s unity as it resulted in the death of close to 1000 people and displacement of about 4000 others. The international Crisis group described the 2007 general elections conflict as ethnic based and as such they noted that in the slums of Nairobi, Kisumu, Eldoret and Mombasa, protests and confrontations with the police turned into revenge killings targeting representatives of the political opponent’s ethnic base. Kikuyu, Embu and Meru were violently evicted from Luo and Luhya dominated settlement and vice versa. These ethnic tensions are further exacerbated by past conflicts. It has also been argued that the ethnic proneness of Africa’s politics affects not only who is elected but also how jobs and opportunities, bursaries and scholarships, loans and gifts are allocated (Mazrui, 2004). Presidents and their supporters are quoted as saying that they will take ‘development’ to the regions that support them.

Every time there are elections, they are hotly contested along ethnic lines. The media in Kenya also plays along with this culture by disseminating messages where perceived tribal kings are seen to enter into factions with other tribal kings. These messages are framed as if they are natural states of affairs. The media use news highlights and wide coverage of political activities and they use political interviews as a means to reach audiences. This study therefore sought to establish whether these interviews polarize the audience or not.

2.4.2 Linguistic features in political news interviews

Fairclough’s model emphasizes the interdependence of the three dimensions and the moving backwards and forwards the different types of analysis. Analysis can begin with any of the levels, hence in this study the first analytical focus of Fairclough’s three part model was the text but with back and forth reference of the other levels. Analysis of the text includes linguistic analysis in terms of vocabulary, grammar, punctuation, turn-
talking, types of speech acts and the directness or indirectness of their expression, and features to do with the overall structure of interactions- as well as examples of non-linguistic textual features or visuals (Fairclough, 2001). A close analysis of texts in terms of such features can contribute to the understanding of power relations and ideological processed in the discourse of political news interviews. Therefore, one has to systematically examine the following as observed by Locke (2004); Halliday (2004); Phillips & Jorgensen (2006) and Fairclough (2013): Lexicalisation, patterns of transitivity, the use of active and passive voice, the use of nominalization, the choices of mood, the choices of modality or polarity, the thematic structure of the text, the information focus and cohesion devices used in a text. These are Halliday’s grammatical resources for ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings (Halliday, 2004).

Vocabulary is a very important feature of any text. The words have particular representation or ideational function and carry particular ideologies (Locke, 2004; Fowler, 2007). Vocabulary deals with word meaning, wording, and metaphor. Word meaning relates to vocabulary. In his discussion, Fairclough (2001) notes that the same word can have a number of different meanings. This multiplicity of meanings he refers to as a words meaning potential. He also challenges assumptions behind the dictionary meaning of a word that suggests stability of meaning potential and a lack of contradiction between meanings. Rather, he argues that the meanings ascribed to a word in accordance with its meaning are contestable. In other words, sfts in word meanings can be a key indicator of the discursive contestation and subtle changes in discursive formation. In this study a lexical analysis will be carried out to determine the type of vocabulary used. In a similar vein, Dale in Cap and Okulska (2013) uses term ‘sense legitimation’ to describe a strategy for manufacturing consent in a group and thereby achieving the hegemony of a discourse. Van Dijk (2005) adds that words may be chosen that generally or contextually express values or norms and that therefore are used to express a value judgement.
Van Dijk (2005) says that there is a strategy for the expression of shared group based attitudes and ideologies through mental models. Van Dijk (2014) observes that these mental models describe and explain subjective representations as they discretely define the past, present and future experiences of everyday life. This is a strategy of polarization in terms of positive in-group description and negative outgroup description based on past and even current experiences. He identified evaluative structure called the ideological square where groups use language to describe themselves positively and others negatively which he described as:

Emphasizing our good properties or actions; emphasizing their bad properties of actions; mitigating our bad properties or actions and mitigating their good properties and actions. This amounts to language manipulation as Van Dijk (2006) observes. This emphasizing and mitigation properties are described elsewhere by Richardson (2007) as foregrounding and backgrounding. Thus functional moves in the overall strategy of ideological self-interest, which appear in most social conflicts and actions (for example in racist, sexists and in this study inter-ethnic discourse) may be expressed in the choice of lexical items that imply positive or negative evaluations. Wording also relates to vocabulary, referring to the various ways a meaning can be worded. The same experience or object will be worded differently from perspectives which are differently discursively framed.

Metaphors also relate to vocabulary. Metaphor is a figure of speech that is typically used in persuasion; this is because it represents a novel way of viewing the world that offers some fresh insight.’ In this respect, metaphors may be seen as reflecting an evaluation on the part of the speaker, and a reflection of the values of the community on whose behalf he or she speaks. Those evaluations, if repeated often enough, may eventually become ‘naturalized’, part of the mental framework of its producers and consumers (Mayr, 2008). The term embraces such figures of speech as simile, personification and metonymy. As Fairclough (2005) notes, metaphors structure the way we think and the
way we act. Political news interviews can use particular words, wording and metaphors in their leads, opening, argumentation and closings to play particular functions which may lead to polarization or reduce it.

Halliday (1985) explains transitivity as follows.

A fundamental property of language is that it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them. ... Our most powerful conception of reality is that it consists of ‘goings-on’: of doing, happening, feeling, being. These goings on are sorted out in the semantic system of the language, and expressed through the grammar of the clause (p.g 101).

Phillips and Jorgensen (2006) additionally identify the grammatical elements of transitivity and modality. When analyzing transitivity, the focus is on how events and processes are connected with subjects and objects. The interest lies in investigating the ideological consequences that different forms can have. The idea behind analyzing transitivity is to explore what social, cultural, ideological and political factors determine what Process type (verb) is chosen in a particular type of discourse. Relations of power may be implicitly inscribed by the relationship between Actor and Goal (Mayr, 2008).

Mayr (2008) adds that Modality has to do with the different ways in which people can qualify their messages and express attitudes and judgments of various kinds. Analyses of modality focus on the speaker’s degree of affinity with or affiliation to her or his statement. Modality can be expressed by truth, permission, intonation or by hedges. Speakers hedge when they moderate a sentence’s claim and thereby express low affinity. Fairclough in Mayr (2008) asserts that modality can be said to adopt a variety of grammatical forms, such as modal verbs (‘could’, ‘might’, ‘must’, ‘should’, etc.); modal adverbs (‘obviously’, ‘clearly’, ‘probably’, ‘possibly’, ‘perhaps’, ‘definitely’, with their equivalent adjectives ‘it is likely’/probable/possible that, etc.); copular verbs (‘is’,
‘seems’, ‘appears’, ‘was’, ‘grows’) and verbs of cognition (‘I think/believe/feel’). All these express the speaker’s/writer’s judgment regarding the relevance of the message. Modality can also express certainty and strong obligation (‘high’ modality: ‘must’, ‘should’, ‘always’, ‘definitely’) or uncertainty and weak obligation (‘low’ modality: ‘could’, ‘maybe’, ‘possibly’, ‘sort of’). This study looked at the way such modal items were used in the political interviews.

Different discourses use different forms of modality (Fairclough, 2014). For instance, the mass media often present interpretations as if they were facts, partly by using categorical modalities and partly by choosing objective rather than subjective modalities. This study evaluated the grammatical elements used in political news interviews in Kenya to find out how the interviewers assert their authority using various formal properties and whether the responses they elicit lead to polarization. It not only looked at the presence but also at the absence of words in the data. This approach accounted for the complex linguistic choices made during the process of text production (Kress and Leeuwen, 2001)

2.4.3 Discursive practices of televised political news interviews

Discursive practices according to Fairclough (2001) have two facets: institutional process (editorial procedures) and discourse process (changes the text goes through in its production and consumption). Locke (2004) describes discourse practice as ‘a focus on the way in which the text has been produced, including its relationship with similar texts, its mode of dissemination and the way in which it is received, read, interpreted and used by human subjects.

A focus on text production raises questions about both interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Interdiscursivity is concerned with the way in which a text appears to subscribe to one or more discourses (Locke, 2004). Intertextuality is concerned with the
way in which other texts are utilized in the construction of a given text. Fairclough (2014) defines intertextuality as ‘the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo and so forth’. Atkinson and Coffey in Silverman (2004) in their article observe that documents do not stand alone and that they do not construct systems of domains of documentary reality as individual, separate activities and domains. They advise that the analysis of documentary reality must look beyond separate texts and ask how they are related. When analyzing an intertextual chain, one can see how structure and content are transformed, and can start to formulate a hypothesis about the kinds of production conditions to which the different versions are subject (Fairclough, 2001). Additionally, a focus on the distribution raises questions about the way a given text becomes part of an intertextual chain in being transformed into other text types. Audience research can be carried out to determine how they interpret texts (Locke, 2004). The stage of interpretation according to (Fairclough, 2001) corrects delusions of autonomy on the part of subjects in discourse. It makes explicit what for participants is generally implicit. Turow (2011) adds that the news production process is not arbitrary and they are not simply determined by intuitive journalistic notions of interestingness. Thetela (2001) indicates that the intertextual practices of the news stories are realized through the incorporation of interpersonal styles, which organize the news into persuasive and argumentative constructs, and also to build the assumption of consensus, making the news as an agreed notion of unity. She added that discourses deriving from oral models and attribution strategies are used in intertextuality to achieve news construction. Among the intertextual properties Thetela (2001) identified are narrative models, newsmakers’ voices, conversation and direct quotations. These ideas guided the analysis of intertextuality in this study.

Journalists learn how to portray the power of others and at the same time learn how to contribute to the power of their own organization. Van Dijk (2008) states that newsworthiness is based on ideological and professional criteria that grant preferential
media access to elite persons, organizations and nations, thereby recognizing and legitimating their power. Similarly, the routine organization of news production favours news gathering in the institutional contexts that guarantee a constant source of news stories, such as the major political bodies in the state, the police, the courts and the bid corporations. This fact explains why the politicians and political actions are majorly featured in interviews and is supported by Richardson (2007) who states that news values are the criteria employed by journalist to measure and therefore judge the newsworthiness of events. This is done with the perceptions of audience as a market or as a product in mind.

Media also recontextualize news hence transforming and creating and other practices. Weiss and Wodak (2003) observe that media texts are recontextualizations that represent social practices and explain and legitimate discourse. Recontextualization involves substitution, deletion, or addition of elements in a given social practice. Events and people in each new recontextualization are represented according to the goals, values and priorities of communication. This means that even the news interviews are recontextualized and what receivers get to raise questions of truth, bias and manipulation. Weiss and Wodak also say that events do not get into the news by simply happening but they must fit into a system of priorities laid down by the institution of news making. They must first be recognized as worthy of reporting and they should come from known and representative sources and must therefore fulfill a number of criteria or news values which include: frequency and the time taken by the event; threshold or the size of the event; unambiguity or the clarity of the event; meaningfulness or cultural proximity; consonance; unexpectedness or the rarity or unpredictability of an event; continuity or the running story; reference to elite persons or nations; personalization and negativity.

The media environment has evolved into a fragmented landscape, drastically altering the economic and structural constraints of journalists (Napoli, 2010) in the choice and
autonomy available to news audiences. Napoli observes that despite these significant disruptions, many of our collective expectations about normatively or professionally desirable news are not yet updated to reflect these changes. A main concern on media fragmentation is that increasingly specialized news media leads to fragmented audiences and silos of partisan discourse as recorded by Sunstein (2001). Stroud (2011) adds that partisan news is appealing to audiences who routinely prefer like-minded to counter-attitudinal news. The same is true to negative news. Individuals are more attentive to and affected by negative news related to positive news (Soroka, 2014).

With regard to the current study, it is worth noting that different conditions shape the production, dissemination and interpretation of the televised political news interview in Kenya. Some of them include the editorial policies of different media organizations or even the profit motives. The analysis carried out aimed at bringing to light some of these conditions. Another key aspect of in discursive practices include audience conceptualization. Hartley (2010) designed a model he called the value chain. He says that Journalism is at one end of the supply chain while popular culture is at the other:

\[
\text{Journalist} \rightarrow \text{News} \rightarrow \text{Public}
\]

This chain indicates that news is meant for the public’s consumption who are then seen as either commodities or consumers (Hartley, 2010).

2.4.4 Media Framing and Polarization

Framing shapes public dialogues about political issues. This conjecture states that journalism is ideologically tied to principles of classical pluralism. Although several cogent rebuttals to classical pluralism purport to more realistically account for democratic functions. Framing researches agree that journalists self-consciously play a conduit role in which they try to provide citizens with the information that will enable them to gain an adequate understanding of politics Schudson in D’ Angelo (2002).
De Vreese (2015) observes that millions of citizens turn to news media daily and the media is a cornerstone institution in our democracies. One influential way that media may shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in particular ways. Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue. Capela and Jamieson (1997) suggest that frames activate knowledge, stimulate stocks of cultural morals and values, and create contexts. In so doing, frames define problems, diagnose causes and make moral judgements and suggest remedies.

Media framing effects depend to a great extent on emotional responses of the audience to the frame in question. News frame exposure may cause emotional reactions with the individual and that such reactions are likely to function as mediators of Media framing effects on political opinions, attitudes and behaviours (Gross and Brewer, 2007; Holm, 2009). The role of emotions in media framing effects is particularly interesting when considering political topics or events that are traditionally afflicted with a high level of emotive language in the press and cause ‘hot’ public debates (Myers et al, 2012). These Media frames in televised political interviews in Kenya may result in emotive reactions which may then potentially polarize the audiences.

2.4.5 Socio-cultural practices surrounding the televised political news interview.

Fairclough (2001) calls this stage explanation and for him, it is this stage that explicates the relations of power and domination and the ideologies which make ordinary discourse practice a site of social struggle. Locke (2004) asserts that analysis at the level of socio-cultural practice is aimed at exploring such questions as whether the particular text supports a particular kind of discursive hegemony or a particular social practice, or whether it stands in a counter-hegemonic relationship to certain prevalent conditions.

Analysis in this dimension pertains three aspects of the socio-cultural contexts of a communicative event: economic (economy of media), political (power and ideology of the media) and cultural (issues of value) or what Fairclough (2001) calls the societal
level, the institutional level and the situational level. Political interviews are produced and are constrained by these levels. The analysis looks at the kind of discourse the discursive processes belong to. It also maps the partly non-discursive, social and cultural relations and structures that constitute the wider context of the discursive practice- the social matrix of discourse, in Fairclough’s terms (Fairclough, 2014). For instance, to what kind of institutional and economic conditions is the discursive practice subject? Such questions cannot be answered by discourse analysis but it is necessary to draw on other theories and disciplines, for example, history, rhetoric, stylistics, literary studies, sociolinguistics, semantics, pragmatics, philosophy, social or cultural theory-that shed light upon the social practice in question. In this study, Media Framing theory was used to show that political interviews exist within the framework of society. Hence, it drew its content from the historical, political, and social happenings in Kenya.

2.5 Empirical review of related studies

This section reviews studies that have been done by various scholars in the field of political communication. Special focus is given on political interviews from different perspectives that relate to the study.

Hutchby (2011) looked at Non-neutrality and argument in the hybrid political interview. He describes the hybrid interview as one that has formal features of the standard broadcast news interview. Clayman and Heritage (2004) yet combine these features with the argumentative and confrontational exchanges often found on other forms of broadcasting such as talk radio and political debate shows (Hutchby, 2006; Tolson, 2001). Because the subject matter of these shows tends to revolve around questions of politics he calls such an interview formal hybrid political interview. He argues that one kind of interest in hybrid form of programming generally comes from media scholars and critical discourse analysts, who see phenomena such as HPI (Hybrid Political Interview)
in terms of the wider development of infotainment (Fairclough, 2013; Thusu, 2007). In this thinking, he points out that journalistic practices found on cable and satellite networks such as Fox News are criticized for being unconstrained by any commitment to neutrality and objectivity that characterizes public-service oriented news media channels (Thusu, 2007). The blending of political reporting with stance taking like the blending of information and entertainment are often straightforwardly aligned with the influence of business interests and the promulgation of conservative or popular ideas. These observations are in line with the direction of the current research where it is noted that confrontational exchanges and non-neutrality lead to polarization.

Hutchby (2011) examined the features of turn-taking and turn-designs that contribute to the hybridization he was describing. He highlighted interviews that were carried in USA in the run up to 2009 USA presidential elections where such aspects of rejoinders, contrastives, insults, and other markers of polarization were seen. The researcher agrees that such turn-taking designs are as a result of confrontational encounters. Supporters of the interviewers involved embrace the stances taken by their leaders, hence polarization.

Another review of Fieldman, Kinoshita and Bull (2015) titled ‘Culture or Communicative Conflict? The Analysis of Equivocation in Broadcast Japanese Political Interview is done by the researcher. They note that the televised political interview is a relatively new media genre in Japan but has become an important means of political communication. With the increased exposure of the Japanese public to political information through the media, broadcast interview programmes are a valuable channel through which to follow public policy developments, distinguish between political candidates and competing groups and their stances and evaluate the various political alternatives (Fieldman, Kinoshila and Bull, 2014). This observation underscores the fact that the political interview is becoming a popular genre for political communication in many countries, Kenya included. Through political interviews, Kenyans are able to
follow through public policy developments as the interviewees are often experts on various fields. These interviews also make it clear for audiences to determine various stances. These stances are the ones that for this case lead to polarization.

They state that the interviewers are responsible for determining the topic of discussion, monitoring the discourse’s time and adhering to specific ritualistic patterns including introducing interviewees and concluding the interview session. Interviewers also pose questions and challenge interviewees to specify and explain their position and views on a variety of issues, and they are expected to do so by keeping a balance between adversarialism and objectivity maintaining a stance of neutrality by not favouring specific politicians or a given political group. The interviewee’s task is to reply to these questions to the best effect for both themselves as individuals and for the political groups or institutions that they represent (Clayman & Heritage, 2004). Challenging these roles of allocation would be regarded as a violation of the primary rules that structure the political interview.

Fieldman, Kinoshila and Bull (2014) draw on the theory of equivocation to support their study. Bevels et.al (as cited in Fieldman, et.al. 2014) theorized that individuals typically equivocate when they are placed in an avoidance- avoidance conflict (of a communicative conflict), where all possible responses to a question have potentially negative consequences for the respondent but nevertheless, a response is still expected by interlocutors and audience. The Kenyan politician is often faced with such situations due to many instances of improper conduct of themselves or of those they represent. These results in shifting blame and this may alienate the audience hence may cause political polarization.

Cuberes- Roca (2013) carried out a comparative study on public and commercial broadcasters in Spain entitled ‘Political Interviews in public Television and Commercial Broadcasters: A comparison’. His focus was on how ownership (public or private) of the
broadcasting channel affects the quality of interviewing. He notes that television is a dominant medium and hence interviews with politicians on television provide the perfect opportunity for people to find out firsthand about activities or proposals by figures that have taken on leadership of their society. He notes that turn taking system involves two basic functions associated with modern journalism – neutrality and objectivity (Clayman & Heritage, 2004; Clayman & Heritage, 2010). Despite their standings as public inquisitors, journalists must follow certain journalistic ethics that advocate the presenting of facts in a balanced, impartial and personally disinterested manner. The journalist has the obligation through a popular mandate to hold politicians accountable even though this might appear incoherent with the notion of neutralism. He cautions that if this role is not applied, the role of the journalist could be reduced in the eyes of the public from a co-producer of public interest information to mere collaborator in the creating of propaganda style political discourse.

Cuberes-Roca analyzed twenty interviews from prominent Spanish broadcast journalists and politicians and used Conversational Analysis (CA) to analyze the interviews. He found out that IR in public service and commercial broadcasters present different interviewing styles. IRs’ style in public service broadcasters in which there was commitment to hold politicians accountable is taken seriously, attempting to maintain the delicate balance between neutralism and adversarialness. This style points to interviews with a well-articulated institutional character which, consequently better reflect the balance of powers between the three institutions involved: the media, politics and society. The style of IRs in commercial broadcasters, however, in which holding politicians accountable is not a priority objective, is halfway between news interviews and talk show interview. This style is indicative of interviewers with a weaker institutional nature and in which the balance of powers between the three institutions leans more towards the media and politics, somewhat neglecting society, which should be its chief goal. In Kenya, commercial broadcasters tend to be more popular than the national broadcaster (KBC) and so they are widely watched (Allen & Gagliardone,
2011). They therefore broadcast many political shows as opposed to the national or government owned broadcaster. As such, in this study, there is no basis for comparison on terms of private or public ownership of media stations in Kenya.

Ekstrom (2012) uses conversational analysis in the study ‘Gaze work in Political Media Interviews’ to show how interviewees use gaze as a significant communicative resource in coordination with talk in receiving and answering adversarial questions. Gaze is described as a flexible recipient and speaker resource available for stance-taking, the downgrading and upgrading of actions, and the claiming of the floor. Gaze is a way of expressing attitudes and making assertion as is expressed by Clayman and Heritage (2004) and Kendon (as cited in Ekstrom 2012). Gaze is a non-verbal communicative event which is not overtly explored in the current study but would be important as an extra-linguistic aspect that interviewers and interviewees rely on to interpret information.

2.6 Critique of existing literature

Non-neutrality has been cited as a cause of polarization by the turn taking designs (Huthby, 2010) and by Fairclough & Thusu (2007). They also cited lack of objectivity and adversarialness as causes of polarization. However, they fail to show how the audience gets polarized just because the interviewer (journalist) and the interviewee (politician) are arguing.

Non-verbal communication is important in any communication event. Ekstom (2012) has discussed how Gaze contributes to the interpretation of messages during political interviews. Exploring other non-verbal or extra-linguistic aspects in the political interviews and how such communication relates to the audience would be important.

Thusu (2007) points out those journalistic practices found on cable and satellite networks such as Fox News are criticized for being unconstrained by any commitment to
neutrality and objectivity that characterizes public-service oriented news media channels. He furthers notes that the blending of political reporting with stance taking like the blending of information and entertainment are often straightforwardly aligned with the influence of business interests and the promulgation of conservative or popular ideas. This presents these channels like they are operating without societal constraints. It is important to note that most news channels operate within legal and ethical frameworks which limit the lack of neutrality and objectivity. Like in Kenya, there are bodies like the Communication Authority of Kenya, the Media council of Kenya and others that regulate the media. Furthermore, these stations are also guided by internal regulation mechanisms.

Fieldman, Kinoshila and Bull (2014) state that the interviewers are responsible for determining the topic of discussion, monitoring the discourse’s time and adhering to specific ritualistic patterns including introducing interviewees and concluding the interview session. Interviewers also pose questions and challenge interviewees to specify and explain their position and views on a variety of issues, and they are expected to do so by keeping a balance between adversarialism and objectivity maintaining a stance of neutrality by not favouring specific politicians or a given political group. The interviewee’s task is to reply to these questions to the best effect for both themselves as individuals and for the political groups or institutions that they represent (Clayman and Heritage, 2004). Challenging these roles of allocation would be regarded as a violation of the primary rules that structure the political interview. The researcher deviates from this view to note that in as much as the interviewer and interviewee roles are defined as those of asking and responding to questions respectively, these roles are not static as it is not unusual to see them reversed even temporarily.
2.7 Identified research gaps

The media have a mandate to educate and inform the public. It is incumbent upon the media, through its programming to unify the country. Unfortunately, what happens contradicts this expectation because the media is thought to be one of the ethnic polarization agents. One of the ways this polarization takes place is through the use of televised political news interview. The interviews focus on contentious issues and select controversial personalities to represent parties. These interviews are broadcast during prime time where in the Kenyan culture, it is a time when audiences are home from work. They are given more time as compared to a news item on the same subject. Hence there was need to study this genre in light of ethnic polarization.

2.8 Summary of chapter two

The foregoing chapter has discussed two theories that supported this study. They are Media Framing theory and Theory of discourse and ideology. It also presents a conceptual framework of the study. The concept of political communication has been discussed. The media form important platforms for political activity and the television has been found to be a fundamental channel. Politicians craft their messages by manipulating language so as to appeal to their supporters. Popular genres politicians have used in the media to communicate their ideologies are the political interviews. It is through the way these interviews are carried out that they are thought to cause ethnic polarization.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study examines political interviews in Kenya to establish whether they polarize the audience ethnically. Polarization refers to the distribution of opinions and beliefs and the psychological intensity and willingness to act out on the basis of perceived social and attitudinal differences. Thus, the study adopted a qualitative approach in its design and approaches. The specific methods employed include Critical Discourse Analysis, audience survey, documents review and analysis and in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. In this chapter the methodological concerns of the study are discussed and their relevance to the key concerns of the research, are also explained and justified. Thus the following sections deal with the research design, study location and target population, sampling techniques, data collection methods, instruments and data analysis strategies.

3.2 Research design

The study adopted a qualitative research design with triangulation in data collection. Sutton and David (2011) point out that triangulation is concerned with combining different research methods in order to understand a particular research problem. They further note that researchers use this approach as they are seen as a way of finding out more about the subject that they wish to understand. Brewer and Hunter (2006) note that triangulation is about trying to attain validity in research. Additionally, it helps to overcome bias in research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Cresswell & Clark, 2011).
3.2.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Since political messages are transmitted via language, the study of language as is used in the political media is necessary. Language and politics are inseparable as it is through language that political intentions and ideologies are articulated and understood. This study, draws on Critical discourse analysis (CDA) which is concerned with how social and political inequalities are manifested in and reproduced through discourse. Critical discourse analysis extends its analytic focus (beyond texts), to examine broader features of the discourse and discursive practices (production, consumption and reproduction) of discourse (Fairclough, 2013). Van Dijk (2001) underscores the role of cognition in the understanding and interpretation of texts and discourse practices. He argues that the need to understand the role of social activities in order to understand how wider inequalities inform particular discourse in the interpretation of acts. The production of discourse structures that signal underlying bias such as impoliteness or the use of derogatory vocabulary is a consequence of activation of attitudes, and mental constructs (Van Djik, 2001). It is clear in the interviews that each group wants to emerge superior at the end of the broadcast and hence they use derogatory remarks, euphemisms, high tone, adversarial argumentation, exaggeration and many other ways of language manipulation to suit their agenda.

CDA in this study involved corpus analysis of frequencies of topics and keywords, related to ethnic polarization, which were collected and analyzed quantitatively. The occurrence of other textual level aspects like metaphors, modality, nomination and reference and predication were identified and presented in frequency distribution tables. The outcome of the analysis led to a qualitative discussion of the discursive and socio-historical practices. The descriptive discussion was used to determine if there is polarization through the use of linguistic features or not. CDA was a qualitative approach of a smaller, representative set of political interviews. Audience surveys were carried out to determine the level of polarization if present. This is due to Van Dijk’s
stand that there exists a cognitive interface or mental models that enable one to relate discourse to society through the mind of participants or language users (Van Dijk, 2009). Additionally Philo (2007) remarked that purely text based analysis cannot fully explain the content nor journalists’ discursive practices. Ethnography fieldwork is useful in discourse analysis as researchers set to learn meaning and contexts which lie outside the concepts, habits and prior experience to construct and test representations of new knowledge (Clair, 2013). Hence in this study, audience survey through in depth interviews, and focus group discussions were carried out. Apart from this essential primary data, secondary data was also used by looking at different policy documents related to media practice as well as policies guiding political and inter-ethnic cooperation practices in Kenya.

3.3 Target population

Population refers to the entire group of individuals, objects, items, cases, articles or things with common attributes or characteristics. The target population comprises of all individuals, objects or things that the researcher can reasonably generalize his /her findings to (David and Sutton, 2004). The target population for this study was all political news interviews from five television stations in Kenya according to the popularity index (CAK, 2012). They include: Opinion court and The Big question on Citizen TV; Checkpoint and Jeff Koinange Live on KTN, The Trend and AM Live on NTV, and Evening Edition and Breakfast show on K24. Citizen TV, KTN, NTV and K24 are commercial broadcasters while KBC is a public broadcaster. This notion of ownership and overall programme production is a discursive practice that was looked at in this study. Another group of the target population was the audience members that follow these programmes. In addition, university lecturers and university students, politicians, political analysts and journalists were respondents in the study.
3.4 Sampling frame

A sampling frame is a set of information used to identify a sample population for statistical treatment. The area of study was in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya; the education and economic hub of the country. It is also the centre of communication hosting many television and radio stations and the press. The following are the television stations in Kenya: Citizen TV, Kenya Television Network (KTN), Nation TV (NTV), K24, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC), Good News (GBS), QTV, and Family TV. Five stations provided the interviews for Analysis based on their popularity as follows: Citizen -47 %, KTN-15.19%, NTV- 11.93%, K24-8.96 and KBC-7.09% Nyabuga and Booker (2011); Communication Authority of Kenya, 2012). However, the number of interviews analyzed per station did not depend on this index as they were distributed equally. The index helped the researcher to determine the most suitable television stations to study. Other factors that led to these television stations being studied include the following: They are national television stations located in the capital city of Kenya, they are well established and they are owned by reputable companies. It was also observed that they air political interviews on a regular basis that is, on a weekly basis. There are numerous radio stations in Kenya broadcasting in vernacular languages. They are also thought to broadcast hate and negative stereotype remarks (Media Council of Kenya report, 2012). However, they were not covered in this study because their coverage is limited to particular ethnic groups, hence not likely to attract audiences from other ethnic groups.

3.5 Sampling techniques

A sampling method refers to the way sample units are selected from a parent population. According to Mugenda (2011), the phenomenon dictates the method including even the participants. Non-probability and Probability sampling techniques were used in this study. Purposive sampling was used to select five television stations based on their
popularity. It was also used to select audience members who voluntarily send feedback during and after the programmes are aired. Stage sampling is the probability sampling technique that was employed in selecting the political interviews to be analyzed. (Cohen, et.al., 2011) observe that stage sampling involves selecting the sample in stages, that is, taking samples from samples. The study randomly sampled fifteen recorded political interviews, three from each station, that were broadcast between December, 2012 and May, 2013. This period covers six months, a time when there was intense political mobilization and heightened political contention that would be thought to lead to polarization. About two hundred and forty (240) political interviews were broadcast during this period as the (Media Council of Kenya, 2014) records that stations carried about two major political news interviews in a week. It is not possible to study all these interviews as the transcription process is lengthy as Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) observe. Cheshire (1982), Mestherie, Swann, Deumart & Leap (2004) as quoted in Kiguru (2014) indicate that such studies involving language analysis do not require large samples as small samples provide data that is representative of the wider reality. Milroy and Gordon (2008) also note that large samples are likely to bring about redundancy and data handling problems. Therefore, fifteen interviews were seen as representative enough to give the desired results. The first stage of sampling used Krejcie and Morgan (1970) in Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) determined the sample size of 148 from a population of 240.
Figure 3.1 Sample size determination

Additionally, Kothari (2004) states that a sample size of between 10% and 30% of the population is considered adequate for detailed or in-depth studies. Therefore in the second stage of sampling, 10% of 148 interviews was used to produce a sample size of 15 political news interviews. The fifteen interviews were transcribed and described and then a third stage of sampling was done randomly, where two interviews for Citizen TV and one interview from the other four stations were subjected to a critical discourse analysis. In Critical discourse analysis, a small sample is required for detailed analysis and a large sample leads to redundancy. Critical Discourse Analysts have used small samples in their description. For example, Deacon, et.al (1999) used one story of a
newspaper in their analysis; Thetela (2001) studied five newspaper reports on Lesotho’s 1994 military intervention; Janks (1998) uses one advertisement in her study ‘Reading Womanpower, Jjuuko (2013) used eight episodes of radio discussions while Kiguru (2014) used three episodes of court interaction, Ikaria (2015) used eight recoded encounters between sales representatives and customers. The features in these interviews are the same and therefore, using a larger sample of 15 interviews would give the same aspects that small a sample of 6 interviews would give. Wodak and Busch (2000) assert that linguistic methods as this are time consuming in their detailed attention to the text especially when it comes to audio or audiovisual texts, which necessitate transcription. Hence a small sample is always seen as sufficient. Therefore six political interviews, two from Citizen TV and one from the other stations namely: KTN, NTV, KBC and K24, were seen to be adequate in this study.

Table 3.2 sample per station

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>CITIZEN</th>
<th>KTN</th>
<th>NTV</th>
<th>KBC</th>
<th>K24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st stage sampling</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd stage sampling</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five journalists who carry out political interviews in the five sampled stations and five political analysts were interviewed. Three focus group discussions were conducted and members of the groups selected were university students and lecturers. Three focus groups were studied: One involving young university students from the age of 19 to 25. This is because this group has access to media and they are active users of the media texts. They represented the young voters because this group is often used by the politicians during campaigns and they also form huge support of different political parties. Another group consisted of older university students from the age of 35-40. These are adults who can make independent decisions on political matters. The aim was to determine how they consume messages from the political news interviews. The third group was formed by university lecturers. These are highly educated people who are
thought to be highly independent and can critically evaluate political messages. They are seen as role models and a group that cannot be easily swayed by political persuasion compared to those not educated to their levels. They are considered as key opinion leaders.

3.6 Research instruments

3.6.1 Field notes schedule

This study used recorded political interviews; therefore, the data was already available for analysis. However, CDA’s approach goes beyond the text being analyzed; hence notes were made concerning the institutional, the social, political and economic contexts surrounding each interview.

3.6.2 Transcription schedule

Gail Jefferson’s (1972) transcription convention (See Appendix 1) in Jenks (2011) was used in the analysis of the political news interviews where close analysis was done at the level of the text. The transcription adopted normal orthography as deep phonological analysis was not necessary for this study. Textual analysis focused on language levels as shown in appendix 2.

3.7 Data collection and analysis methods

Permission was sought from the sampled television stations to copy the televised political news interviews for use in analysis. In carrying out a critical discourse analysis, data collection and data analysis are done simultaneously. This is because as you collect the data through transcription, you inevitably analyze the corpus (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002). Therefore, the political interviews under this study were transcribed and analyzed using Fairclough’s three dimensional model (Fairclough, 2013) as shown in figure 3.2.
3.7.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is an approach to language study that can be applied to forms of communication like talk and others to collect and analyze data. To do the analysis the researcher adopted Fairclough’s dimension of discourse and discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2013). The three dimensional approach focuses on three aspects namely the text, the discursive practices and the socio-political practices. There is a strong connection between the text and the process and the two cannot be separated so much. Faircough (2013) argues that the embedding of the boxes emphasizes the interdependence of these dimensions and the focus on any one box has to be seen as a relatively arbitrary place to begin. Therefore the analysis can begin with the process of production and the product (the text) or vice versa. At the text level, the formal properties of political news interviews were determined via content analysis, while noting the discursive and social factors. This is because the analysis of discourse from a critical point of view also involves its interpretation. The discursive practices of production and dissemination of these interviews were examined with close reference to the interviews. The analysis proceeded with presenting the explanation of the discourse of the political news interviews and how they may affect the society with regard to polarization. Description of the Kenyan socio-political context was done to support the study. The analysis followed the three dimensional approach as follows:
According to Fairclough (1992) in Jensen (2012) texts stand at the core of the model and are explored largely through linguistic categories. The second dimension of analysis concerns ‘discourse practices’ for example, the processes through which specific media texts are produced in media organizations and consumed or decoded by audiences in the context of their everyday lives. These discourse practices are understood as mediators between institutionally produced texts and much wider socio-cultural practices, which constitute the third dimension of analysis. At this third, macro-social level, the discursive phenomena brought to light as the first two levels are adduced in claims about, and interpretations of the prevailing ‘order of discourse’ at a given historical time, relating discourses, for example, to processes of globalization, commercialization
and in this study ethnic polarization. Hence, CDA in this study began with textual analysis with close reference to the discursive processes involved in the production of the text; then the analysis moved to the discursive practices in details. Finally, the textual features were linked to wider socio-cultural practices in Kenya.

3.7.2 Field notes

Prior to any transcription, the background of each interview was given by use of notes. This covered the date, the major event that was the subject of the interview on that day, the interviewer and interviewee information, their political disposition and other relevant information. The notes were also written when carrying out audience survey after each interview to find out the interpretation given by the audience to different issues arising during the interviews. The interpretations were derived from the feedback inherent in each interview from the audience members, from focus groups and interviews from interviewers, politicians and political analysts.

3.7.3 Transcription of political interviews

Recorded political news interviews were copied from the television stations after securing the stations’ permission. Since political interviews can be classified as talk (Phillips and Jorgensen, 2002) hold that transcription is necessary. Gail Jefferson’s transcription convention (Appendix 1) was used to transcribe the political news interviews to unearth the formal properties in the political interviews as well as the discursive and socio-cultural practices evident in them. Transcription involves putting down in writing the recorded data. Cameron (2001) notes that it is necessary to put down discourse in writing before we can say anything about it, given that spoken language, because of its ephemeral nature, is difficult to analyze. In addition, Gumperz and Berenz in Edwards and Lampert (2014) show that transcription is an integral part of an overall process of interpretative analysis that reflects the theoretical framework informing a
given analysis. Standard orthography was used in writing the transcriptions along with relevant notation symbols as shown in appendix 1.

3.7.4 In-depth Interviews

According to Taylor and Bogdan in Kumar (2011), in-depth interviewing is repeated encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informants’ perspective on their lives, experiences or situations as expressed in their own words and hence understand the informants’ perspectives. Hence these interviews were carried out with the interviewers, interviewees and political analysts. These respondents were instrumental in this research because their views took care of the discursive and sociocultural practices of Fairclough’s three dimensional model.

3.7.5 Audience Survey

Audience analysis was carried out by analyzing the feedback or opinions sent to journalists during and after the interviews. This analysis was complemented by focus group discussions (FDGs) to give a comprehensive view of the political interviews and ethnic polarization. Bloor et.al. (2002) assert that Focus groups, although can be used as stand-alone methods, they also have an ancillary function of complementing other methods. Three focus group discussions with individuals who possessed characteristics that were relevant for the study (Kombo and Tromp, 2006) were used to gather qualitative data that enhanced understanding of political opinions and experiences that arise from the broadcasting of the political news interviews. Each FDG had six participants who according to Wimmer and Dominic (2012) were enough. Krueger and Casey (2009) recommend that in non-commercial topics, five to eight members are sufficient because large groups are difficult to control and they limit each person’s opportunity to share insights and observations. Each of these groups had three males and three females. The researcher began the discussion by introducing the topic, and explaining its importance. Focus group members were assured that the information they
gave would be treated confidentially and that it would be purely used for the study and not any other purpose.

The advantages of these group discussions was the in depth information they gave and great breadth of experiences. To achieve this, the researcher recruited the participants that were homogenous in social status and educational background. Krueger and Casey (2009) recommend that familiarity reduces tension and homogeneity reduces the danger of the discussion being inhibited by considerations of status or hierarchy. Information obtained from focus groups was used to describe the interpretation of the views expressed in the interviews. It was also used in the analysis of the sociocultural practices. Silverman (2004) advises that focus group proceedings should be recorded and transcribed along thematic or ethnographic lines. Following this advice, the focus group proceedings in this study were tape recorded with permission from the FDG members. Data was transcribed using the normal orthographic transcription to identify recurrent themes that were later used in the analysis.

3.7.6 General procedures and ethical considerations.

To start with, the researcher obtained a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation as a standard research procedure (NACOSTI/P/16/24201/12204). The permit was then presented to the media stations whose interviews were used for research. The letter of the student as a PhD student in the Department of Media Technology and Applied Communication of the Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology was also presented to the respondents. Recorded political news interviews were copied from the television stations after securing the stations’ permission. The respondents were assured that any information they give would be treated confidentially.
3.8 Pilot testing

Cresswell (2013) recommends the use of a pilot test to refine and develop research instruments, assess the degree of observer bias, frame questions, collect background information and adopt research procedures. A pilot test was therefore carried out. Political interviews were analyzed before the study began to determine whether the sample chosen was appropriate and whether CDA would provide accurate results of the study. To ensure validity, two interviews were randomly selected for a pilot study. Validity of the study was achieved by carrying out audience analysis to determine the relationship between text (political interviews) and the audience. Questionnaires for journalists were abandoned for in-depth interviews. This is as a result of discovering that the in-depth interviews would be attended to better as opposed to the questionnaires. It was also noted that detailed phonetic transcription would not be of benefit for the study; therefore, Gail Jefferson’s transcription model was adopted but only the orthographic transcription was used as phonetic transcription would not be beneficial to this study.

3.9 Data processing, presentation and interpretation

The study adopted a qualitative research design. Integration of data was done in this study where numeric data was presented in form of frequency distribution tables and charts and this was followed by qualitative data in the form of narrative as advocated by Cresswell et. al. (2011).

Critical Discourse Analysis was used in analyzing the data. Wodak and Krzyzanowski (2011) suggest the use of the micro, meso and macro levels to be done at the level of linguistics and the level of context and the use of these levels aim at overall interpretation of the results. This interpretation takes into account the social, historical and discursive contexts. They add that these levels form a critique that seeks to reveal problematic discursive strategies, solve specific problems of (institutional) communication, and improve communication. Focus on the political news interviews’
problems or strengths were given during the interpretation of data. This stage also discussed the existence or lack of ethnic polarization as a result of political news interviews’ text and discursive practices.

This chapter has presented the methodology used in the study. In the chapter that follows a CDA is conducted on six televised political news interviews described earlier in this chapter. The aim is to show the linguistic features, the discursive and the social-cultural practices surrounding the interviews. Findings from audience analysis, journalists and political analysts were analyzed and presented in form of discussion.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

In line with the objectives of this study a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is done on the political news interviews. These objectives include: To describe the influence of linguistic features in televised political news interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya. To examine the influence of discursive practices in political news interviews on ethnic polarization in Kenya; To assess the influence of media framing in televised political news interviews on ethnic polarization; To establish the effect of the intervening socio-cultural practices surrounding televised political news interviews in ethnic polarization in Kenya.

Therefore this chapter gives an analysis of the formal properties or linguistic features used in political news interviews by both interviewers and interviewees. It then presents the second objective which is to analyze the discursive practices used in political news interviews. In this chapter also, it looked at an analysis of media framing in political news interviews. Finally, a socio-historical analysis was done with an aim to unearth the ideological modes used in political news interviews.

4.1 Linguistic features in political news interviews in ethnic polarization in Kenya

This section begins with an overview of the linguistic features used by both interviewers and interviewees. Interviewees are the politicians who appeared in the shows while the interviewers are the journalists. The section therefore presents the linguistic features unearthed from the study sample using a statistical presentation to show how these features are used in journalistic interviewing in Kenya. The discussion in this section is done under the framework of CDA using the textual level of analysis with close reference to the dimensions of discursive practice and sociocultural practices. (This is in line with the practice of CDA work including: Fairclough (2013); Fairclough (2002);
Reisgil and Wodak (2001) and Van Dijk (2008) who recommend that CDA must start with this level because texts are laden with value and social judgements. This means that texts cannot be analyzed in isolation. Richardson (2007) also points out that the traditional forms of linguistic analysis in relation to their direct or indirect involvement in ideology and social power should be used. Hallidayan linguistics emphasizes that language performs functions in a specific practical sense where he proposes that language performs simultaneously three functions: ideational, interpersonal and textual (Halliday, 2004). The ideational and interpersonal functions are relevant in this study as CDA is concerned with what Fowler (2007) describes as the ordering of experiences and with the mediation of social relations and values.

This section provides a discussion of these levels of analysis and their significance in the analysis of the discourse of political interviews.

Figure 4.1 that follows presents the percentage frequencies of the various linguistic features as they were used by the interlocutors in the political news interviews that were sampled. These results inform how the use of such features may or may not lead to ethnic polarization.
Figure 4.1 Frequency distribution of linguistic features

Key

LA-Lexical Analysis
NR- Naming and Referencing
MO- Modality
TROP- Rhetorical Tropes
TRA- Transitivity

As captured in the figure 4.1 naming and referencing strategies are the most frequently used (36%), 341 times followed by Modality (26%), 296 times. In the third place was Rhetorical Tropes (20%), 210 times; Transitivity and lexical analysis are the least with 9%, 94 times and 8%, 83 times respectively. These frequencies are discussed and their implication given.
4.1.1 Naming and referencing

The findings of this study have shown that naming and referencing are the most commonly used linguistic features (36%) as opposed to the other four forms as shown in table 4.1. This means that naming and referencing features were the most effective in ethnic polarization through the political interviews used in this study. Research works done in this area have indicated that naming and referencing are common in polarization, not necessarily in political but also in other forms of polarization. For example, a study done by Richardson (2007) on racial discrimination identified in referential strategies used in newspaper discourse. The researcher further interrogated this feature of naming and referencing to establish how it resulted in ethnic polarization. It was established that there is the usage of *us* vs *them* as shown in table 4.1 hence causing a divide between the interviewers and their audiences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Us</th>
<th>Them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Our government</td>
<td>The opposition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have</td>
<td>They have not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Us</td>
<td>You</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our manifesto</td>
<td>They have no agenda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What we have done…</td>
<td>These people have been in government…..</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These are used in sentences such as:
• ‘And if you look, our manifesto is very clear on what we really wanted to achieve.’
• ‘And we have made tremendous effort towards that through the referendum we had and the new constitution which is really something we have been agitating for the very many years, to know we want change in governance a structure in Kenya’
• ‘These people are empty. These people have nothing to offer. These are people who are, People who are permanently crying wolf of stolen elections’
• First of all, let me put it that we were aware that they would bring another claim of 3 billion
• ‘Let me tell you, if we formed the government, we would make sure we would have gone to Province A.’

These examples were used by politicians from opposing sides where speakers used reference items like they, those, your, their to refer to members from the opposing side and references like our, us, our group, we to refer to the in-group members. The use of such reference strategies seemed to show a clear division between one political faction and the other (between one party and the other as well as between the government and the opposition). Given that these interviews were sampled from a period that is thought to have been potentially polarized because of heated political campaigns, it is evident that speakers used such referential strategies to isolate themselves from one group and identify themselves with another group. This finding is supported by Van Dijk in Bell and Garett (2005) who state that the many ideologies involve the representation of ‘self’ and ‘others’, ‘us’ and ‘them’. Many therefore seem to be polarized by saying that ‘we are good and they are bad’. This is identified by Richardson (2007) as foregrounding and backgrounding.

In referential strategies, foregrounding and backgrounding are often used as naming strategies. Journalists have to provide names for the people in the events they report and
this naming always involves choice. And logically, by choosing one category over another, they include them within a category and exclude them from other different categories or perhaps choose to foreground other social categories over other equally accurate alternatives. (Richardson, 2007); Reisgil and Wodak (2001) have called these naming options a text’s referential strategies. In this study, different referential strategies were employed not only by the journalists but also by the interviewees who represented different political wings. Journalists used them to describe to the audience the interviewees who were appearing in their shows. The interviewees also used the same strategies to describe themselves or members from the opposing sides.

Van Dijk in Bell and Garrett (2005) developed a conceptual tool he called ‘the ideological square’ which he suggests determines choices between referential terms. He adds that the ideological square is represented by a positive self-representation and a simultaneous negative other representation. The ideological square predicts that ‘outsiders’ of various types will be represented in a negative way and ‘insiders’ will be represented in a positive way. It happens by foregrounding ‘other’ negative characteristics. Conversely, it involves foregrounding ‘our’ positive characteristics and backgrounding ‘other’ good characteristics. The researcher in this study envisioned and developed an ideological square modelled on Van Dijk’s tool to determine how foregrounding and backgrounding took place in the interviews.

Foregrounding our good- FGUG

Foregrounding other bad- FGOB

Backgrounding our bad- BGUB

Backgrounding other good-BGOG

Foregrounding our bad- FGUB
Backgrounding our good-BGUG

The results are as follows:

![Bar Chart]

**Figure 4.1.2: Foregrounding and Backgrounding in political news interviews.**

It then follows that interviewees are more likely to highlight the negative side of the opponent’s side and highlight the positive side of the interviewee’s side as FGUG was done 20 times while BGUB was mentioned 20 times. Interestingly, it is only in three instances where the opponent’s side’s positive characteristics were mentioned and only one example where the negative characteristics of the interviewer’s side was mentioned. It is also observed that there is no single instance where the ‘backgrounding other bad’ was used. The researcher wanted to understand this occurrence; analysis from political analysts indicated that in politics, persuasion and propaganda are common in political communication. It is the view of the researcher that this happens because one doesn’t wish to weaken their positions and therefore paint their side negatively but can do that to the opponent’s side. In cases where there were two coalitions or parties represented, this
led to serious contestation and frequent use of stereotyping and predication strategies. It implies then that the use of such kind of referential strategies is likely to ignite ethnic emotions. Van Djik (2005) equally states that this strategy of positive in group description and negative outgroup description is polarizing. He says that this strategy appears in most social conflicts and actions and are expressed in the choice of lexical items that imply negative and positive evaluations. He adds that opinions may be organized following an ideological pattern that polarizes ingroups and outgroups, *Us vs Them*. He related the usage of such dual ideologies in the Western superiority and Arab inferiority whereby Western nations are associated with positive values such as democracy, rationality and non-violence and Arab nations are associated with dictatorship, violence and irrationality. The *Us vs Them* in the Kenyan political news interviews where one group emphasizes its good actions and other bad actions and mitigates its bad actions and other good actions are seen to polarize members of the audience. This is in line with Van Dijk (2008) as he observes that negative opinions about out-groups are lexicalized in negative words and conversely, positive lexicalizations may be chosen to express positive self-images of the in-group.

4.1.2 Modality

In this study, modality was seen to be used to mean different things but more especially to enforce one’s side or one interviewer’s or interviewee’s beliefs. Adverbs that expressed certainty in the statements they were used more frequently than those in which speakers seemed to be less forceful.
Figure 4.1.3 Distribution of modals

Key

FM - Forceful Modalities
NFM: Non forceful Modalities

There were 220 statements that contained forceful modalities at 72% while there were 87 statements that contained non-forceful modalities at 28%. Modality expresses certainty or vagueness, high or low commitment to propositions on the part of the speaker as expressed through mood, verbs, modal adverbials (Wodak and Kryzanowski, 2011). Locke (2004) also adds that this property refers to the strength with which a particular proposition or statement is endorsed. Typically, modality is shown through the use of modal auxiliary verbs and modal adverbs.
Politicians and journalists used forceful or high affinity modalities. Examples of forceful modalities that were used in the political interviews include: most, should, cannot and others as used in the expressions that follow:

- *You must invest in people and then you must put people into productive use.*
- *You do not need to reinvent the wheel.*
- *God can give ability but you must be able to transform that ability to something tangible.*
- *They cannot hide anywhere else apart from the president and the deputy president positions.*
- *All the 47 counties could not find their way to the cabinet.*
- *The two cannot and will not be out of the picture. They will go to the Supreme Court, Willy Mutunga will ask for the interpretation of the law and Willy will look at it and by the time he is making a ruling, it will be too late.*

Such expressions were used in a forceful manner to show that the speaker had firm stances or beliefs. Politicians would show their authority by using such modalities. Journalists also used forceful modalities in making their narrations or assertions or asking questions to maintain their authority and appear objective as well as accurate. This observation goes hand in hand with Fowler (2007) who states that truth and obligation modalities are used to show the strength of a proposition. Truth modalities always imply that the speaker is committed to the truth or otherwise of the proposition he/she makes. Such modalities were used forcefully by the interviewers and interviewees and they set a platform for argumentation. These arguments indicated firm stances that were used to show support or opposition towards a particular action. Likewise, the obligation modalities were used forcefully. Fowler (2007) and Halliday (2004) argue that when used, obligation modalities indicate that the participants in the proposition ought to perform the actions specified by the proposition.
In some few instances, politicians adopted a soft stance and would express themselves using polite markers or less forceful modalities. These are referred to as permission or desirability modalities and often indicate a neutral stance (Fowler, 2007).

*If…… then*

*Maybe*

*I would*

*May*

According to Locke (2004) politeness is a property that relates to force. It is built around an idea that participants in an interaction tend to operate in ways that no party ‘loses face’. CDA practices show that certain politeness conventions implicitly manifest particular social and power relations. Since politeness markers were rarely used, it shows that politicians were not concerned in saving face for the opponent. This implies then in this study that the IR and IEs were not committed to saving each other’s face but were determined to cause embarrassment, opposition and this had an effect on their respective supporters leading to polarization along ethnic lines.

### 4.1.3 Rhetorical tropes

Rhetorical tropes were the third commonly used (20%) in the political news interviews studied.

Following is a list of the rhetorical tropes used in the political interviews under study.
Table 4.2 List of tropes used in the political news interviews:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tropes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tyranny of numbers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Bashir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Big Bashir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cry wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The heart of the country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A rag from beneath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who handed them to the dogs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plane sight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The big white house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westerners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pen and paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A two horse race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The house (parliament)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephant in the room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Jubilee government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The south Sudan way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Muriithis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When you want to kill a dog, you first give it a bad name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He had to actually destroy the kingmaker and the king in waiting.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this study, rhetorical tropes were employed by both the interviewers and the interviewees. The tropes studied in this study include metaphors, metonyms and neologisms. Mainly the metaphors were used as compared to other types of tropes. Thompson in Schultz (2004) observed that journalists are not able to provide reports of events that are entirely true and objective; they therefore employ rhetorical strategies aimed at persuading others to adopt their point of view. Beard (2000) indicates that metaphors, analogies and metonyms form part of political language and the sources include sports and war conveying a sense of toughness and aggression. Additionally, Ferrari (2007) notes that metaphors preside over the expression of certain kinds of emotive state as a way of conceptualizing it. He adds that the metaphor chosen to
express a given emotion has consequences of persuasion and polarization as seen in this study.

These tropes are part of human conceptualization and not just linguistic expressions. The use of these metaphors signaled the political context in Kenya as well as the regional and global political contexts. They are also pointing to some historical issues. For example, ‘The South Sudan way’ alludes to the war in South Sudan. Because President Bashir of Sudan is an ICC suspect and ICC has made several attempts to have him arrested, thus the phrases ‘small Bashir’ and ‘Big Bashir’ pointed to the fact that the Kenyan ICC suspects would always be sought by the international court.

The Phrase ‘tyranny of numbers’ was made by a renowned political analyst in Kenya to explain the Kenyans’ voting patterns. This fact sparked a lot of debate from the audience where they felt that the remark was meant to create a perception of leadership supremacy and making it sound like leadership is a preserve of particular ethnic groups as opposed to others. Such tropes were employed with an aim to show firm support on issues but simultaneously served an ideological function. This is supported by Mayr (2008) who says that those evaluations, if repeated often enough, may eventually become ‘naturalized’, part of the mental framework of its producers and consumers. In its usage in the Kenyan context, the term ‘tyranny of numbers has become ‘naturalized’ as the it is used to make leadership, especially, the presidency, get associated with particular ethnic communities as opposed to others and in the process paint some ethnic communities as mighty, others as powerless or subjects to the mighty ones.

Rhetorical tropes used reflected the sociological and political histories surrounding Kenya. In many cases invoking such histories would cause some groups to feel stereotyped, hated and alienated and therefore cause polarization.
4.1.4 Transitivity

Of interest to this research was how the participants, processes and circumstances associated with the processes mentioned above were used. This necessitated an analysis of the sentence types in the manner of organization of the actors, the process, the goals and the circumstances. The analysis that follows includes cases where the agent is omitted and other cases where the agent is includes

Cases where the agent was omitted

- *I think the former vice president is being judge harshly.*
- *It is true names are associated with particular regions and certain political inclinations.*
- *That was a political conference where politics was being discussed.*
- *Remember this was being done to save the country.*
- *The motion was withdrawn from the house*
- *The government already undertook what should have been done to initiate the project.*
- *The matter was taken to court.*
- *There is criticism that the assigning of commissioners has taken us back to then KANU days.*

Cases where the agent was included

- *It is really unfortunate for the former president to have made such an unfortunate remark.*
- *We were aware they would bring another claim of 3 billion.*
- *Gambia was held hostage by a bunch of young fellows.*
- *They did a coup.*
• The West have told us.
• The two guys are not mad
• The prime minister has made a very good move.

When analyzing transitivity, one focuses on how the events and processes are connected or not connected with subjects and objects. Hence interest lies in the different ideological consequences that forms may have (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002). Mayr (2008) adds that the description of the ideational strand of meaning involves the major category– that of transitivity. He says that the idea behind analyzing transitivity is to explore what social, cultural and ideological facts determine what process type or verb is chosen in a particular type of discourse. Relations of power may implicitly be inscribed in the relationship between the actor and the goal. All verbal types were employed equally. Verbs indicating verbal processes, mental processes, relational processes and material processes were used.

From the data above it is clear that both forms (where agent is omitted and where it is not omitted) were used to perform ideological functions. There were instances where the agents were left out especially those involving unpleasant happenings pointing to one group, in defense, the agent was omitted. Equally, there were instances where the agent was not omitted especially where one group wanted to vilify the other group and give credit to itself. This was also achieved by use of different referential strategies. As the different parties argued for themselves and against others, they used both forms. This finding is congruent with what Mayr (2008) observed when she notes that in media reports of important events, this can be significant, because it means that agency and responsibility can either be made clear or left vague. The systemic view of language emphasizes that the grammar of a language is a system of ‘options’ from which speakers choose according to social circumstances, and that the choice of certain linguistic forms always has a meaning. This makes it not only a powerful basis for analyzing what is in the texts, but also for what is absent or omitted from them.
4.1.5 Lexical analysis

Words with denotative meanings were used in the political interviews while alternative labels would have been used to mean the same thing.

The following words were seen to bear value judgments and sparked reactions:

- *These people are empty.*

- *We are joking with something called fire because ethnic passions are destructive.*

- *This kind of a tokenistic nature is not going to help.*

- *This is where the president and his deputy have failed.*

- *Politician 1 is likely to hide him than politician 5.*

- *If politician 1 wins, they will be boiled.*

The words ‘empty, fire, tokenistic, failed, hide and boiled’ are among the words with denotative meaning that were used in the political interviews. As seen in the sentences in which they are used, the meanings communicated are not the denotative meanings the words bear. They were used to paint the ‘other’ group as bad, ineffective or as failures.

Vocabulary or word choice is important in CDA. In this study, the lexical analysis focused on words with denotative meaning. Fairclough (2002) notes that the same word can have a number of different meanings. The multiplicity of meanings he refers to as a word’s meaning potential. Dichotomies suggest stability in word meanings but this is not so; rather meanings are ascribed to a word in accordance with its meaning potential are often contestable. Therefore, shifts in word meanings can be a key indicator of discursive contestation and subtle change in discursive formation. The term sense
legitimation is used to describe a strategy for manufacturing consent in a group thereby achieving the hegemony of a discourse.

Halliday (2004) indicates that vocabulary or lexis is a major determination of the ideational structure (that is the function of language that allows language users to embody in language their experiences of their internal world, their consciousness, reactions, and cognitions). The ideational function of language allows language users to express themselves, understand themselves and the world around them. Interviewers and interviewees employed the use of chosen lexical items as opposed to other choices in order to fulfill their functions in the interviews. They were there to defend their interests of the IEs and the groups they represented.
4.2 Discursive practices in political news interviews in political polarization in Kenya

The second objective sought to find out the discursive practices of political news interviews in ethnic polarization in Kenya. To find out these discursive strategies, an in-depth analysis was carried out on the political news interviews, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews from journalists. In this study, FDGs were also used to determine how the audience receives the messages from the political interviews. This data was supplemented by information from the politicians and political analysts.

Discursive practices focus on how a text is produced and how it is consumed (that is, production conditions and how structure and content are transformed and the interpretation the texts are given. At the end of the consumption audience research can be carried out (Fowler, 2007); Fairclough (2013).

Using Fairclough’s model, the second level of analysis in CDA was used to achieve this objective, the features of production, dissemination, interpretation and intertextuality were identified from the transcriptions of interviews, the interview of journalists and the FDGS. Since discursive practices also involve looking at the political economy of the media, journalists and media owners were used to provide this information.

4.2.1 Intertextuality

Phillips and Jorgensen (2002) assert that texts are only fully intelligible when intertextuality in relation to other texts and social practices hence forming an intertextual chain achieved by various discourse markers. In the six political interview there were 102 cases of intertextuality where reported speech, direct quotations and indirect quotations and other incidences that shaped the discourse were mentioned. This was achieved by journalists (interviewers) and interviewees. In all cases, the aspects that crystallized or strengthened one faction’s support or demonized the other group in a
mode of foregrounding ‘our good’, backgrounding ‘other good’, foregrounding ‘other bad’ and backgrounding ‘our bad’. This was seen to influence the public opinion, action and attitude as it is shown in the FDGs analysis and audience survey analysis. Intertextuality is expressed through the incorporation of discourses deriving from oral models and also through attribution strategies used to bring multiple voices from outside the newsroom into the journalistic construction of news stories (Thetela, 2001). Instances of intertextuality discussing various controversial matters in the political news interviews include:

- **IE 1**: Remember this was done to save the sovereign bond.
- **IE 2**: In accounting, we have what we call ‘disclosure’.
- **IE 1**: And remember Party 1’s manifesto ‘uwezo, upendo, na uwazi’
- **IE 2**: They promised these projects without provocation.
- **IE 2**: When Politician 1 left the office, you could see representation’.
- **IE 3**: Politician 3 was a Kingmaker – the Kingmaker had to destroy the kingmaker
- **IE 3**: The Kalenjin nation supporting a Kikuyu candidature is a little difficult.
- **IE 4**: This concept you hear here in Kenya that leaders come from God.....
- **IE 5**: And I thank God Kenyans can see for themselves that the decision they made in the General elections for not electing the CORD leadership is really good. These people are empty...

Intertextuality was also evident through the reporters’ narrations prior and during the interview process as well as through the various questions the interviewers asked and various statements they made. For instance:

- **IR 1**: Is it true that all M---- are Jubilee Sympathizers?
- **IR 2**: Away from the Anglo leasing, there is something going on and development here now, the score card- the thirty page score card..
- **VWR 1**: *We do not want to go the South Sudan way.*
- **RP 1**: *Following the rejection of the constitution, President Kibaki proceeded to dismiss his entire cabinet.*’

Further intertextual practices include conversation and turn taking, narrative models, newsmakers’ voices, direct quotes, indirect quotes, personalization and speech verbs (Thetela, 2001). Among those that were used in the political interviews under study are discussed in the next subsections:

### 4.2.1.1 Conversation

Conversation in the interviews under study took the form of turn taking between the interviewer and the interviewee, among the interviewer and the interviewees in cases where there were two interviewees. In four out of the six interviews, the conversations were in form of heated argument between the journalists and interviewer or between the interviewees.

Typical turn taking sequence is usually Question –Answer, and the journalist is the one who interrogates to get specific information from the interviewee. However, in this case, it was seen that there was an alternation of these rules and the interviewer, instead of answering the question, the interviewee would evade giving the required response resulting in heated argument or delayed turns.

- Interviewer turn

- Interviewee turn

- Interviewer turn

For example this extract from the interview shows turn taking involving the interviewees and it results in a heated exchange.
[INTERVIEWEE 1: Starting with the president and the Deputy President.]

[Actually….]

[INTERVIEWEE 1: Who should be the champions, they are the first enemies.]

[INTERVIEWEE 2: I thought you are the leader of majority,(laugh)]

[INTERVIEWEE 1: They are the enemies, the president and the deputy president are the first enemies].

[INTERVIEWEE 2: She is becoming the leader of majority.]

[INTERVIEWEE 1: Then it goes without saying than it is as good as dead]

[ANALYST 1: I mean….]

[Interviewer : Let’s bring INTERVIEWEE 3.]

This state of turn taking led to adversarial system observed by Cuberes-Roca (2014) who noted that that adversarialness is also reflected in a plethora of interactional devices used by both the IR and IE including interruptions, supplementary questions and statements.

All the interviews’ openings started by the IR introducing the IE or IEs as well as the topics of the or subjects of the interviews. The journalists introduced their guests using IR’s expert knowledge and their political affiliations as well as their stands on specific matters. This gave the IRs authority that Clayman and Heritage (2004) call background interview or backgrounder. In the backrounders, knowledgeable sources offer informed commentaries on events of the day. Therefore in this study, politicians and political analysts were consulted and they formed the main guests in the political interviews.
The following form the specific introductions of the interviewees offered by the interviewers in the political interviews

Interview 1

IR: Welcome to the Platform, a programme in which we are focused on parties as we head to the 2013 elections. I am your host IR. This evening we will be focusing on the Orange Democratic party (ODM) with DR. Paul Otuoma.

Interview 2

IR: I go to the interview now and I want to start with Junnette Mohammed, the Suna East MP, because you are a member of ODM and CORD. Is that the position of ODM, that most Mureithis are Jubilee sympathizers and such should be dismissed?

Interview 3

IR: With me in studio is John Mbadi, a member of CORD coalition and Barrack Muluka, a political analyst. And we were discussing about the elephant in the room, I am going to start with you Mbadi: Choices have consequences, don’t they? And it was a political competition, the other side chose what they did and this is the time for the majority to finally make their way, you know, decide how this country is going. It was part of the condition, let us agree on that.

Interview 4

IR: In the absence of CORD leader Raila while in the States, the last few weeks have seen the opposition representatives give a lot of their take on the latest developments and I will start off with the last one being Anglo leasing ad that was mentioned in the story. And the seeming bipartisan view of Anglo leasing payment. Let
me start with you Mr. Wamatangi, the senator of Kiambu. Do you agree with the payment of 1.4 billion shillings and now we have another 3 billion being asked for.

Interview 5

On the Bench is a man you all, the person you have been demanding to see in a week like this, why? Because there is no one like him. He doesn’t look at the crystal ball to look into the future. He does what we call a hypothesis. He is a political scientist, he goes into that lab-political science lab, cooks his own versions, comes up with them.

Interview 6

INTERVIEWER : Welcome back and thank you for staying with X TV live at 9 and welcome back to programme X and be part of the discussion. And now we want to go to the question of devolution. This is what the president said in the State of the Nation address. He said of course that they have given more funds than the constitution required from 15% to 32%. He said that they have gone ahead to devolve most functions ahead of the three years envisaged in the constitution and given skills transfer to the counties etcetera.

Using such description projected the interviewees as advocates ready to defend their point of view. Clayman and Heritage (2004) agree with this observation and they add that advocates are commonly introduced in pairs representing opposing sides of an issue in which divergent views are exhibited and made to clash. In the interviews under study, this was the exact scenario as four out of the six interviews had two interviewers from opposing sides.
Table 4.3: The number of interviewees per station

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>No of interviewees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interview 1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview 2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview 3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview 4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview 5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interview 6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the case of interview 2, there were three interviewees, where one projected himself as a neutral figure giving balance and objectivity on the matters under discussion.

It was observed that the interview turns were mainly QA but in some cases they were QQ, and statements - statements.

The researcher sought to find out the types of interviewer turns as a discursive practice.

Table 4.4: Distribution of main types of interviewer turns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Interrogative questions</th>
<th>Tag questions</th>
<th>Declarative B-events</th>
<th>Rising intonation</th>
<th>3rd party statements</th>
<th>1st party statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From table 3, interrogative questions (33%), declarative B-events (25%), and first party statements (20%) were used more than rising intonation (10%), third party statements (8) and tag questions (4%).
Interrogative questions were also used at 33 % and they included the wh-questions, Yes/No questions and polar alternatives. These questions formed many IR turns. This is in line with Clayman and Heritage (2004) who observed that 85% of 600 interviewer utterances in their research consisted of questions. In this research too, they were the most frequently used although declarative B- events and 1st party statements were used as well. They were used to seek for information from interviewees, confirm particular assertions or perceptions and to challenge the IE’s standpoint.

Interviewers draw on other resources to build their turns as questions (Clayman & Heritage, 2004). Hence in this research, it was observed that B- events where interviewers include interviewee’s subjective states such as their feelings, attitudes, or intention and use them as questions seeking confirmation of particular matters. They also referred to areas in which the interviewee seemed to have knowledge, expertise or authority. Such references include:

*IR:* And as you respond, there is criticism that in the latest development, the assigning of commissioners to be in the counties; it has taken us back to the KANU days, and I saw you smack when he talked about the maternity health care.]

*IR:* Right. But these two guys you mentioned INTERVIEWEE seem to have joined forces. It seems that they are now working together for all intended POLITICAL PARTY 2.. The ticket will be ‘The Hague two’ for the presidency, is that possible INTERVIEWEE? I have been asking this question all week.

**Table 4.5 types of questions used in the interview**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wh- questions</th>
<th>Yes//No questions</th>
<th>Polar alternatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A total of 34 interrogative questions were used among other turn types. 20 of the interrogative questions were Yes/No interrogatives. The typical linguistic function of Yes/No questions is to elicit Yes/No answers. It then would be expected that such answers would be given. On the contrary, these questions elicited the same answers that wh-questions and polar alternatives would elicit. This happened because the IEs were custodians of specialized information about the subjects that were being discussed. From a journalistic point of view, this is a discursive practice where selection of interviewees guarantees the journalist of audience relevant information.

Such answers were also elicited because the IEs presented themselves as defenders of their respective positions and those of the parties they represented. They also gave elaborate answers to avoid being misunderstood and also to clarify and dispel misconceptions. These provided intertextual links.

4.2.1.2 Newsmakers’ voices and discourse representations

Bell (2005) observes that news reports are stories by newsmakers, who are either witnesses of facts, supplying the journalist with information of news actors whose utterances have news values. Journalists that were interviewed supported this view by saying that their choice of interviewees is determined by who they are (prominence) and their actions. The newsmaker’s story is usually brought into the story through the process of attribution (where texts evoke fragments of discourses outside the text to show agreement with them or discredit them.

The process of attribution is achieved in the political news interviews under study by reporters’ narrations as well as through playing of clips prior to or during the interviews. For example in interview 1 the interviewer starts by giving a long narration of the ODM party and the newsmakers that were involved in its formation and the newsworthy process that was involved in its formation.
Orange Democratic Movement (simply known as ODM is a political party which is a successor of a former grassroots people’s movement which was formed in the year 2005 during the Kenyan constitutional referendum in August 2007. It split into two: Orange Democratic Movement, known simply as ODM and Orange Democratic Movement, Kenya, simply known as ODM-K. The name Orange originated from the ballot cards in which Yes vote was represented by a banana while No vote was represented by an Orange. Thus the name supports successor ship to those who did not support the referendum at the time. The original league pins of ODM were Uhuru Kenyatta (KANU) and Raila Odinga (LDP). However, KANU has since pulled out and two groups are headed by Raila Odinga, ODM and Kalonzo Musyoka, ODM-K.

The NO vote which the ODM campaigned for won with 58.4% of Kenyans noting down the proposed constitution granting victory to Orange.

It also uses newsmakers voice by replaying clips where they appeared during the newsworthy event:

ECK official: for No, Orange 3548477 votes

Likewise in interview 2 (Citizen), the interview starts by first narrating the event of the day, fronting the newsmakers and the newsworthy occurrence which was based on conflict as a news value.

He was the main speaker in the CORD media briefing whose agenda was to punch holes into the Jubilee government’s performance. But by the time the briefing was over, Kalonzo Musyoka had talked himself into the main news and the process, effectively outdoing CORD’s serious concerns into the briefing. Musyoka who has crafted his political philosophy as among other things, an avowed intolerance to tribalism, managed to seriously ridicule this particular
claim. Responding to a question on what solutions CORD offers besides criticizing the government, an agitated Musyoka turned personal and ethnic.

A clip is equally played before the narration continues.

*Kalonzo: First of all, I didn’t get the name of the press member.*

*Journalist: Kennedy Mureithi*

*Kalonzo: Thank you Kennedy Mureithi. That name betrays it all (laughter form CORD members). Thank you, I have nothing else to say (another laughter from CORD members).*

*Wetangula: Absolutely.*

*Anyang’ Nyong’o: Very good (Another laughter)*

In this particular interview, more newsmakers’ utterances are brought in as the interview progresses.

- **Parliamentarian 1:** I think it’ very unfortunate, very very unfortunate. We need as leaders to make statements that are going to bring this country together.
- **Parliamentarian 2:** Hon. Kalonzo should know better. He has been in a position of power for long enough.
- **Parliamentarian 3:** But I am made to understand that he has apologized. And we should not hype; we should not politicize a statement which could have come out, you know, off the cliff.
• Parliamentarian 4: He said that he was taken out of context. Although common sense tells you that most Muriithis are Jubilee sympathizers.

Interview 4

And welcome to capital talk, a programme we hope will have an impact on the future of Kenya now more than ever. I’m INTERVIEWER. Now, this week if you have been watching The Bench, you know the theme. It’s politics 101 less that 5 months to go before the elections if indeed it does happen on March 4th 2013.

On the Bench is a man you all, the person you have been demanding to see in a week like this, why? Because there is no one like him. He doesn’t look at the crystal ball to look into the future. He does what we call a hypothesis. He is a political scientist, he goes into that lab-political science lab, cooks his own versions, comes up with them. 99.9% of the time they are spot on. This man doesn’t beat around the bush, he calls it as he sees it. And in the meantime, so much to talk about around ICC, Bensouda suspects, the elections, who’s gonna be with whom, in fact, he might tell us who might be the next president of Kenya

In all the six interviews, the interviewers started giving specific attributions to the interviewees. In giving the newsmakers voice, they are characterized and personalized in the discourse and how this positioning relates to the journalist and the broader sociocultural practice. They relied on four major news values to select the stories and the people to tell the stories: Conflict, Prominence, Timeliness and bizarre. This observation is congruent with Cotter (2010) who argues that news values play a prominent role in making decisions about news items. The selection also was based on the sociocultural practices surrounding political interviews in Kenya. Politicians that were interviewed are viewed by the audience as having the following qualities of labels.
Table 4.6: Qualities of politicians who were interviewed.

- Knowledgeable
- Can argue well
- Can represent the party effectively and defend party positions
- Controversial ones
- Others are sycophants
- Others are critics of government
- They articulate issues better than those who are not invited

Some of the issues would be understood by subjecting them into a sociocultural process. In the aforementioned parts, one must understand the historical processes surrounding politics in Kenya for example voting patterns, tribal rivalry and mergers, party positions among others.

Another form of attribution was achieved through the use of political analysts who stood as expert opinion leaders on various matters. Among the six political interviews studied, three of them had the political analysts specially positioned to give their opinion on the subjects of discussion. This is a discursive feature to accord the stations credibility as they would be seen as consulting experts on matters of politics. In one of the interviews, the political analyst agreed with a controversial statement that had been made by a politician, a newsmaker who had said ‘Your name betrays you.’ The analysts echoed the remarks by saying ‘It is true Kenya is deeply divided.’ But he invited the public and the government to ‘begin genuine dialogue and try to bridge the gap that exists among ethnic groups in Kenya. Another interview had a political analyst who seemed to be neutral and hence castigating both sides of the political divide (Jubilee and CORD) and complemented both factions where they deserved praise.
4.2.1.3 Indirect and direct quotes

Journalists used both direct and indirect quotes in the political news interviews to give attribution to the interviewees and to shape their discussions. Interviewers also used the quotes in agreement with or to discredit an assertion.

Table 4.7: Table showing the types of quotations used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct quotes</th>
<th>Indirect quotes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Musyoka said and I quote: ‘I felt he had asked a misleading question and my answer to him was that his assumed political tilt was evident and reflective of the very polarized society that Kenya has become’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musyoka said and I quote: ‘I felt he had asked a misleading question and my answer to him was that his assumed political tilt was evident and reflective of the very polarized society that Kenya has become’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Is that the position of ODM, that most Mureithis are Jubilee sympathizers and such should be dismissed?</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• He said that he was taken out of context.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• He maintained that Musyoka did not personally offer an apology.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>• The response of ODM was to say that this was a step to the right direction but called for the immediate General Elections.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• It is not this concepts you hear here in Kenya that leaders are from God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• They say politics is a reality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.2.1.4 Narrative models

The following narrative models were used to achieve intertextuality. The use of Singapore as a yardstick for Kenya’s development. It appeared that Kenya has lagged behind due to poor leadership and therefore a section of politicians endeared themselves as the ones who will bring redemption to Kenya.

To further demonstrate how Kenya has lagged behind due to poor leadership, USA’s policies were quoted as good benchmarks that Kenya should use but it is not using them because of poor leadership. Therefore one section of the political wing was described as incapable of causing any significant change because they have a poor track record.

Another narrative model that was used was an analogy of Peninah’s cup. Peninah’s cup is an expression used to show that there are different layers of people in the community and it is important to consult with each layer in making decisions. This was asked by one interviewee to a fellow interviewee.

IE1: There as an analogy someone was giving me about Penina’s cup and I don’t know why they call it Penina’s cup but they say you have a mix, and there is usually the lower cadre in that cup. What vision does he have as a person for the youth and his party…..

This model was used to challenge the other interviewee’s capacity and that of the party he was representing to govern fairly.

A narrative model was used in reference to Sudan’s president Omar Bashir by referring to two Kenyan politicians as a small Bashir and a big Bashir by a political analyst. Political analysts are news sources who in the Kenyan context are considered authoritative. Such a reference was taken seriously by the supporters of these politicians who foresaw suffering of their leaders if they would be in Omar Bashir’s situations.
These narrative models were placed in this interaction to reflect the social and economic history of Kenya. It was described as wanting and that a certain political wing was responsible for the poor state calling for another wing to be given chance to change things for better. In this way some leaders and their supporters would be disgruntled by such remarks.

Equally these narrative models appeared in the in-depth interviews with political analysts who alluded to history to qualify their positions:

One political analyst alluded to Plato and Aristotle’s view on the family. In discussing polarization, one political analyst alluded to Plato’s writings. The analyst quoted Plato who has said that children should be handed to the state once they are to avoid bad influence from parents. Aristotle’s view was different as he advised that the state should find a way to penetrate the mind of the parents. This is a narrative model used to support polarization and in fact blame the family as one institution that engenders ethnic polarization. The respondent also noted that parents pick stereotypes from the how the media represents communities and pass them down to their children.

Another political analyst used the USA elections as a model that Kenya can borrow so as to avoid burdening the voter. The analyst advised that presidential elections should be separated from elections that would choose leaders for other positions. This then called for electoral reforms. The Kenya electoral body was cited to be a cause of polarization. The audience members studied felt that the body has preferential treatment towards some groups.

Another narrative model used was reference to Machiaveli by a political analyst. His notion of the king killing the kingmaker because he is the king in waiting was echoed by yet another political analyst. By painting one politician as power hungry to the point of destroying his one-time ally creates in the audience a sense of betrayal and hence a level of polarization.
A narrative model of Tsebagara was also given. This narrative was given by a political analyst who felt that Kenyans behave like this personality. A Ugandan mayor who had travelled to USA and stole dollars. Instead of Ugandans condemning the act, they celebrated saying that while other people steal shillings ‘our Tsebagara’ steals dollars. Corruption was cited as one main problem that has cost good leadership in Kenya. Instead of Kenyans condemning corruption, they will gather themselves in their tribal factions to defend the corrupt people. At the same time, there will be demands from other tribes for the corrupt person to take responsibility. This respondent said that the lack of one voice in condemning evil deeds in Kenya has often led to polarization.

This finding is supported by Atkinson and Coffey (2004) who in their article ‘Analyzing Documentary realities’ observe that documentary realities refer to other realities and domains. It is therefore important to recognize that like any system of signs and messages, documents make sense because they have relationships with others. In this study, IRS, IES and respondents made reference to different intertextual chains to make sense of what they were communicating. In many cases, these references served to cause conflict and help speakers maintain their hard line stances.

4.2.2 Audience conceptualization by the media

Richardson (2007) argues that the audience is conceptualized as either a consumer or a commodity. From a consumer perspective, news is seen as a product that must be attractive or appealing to a market of consumers (Wahl-Jorgensen & Hanitzsch, 2009). From the view that consumers are a commodity, they are viewed as goods to be sold to advertisers. These perspectives were found to determine the whole process of political interviewing right from the choice of subject of discussion, the choice to interviewees, the timing of the programme as well as the journalist to do the interviewing.

To determine this discursive practice of audience conceptualization, an in-depth interview was carried out with five journalist, each representing the five stations studied.
All of them noted that with the cut-throat competition in the media industry, they need to host controversial people which is in line with the news value of conflict and prominence. They emphasized that when they have such controversial people they are likely to ask tough questions and cause a conflict which is always done for the interest of listeners or the audience. They noted that this is the time they receive an influx of feedback from the audience which increases their rating and hence a means of attracting revenue through advertisements. This is actually in line with Richardson’s views (2007) that audiences are seen as consumers of a TV’s product and hence must be put in the most interesting way. They also agree that audience fragmentation is inevitable in the ever increasing number of media options.

The journalists were also asked why they cannot moderate interviewees when they make divisive statements. The five journalists again stated that the controversial statements elicit strong reactions and make the debate continue ‘beyond the show’. If this happens, then it’s a vote of confidence of the programme and the interviewer. Hence the journalists resorted to sensationalism as shown in these extracts:

**EXTRACT I**

*IR: On the Bench is a man you all, the person you have been demanding to see in a week like this, why? Because there is no one like him. He doesn’t look at the crystal ball to look into the future. He does what we call a hypothesis. He is a political scientist, he goes into that lab-political science lab, cooks his own versions, comes up with them. 99.9% of the time they are spot on. This man doesn’t beat around the bush, he calls it as he sees it. And in the meantime, so much to talk about around ICC, Bensouda suspects, the elections, who’s gonna be with whom, in fact, he might tell us who might be the next president of Kenya.*
This is a journalistic practice of trying to hook the audience into the programme by describing it using positive words and making the audience have the feeling that they will miss everything if they do not watch the programme.

Folks, all I can say is ‘Grab a pen and paper, grab your popcorns, grab your cocacola, and sit back.

EXTRACT 2

IR: What happens to the other players in this game? The other usual suspects in this line of elections.

This is an instance of name calling which is against journalistic ethics.

EXTRACT 3

INTERVIEWER: There is talk that everybody is running to a guy called POLITICIAN 6, the so called money man and all these and his deal is you have to believe the papers is that POLITICIAN 3 has to go back to POLITICAL PARTY 1 and be part of that and the guy will cash, will fund this election.

The journalist seems to use hearsay when he says ‘there is talk……… if you have to believe the papers’. The journalist should have accurate information but in this case it seems he is using u=guesswork and he already indirectly discredit the ‘paper’.

EXTRACT 4

IR: Tomorrow’s edition is here ‘ CABINET OF HOPE ’ is the headline.

The IR uses the audience as a consumer perspective to advertise the following day’s newspaper by highlighting an attractive headline.
Such statements were seen to undermine the ethics of journalistic practices of truth telling, accuracy, objectivity among others. Harcup (2007) argues that journalists are torn between ostensible professional commitment to ethics and truth telling while at the same time being expendable employees expected to produce whatever stories are demanded in the market place. Napoli (2010) and Sunstein (2001) also note that the media environment has evolved into a fragmented landscape, drastically altering the economic and structural constrains leading to fragmented audiences and silos of partisan discourse. The journalists that were interviewed noted that they tried to balance this. All the five said that whatever they broadcast in the political news interviews was for the public interest but at the same time they have to keenly select the people who will represent opinions powerfully even if it has to result in conflict; otherwise, conflict is good for any story. This concern was voiced by members of the focus group discussion who pointed out that journalists were fond of hosting politicians who are figures of conflict like Adan Duale, Moses Kuria, John Mbadi and Bonny Khalwale. These personalities were adversely mentioned as controversial by the respondents.

4.2.3 Interpretation of the political interviews

Studying discursive constructions requires that one looks at the interpretation given to media texts by the audience or consumers of such media texts. Clayman and Heritage (2004) and Hutchby (2006) observe that the as much as interaction takes place in the studio, it is aimed at the audiences. They also describe the news interviews’ audiences as an ‘overhearing audience’. The political interviews broadcast during the 2013 period, however had an active audience who did not just depended on the interviews for information but shaped the direction of the discourse. Four out of the six interviews employed the use of the commonly used ‘new media’ platforms of Twitter and Facebook to engage the audience. Similarly, the audience members employed these tools to form part of the interview.
Two of the six interviews began by outlining what the audience had said about a topic of discussion or an event of the day and this seemed to influence how the discourse moved. Such instances include:

- @Audience member 1: coming from someone who wants to become the president of this country. I think that is the lowest it can ever get
- @Audience member 2: we don’t want to follow the South Sudan way, we learnt our lesson in 2017.
- @Audience Member 3: Kalonzo talked the hard truth but in the wrong forum.

This finding is in line with Chapman and Kinsey (2009) that innovations of the digital era mean that the tight structure of a news programme can no longer claim to be self-contained and that its surface is no longer impenetrable. Mainstream broadcast constantly point beyond themselves to other points of the mediasphere. The news and other factual programmes are now embedded in a network of websites and background information, much of it provided by broadcasters themselves or by other people.

Through audience survey, the researcher coded feedback statements as either polarized or non-polarized depending on how statements were stated. The polarity was determined by the attitude exhibited, the diction used and the meaning of the statements. These statements appeared as the interview began, in the process or at the end of the programme. It was important to look at these statements to determine how the audience interpret information presented to them through the interviews. A total of 20 statements were capture from the audience feedback.

Table 4.8: Table of polarized and non-polarized remarks from audience feedback

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLARIZED</th>
<th>NON-POLARIZED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the data above, it shows that 15 out of the 20 feedback statements expressed disgust, hatred of dissatisfaction towards a politician, his party or an occurrence. 5 out of the 20 statements were neutral and seemed objective. It is observed that this feedback was through the new channels that have been referred to as social media. While Clayman and Heritage (2004) call the political interviews’ audience ‘an overhearing audience’, this study deviates from their observation to state that the audience is actually active and shapes how the discourse of political interviews moved. It agrees with Montgomery (2007) that due to media convergence, the audience participates in the communication. For this study, this implied that the exchanges that went on between the audience via social media during and after the interviews created an avenue for heated discussions and hate speeches against ethnic group.

Through the Focus group discussions involving audience, it was noted that the interviews cause division among the Kenyans. The Members of the FDGs produced a list of topics they thought were very sensitive would have led to polarization especially during the period under study, which would leave the audience to take stands and support their perceived leaders. Such topics include:
The audience also observed that the media personalities were fond of inviting the same people to the interviews yet these people were always controversial and would hold firm stances on the issues raised. They noted that while these people represent the interests of their coalitions well, they leave the audience divided. This point is justified by the journalists who said that they have to do this because news values demand that they host prominent people, and those who will ignite conflict. But they said this is not the only guiding principle, they also do it for the public interest- the public has a chance to get detailed views of certain issues and hence understand them better.
The audience members also enumerated the following as the most common public figures who come as guests in political interviews. They were profiled according to their affiliations to the popular political coalitions in Kenya. They are listed in table 4.10 that follows.
Table 4.10: Interviewees and their respective positions after 2013 General Elections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Popular interviewees and their political positions</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Adan Duale- MP- Garrissa Township and Leader of majority parliament</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Moses Wetangula- Senator of Bungoma and Senate Minority leader</td>
<td>CORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• William Ruto- Deputy President</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Isaac Ruto- Governor of Bomet County</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Ken Okoth- MP, Kibra Constituency, Nairobi.</td>
<td>CORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kimani Wamatangi- Senator of Kiambu</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kipchumba Murkomen- Senator of Elger Marakwet</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Mithika Linturi- MP, Igembe South</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Johnson Sakaja, Nominated MP</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Bonny Khalwale, Senator Kakamega County</td>
<td>CORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omar Hassan, Senator, Mombasa County</td>
<td>CORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Millie Odhiambo, MP, Mbita</td>
<td>CORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• John Mbadi, Mp, Suba</td>
<td>CORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Junnet Mohammed, MP, Suna East</td>
<td>CORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Chris Wamalwa, MP, Kiminini</td>
<td>CORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Moses Kuria, MP, Gatundu South</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kithure Kindiki- Senator, Tharaka Nithi</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Beatrice Elachi, Nominated senator</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Kabando wa Kabando, MP, Mukurwe-ini</td>
<td>Jubilee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Anyang Nyong’o, Senator, Kisumu county</td>
<td>CORD</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The respondents in the FDGs commented that the issues of debate have been packaged as if they concern only two groups –CORD and Jubilee coalitions yet there are other political parties that have stake in Kenya’s progress. They also noted that the media were always inviting the same people to be interviewees yet they were very controversial and held firm and opposing views on matters that were being presented. It did not matter whether the issue was right or wrong but it had to be supported by these members as long it seemed to benefit their side.

The respondents named only three figures out of the twenty mentioned, whom they thought were objective and neutral in presenting their contributions;

- Ken Okoth- MP, Kibra Constituency
- Kabando Wa Kabando- MP, Mukurwe-ini
- Kimani Wamatangi- Senator, Kiambu.

These are only 3 out of the twenty that were mentioned by the audience. They were thought to be respectful of other parties and spoke the truth all the time. They also called for a balanced way of treating controversial matters.

4.3 Media framing and ethnic polarization in Kenya.

The fourth objective was to assess whether media framing in televised political news interviews influences ethnic polarization in Kenya. To achieve this objective, media frames were identified from the sampled political news interviews during transcription. Information from the journalists, audience survey and political analysts was used to determine the frames and their general impact on the audience.

The media focus attention on certain events and they place them within a field of meaning. This field of meaning can have an effect on the audience’s beliefs and behaviour by connecting a particular meaning or interpretation of an issue (Entman,
Journalists reported that they had to select parts of the events that would be considered attractive. Journalistic practices call for prominence, timeliness and conflict among other news values. This is why particular types of stories were chosen and not others. In all the interviews selected, there were other events that would have been given focus but the reporters and interviewers chose other events that were more attractive to the audience and hence attractive to advertisers. This is congruent with what Van Dijk (2008) observed. He says that newsworthiness is based on ideological and professional criteria that grant preferential media access to elite persons, organizations and nations, thereby recognizing and legitimating their power.

Interview 1

It begins with a narration that describes a political party. It gives a detailed report on its formation by especially emphasizing the fall outs that had taken place and highlighting the conflicts that were witnessed before it got to its current form. The IR chooses particular aspects of news stories to interview on like devolution, the youth agenda, democracy and development.

Interview 2:

In discussing the presidential ticket of two politicians, both the interviewer and the interviewee made reference to predicted consequences if they would actually win the elections:

IR: What will that do to us INTERVIEWEE? Let’s say we wake up on March 5th, we have president POLITICIAN 2 and deputy president POLITICIAN 3.
IE: Ahh, we’ll have to live with it. But what that means is that we become a barrier state. The Americans and Britons have told us that ‘we will give you sanctions’.

And what that basically means is that everything we have been doing for the last five years or so under POLITICIAN 5 will have to be jeopardized.

In this manner, both the interviewer and the interviewee are packaging the information in favour of one political group’s frame of reference.

In another instance of framing in interview 2:

IR: But isn’t POLITICIAN 1 who surrendered POLITICIAN 3 to the Hague? Who let him to the dogs?

IE: He had to let him do that because POLITICIAN 3 was one of his kingmakers. So he had to actually destroy the kingmaker and the king in waiting.

Such remark would not go down well with supporters of POLITICIAN 3. They would feel betrayed and set up for destruction.

They continue by saying:

IE: the first criterion for whoever we choose as president must be a guy who will not spoil what he has done and that is the reason why when he looks at POLITICAN 2 he thinks there will be politics for the next ten years.

In this manner, they discredit POLITICIAN 2 who seemed to be a popular choice by a section of Kenyans. This election in reference here is framed as a two horse race between Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga.
Interview 3

The topic of discussion was chosen out of a press conference where a political party was giving an evaluation of the government’s performance. A remark that seemed to ethnically profile a journalist was picked and it became the subject of discussion in the interview. The rest of the details of the press conference were left out completely. The contentious topic of discussion invited heated discussions.

Interview 4

The IR starts by describing the topic of discussion as ‘elephant in the room’ giving the audience certain expectations and discusses an emotive issue on public appointments.

Interview 5:

The interviewer selected topics to be discussed including Anglo-leasing, Devolution, and government performance. These topics were very contentious and would attract a heated exchange between the interviewees.

Interview 6

The interview involved three politicians, two from the government side and one from the opposition wing. There was also one political analyst. The interviewer chose to select a contentious item from many items and dealt with devolution. While the opposition side claimed that the government was undermining devolution efforts; the government side defended their decisions by saying that there was corruption in the counties.

These observations are in line with what Entman (as cited in Severin and Tankard, 2010) observed. He said that this portrait of framing has important implications of political
communication. Frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions. Politicians seeking support are thus compelled to compete with each other and with journalists over news frames. Entman (as cited in Severin & Tankard, 2010) adds that framing occurs when media make some aspects of a particular issue more salient in order to promote a certain problem definition, causal interpretation, and moral evaluation and treatment recommendation.

The audience members felt that there are more positive issues that can be discussed in these interviews. They noted that the fact that same politicians are featured all the time meant they were there to protect the interest of their political parties and hence secure and maintain support.

Interviewers were mainly guided by the news values of timeliness, prominence and conflict. Therefore, the choice of interviewees was based on their status, whether popular or controversial. The choice was also determined by the interviewer’s ability to represent well the motivations or objectives of the parties on whose behalf they spoke.

It was therefore observed that journalists and media houses had reduced the political discourse to concern two coalitions before and after the 2013 elections as if they were the only ones. It is observed that there were more than two political parties at that time and that there were more than two presidential candidates who contested in the 2013 elections. Journalists indicated that their stations’ policies would not tolerate a dull or boring and seemingly neutral guest because they will lose the audience. This is why most of the interviewees who graced the shows were controversial or those that held hard-line stances. This is in line with Norris, Kern and Just (2004) who provide the following explanation: The selection of particular attributes of a story gives important information about the perspective of the media sources. These perspectives can make selected attributes salient and shape public opinion differently in political contexts with
varying coverage. A limited set of media messages can lead to a narrow range of activated attitudes in the collective public opinion. This is why in Kenya it almost seems that through the media framing that there are only two political factions yet they are so many.

Journalists also argued that they are objective in the way they present issues. However, audience members felt that journalists do not achieve neutrality. This was echoed by the political analysts who stated metaphorically that ‘the media has gone to bed with the government and politicians’ and that what they give the public is not for the public’s sake but for the media and the sake of the political class and therefore are used to broadcast biased messages. Journalists however defended their work by saying that they cannot record every fact as every event has several facts to it. Street (2001) offers insight on why it is difficult for journalists to achieve neutrality. He starts by saying that a neutral media will present a full and fair account of the facts but this is impossible. This is because the media are constituted in business who have to serve a market (audiences and advertisers) and this means tailoring the reporting to the needs of the market. Hence long, factual accounts may drive viewers or readers away, besides, there are deadlines to meet. Secondly, the fact that there is an infinite number of facts to any event, the criteria of relevance has to be selected. Unfortunately, the study found out that the audience members do not have knowledge of these technical aspects of news processing. And therefore whatever they receive through the media and hence the political interviews are seen as the only facts and the natural form of events.

Greatbatch (1998), Clayman and Heritage (2004), Heritage and Clayman (2010) also agree with the above view. They say that although most people assume that an interviewer should be completely neutral, this is not achievable. Heritage (2010) notes that questions will inevitably always contain some reference to particular attitudes or assertions. However they advise that all IRs should strive to achieve a neutralistic stance
and therefore they can balance their choice of interviewers and ask questions or make statements that are devoid of biases.

Journalists added that they also call in people who will account for their actions or those of the parties they represents. Montgomery (2007) states that accountability is one of the key principles of a democratic society. Hence responsible people are held accountable in various institutionalized activities. In this regard politicians are expected to justify their decisions and actions. This was exhibited in the political interviews in this study. The results of cases where politicians were called to account for their actions or for the parties they represented ended up causing controversy on air which is interpreted as real controversy by the audience hence causing polarization and possible ethnic conflict.

4.4: Socio-cultural practices in surrounding political news interviews and ethnic polarization in Kenya.

The third objective was to establish the socio-cultural practices surrounding the televised political news interviews that may influence ethnic polarization in Kenya. To achieve this data was triangulated from the different methods of data collection. Themes were identified from the sampled interviews and recurrent themes were discussed. Support to this information was sought from the audience and political analysts. These themes were discussed showing how they form part of socio-cultural practices. It is through this objective that Thompson’s modes of operation of ideology were discussed. This is because ideological modes reflect the society’s values and how it changes.

In Fairclough’s model of CDA, Sociocultural practices form the third level of analysis. Hence, the third objective sought to find out the sociocultural practices surrounding political news interviews that may influence ethnic polarization in Kenya. Social practices cover the structures, the institutions and the values that while residing outside the newsroom, permeate and structure the activities and outputs of journalism (Richardson, 2007). He adds that journalists act upon the world producing and
reproducing social realities through either maintaining or transforming social beliefs. Locke (2004) points out that sociocultural practices include a focus on such things as the immediate situation that has given rise to its production and the various sociocultural practices and societal levels that provide a wider contextual relevance.

This study looks at the interrelation between economic, political and ideological processes. Economic practices create membership loyalty and identification by positioning the media as the most effective. The economic practices look at the mode and relation of production to class composition of the audience and their relative value to other agencies such as advertisers. This, in this study, was achieved by the way journalists talked about their programmes and the programming that the television stations followed.

Political practices look at the immediate situation or context of the political interviews as well as the structuring influences of political and legal institutions. In this study, it focuses on the period before and after the 2013 General elections. This period was characterized with tension following experiences politicians and the citizens had after the earlier 2007 General elections period. This is the period that naturally the audience relied on the media to give them information about the political process. The 2013 General elections race was described as a two horse race by the political analysts, between the then Prime Minister, Raila Odinga and his deputy, Uhuru Kenyatta. Uhuru Kenyatta at the time was an ICC suspect in connection with the 2007 post poll chaos. The country was also described as divided into two zones each zone supporting these main opponents. After the elections, the same practice is perpetuated whereby the opposition, led by Raila Odinga and the government, led by Uhuru Kenyatta seem to be involved in unending conflict.

Given this scenario, TV stations scrambled for the audience in line with what Aldridge (2003) states concerning newspaper campaigns. He says that newspaper campaigns
provide an opportunity to create readership loyalty and identification by positioning the paper as an effective change agent. In the same feat, television stations are seen to position themselves as change agents. In this period, television stations hosted interviews focusing on politician and political analysts as well as renowned media commentators. They positioned themselves as authoritative in political matters with a view to attract huge viewership. Therefore, these interviews were aired during and after the prime time news broadcasts and involved particular journalists who are considered by the audience as popular, authoritative and knowledgeable.

Table 4.11: Scheduling of political news interviews in Kenya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Television station</th>
<th>Time of interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen TV</td>
<td>9 PM, during the main news broadcast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KTN</td>
<td>9 PM, during the main news broadcast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTV</td>
<td>9 PM, during the main new broadcast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 AM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KBC</td>
<td>8 PM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K24</td>
<td>8 PM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table 4.11, it is clear that all the five stations aired the political interviews from 8 PM to 10 PM. This is the time when arguably many people have arrived from work and have settled for detailed analysis of news items and even to view detailed interviewing.
In the opening of the programmes, the journalists described their programmes as the best and the most informative. They invited the audience to ‘stay tuned’ to their respective stations using various audience hooking strategies.

Interview 1:

IR: And welcome to (Programme 1), a programme we hope will have an impact on the future of kenya’.

On (programme 1) is a person you have all been demanding for all week.

INTERVIEW 2

IR: Welcome to (Programme 2), where opinion counts.

INTERVIEW 3:

IR: Welcome to (Programme 3), a programme in which we are focusing on political parties as we head to the 2013 elections.

INTERVIEW 4:

IR: We are discussing about the elephant in the room…….

INTERVIEW 5

IR: In the absence of (Politician 1) we have seen the opposition representatives give a lot of their take and I will start off with the last one…..

These statements from the interviewers indicate that each one of them is pulling the audience by positioning his/her station as the most authoritative. All this is done using the perspective of the audience as a product to be sold to the advertiser.
Among the six transcribed interviews, three had political analysts who were seen as knowledgeable on political matters as the members of the FDGs noted and hence stations projected the reliability image.

Various political matters were discussed in the interviews and these matters were emphasized by the political analysts and were hotly contested over by the politicians. In order to determine these matters, recurrent themes were identified from the transcribed political interviews, the FDGs and the in-depth interviews with the political analysts. The following were the themes that were discussed in the three tools of data collection.

Table 4.12: Table showing recurrent themes in the political interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes from the transcribed political interviews</th>
<th>Themes from FDGs</th>
<th>Themes from in-depth interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- ICC Cases</td>
<td>- ICC cases</td>
<td>- Ethnic polarization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Voting patterns (Tribal lines)</td>
<td>- Ethnic representation</td>
<td>- Objective reporting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Ethnicity/tribalism</td>
<td>- Devolution</td>
<td>- Electoral reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2010 constitution</td>
<td>- Corruption</td>
<td>- Constitutional reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- 2010 constitutional implementation</td>
<td>- High cost of living</td>
<td>- Voting patterns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Corruption</td>
<td>- Land reforms</td>
<td>- Tribalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Appointments to public offices unfair distribution of wealth</td>
<td>- Police reforms</td>
<td>- Profanity in social media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Regional representation in political appointments</td>
<td>- Education</td>
<td>- Political appointments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Government’s performance</td>
<td>- Judiciary</td>
<td>- Distribution of wealth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Security</td>
<td>- Security</td>
<td>- Social justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Judiciary</td>
<td>- Unemployment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

120
These are the main themes that took political angles in the course of the interviews and the data gathered through FDGs and in-depth interviews with various respondents. Therefore they give more information on the state of the county and why the journalists chose those topics as well as the impact they had on the audience. Following is a discussion of the most frequently mentioned themes across the three methods used in collecting data.

**4.4.1 International Criminal Court cases**

Towards the 2013 General elections, a case had been filed to determine the suitability of two candidates in contesting for the presidential and deputy presidential positions. These personalities were Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto. They had cases at the International Criminal Court at The Hague that linked them to the 2007 after poll chaos. Regardless of the court outcome, it was felt that there was division on this subject. One faction (Jubilee) felt that the two should not be disqualified from the race because they were only suspects. Another faction (CORD) felt that they should be stopped from running for these positions because their integrity was questionable. Politicians argued about this issue before and after the 2013 elections. Political analysts also threw in their weight.

Analyst 1 mentions in one of the interviews that:

*They have no choice but to hide in the presidency and deputy presidency positions.*

He adds that: *What they are telling you is ‘we are not getting into this as for you, we are getting into this for ourselves. And so we want to borrow your children, we want to borrow your businesses and create some kind of insulation around ourselves’.*

One politician says in the interviews:
'This idea we hear here in Kenya that leaders are from God…… You couldn’t be voted five years ago and now people say you should lead, what has changed? The ICC case should go to the end.'

Some members of the political class suggested that Kenya should withdraw from the ICC and intense lobbying was done to woo nations with the veto power to help Kenya; this gained momentum as it received support from a section of Kenyans who felt that ‘their people’ had been unfairly targeted. Another group of the political class felt that Kenya should not withdraw from the ICC and demanded that the accused should face the law. Such statements seemed to cause polarization as indicated from the FDGs where some respondents thought that ICC is an internationally respected body and as such should be respected. Others observed that the body was meddling in the internal affairs of Kenya and that there was interference from the ‘West’ to hand-pick leaders for Kenya hence resisting this hegemonic influence.

4.4.2 Tribalism

It was noted that it is a chief problem in Kenya and it starts right from the family as children grow up. By the time they are adults, they already have crystallized their support for their tribal ‘kings’ as they have been socialized by their parents. Continuous exposure to media discussions on the nature of Kenyan politics and which tribe deserves leadership and which one does not make them form political attitudes that they use to make political decisions.

A respondent (23 years) explained that his parents have warned him against marrying from tribe X and if he does, they will disown him.

The five political analysts agreed that polarization exists. They added that there are types of polarization including age polarization (young against old), gender polarization (females against males), religious polarization and so forth. They however indicated that
tribal polarization during the 2007 and 2013 General elections was at unprecedented levels.

They observed that there are factors that have increased the level of polarization including:

- ICC cases where some people were seen as sacrificial lambs while others were left out yet they bore huge responsibility over the 2007 after poll chaos.

- The availability of social media channels which are uncensored and unregulated.

- Historical tribal voting patterns in which communities gang against each other as they gather around their leaders

- The view that only some tribes deserve to always form government while others should never lead.

- Freedom of expression with limits. However, these limits are not observed.

- Selective justice where people that were metaphorically described as ‘small fish’ are charged and even punished while people who were likewise described as ‘big fish’ are left to abuse each other and there are no consequences. In February 2017, two popular politicians, Ferdinand Wahititu and Moses Kuria, charged with ethnic incitement remarks were acquitted by a magistrate citing lack of evidence. In the view of the researcher, this step encourages politicians to incite their supporters since there are no consequences.

One analyst emphasized the view of tribal voting patterns by supporting his earlier held view of ‘Tyranny of numbers’ where he showed why party 2 would win against party 1. He said he had compiled the number of voters from each of the regions and believed that all people from region X would support politician 2 while people from region Y would
vote for politician 1. He reinforced this view by saying that it is a historical pattern that tribes have always rallied behind their own leader. He cited 1992 elections, 1997 elections, 2002 elections, 2007 elections and the 2013 elections. It is even predicted that the 2017 elections would take the same angle.

4.4.3 Distribution of national resources

It was observed by the respondents that there is unequal distribution of national resources so that while some regions have enough infrastructure like roads, electricity and other social amenities, others have no such facilities. This makes people from some sections alienated and feeling that their counterparts are privileged. They cited devolution as the answer to this skewed distribution of national resources although some felt that it is not helping because leaders at the counties are busy misusing and stealing public funds. The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation commission of Kenya report (2013) indicates that there has been economic, political and social marginalization of particular ethnic communities or regions in Kenya since independence and it has increased over the years and there are various forms of inequalities. These inequalities are demonstrated in terms of public appointments and the regional distribution of development interventions. According to NCIC (2014), there are ethnic inequalities in civil service employment, with the Kikuyu for example having a 5% advantage of jobs compared to their share of the population while the Luhya share of jobs is 3% less than their share of the population. Even greater inequalities are reflected over senior public offices, such as cabinet positions, which have been responsible for the grossly inequitable share of public investment resources and consequently, livelihood opportunities.

With regard to presidential seats, they said that rotational presidency will solve issues of ethnic polarization and end ethnic mobilization. Others felt that minority tribes should be allowed to lead through some formula that should be enshrined in the constitution. They
cited the Mandera (North Eastern Kenya) power sharing model of negotiated democracy where elders pick people to be elected based on which clan deserves to lead at a particular time. As much as this step was contested by some leaders, it seemed to have a lot of influence.

Another issue that was cited to causing tribal animosity is the fact that on public appointments, leaders in government have perpetually appointed people from their tribes hence leaving other tribes feeling dissatisfied. They called on the government to be fair in appointing people to public offices so that some communities do not feel like they are left out. This issue makes presidential elections on Kenya seem like a matter of life and death. It is seen as an opportunity for a community to receive development if ‘their own’ is at the helm of power. The respondents cited the cliché of ‘it is our time to eat’ as one of the motivators to ethnic polarization and even violence.

4.4.4 Stereotyping

It was noted that people in Kenya have always use stereotypes in describing other communities but it has always been on a friendly note. But now they are used with so much hate that they have fanned ethnic passions. The following were the stereotypes that respondents mentioned are used against tribes.
Table 4.13: Ethnic Stereotypes from FDGs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Stereotype</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kikuyus</td>
<td>are thieves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>will do anything for money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luos</td>
<td>are proud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>are perennial losers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coastal people</td>
<td>are lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luhyas</td>
<td>are watchmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisiis</td>
<td>are temperamental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merus</td>
<td>are harsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelenjins</td>
<td>are secretive/untrustworthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamba women</td>
<td>are ‘loose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luos</td>
<td>are not circumcised</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These stereotypes amounted to hate speech and these negative labels appeared during the discussions and the respondents observed that such negative labels feature even on one on one interaction with their peers and these are the same ones that inform them on how to answer to their opponents from a particular community. Interestingly, few tribes were mentioned yet it is clear there are more tribes in Kenya than the 8 that were cited in this study. It occurred that the tribes that were mentioned also had coded terms or references for particular communities which also had ideological meanings. This finding
is supported by The National Cohesion and Intergration Commission (2010) where it is observed that there is systematic and extensive use of false facts, flawed argumentation, divisive language and dehumanizing metaphors directed towards specific ethnic groups. They are used in the media through various genres including political discussions and even vernacular songs.

Ideological practices look at the role of journalism in spreading and supporting social values to wider structured social values and social inequalities. CDA studies ideological process and in order to unearth the ideological influence to power in the political interviews the researcher adopted Thompson’s modes or ideology.

![Figure 4.4.1: Figure showing the use of Thompson’s modes of ideology in political interviews.](image)

Dissimulation was widely used (49%) as cases of tropes, displacement and euphemism were employed. In using dissimulation, notions of power domination are concealed,
negative events are described positively and one thing is given another reference to sound good or bad.

![Pie chart showing percentage of types of dissimulation.](image)

**Figure 4.4.2: Percentage of types of dissimulation.**

The use of figurative language or rhetorical tropes has been discussed. To lay emphasis, tropes form part of ideological processes in politics. In analyzing dissimulation, tropes were most used at 87% when compared with other types of dissimulation. Displacement was used at 7% and euphemism at 6%.

Even though euphemism was not widely used, in cases where this mode appeared, it had heavy implications as shown by these statements.

When a politician was asked why his party member had made discriminatory remarks, he tried to lessen the weight of the matter by saying:

*You know he was talking in terms of the kind of questions even the journalist posed to him was not even the question expected may be at that kind of press conference;*
because he was giving a press- he was giving a press conference on the issues the Jubilee government has achieved or not achieved.

Here the speaker tries to make something unpleasant like ethnic profiling look good or fair.

In introducing an interview, one journalist described his programme as:

*Welcome to (Programme), a programme we hope will have an impact on the future of Kenya now more than ever.*

Then what follows is a discussion of political mergers and disintegration. This is in agreement with Thompson in Hesmondhalgh and Tonybee (2008) that a text serves to dissimulate by covering up certain social relations or by attributing blame to identifiable systems rather than to underlying processes and systems.

Another mode of ideology is legitimation which is a process by which relations of domination may be established by being presented as legitimate that is just and worthy of support. A set of arrangements can be made to legitimate by attributing popular support or expert authority to them. According to Thompson in Hesmondhalgh and Tonybee (2008) this is achieved through rationalization, universalization and narrativization. In this study these strategies were used.
Rationalization was used to justify various causes of actions that a particular side had taken.

‘He felt that the reporter had asked a political question and he had to give a political answer.’

‘If that was ethnic profiling, then I don’t know what other communities will do.

On being asked why the government has not met its promises, one politician defended that cause by saying:

IR: Fine, very simple. The government already undertook what should have been done to initiate the laptop project. We went straight to tendering. We went straight to evaluation, that was all done and straight to our word and from there the matter was taken to court. And remember Jubilee’s policy and manifesto (Uwezo, Upendo, Uwazi – Independence, love and transparency). When we got to that point, we were taken to court because of the laptop project, it was prudent and important to wait.
In rationalization, the producer of the symbolic form constructs a chain of reasoning which seeks to defend or justify a set of social relations or institutions and thereby to persuade an audience that it is worthy of support. Janks (1998) found out through her study ‘Reading womanpower’, that rationalization was used to establish a cause and effect in order to establish the need for action; for women to adopt family planning methods for a better future. In the present study, various instances of rationalization have been used to try and convince the audience that what one group is saying is important and needs to be adopted.

Universalization is where a set of institutional arrangements which privilege certain groups only are presented as serving the interests of all. In the interviews under study, each group represented claims to be existing for the benefit of everybody. Narrativization was also used where claims are embedded in stories that recount the past and treat the present as part of a timeless and cherished tradition. The following were examples of narrativization that were used in this study. This was achieved through the use of different narrative models discussed in 4.2.1.

Fragmentation and unification are similar kinds of ideologies that work in opposite directions. In the study they occurred in the following frequencies: Fragmentation cases occurred 76 times (82%) while unification cases occurred 17 times (18%)
Figure 4.4.4: Comparison of Unification and fragmentation.

Fragmentation is a process of splitting people off from one another despite their similarities. The media represents groups as opposed to each other when in fact they may have a common cause (Street, 2001). This was achieved by the different party representatives employing the use of references that were clearly divisive and created an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ division. There are other examples as seen in the following examples.

- He was the main speaker in the CORD media briefing whose agenda was to punch holes into the Jubilee government’s performance.

I go to the interview now and I want to start with Junnette Mohammed, the Suna East MP, because you are a member of ODM and CORD.

If that can become a political, I mean a tribal profiling, then I don’t know what other communities in Kenya will say because that is just a slur. I don’t think ...

These people have nothing to offer. These are people who are, People who are permanently crying wolf of stolen elections.
He will tell us who’s gonna be with whom, in fact, he might tell us who might be the next president of Kenya.

I hope the country heard it- that what is on trial is not a country. It is not the house of Gema, it is not the Kalenjin nation. It is two guys plus another two smaller guys.

But these two guys you mentioned INTERVIEWEE seem to have joined forces. It seems that they are now working together for all intended POLITICAL PARTY 2 purposes.

It is all about balkanization and ethnicity and the tribesmen and women rallying behind them.

The prime minister made a very good move in approaching POLITICIAN 3. And I was actually hoping that POLITICIAN 3 and the Kalenjin nation would drop their pride and actually form a coalition with him.

And as some of us warned earlier, Yes, you are going to galvanize your community because you are telling them that there is a threat here and this threat is about you

But it is not just laptops. There are a lot of lies from this government. I will tell you for a fact.

In all the cited cases, one political wing seemed to separate itself from the other and hence separating its supporters from the others.

Reification is where the media present the world as naturally ordered and fixed, therefore marginalizing the claims of those who want to change the world. It managed this by framing the Kenyan political context to have particular politicians who could speak on behalf of others. They also presented two major political parties yet there are more of them. Reification was also achieved by the interviewers projecting themselves
by maintaining that their views were the only correct ones. This resulted in argumentation and polarization of the audience. For example there were parallel views about the winner of the 2013 General elections by two political analysts. They were presenting this information as if it was truth and each was firm about their views.

Another example is quoted in the following extract:

IE: But whom do we sell our coffee to? Do we sell it to China? Whom do we sell our tea to? China? No no. whom do we get the Range Rovers from and the European cars that we drive around here from? We get them from Europe. We cannot ignore them, so if they put sanctions on us, we will have a problem.

This in a way tries to imply that China is not a good trade partners of Kenya and that Kenya would suffer if the Europeans decided to subject it to sanctions.

The least cases of ideology were those signaling unification. There are 17 cases where interviewers and interviewees use statements that unite Kenyans or where they seemed to agree on an issue that was potentially contentious.

We need as leaders to make statements that are going to bring this country together.

What will that do to us INTERVIEWEE?

Because our value system has been what we have achieved in the new constitution.

We did it for the sake of our country.

Appointments should demonstrate ethnic diversity. And that is not my wishful thinking, it is what is inscribed in the constitution.

The Kenyan constitution was seen to be cited as the unification agent.
Frequency of reification was at 16% where historical cases were presented as if they were natural and truth. From example the issue of voting for tribal leaders was presented as natural yet there should be other factors that should guide the voter apart from the fact that a candidate hails from one’s tribe.

There were limited cases where interviewers called on their supporters to unite or when they acted as one unit. There were only 4% cases of unification.

Van Dijk (2005) observes that ideologies are used in promoting the interests of a group and that they are used in the coordination of the social practices of group members for the effective realization of the goals of a social group and the protection of its interests. Many ideologies hence develop precisely in order to sustain, legitimate or manage group conflicts as well as relationships of power and domination. In the process of trying to legitimate power and domination through defending one group in the political interviews, opposing groups or parties try to resist this domination hence causing polarization.

4.5 Ethnic polarization in Kenya.

This independent variables affected the dependent variable ‘ethnic polarization in Kenya’ in the following ways:

From the results discussed, it is evident that linguistic features of televised political news interviews, the discursive practices, news framing and sociocultural practices led to Ethnic polarization.

With regard to the linguistic features, the use of foregrounding and backgrounding by interviewees was seen to cause polarization. Interviewees represented political parties which coincidentally consist of ethnic groupings. The interviewees made polarizing
remarks by creating *us vs them* situations in every case. There was also frequent use of derogatory remarks against each other on air causing ethnic polarization.

On the discursive practices, it was found that frequent reference to pas events reminded Kenyans of some bitter experiences and this cause ethnic polarization more so through the use of intertextuality.

News framing also was seen to play a major role in ethnic polarization. Journalists intentionally select news stories laden with conflict and they in turn invite controversial politicians with hardline stands to come and battle it out before the audience. This serves to crystallize the support of the politicians and hence resulting to ethnic polarization.

With regard to the sociohistorical practices, it was observed that there are deeply rooted problems among ethnic communities. Even though there have been efforts to solve them, they have not been resolved. This is especially with political supremacy. There are certain ideologies that have been passed down from generation to generation that some people are more superior to others and hence deserve the leadership mantle more than others. This has led to ethnic animosity especially around the electioneering periods. This state was seen to be intensified through the political news interviews. It was seen that in the interviews, politicians used fragmentation ideologies more than unification ideologies hence widening the ethnic division.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The study undertook a Critical Discourse Analysis of Political news interviews with a view to establish the discourse used in political interviews in Kenya. One key assumption behind this study is that political news interviews cause ethnic polarization in Kenya. Political interviews are carried out in institutional settings (the media studios) involving a professional journalists as the interviewer (IR) and a politician or politicians as interviewee/interviewees (IEs).

CDA is appropriate for studying discourse as it allows for the investigation of domination and power relations. The study was informed by two main theories: Theory of Ideology and Media Framing theory.

This study was guided by four objectives. The first objective was to identify the linguistic features in televised political news interviews that may lead to ethnic polarization in Kenya. The second objective was to determine the discursive practices in televised political news interviews that may influence ethnic polarization. The third objective sought to establish the socio-cultural practices surrounding political news interviews that may influence ethnic polarization in Kenya. The last objective was to assess whether media framing in televised political news interviews influences ethnic polarization in Kenya.

5.1 Summary of Findings

This section offers a summary of the findings as established in the analysis. The analysis began at the textual level, followed by the discursive level and the third level focused on
the wider social context. Framing theory was used to study how different frames influence the audience. The theory of ideology was used to unearth different ideological processes that shape political discourse.

5.1: Linguistic features televised political news interviews in ethnic polarization in Kenya.

CDA was the method used in this study. In carrying out any CDA, the analysis is done at three levels: the text, the discursive practices and the socio-cultural context. The analysis can start at any of the three levels with close reference to the other two levels. Therefore in this study, the analysis began by transcribing the text and finding out the formal properties used in the interviews. The formal properties used in political interviews were identified in line with the first objective. It was found out that the following linguistic features were used in varying frequencies: Naming and referencing (36%-341 times), Modality (26%-296 times), rhetorical tropes (20%-210 times), transitivity (9%-4 times) and Lexical analysis (8%-83 times).

This analysis reveals that naming and referencing was frequently used. It is a strategy that was used to create contention and opposition. It involved painting the other party, person or actor as bad, inefficient and deserves no attention from the people. The strategy was used to foreground one’s group’s good or positive and other group’s bad or negative characteristics. It was also used to background one’s group’s bad or negative and the other group’s good or positive characteristics.

Modality was used in these interviews. It was established that high affinity or forceful modalities were used more (72%) as compared to low affinity modals (28%). It was further established that high affinity modalities were majorly used because politicians aimed to defend their positions and those of their parties. They also challenged damaging or dismissive remarks by their opponents and the by the journalists. It was also established that the use of high affinity modalities is used to project authority of the
speaker on the subjects being discussed. This often resulted in argumentation between the IR and IE or between the IEs as each wanted to remain authoritative.

Tropes were also used and were found to be inherent in any form of political communication. The rhetorical tropes used alluded to or reflected the historical context of the Kenyan, the regional and the global politics.

Though transitivity and lexical analysis were the least used, they deserve some attention. In transitivity, the focus was on the sentence types used especially in the cases where the agent is deleted or maintained. Both forms were used to reinforce different ideological meanings. Lexical analysis focused on the words bearing connotative meanings. Such words were used to discredit one party or person. They were also used to legitimate particular actions by the politicians.

5.1.2 The discursive practices in political interviews in ethnic polarization in Kenya.

The second objective sought to find out the discursive practices in political news interviews I ethnic polarization. It was established that intertextuality as a feature of discourse was used in the formation of political interviews’ discourse. Some of the intertextual markers include: conversations, newsmakers’ voice and discourse representations, indirect and direct quotes as well as narrative models.

Conversation took place between the interviewer and the interviewees and in some cases between the interviewees. Conversation was institutionalized where discourse roles were defined. That is, the journalist asks questions or makes assertions and the interviewee reacts to or responds to. Interrogative questions, tag questions, declarative B- events, rising intonation, third party statements, and first party statements formed interviewer turn types. Interrogative questions were more frequently used than the other types of turn types.
Newsmakers voices strategy was also employed as a mechanism to achieve intertextual chains. The journalist made use of newsmakers’ voices through news clips or replaying earlier events. This was often done at the beginning and as the interviews progressed. IRs and IEs would comment on those clips and hence the formed part of discourse.

Indirect and direct quotes also formed part of the intertextual links in political discourse. Journalists, politicians, political analysts alike used the quotes in their turns.

Narrative models were also used to achieve intertextuality. They were often used to compare Kenya’s situation with other countries’ and it also compared one regime to another one. They were also used to show rationalization of why particular actions should be taken.

Discursive practices also involve looking at the audience conceptualization by the media firms. It hence involves looking at the political economy of the media. It was established that the media views audiences as either consumers or commodities. As consumers, the audience is seen as a market for which to sell and hence news must be packaged in the most attractive way. As a commodity, the audience is seen as a product to be sold to the advertiser and hence a programme must pull the audiences and increase the rating of the organization hence increasing revenue through advertisements. These conceptualizations controlled the media practice with regard to political interviews. They guided the selection of topics, interviewers, language use and the timing of the programmes.

It was established that the interviews had an active audience who participated via the new media platforms and they too shaped the discourse. Audiences through the FDGs felt that the choice of interviewees, the subjects and the timing were meant to excite the audience. They were concerned that only selected few politicians repeatedly gave interviews across the media stations. They stated that they know of other equally authoritative politicians who are not controversial and can give insight on various
political actions. They also stated that there are other positive aspects that can be featured in political interviews but that does not happen. They further observed that only negative aspects were featured that ended up polarizing the audience.

5.1.3 Media framing and ethnic polarization

It was established that the media use frames to influence the audience. This was done by the media practitioners selecting what they considered newsworthy. Newsworthy events that were valued in this case were prominence, conflict, timeliness and relevance. It was agreed by journalists that these are the guiding principles in their selection of news stories and newsmakers.

The interview were majorly broadcast during prime time news at a time when audiences had time to receive and process information. This was seen as a media strategy to capture the audiences.

5.1.4 Socio-cultural practices surrounding political news interviews in ethnic polarization in Kenya.

The third objective was to determine the socio- cultural practices surrounding political news interviews in ethnic polarization in Kenya. The economic, social, political and ideological practices were evaluated. The following themes were frequently cited in the political news interviews: ICC cases, tribalism, unequal distribution of national resources and stereotyping. They were seen in this study to be the major prevailing issues that cause ethnic polarization in Kenya.

To unearth ideological processes, Thompson’s modes of ideology were used. It was established that dissimulation (consisting of metaphors, neologisms and euphemisms) was the most common mode of ideology used in the political news interviews. Tropes
were used more than other forms of dissimulation and as indicated earlier in this work, they reflected Kenya’s political history as well as regional and global political contexts.

Even through euphemisms were not commonly used in the text, the few instances of use had a heavy impact on the meaning and interpretation of the discourse. They were used to majorly ‘cleanse’ and legitimate bad or inappropriate actions by the politicians.

Fragmentation and unification are described by scholars as similar processes that work in opposite directions. It was established that cases of fragmentation that caused division among Kenyans were more frequently used that those that sought unification. It was established that 70 cases of statements reflecting fragmentation were available in the transcribed data as opposed to 17 statements that sought to cause unification.

Notable in this study is how journalists or the media in general had managed to downplay the existence of other political parties by using frames that implied that there are only two political parties in Kenya. This happened pre and post the 2013 General elections.

5.2. Conclusion

The study sought to determine the discourse of political news interviews in ethnic polarization in Kenya. It was established that political news interviews indeed lead to polarization. It is also important to note that there are many forms of polarization including gender, religious and even business polarization. Ethnic polarization is strongly linked to political polarization. The media convey political communication in a number of ways. One tool that has been used to elaborately discuss political issues in Kenya is the televised political news interview.

First, with regard to the first objective which sought to find out the linguistic features of political news interviews in ethnic polarization, it was found out that naming and
referencing was widely used. It is a strategy used to characterize and classify political actors. The referential strategies used were divisive. For instance, the politicians were seen to foreground their good characteristics and the other group’s bad characteristics. Equally, they backgrounded their negative aspects and the other group’s positive aspects. All these were aimed at the audiences who obviously have their leaders as the IEs representing opposing sides. These referential strategies served to reinforce false or true beliefs about groups. Modalities were used to show the level of affinity of the speaker to particular propositions. It was found out that high affinity modalities were used to reinforce different stances on an issue.

The second objective’s focus was to find out the discursive practices in political news interviews in ethnic polarization. It was found out that intertextuality is a key practice where texts were linked to other texts to form discourse. Various intertextual chains were used including conversations, newsmakers’ voices, narrative models and quotations. They were used to legitimate certain arguments and they formed part of the news stories.

It was also established that audience conceptualization as markets and products led the journalists to sensationalism as well as to selection of controversial figures and topics.

The third objective was to assess whether framing in political news interviews has influence on ethnic polarization in Kenya. It was established that framing also referred to as second level of agenda setting indeed influenced ethnic polarization. The selection of interviewees was seen as a major practice that led to ethnic polarization. This is because the IEs selected maintained hardline positions or firm stances on the selected issues of discussion. They were seen as effective representatives of the opposing political parties or factions. Also framing was effective in choosing particular sides of the story and often the negative or contentious issues. The interviews were broadcast at a time when audiences were at home when they would dedicate time to process complex
information and participate in the interviews. The interviews took a long time unlike the time given to regular news items.

With regard to the fourth objective which was to look at the socio-cultural practices in political news interviews in ethnic polarization. The following practices were established: Tribalism, unequal distribution of national resources, stereotyping and ICC. They were very sensitive issues which received opposing interpretations depending on the political leanings of the audience. It was established that political leanings were actually ethnically determined as it is reflected in the political history of Kenya.

From these observations, it was concluded that political news interviews lead to ethnic polarization in various ways: They are given a long time as compared to other genres that report on political issues in Kenya. This gives the audience time to get exposed to the conflicts displayed by the interviewers. They are then influenced to embrace the position of their perceived political representatives. It was also observed that language use subtly contributed to polarization especially by use of naming and referencing which was supported by the ideological square of backgrounding and foregrounding. Journalists stated that their programmes are guided by news values. Political messages sent via the news interviews were riddled with conflict which is a news vales that journalists relied upon to attract audiences or increase their organization’s rating. Despite this commonly held thought that the audience likes conflict, the respondents indicated that they like neutrality and messages that are free from conflict and hence this research challenges the news value of conflict in disseminating political messages in Kenya. This is from the evidence from the research that if political dissemination would happen without prejudice and stereotype, there would be no polarization but effective exchange during political contention.
5.3 Recommendations

With regard to the first objective which looked at the linguistic features of political news interviews in ethnic polarization, the study recommends that language awareness programmes are carried out to target politicians, and journalists to emphasize the fact that their communication styles affect the audience. This will create awareness that language use has an impact on the reception and interpretation of messages by the audience and even on the media genres. It is important to acknowledge that political contention will always exist but it should not always divide the audiences along ethnic lines. Equally, the citizens could be encouraged to support ideas rather than their perceived ethnic political lords. Additionally, a standard language for interviewing can be developed and strict guidelines given on the general conduct of both the interviewer and interviewees.

With regard the second objective which looked at the discursive practices and ethnic polarization, it would be important to carry out audience awareness programmes. The audience need to know how the media operates, that is, the audience is conceptualized as a market and a product. This implies that the media will use various events that would make their programmes sell. In as much as the media provides information, the audience can use alternative platforms to countercheck the information they are given.

With regard to the third objective that looked at news framing on ethnic polarization, further audience awareness programmes should be carried out for audiences to be aware of how the media operates. The media will choose to relay parts of information they feel are newsworthy and leave out equally truthful information. What is newsworthy is what is likely to bear conflict. This will help the audience to keep assessing messages from the media before acting on it. On the selection of interviewees, objective persons should be hosted for interviews to give a balanced view of various political actions and events.
The fourth objective looked at the socio-cultural practices of political interviews and their influence in ethnic polarization. Based on the findings that there are various ideologies that guide how ethnic communities interact, there is need for unity and cohesion programmes. These will be effective if all opinion leaders would be involved in the implementation of these programmes. The family, school, places of worship can be effective institutions in spearheading cohesion programmes. These programmes should address ethnic based political support so that citizens can support political candidates on basis of their contributions and ideas.

5.4 Suggestions for further studies

Para-language is important in making meaning. The non-verbal behaviour of interviewers and interviewees can be studied to determine its effect on the communication process or on the audience. Other genres of political communication like social media messages and political advertisements can be studied to establish their effect on the audience.

A study can also be undertaken to determine the presence of dissonance among senders and receivers of political information and how this would influence their communication.
REFERENCES


APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Gail Jefferson’s transcription convention

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[</td>
<td>Starting point of overlapping speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>]</td>
<td>End point of overlapping speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2.4)</td>
<td>Silence measured in seconds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(.)</td>
<td>Pause of less than 0.2 seconds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↑</td>
<td>Upward shift in pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>↓</td>
<td>Downward shift in pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo:rd</td>
<td>Prolongation of sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>°word°</td>
<td>Section of talk produced in lower volume than the surrounding talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORD</td>
<td>Section of talk produced in higher volume than the surrounding talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w#ord#</td>
<td>Creaky voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>£word£</td>
<td>Smile voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo(h)rd</td>
<td>Laugh particle inserted within a word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo—</td>
<td>Cut off in the middle of a word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>word&lt;</td>
<td>Abruptly completed word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;word&lt;</td>
<td>Section of talk uttered in a quicker pace than the surrounding talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;word&gt;</td>
<td>Section of talk uttered in a slower pace than the surrounding talk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(word)</td>
<td>Section of talk that is difficult to hear but is likely as transcribed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( )</td>
<td>Inaudible word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.hhh</td>
<td>Inhalation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hhh</td>
<td>Exhalation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>Falling intonation at the end of an utterance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Perakyla (2004)
Appendix 2: Transcription schedule

This tool was used in the analysis of political interviews at the level of the textual analysis. It was used to show the linguistic properties that appeared in the sampled interviews. These include:

1. Lexical Analysis
2. Nomination/naming and reference
3. Predication
4. Modality
5. Transitivity
6. Rhetoric Tropes (Metaphors, Metonymy, Neologism).
7. Narratives
8. Themes
9. Media frames
Appendix 3 : Interview protocol for interviewers

My name is _______________ and I would request to interview you. The purpose of this interview is to provide information about political interviews as agents of ethnic polarization in Kenya. During the interview, I would like to discuss the following topics.

a. Types of news interviews.

b. Your choice of interview time.

c. Your choice of interviewees.

d. The purpose of political interviews.

e. The language choice during interviews

f. Selection of discussion topics

QUESTIONS

1. You interview politicians often during news, can you tell me some of the politicians you have interviewed in your show?

2. What motivates you to choose these politicians you have named?

3. How do you select the topics of discussion for news interviews?

4. Since you ultimate target is the audience, do you seek their views on the subject and choice of interviewees?

5. It has been observed that the interviews you carry out are divisive. What is your view on this?
6. In an interview, the interviewer should moderate the interviewees. Why are the politicians let to make divisive statements on air? Is there a policy guiding this?

7. Do you evaluate the outcome of the interviews? a).If yes, what are the findings regarding the effect of the interviews that you carry out? b).If not, why don’t you?

8. According to the National Commission for integration and cohesion, Kenyans are divided along tribal, oftentimes linked to politics; what do you do, as a communicator hosting political leaders, to bridge this division.

9. On questioning, you have to ask questions in a way that will elicit the outcome desired. What is your strategy?

10. What do you do to ensure you allocate fairly equal turns to the interviewees?
Appendix 4 Interview protocol for political analysts

My name is _________________ and I would request to interview you. The purpose of this interview is to provide information about political interviews as agents of ethnic polarization in Kenya. You have often been consulted by journalists to give more information on political issues, this is commendable. During the interview, I would like to discuss the following questions:

1. Observers state that Kenya is highly polarized along tribal lines. What is your view?

2. What are the causes of polarization in Kenya?

3. Comment on the choice of interviewees that appear in political interviewees?

4. Why do you think particular politicians are selected for interviewing as opposed to others?

5. In your own assessment, how do the interviewers carry out the process?

6. Media is paramount in the unity of a country. One of the media tool that has been used to disseminate political ideology is the political interview? In your view does it unify or divide the country, through the way it is carried out?

7. What can be done to make the political interview more effective?

8. Kindly comment on the use of language during the interviews (choice of words, tone etc)
Appendix 5: A brief description of political interviews in the second stage of sampling

SUMMARY OF INTERVIEWS

TV STATION 2 INTERVIEW 1

Aired on day after the supreme court ruling on the petition filed by CORD challenging the validity of the 2013 General elections outcome; the interview was carried out with two interviewees. One was described as a communicate specialist while the other a political analyst.

This period was seen as very sensitive because the country seemed to be divided right in the middle with some parts supporting the president elect, Uhuru Kenyatta, while other parts supported RailaOdinga’s faction.

The interview starts with part of the clip being played featuring RailaOdinga. He gives a speech concerning the supreme court ruling. Some of the major issues he points out include:

- Instruments of IEBC failed.
- Evidence of technology failure
- Sharing of IEBC servers with those of the competitor.
- Unmarked registers
- He accepts the ruling but does not agree with it.

The interviewees analyze the speech and argue whether it is a concession speech or not. Notable among their arguments is that Raila will not leave politics soon but will use members of parliament allied to him to impeach the president. What is clear is that the two interviewees do not agree on anything. The interview continues and in the middle Uhuru Kenyatta’s speech is played:
- He promises to work with all Kenyans including those who did not vote for him (assures of inclusivity).

The communication expert faults the speech and recommends that the speech writers should elevate their writing to presidential standards. The political analyst emphasizes the inclusivity issue and notes that it will bring cohesion to the nation.

TV STATION 2 interview 2

This interview talks about cabinet appointments by the president, Uhuru Kenyatta, after he was sworn in in April 2013. There are two interviewees- one is a member of parliament and the other is a political analyst with a journalistic background.

Both emphasize the need for regional balance in the public appointments. They observe that there is skewedness in how appointments are done; where they say, a particular community takes the lion share of the appointment. They agreed that each ethnic community in Kenya has enough professionals that can fill those positions but the president only awarded his political supporters. The political analyst warns that ethnic passions exhibited in social media can be very destructive.

TV STATION 2 Interview 3

This was aired few days to elections featuring one presidential candidate.

The interviewee is asked why she is not in any coalition. She quickly says that all the coalitions are formed for convenience and not because individuals care about Kenyans’ lives. She also says that alliances are not the only ways through which support can be prohibited. She accused the media of portraying the issue of coalition as the only way of winning elections. She says that she will not appeal to ethnic emotions but her aim is to deal with impunity and end corruption. She states that it is wrong to allow people who have cases in courts to vie for public positions and in her tenure this is something she would seek to end.
TV STATION 4 INTERVIEW 1

The interview was carried out few days to the 2013 General election featuring aspirant.

He was described by their interviewer as a man who holds the keys to the winner of the 2013 General Elections because he can galvanize support from members of his community to help one person to win.

He agrees with that description but observes that the country is polarized on ethnic grounds. He refers to the 2007/2008 period as a lesson. This was a period when ethnic violence was witnessed as a result of disputed presidential elections outcome. He hints that he has been approached by many politicians because his community is seen to have numbers that can propel one to power. He indicates that communities that fought in 2007 should be united so that such fighting does not recur. He is clear about people he will not work with even though they had been in the same camp during the 2007/2008 elections.

TV STATION 4 INTERVIEW 2

it involves a political analyst. It talks about pre-election alliances. He comes up with the term ‘tyranny of numbers’ where he tries to predict who would win the 2013 elections. His predictions are based on the numbers of members of different ethnic groups. He predicts through this popular remark who is likely to win the elections. This is a clear indication that politics in Kenya is played along ethnic lines.

TV STATION 4 INTERVIEW 3

The interviewee is a politician, a renowned lawyer and a political analyst.

He recommends to Kenyans one politician on the basis that he does not have a tribe to take to the ‘political mortgage’ like all others do.
He notes that a good president is one who will not be surrounded with corruption. He accuses Kenyans of tolerating corruption instead of condemning it. He said that in Kenya, a thief is good as long as he comes from ‘our’ tribe.

TV STATION 5 INTERVIEW 1

It is aired before the 2013 General elections. It focuses on two renowned political analysts who are also scholars in political science.

They held opposing view, each claiming that one camp will lose and another will win as if they were acting as spin doctors for opposing camps. They back their claims by counting on how many communities are behind each of the candidates and their numbers. It is clear that there are communities with more members than others and hence if those with more members come together they would win the elections.

They exchange, calling each other names like ‘half-baked political scientist’, that the other one is beholden to the king pin and so forth.

TV STATION 5 INTERVIEW 2

Features two politicians (a senator who is a representative of the ruling coalition and a member of parliament who is representing the opposition). The discussion is on the performance of the government since its inception. The opposition representative asserts that the government is ridden with corruption, favoritism, tribalism and has failed to fulfill the promises it made while on the campaign trail. The interviewee from the government side defends the government’s performance citing success stories like free maternity care. He scoffs at the opposition for just criticizing instead of offering alternative solutions.

TV STATION 5 INTERVIEW 3

It features one prominent politicians who is a presidential contender in the 2013 elections. It is broadcast few days to March 2013 elections. He was taken to task to tell
the electorate what he would do differently that he did not do when he was holding a senior position in government.

He states that there were limitations and there are propositions he had made but his hands were tied. He gives a track record in development like constructing affordable housing units for the slum dwellers, electoral reforms and constitutional reforms. He promises to concede defeat if he loses elections fairly.

TV STATION 3TV INTERVIEW 1

The interview is aired after the 2013 presidential elections. It is on some decisions the government is making specifically to pay Anglo leasing companies, yet it is a scandal that had existed for a long time. The interview involves a lawyer who was at the time the chair of Law Society of Kenya. He warns that it is illegal to pay any amount to the companies involved and that anyone who would pay will be prosecuted. The politician on the other hand insists that the government shall pay to increase the credit rating of Kenya. He persuades that that is the only way to be float the sovereign bond which later also becomes questionable.

TV STATION 3TV INTERVIEW 2

The interview is also carried out after 2013 elections and it is about the government’s performance especially on the treatment of county governments. The opposition politician argues that the government is the enemy of devolution and that is why governors are being given a bad name. The government side argue that the county audits and oversight are mandatory, so the governors have to behave.
TV STATION 3 INTERVIEW 3

It is aired after the presidential elections of 2013 when the opposition leaders call for a press conference to evaluate what the government has achieved. One leader tells a journalist off by saying ‘your name betrays you’.

The interview features two politicians and a political analyst. The politician from the opposition side claims that the remarks were a reflection of the truth; that it is true even journalists have taken sides with their tribal leaders; that the country has been highly Polarized.

The politician from the government side labels the remarks unfortunate and says it is wrong for a leader to make such remarks.

The opposition representative is supported by the political analyst who claims that such remarks reflect the situation on the ground and that it should be a starting point for dialogue so as to bring the county together. There are mixed reactions from the audience who use the new media technologies to express annoyance while another set of people laud the statement as factual.
Appendix 6: Political Interviews For Analysis

TV STATION 1

INTERVIEW 1

Narration:

Orange Democratic Movement (simply known as ODM is a political party which is a successor of a former grassroots people’s movement which was formed in the year 2005 during the Kenyan constitutional referendum in august 2007. It split into two: Orange Democratic Movement, known simply as ODM and Orange Democratic movement, Kenya, simply known as ODM-K. The name Orange originated from the ballot cards in which Yes vote was represented by a banana while No vote was represented by an Orange. Thus the name supports successor ship to those who did not support the referendum at the time. The original league pins of ODM were Uhuru Kenyatta (KANU) and Raila Odinga (LDP). However, KANU has since pulled out and two groups are headed by Raila Odinga, ODM and Kalonzo Musyoka, ODM-K.

The NO vote which the ODM campaigned for won with 58.4 % of Kenyans noting down the proposed constitution granting victory to Orange.

ECK official: for No, Orange 3548477 votes

Narrator:

Following the rejection of the constitution, president Kibaki proceeded to dismiss his entire cabinet. The response of ODM was to say that this was a step to the right direction but called for the immediate General Elections for the entire Kenyan government.
claiming that the Kibaki regime had lost its mandate as a result of the referendum it vigorously campaigned in favour of.

Kibaki’s government resisted ODM’s attempt and elections were not held until the last week of Kibaki’s five year constitutionally mandated tenure.

ODM protested Kibaki’s new cabinet and consequently LDP, which opposed the referendum, was dropped out of the cabinet. After the 2002 elections, KANU was beaten into position while LDP was a partner in the ruling NARC coalition until it was kicked out after the 2005 referendum.

Following the united stand in the referendum debate and responding to a threat by the newly formed NARC Kenya party, leader of KANU, LDP and some smaller parties decided to team up to the subsequent 2007 General elections forming the Orange Democratic Movement. However, Mugambi Imanyara, a lawyer, managed to register ODM as a party before the coalition did, forcing them instead to use the ODM – K banner.

As 2007 progressed, the coalition proved unstable with various factions defecting. Uhuru Kenyatta’s KANU were the first to pull out in July 2007 and endorsed president Kibaki’s re-election although some KANU politicians stayed in ODM. Then due to internal rivalry between Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka, ODM split into two factions in mid August, 2007. Raila’s group which also included Musalia Mudavadi, William Ruto, Joseph Nyaga and Najib Balala defected from ODM-K and took over ODM registered by Mugambi Imanyara. Kalonzo’s group led by Kalonzo and Dr. Julia Ojiambo remained in the original ODM-K. The two factions held their elections for the presidential candidates on consecutive days in Kasarani Sports Complex in Nairobi.

On August 31st 2007 Kalonzo Musyoka defeated Julia Ojiambo for the ODM K ticket; meanwhile in September 1 2007, RailaOdinga defeated Ruto, Mudavadi, Balala and
Nyaga. Raila and Kalonzo then faced president Kibaki in the General elections. Kibaki was declared the winner of the elections but ODM ended up winning majority seats in parliament. It became the largest party in parliament after December, 2007 elections with 99 members of parliament and went ahead to win 3 out of 5 by elections in early 2008. Following the passing of the Political party Act, ODM held its internal elections in late 2008 with Prime minister Raila Odinga emerging as the party leader and Industrialization Minister Henry Kosgei as chairman. However, due to agitation over regional and gender representation, some party posts had to be created. Raila has since fallen out Ruto, Balala and his long time deputy Musalia Mudavadi. ODM’s ideology is anchored in liberal, democracy, reform and constitutionalism.

END OF NARRATION

INTERVIEWER: Welcome to the PROGRAMME, a programme in which we are focused on parties as we head to the 2013 elections. I am your host INTERVIEWER. This evening we will be focusing on the Orange Democratic party (ODM) with DR. Paul INTERVIEWEE.

INTERVIEWEE: Thank you INTERVIEWEE

INTERVIEWER: With me to help discuss this matter is Mr. Collins ANALYST, an advocate of the High Court.

Waziri, as we progress towards the 2013 elections, Kenyans are wondering why they should provide the ODM an opportunity to govern the country,

INTERVIEWEE: I think you are aware that for very many years, Kenyans have wanted some change in the governance systems in this country. And if you look, for the last more than 20 years, ahh, that kind of change has been agitated by the very same people who are in the ODM. And if you look, out manifesto is very clear on what we
really wanted to achieve. And we have made tremendous effort towards that through the referendum we had and the new constitution which is really something we have been agitating for the very many years, to know we want change in governance a structure in Kenya, so that we all Kenyan can have what we call maisha bora or better life for all Kenyans, and this can only happen if we have leadership that is committed to the principles that are envisaged in the new constitution, that we also envisaged in the ODM manifesto, that we had saw we were going to give the people of Kenya all along and there are those who are ahead of us who started earlier, and those of us who have also come on as new generation of politicians. Basically we have been victimized of the bad governance or the bad power when this country moved away from our independent constitution and things started going wrong; complains, lack of freedom to know system were not working and wrong values were promoted, and this really made Kenya not what was envisaged.

We wanted to fight poverty, and wanted to make sure that we have highly educated … this is where we were talking about getting rid of ignorance and we also said we wanted to do away with disease to improve the health of our people so that they can be more productive.

But these didn’t happen because somewhere we veered off and that is why you see that countries that Kenya was ahead of by the time we were getting independence, the so-called Asian tigers, they moved on and the Kenya remained behind. Today if you compare Kenya with Malaysia or South Korea, or Singapore they are almost 40% ahead of us, and Kenya was ahead, and all this is anchored on leadership because the resource we have, the people we have, the country we have and the some of those countries are not endowed as we are endowed. So something has been wrong, and that’s why we had been agitating all along and we still believe that with the passage of the new constitution can also just remain a paper if we cannot put committed leadership that really want to achieve clear goals that we have set down in position of leadership and governance in
the country so that this country can move on.

Look at the Kenya of example we are given, you are given example of the worst hit so that you look better. [laugh]. It’s like telling your son and your daughter, that you know, at least you deflated one person so you did very well – out of 100 you were number 99.

INTERVIEWER: [at last somebody behaved here] Wakili here is listening to you keenly. Wakili, do you buy Waziri’s argument?

ANALYST: Waziri is one of the leaders who was actually emerged, a young leader who has emerged, and I think his party has vested in him very heavy responsibility. He has held the docket of youth, , and he has held the double of sport.

INTERVIEWEE: [sport and youth]

ANALYST: And currently on the issue of devolution, and of course he comes from a party, the Orange party.

There is one analogy, someone was giving me about Peninah’s and I don’t know why they call it Peninah’s cup, but they say when you have a mix and probably, even in that Peninah’s cup. And there is usually the lower cadre in that cup. What vision does he have as a person have for the youth, and his party, noting that Kenya in 2002 was optimistic country in the world and the ODM has actually been promising people maisha bora, can he share with us his thoughts are especially his party’s though. When they are bending on the threshold of history.

INTERVIEWEE: Thank you my brother, I think I have to tell you that I was one of those optimistic Kenyans in 2002, because I was in the economic refugee in south Africa and in 2003 I resigned to come to Kenya because I believed that we had a bigger
opportunity and we were really set to take off but don’t forget that two years down the line from 2003 to 2005, already the country was being divided. You remember the referendum?

INTERVIEWER: The, the, the referendum

INTERVIEWEE: And the two years down the line this country was almost going for war, that was in 2007, so something should tell you, how do you move from being the most optimistic to being something whereby you are almost losing a country.

Something is wrong it is people who took us to almost a dead end. And my brother mentioned here about the youth, and I have to tell you that the most productive resource that you can have in any country is the people. The resourcefulness of your people. People are not things, if you invest in people that’s the best resource. It is better than oil, it is better than gold, because when you have gold there, it’s always there and it has to take someone to extract that gold and give the meaning.

INTERVIEWER: Yeah.

INTERVIEWEE: So the most important thing, first of all the resource of the country is the people, you must invest on people and then you must put people to productive use. In Africa we are lucky that we got very young population but unfortunately, because of wrong systems, because of sometimes, you know, lack of thinking properly, we end up thinking that is a burden. Some people call at a time-bomb, but that is not if you look at everyone today, because of the ageing population they are importing people because you still need people to work and it’s only young people who can be productive. So it is that you do with them, and how you plan the whole system, so that it enable to talk, if you are having a big take and of young people down here, how do we make sure that these people are so productive that by then we are reaching on ageing population, that do also happened in the USA, after, the boom the population of young people, who were
born, the depression, you remember the baby boomers. These people turned the country into a productive economy and they were now ageing. You see America now encouraging immigration, and all these to try and show up their population. So, it is how you plan with people and how you place them. It’s only maybe less than 10 years ago that we started free primary education, some form of education, why? Why should people not have education while one of our founding slogans was ‘we must fight ignorance? Why should education be a privileged, it shouldn’t? And that again takes policy issues. Why are your priorities? What do we want to do?

If today in this country we said: ‘you know when it rains, we have floods and people are dying. And when there is no rain, there is no water… both extremes. And water comes and goes to waste! We have one of the most productive lands that God can ever give you anywhere in the planet.

What does it take to build a dam? But how many times in terms of policy have we said we want to put up these dams? The other day you saw wrangles in the department of Agriculture. What was it about? Who gets the contract? Who is going to be given this?

INTERVIEWER: There is a level or egocentrism.

INTERVIEWEE: That is the problem. And the level of implementation.

Kenyans have good policies

When I was appointed minister of fisheries, it was a department, and when I came in I said: ‘you know, we can no longer continue to live like the Times of Jesus Christ! When they used to say ‘cast your net and get some fish. You know that is the hunter gather economy. You go to lake Victoria, go to the Indian ocean, you hope you will throw the net and somehow the fish will come.
INTERVIEWER: will be trapped.

INTERVIEWEE: That is what was used to be done almost 2000 years ago if you read the Bible. But what is our population today? Can we continue with those kinds of systems?

INTERVIEWER: Not now. We are even exporting fish which means we are now only feeding the local population. But can you continue with productive methods that are still very primitive? Those are the issues that we say we can change.

INTERVIEWER: So as a party, as my learned friend has put it, do you have many policies, any plans for the youths? Because they are a very large constituency just to ignore.

INTERVIEWEE: We as a party of ODM we have very clear and pragmatic plans for the youths, the issue is where we are placing that resources and actualizing those programmes. If you look at the ministry of youths which was just started in 2007 and one of the things was to formulate policies and they are so many Africa Charters, we can chart our policies. You do not need to reinvent the wheel and we are saying almost 73% being below 35 years, how do you make sure that people are participating in the economy? In productive rather than in consumption? That’s why we are saying that we need skills. Because without skills you cannot be very productive. It’s like someone who still wants to do Agriculture using a hoe, you are not using fertilizer. The soil will get exhausted because after so many years of usage, you expect that you must improve the fertility of the soil. And already science has told us that the soil is just a media to carry the crop. It’s these ingredients that are inside that the crop uses to grow that you need to provide it with. But you will find that in an acreage in Kenya averagely, you will go to a place where somebody with an acre id producing two bags of maize, yet we know that
with the acre, you can do 30 bags or 40 bags of maize, why us this person doing this? This should be the benchmark that we should be using so that when we go to the ministry of Agriculture, we should be saying, you have performed well because the level of hunger or food security in Kenya has moved from this level to this level and it’s been secured. Not that today because we imported fertilizer or we gave free fertilizer then you say productivity is high.

These are not sustainable systems and ODM as a party we had clear plans and we must be able to allocate resources to those clear plans.

In the ministry of youth we had the ministry of youth service, you remember very well.

INTERVIEWER: Yes, yes

INTERVIEWEE: these are people who are used for national functions for free for doing national duty.

And by doing national duty, they can get some raining and some skills. But today when we talk about what we were doing in Tana River and Bura, what happened to all those irrigation systems that we cleaned up and started? What is happening this year? And last year and last year after the economic stimulus plan stopped?

These are the issues because if we had continued with that, no one would be saying ‘why do you need the NYS to buy maize from the locals? Why do we need relief food to come from the commercial maize until we start ending up with scandals?

And yet you have an institution here that you can task that has people who are ready to work and maybe be paid later? Or even be given job incentives after they have done their national duty? It happens in every county. Through those institutions, we can also train leaders.
Because if you look at the countries that are run well, it is not this concepts you hear here in Kenya that leaders are from God. Yes, God can give you the ability but you must be able to transform that ability to something tangible to achieve. But that again does not happen in America. Today, if you want to be president, ‘they ask you what have you done?’ They will ask you what shows that you capability.

If you go to the Greeks, almost 5000 years ago, they days of Plato, they will tell you; if you read about Alexander the great, they were trained as leaders. They were given the right values so that when you go to the highest office in land, there are certain value systems that you have that are irreducible because you now hold this office on behalf and trust of the people of Kenya. It is not yours, like what we are seeing emerging today that you know you hear overnight somebody has made a deal. How do you have leadership emerging through deals? What do you expect? The outcome will still be the deals you hear, the outcome will be tribalism, the outcome will be nepotism, because we are making deals that are not founded on anything.

The new constitution and I saw my brother here with it has really put out what Kenyans want when we talk about integrity, when we talk about the bill of rights.

What does it guarantee Kenyans?

It is very clear the opinion of want Kenyans want, but look at the way we conduct ourselves it is completely outside what we envisaged to give Kenyans.

And that is why we have been consistent.

I myself as a member of ODM party, if a member of my community who happens to speak the language I speak makes a certain political move, why should I follow him?

Because I will ask him. ‘what is it that you are going to tell people about the move you have made? How does it translate into what we want to achieve for the people?'
And don’t forget some of these people we share nothing common with them.

INTERVIEWER: In what sense?

INTERVIEWEE: Because why I say that maybe other that speaking the same language, you share nothing. Because our value system has been what we have achieved in the new constitution.

And that is why ODM is a movement.

And we tell people like any other movement you know when a river is flowing, you carry silt, you know, you uproot trees, so you get a lot of things inside there. When you cast a net, you don’t catch fish. Sometimes you catch.

INTERVIEWER: squirrels

INTERVIEWEE: You know all these things that have been brought by the river into the lake. But that is now what you aim is all about. Are you getting it?

INTERVIEWER: Yes, So, that brings us to a specific question that we probably need to harness. Now there was a very spectacular photo when the prime ministry how to hands of the deputy prime minister, we perceived it as an effort trying to build bridges and say that politics is not about enmity it’s about rivalry. What is your role in the party in team building in the party,

INTERVIEWEE: You must hold it that even in ODM when some people who do not hold the same view. They say politics as a reality because you cannot be able to implement what you want if you don’t have mandate of the people of Kenya, and that as where you see politics, they involve you bending a little backwards so that you can
move forward. When you look at us talking to Uhuru talking to all the people, now we have heard talks with the Wiper party and so many other parties. The whole idea that we are trying to say, this is the situation we are in, is Kenya going to produce a presidency based on post-election violence? Is that what we want? That Kenya at the age of 50 years is going to be determined by an unfortunate thing that happened which somehow has been misused to wipe out our emotions?

And as some of us warned earlier, Yes, you are going to galvanize your community because you are telling them that there is a threat here and this threat is about you. It is on you- it is not me as an individual who might be unfortunate- whether innocent or not innocent- it is a judicial process and I am lucky to go through the judicial process. Because there are so many Kenyans who could be detained without trial, you could be assassinated and it was said ‘no stone would be left unturned’ and up to today nobody knows what happened.

But at least we have moved forward to say that you could go through a judicial process, but it is us to say whether this judicial process in good for Kenya or not. You cannot cheat yourself that some of the coalition has emerged because of that unfortunate incident and how we are handling it. Are we perpetuating it further? Is that the way we want this country to be after 50 years of independence?

This has become a political issue whether you try to hide, fight or do what it is… you see in the last five years, you could not be voted in, but how come nowadays you are almost a saint, so that what you say is law? It is because of that unfortunate incident where people have been made to believe this is our issue and this is the solution.

INTERVIEWER: Mheshimiwa, we have seen political parties cut deals on the table. Is this really democracy or perpetuation of what one could refer to as paternalistic political legacy?
INTERVIEWEE: May be what you have said in your last sentence is true. It is the legacy that is trying to create such using a wrong paradigm. And that is what we are trying to explain that immediately, you use a wrong paradigm to set an agenda for the country, this country can never walk the right path.

And this is why we said in ODM, that yes we have had our manifesto and we have had experiences with coalitions already we are in a coalition government and maybe we didn’t achieve, and truly we didn’t achieve what we envisaged to achieve when we went out to campaign and promise people that this is what we want to do. Sometimes, it causes a lot of frustration

INTERVIEWER: Yes

INTERVIEWEE: Because you find yourself there and you are told you know this is collective responsibility then you say okay ‘for the sake of the country and the situation we were in, let’s just live through this thing.

But unfortunately, again now the situation that has emerged, what I have told you-people have created fear in certain Kenyans. And by manipulating that fear they have set the political agenda.

But if you look at this political agenda, what is different from what you have seen in the last four days, when you see Musalia Mudavadi, Uhuru and Ruto coming together. And you go back in 2002 and you remember when NACR was there with Kibaki and this same group. It is almost a replica of what was there in 2002.

INTERVIEWER: A replica

INTERVIEWEE: It is only that the situation now that has been created is a little different. And I would not be shy to say that you know when my friend Musalia left ODM and some of us were not convinced that there was a good reason for him to leave.
You have seen how the situation that has completely emerged, because we said we had an agenda. Where has ODM betrayed this agenda?

We could have a few issues here and there, it happens in any family that you have one thing you don’t like how someone talks to you, you don’t like how the door was open for you, but there are issues when people are staying together. But the core values; have we deviated from that? The answer is ‘no’. ODM has never deviated from the reform agenda.

And this where, just to finish up, you say what kind of leadership is now emerging.

It has forced us to bend backwards and say for the sake of this country, let us safeguard the future of this country.

Let us- if this is the political environment that we are in, let us see how we can still bring the country together.

And this is my wish and hope that the leadership in 2013 that we are going to be able to bring this country back to the path of confidence.

Because we have reached a point where some of our citizens you know have lost confidence, people have been fixed in a corner.

You ask somebody why are you doing this, someone will tell you ‘so and so is an enemy’. Is that democracy? It is not.

We have told people that you know we can differ on issues. If we want to talk about land issues, in this country, why are people shy yet we know that one of the biggest problems is land?
If you look at Kenya’s independence war, it didn’t start with land issues. And although that is transformed itself into an independence movement.

But the original agenda was about the land rights. After independence, how did we handle the land issues?

You would even look at the past election violence- it was all about political violence but what were the underlying issues?

You read the Kriegler report, it will tell you.

What is happening today and I will tell you look back at what happened in 1964. In 1964 when Kenya became a republic, what happened? KANU, ..KADU dissolved. It joined KANU that time, you remember three years later our former president Moi and Kenyatta, one was the president and the other one was the vice president, but did the land issues to away?

INTERVIEWER: No.

INTERVIEWEE: In the new constitution, we have put in place the National Land Commission and we expected to sort out issues. So long as we continue to scatter around some of these issues, it will never go away. So let us say, this is what it is, we are one country, we are one people, these are the issues. What can we do about them? What can’t we do anything about? Then let’s say, this is the thing have we agreed and we move on.

INTERVIEWER: Mheshimiwa, maybe on another thing, the nest platform we need to hear from you more on the issues of development. When you look at what we might want to refer to as the Busia Corridor, the constituency of Hon. Ochilo, your constituency and that of ABABU Namwamba. How will it translate to the posterity of the people of this country?
INTERVIEWEE: If you look at the ODM manifesto, it was very clear you need security, you need entrepreneurs, government creates an enabling environment but then you must enable people.

INTERVIEWER: Msheshimiwa, we are taking a short break. We will be focusing on…….

INTERVIEW 2

INTERVIEWER: And we were discussing about the elephant in the room, I am going to start with you INTERVIEWEE 2: Choices have consequences, don’t they? And it was a political competition, the other side chose what they did and this is the time for the majority to finally make their way, you know, decide how this country is going. It was part of the condition, let us agree on that.

INTERVIEWEE 2: That is true. That is true that choices have consequences. But we must also realize that this county has come from very difficult times- ethnicity is something that is really rise in our county and we have through of how to deal with it for a long time and we have prayed for leadership that will really help us solve this problem. But unfortunately, we still have to wait for very long. If you look at what we were just talking about, what justification would you have for having only one lady from Western province, the entire Western province- the Luhya community, the Teso community, even the communities from Mt. Elgon. You are having only one person representing them, yet one ethnic community produces four members in the cabinet. And the constitution is very clear that you must have, the appointments you make must be inclusive enough.

So, to me I would say that this is a manifest of impunity still continuing to rear its ugly head in our society and I think the, we need to be very candid. We need nit to shy away from these realities and fact and mention them. As ANALYST says, it may be difficult
to really reject these names in parliament because what I see in parliament at times, you feel like members, members still believe that they have to be tied to their political parties or their coalition groupings.

So to an extent they may not be objective. I will not cast aspersions on members of parliament, that is the feeling that I get. If that continues, it will be very unfortunate but we need to contain this mess, we need to put a stop to this impunity.

INTERVIEWER: But I must ask this INTERVIEWEE 2, just toss the coin, how would it have been different if …

INTERVIEWEE 2. Let me tell you, if we formed the government, we would make sure we would have gone to central province and got very good, strong professionals, people who subscribe to CORD ideologies, they are many in central! We may not get so many votes from central province but they are many. We would go to the Rift Valley and get so many of them. And I would tell you, you could look around in the former prime minister’s office before he left office, you could see representation. You could see representation from all these communities. But I am sure if the hon. Uhuru Kenyatta and the hon. William Ruto wanted to get professional from Western province, they will get them. So that is what I would have expected. I don’t think I would have expected CORD government to have four nominees from Luo Nyanza and eave coast province with only one nominee, or leave central province with one nominee and have four from Luo Nyanza. It would have been unfair.

INTERVIEWER: ANALYST.

ANALYST: First, I would want to differ slightly with Mheshimiwa, I do not think that it makes sense to have more than one member of any one ethnic community in the cabinet. Because we are talking of not more than 22. Even if they wanted to fill up the entire portfolio, you will not have enough positions to go round. But if really you start
having four, from one community and there are so many other communities which are not included, I think you are not demonstrating fairness. And I want to emphasize this point because a lot of fellows especially young people, I have seen them saying things on social media, and so on and so forth, they don’t know that they are talking about.

We are joking with something called fire because ethnic passions are destructive. And I have been in this country for more than half a century. I can assure you I have never seen ethnic passions get to the point and the levels where they are today. People have somehow lived together, they have had certain stereotypes about one another, but they have lived together.

In the changed times that we live in with the things like social media, that you can write on just about anything, and get away with it, you are exiting ethnic passions. And when you talk about the president as a symbol of national unity, he must reach out there constitutionally. And we are not talking about him going to CORD. CORD had their supporters, they had the opportunity, they lost the election. I don’t expect that the president is going to get hold of Raila Odinga’s bosom and other people who were campaigning for him, Kalonzo Musyoka, and so on, but he must make that gesture to go out. Look, we are what is called a pre-industrial society and pre-industrial societies have certain propensity towards very high symbolic expression. Even when I spoke about women and symbolism and so on and do forth, to the extent that these things are drawn out they start asking who is in it from this community and I would have expected that the president would appoint the 22 people from maybe 22 communities that demonstrate ethnic diversity. And that is not my wishful thinking, it is what is inscribed in the constitution.

Thereafter, I would expect that when he gets to the principal secretaries, he would again look at the remaining 22 communities and he would have his balance and so look, we are trying. he is going to start off with a polarized country because you are saying that
when you look at the Kisii community, he can say what interests Dr. Fred Matiangi as a professional represents. He does not represent the interests of the Kisii people in this cabinet.

If you come back home Western Province where I was born and reared, the people of Western Province will say to you, Julie Wakhungu, professor of Geology, number 1, who will want even to go and congratulate her, where do we start? Where is her home in this Western province of ours? When we want to eat bulls with her, because we must eat bulls with our leaders, where is she going to slaughter the bulls for us?

You can go back to Luo Nyanza, you will find Rachael Omamo, the Luo people will tell you that we had Grace Onyango as the first elected Luo member of parliament. When we wanted to see her, we went to the home of Onyango Baridi, we had Phoebe Asiyo, when we wanted to talk to her we went to the home of Asiyo, we had Grace Ogot, when we wanted to talk to her, went to where the Luo people will say, Luor Ogot. Where will people go to when they want to talk to Rachael Omamo?

So, this kind of symbolism of a tokenistic nature is not going to help to start bringing people together particularly when you are one, leaving out certain whole communities completely. The Pokot, the Samburu people, the Mijkenda communities are not there; two, that you are putting leaders there who these communities may not be able to resonate with. I think the president has got a sacrosanct constitutional duty to respect and promote ethnic diversity.

INTERVIEWER: INTERVIEWEE 2, as we try and wrap up this issue of ethnic and regional balance, the question will be then but Kenyans ask this Jubilee coalition was asked to deliver and get professionals, they have with the exception of two to deliver the Jubilee manifesto.
INTERVIEWEE 2; Well the issue here is not whether they have got qualifications or not and that to me is another level of argument. But let me put it that professional are found in all communities in Kenya. So if you want professionals and you wanted them from a particular community, you will get it. The president went in Turkana and campaigned and promised Turkanas that ‘I will give cabinet secretary for mining. And he has not honoured that. What do you think the Turkanas will say? And if you didn’t honour it and you gave them cabinet secretary for something then they get happy. And you will also be understood if you told this community which have not produce cabinet secretaries that the positions were few, they were just 18, and we have filled all of them, but that will not buy it if each community has got a seat, they will not buy it if one community has four slots and you are telling them that there is nothing for them, that the slots were few. So, what could have happened if you asked me was to make sure that each and every region is represented as much as possible. Because you could not represent all regions also. You could not represent all counties. All the 47 counties could not find their way into the cabinet. That is unrealistic; all the 42 communities could not find their way into the cabinet, that is unrealistic. But try to show us, demonstrate to us that you have covered as much as possible with the little slots that you had. That is where the president and the deputy have failed.

INTERVIEWER: The next issue, as we try to wrap this up, the issue of professionals, we saw the doctors that other day, saying we don’t want INTERVIEWER Macharia because he doesn’t have a medical background and also, but they said ‘look, at this level, we are looking at cabinet secretaries as visionaries.

ANALYST: I think Wainaina Macharia should be able to do a good job in the health portfolio particularly if he is going to be conscientious and if he is going to be a good listener,. He indicated himself that it is a challenge and I think that is already one positive step that it is a challenge that he is willing to listen and to learn. I do believe that
ultimately, university training ought to prepare you to work in any leadership and managerial position. And therefore, would not cause a lot of hue and cry there. In fact my concern about professional and about cabinet secretaries and principal secretaries in that regard, pertains to what could be a broader problem that embraces and enjoins all of us as a nation, that we perhaps will want to look at this again in future. Because you have got these people that by you are turning around that they are not politicians, they are technocrats, they are going to be the heads of these various cabinet portfolios, and in the same same rules , you have got other professionals who re called principal secretaries, and we have got every likelihood of each one of these fellows, trying to say, ‘I am the one who is in charge. Because in the past we had a politician, the politician provided a political and once again symbolic headship around there and they worked quite well most of the time with their technocrats who were permanent secretaries,. Now you have got two technocrats under the same roof and they are likely to start stepping n each other’s toes, jostling and stuff like that. That would be a weakness of a broad nature where all of us are enjoined because we made that constitution. Did we pay adequate attention to it? Time is going to tell.

INTERVIEWEE 2: I would say that we have experience of where professionals in one area have excelled in other areas. And a number of them. I will give you an example of my former teach, Julius Kipng’etich who was actually an accountant then because a management scientist and finally landed himself as a director of KWS and I think he did a wonderful job in that sector. There are so many examples you would give. So one would excel outside the area of his professional orientation. But the question I would want to ask myself is, why did Kenyans see it fi that they don’t want politicians or members of parliament to be in the cabinet? I think what Kenyans wanted was to see a situation where one who is in charge of a ministry is someone who is technically trained and oriented towards that ministry. Because otherwise, if you take an accountant and put that accountant in an engineering field, I don’t think he will still be a professional in that field. But most fundamentally, my concern with this lost, is not the professional
mismatch but how progressive re these names in bringing reforms in the ministries that they are going to head? How for example, is Hon. Ngilu in terms of bringing land reform? Because she is going to head the ministry.

INTERVIEWEE 1:; But she worked with them and they didn’t challenge her?

INTERVIEWEE 2: That is true, that is a fact but look at a person like Henry Rotich, I know him and he has been working with the treasury. One of the problems in this country Is the skyrocketing of spiraling debt levels in this country, who is supposed to manage that? Who should have come with debt management strategy? Rotich is one of them, so really are we going to expect him to radically change the treasury? Lastly take the case of Anne. Anne who has been in treasury. She is now going to be in charge of devolution and planning, devolution is at the heart of this country at the moment in realms of development, we attribute it, r are already tuned that it is the one system of government that is going to help us realize even vision 2030. Ann has been in treasury and treasury has been really an impediment in the devolutions. When we were coming up with public finance management act, you could see a deliberate resistance from treasury. I am not sure that Anne is going to play the role that Kenyans expect of a cabinet secretary.

INTERVIEWER: Gentlemen, I must close this down, let’s look at the overall list, on a scale of 1-10, where will you place this list and why?

ANALYST: I would give it 50%, 5 out of 10. One in the sense that they have tried to bring professionals on board as they promised, two, that they have tried to bring new faces as they promised, and three, that there is the element of gender representation which has been taken into account. You don’t want to add to that that the faces are relatively young and yet at the same time that really derogates from the merits because our youth, the way we understand are people who are 35, between 18 and 34. I think the youth have been served a cold dish and the overall merit is derogated by the fact that
the president and his deputy have thrown overboard the element of ethnic, regional diversity and balance. And lost the opportunity and missed the ship to try and bring the nation back to cohesion and integration.

INTERVIEWER: Do you have a problem with any particular name? B

ANALYST: Balala and Charity Ngilu should have found the opportunity to go and do other things.

INTERVIEWER: Foy you INTERVIEWEE 2, again the same question.

INTERVIEWEE 2: I would have given the same marks as ANALYST but because I don’t want to appear like I am copying him I have decided to increase the marks a bit. 6 out of 10. Actually, there is the question of gender I think that it has been explained by ANALYST. Also there is an attempt to try to contain the political pressure from those who lost elections into the cabinet. I think managing it to two was a good trial, even though I would have expected more.

But I have issues …

INTERVIEWER: Tomorrow’s edition is here ‘ CABINET OF HOPE ‘ is the headline.

INTERVIEW 3

Reporter’s Narration

He was the main speaker in the CORD media briefing whose agenda was to punch holes into the Jubilee government’s performance. But by the time the briefing was over, Kalonzo Musyoka had talked himself into the main news and the process, effectively outdoing CORD’s serous concerns into the briefing.
Musyoka who has crafted his political philosophy as among other things, an avowed intolerance to tribalism, managed to seriously ridicule this particular claim. Responding to a question on what solutions CORD offers besides criticizing the government, an agitated Musyoka turned personal and ethnic.

CLIP

Kalonzo: First of all, I didn’t get the name of the press member.

Journalist: Kennedy Mureithi

Kalonzo: Thank you Kennedy Mureithi. That name betrays it all (laughter form CORD members). Thank you, I have nothing else to say (another laughter from CORD members).

Wetangula: Absolutely.

Anyang’ Nyong’o: Very good (Another laughter)

Reporter’s narration

This remark triggered angry and ironically many ethnic reactions especially o social media. The reactions were virulent especially on Twitter under the #SOMEONE TELL KALONZO accused of being tribal.

@kiptumo: coming from someone who wants to become the president of this country. I think that is the lowest it can ever get

@.. we don’t want to follow the South Sudan way, we learnt our lesson in 2017.

@ Samuel Gichuru: Kalonzo talked the hard truth but in the wrong forum.
Reporter’s narration: Later in the evening, Musyoka through his press Aide, Dennis Kausi, sent an apology to newsrooms for the slur. He later claimed to have reconcile with the journalist Kennedy Mureithi. But the said apology drew further controversy with the journalist denying knowledge of the meeting and an apology.

Musyoka said and I quote: ‘ I felt he had asked a misleading question and my answer to him was that his assumed political tilt was evident and reflective of the very polarized society that Kenya has become’.

He further said:

‘ I did have tea with Mureithi and duly apologized for any hurt my remark would have caused, indeed it was with a light touch but I wish to apologize to him, the entire journalistic fraternity and anybody else who might feel the comment was offensive.’

After the briefing Kalonzo was seen talking to the journalist but speaking to Citizen TV, Kennedy Mureithi maintained that Musyoka did not personally offer an apology, a statement he retweeted form his personal account.

Reactions from parliamentarians were varied

Parliamentarian 1: I think it’ very unfortunate , very very unfortunate. We need as leaders to make statements that are going to bring this country together.

Parliamentarian 2: Hon. Kalonzo should know better. He has been in a position of power for long enough.

Parliamentarian 3: But I am made to understand that he has apologized. And we should not hype; we should not politicize a statement which could have come out, you know, off the cliff.
Parliamentarian 4: He said that he was taken out of context. Although common sense tells you that most Murrithis are Jubilee sympathizers.

End of reporter’s narration.

INTERVIEWER: I go to the interview now and I want to start with INTERVIEWEE Mohammed, the Suna East MP, because you are a member of ODM and CORD.

Is that the position of ODM, that most Mureithis are Jubilee sympathizers and such should be dismissed?

INTERVIEWEE: Ohh. (Cough). I think the former vice president is being judged harshly according to me. You know that was a political press conference where politics were being discussed and it is a fact that names are associated with certain regions and certain political inclinations.

Ann: And so one cannot play their trade because they belong to a certain community? Because the journalist was simply asking a question.

INTERVIEWEE: I totally agree with you; but you see it depends on the context of where the former vice president was putting the answer to. You know he was taking in terms of the kind of questions even the journalist posed to him was not even the question expected may be at that kind of press conference; because he was giving a press- he was giving a press conference on the issues the Jubilee government has achieved or not achieved. So when you put him to task and tell him’ what have you done? Then that means you are also being political and you are asking him a political question. I think he is being judged harshly and there is nothing......if that can become a political, I mean a tribal profiling, INTERVIEWER, then I don’t know what other communities in Kenya will say because that is just a slur.. I don’t think …

INTERVIEWER: And yourself Mithika Linturi;, your thought.
Linturi: Yes, I think it’s really unfortunate for the former vice president to have made such an unfortunate statement.

And eh, in fact want to say that eh, he must have first understood that the work of a journalist is to inform people. And any question posed by a journalist is a question that requires an answer. So, by virtue of saying I can answer because the name betrays, ooh it all in my view, it is unfortunate.

And I thank God Kenyans can see for themselves that the decision they made in the General elections for not having elected the CORD leadership is really.. that was well thought of because these people are empty. These people have nothing to offer. These are people who are, People who are permanently crying wolf of stolen elections.

Ann: We shall come to what they have to offer later.

[INTERVIEWER 1: Excuse me INTERVIEWER: ]

[INTERVIEWER: Let me move to ANALYST, your thoughts?]

ANALYST: I think for me, the hype, the noise about what former vice president kalonzo Musyoka said is just nothing. It is an expression of national hypocrisy because there are people who practice ethnic hatred by acting. They act probably by appointing people from their own communities without worry. They are expressing it through actions. There are others who talk about it directly like what Kalonzo did.

What is important is to move the debate to the next level:

Is what Kalonzo is saying true or false? Ethnic in this country is BIG.
And we have been asking the current government to make sure that there is true national reconciliation. It has not done it. So what kalonzo has done is to come out and say what is true.

And the point is not to condemn Kalonzo because there are those who are quiet and they are feeling the

The point is: How do you make sure we expel it from the minds of the people and we MUST start acting NOW. That is where the debate is; not whether Kalonzo said something we don’t like or we like.

It is true ethnic hatred in this country is REAL and BIG.

INTERVIEWER: But the question is whether or not he should have responded that way to a journalist’s question in a national television.

ANALYST: No, he was authentic. Because there are people who want to pretend. They will tell you ‘INTERVIEWER, I like you’. But they feel that INTERVIEWER should die the next minute.

But there are those who will tell you that I don’t like you. So, Kalonzo is saying what he feels inside him. Those who are condemning could do worse. That is my point.

INTERVIEWER: we shall move that discussion later, we move on to the security media report…

END

FEEDBACK

- It is an expression of national hypocrisy.
- If you are principled enough as a man don’t apologize and don’t look for ODM sympathizers.

- By your mouth we shall know you.

- ANALYST is real, Kenyans are tribal and we must tackle this problem head on.

- Kalonzo should not have apologized at all. Just as ANALYST said, this debate needs to be taken to the next level.

- We all know how tribalism got us where we are today, and to hit the nail on the head, Kikuyus are the most tribal in Kenya and Jomo Kenyatta created it, so don’t cry foul. Look at the appointments in government to say the least.

- Kalonzo the damage is done. Slip the fake smile ASAP.

Interview 4

INTERVIEWER: And welcome to capital talk, a programme we hope will have an impact on the future of Kenya now more than ever. I’m INTERVIEWER. Now, this week if you have been watching The Bench, you know the theme. It’s politics 101 less that 5 months to go before the elections if indeed it does happen on March 4th 2013.

On the Bench is a man you all, the person you have been demandsing to see in a week like this, why? Because there is no one like him. He doesn’t look at the crystal ball to look into the future. He does what we call a hypothesis. He is a political scientist, he goes into that lab-political science lab, cooks his own versions, comes up with them. 99.9% of the time they are spot on. This man doesn’t beat around the bush, he calls it as he sees it. And in the meantime, so much to talk about around ICC, Bensouda suspects, the elections, who’s gonna be with whom, in fact, he might tell us who might be the next president of Kenya.
Folks, all I can say is ‘Grab a pen and paper, grab your popcor...s there.

INTERVIEWEE: It’s still there.

INTERVIEWER: It’s still there, consulting house.

INTERVIEWEE: And recently we were appointed the national research centre for IGAD in Kenya.

[INTERVIEWER: Congratulations.]

[INTERVIEWEE: So we are looking at conflict early warning].

INTERVIEWER: Good, is there an early warning in Kenya? you are looking into that?

INTERVIEWEE: We are concocting hypotheses around or a number of them around

INTERVIEWER: (Laugh)

INTERVIEWEE: The situation in the country.

INTERVIEWER: I am telling you and the last few weeks have been incredibly exciting.

INTERVIEWEE: Yes, exciting but also very unnerving. But like this girl called Besouda, particularly because she sound more clever than Ocampo. I don’t know why or it’s because she is black and she resonates with us, maybe because she comes from a failed republic, also,

INTERVIEWER: Right? The Gambia.
INTERVIEWEE: The Gambia, Yes which was once held hostage by a bunch of young fellows and they did a coup and they took it over, they are still in place, so she resonates with us.

INTERVIEWER: But her arrival here, her presence is not unintentional. It is very deliberate.

INTERVIEWEE: And that is why when she says that her timetable has nothing to do with our elections, she is lying. She came specifically to pass a message and her message was very clear. I hope the country heard it- that what is on trial is not a country. It is not the house of Gema, it is not the Kalenjin nation. It is two guys plus another two smaller guys.

INTERVIEWER: Right. But these two guys you mentioned INTERVIEWEE seem to have joined forces. It seems that they are now working together for all intended purposes. The ticket will be ‘The Hague two’ for the presidency, is that possible INTERVIEWEE? I have been asking this question all week.

INTERVIEWEE: You know the two guys and I have told you in the past, have to hang together or they will be hanged separately.

Right now they are between the rock and a very hard place. So they have no choice but to hide and they cannot hide in any other place except the Presidency and the Deputy Presidency.

INTERVIEWER: Can they win this INTERVIEWEE?

INTERVIEWEE: If the two come together and the nation pleads temporary insanity because that will have to be what will happen-they will get it purely on the account of tyranny of numbers.
INTERVIEWER: It is all about balkanization and ethnicity and the tribesmen and women rallying behind them.

INTERVIEWEE: Absolutely. The two guys are not mad, in my view, in attempting to do this. Because you and I, even if you and I were in the Ocampo list, and you were in that place. I would look for a place to hide and I would hide under the presidency and deputy presidency.

So here, we are creating a big ‘Bashir’ and a small ‘Bashir’. The big is POLITICIAN 2 and the small one is the person of POLITICIAN 3.

INTERVIEWER: So, hiding in plane sight?

INTERVIEWEE: Yes, you hide in plane sight and you tell them, come and crash me. So what they are telling us is that we are not getting into this thing for you as a country. We are getting into this thing for ourselves.

And so we want to borrow your children, we want to borrow your businesses and create some kind of insulation around ourselves.

INTERVIEWER: what will that do to us INTERVIEWEE? Let’s say we wake up on March the 5th, we have president Kenyatta and DP POLITICIAN 3?

INTERVIEWEE: Ahh, we’ll have to live with that. But that, what that means is that we become a barrier state. The Americans and the Britons have told us that ‘we will give you sanctions’. And what that means basically is that everything we have been doing for the last 10 or so years under POLITICIAN 5 will have to be jeopardized.

INTERVIEWER: president POLITICIAN 5 in all his wiseness, if you will, your uncle decided to go to China in the middle of his 10 years or whatever it was. So now, we are
dealing a lot with the East and we have other partners, not necessarily the traditional partners, we have other partners.

INTERVIEWEE: But whom do we sell the coffee to? Do we sell it to China? Whom do we sell out tea to? China? No no. whom do we get the Range Rover that we drive and the European cars that we drive around here from? We get them from Europe. We cannot ignore them, so if they put sanctions on us, we will have a problem.

Zimbabwe with a *Bagadash of a guy called Mugabe said exactly that. Where exactly that. Where will the take us? And the economy will basically collapse with those sanctions.

INTERVIEWER: What happens to the other players in this game? The other usual suspects in this line of elections. The prime minister, for instance?

INTERVIEWEE: The prime minister made a very good move in approaching POLITICIAN 3. And I was actually hoping that POLITICIAN 3 and the Kalenjin nation would drop their pride and actually form a coalition with him. That in my view is better for POLITICIAN 3 because I think that POLITICIAN 1 is more likely to hide him that POLITICIAN 2 will. And number two, that will not polarize the country.

INTERVIEWER: BUT ISNT POLITICIAN 1 the one who surrendered him to the Hague? Who let him go to the dogs?

INTERVIEWEE: He had to do that because POLITICIAN 3 was one of his kingmakers. So he had to actually destroy the kingmaker and the kings in waiting.-101 politics. And POLITICIAN 3 was one of them so, he had to send him to the Hague.

But we see what he did with Kosgei? For some reason, Kosgei got out of it- not that POLITICIAN 1 interfered with the forces. I don’t want to hypothesize that he did, but somehow POLITICIAN 1 has this flare around him that gives some kind of comfort that
he can actually talk to the Westerners. Therefore POLITICIAN 3 is running with him and you have the original POLITICAL PARTY 1, I think he is better hidden there than if he is running with the son of Jomo.

INTERVIEWER: There is talk that everybody is running to a guy called POLITICIAN 6, the so called money man and all these and his deal is you have to believe the papers is that POLITICIAN 3 has to go back to POLITICAL PARTY 1 and be part of that and the guy will cash, will fund this election.

INTERVIEWEE: POLITICIAN 3 is a creation of J.C POLITICIAN 6 for all the intended purposes, POLITICAL PARTY and POLITICIAN 6 is one of these people whose picture we never see. So, he is a background guy. And I think on this account he is right. Because these are the people who were constructors of Moi’s school of thought. Moi’s school of was always preservation of the country. Even Charles POLITICIAN 7 belonged to that school in essence. You see what he is saying about POLITICIAN 2 Kenyatta. They are about the country first, then tribe later.

And I think when he says that POLITICIAN 3 has no choice but to work with POLITICIAN 1 Odinga, I think he means it. And it is a man with money who will bankroll a process like that one. And I think POLITICIAN 3 to some extent listens to him and if he doesn’t listen to him, POLITICIAN 1 is a man who is likely to put a rag from beneath him and so he will stir rebellion from among the MPS and POLITICAL PARTY 2. And I don’t know if POLITICIAN 3 wants to go with that.

INTERVIEWER: Already we are starting to see the signs of the rant, don’t we?

INTERVIEWEE: The rebellion is beginning to simmer and it is a difficulty putting POLITICIAN 3 and POLITICIAN 2 together. The Kalenjin nation supporting a Kikuyu candidature is a little difficult, in my view. It is easier for them to support a guy who
betrayed them-the person of POLITICIAN 1 Odinga as opposed to supporting POLITICIAN 2 Kenyatta. But you never know, it could happen.

INTERVIEWER: Let’s look at this. If the court rules at the end of October that these two cannot run, let’s say they rule(for the sake of argument) and they try to appeal and lose the appeal, they are out of the picture, then what? What are we looking at?

INTERVIEWEE: The two cannot and will not be out of the picture, in my view. And I say so because towards the end of October, we will make a ruling whether they can run or not and they will appeal. The appeal will take another one, two months. Then they will go to the supreme court, Willy Mutunga, the president of the court will ask for the interpretation of the law and Willy will look at it and by the time he is making his ruling, it will be too late.

We will have gone through the runoff. The difficulty on his part, should the ruling come out that they are not fit to hold office, once they have occupied office, so let’s say for instance the supreme court makes a ruling someday in April 20th and they have already occupied office on the 11th of thereabout, then they have to go. So in that essence then we have a bigger crisis. So, the Willy Mutunga court process is not confined to the election days as it were, it could actually spill over after the election.

INTERVIEWER: But don’t forget of the run off happens as you say, April 10th or 11th, there is a date with the court at the Hague for the two.

INTERVIEWEE: That will be the difficult part also because on 10th, POLITICIAN 3 has to appear, and 11th POLITICIAN 2 has to be there in person. The runoff is happening specifically on the 11th of April, now the difficulty with that – will they be here of will we vote for them in absentia? My hypothesis-they won’t go anywhere.

INTERVIEWER: They won’t leave!
INTERVIEWEE: They won’t leave and then the problem with that is that they will lose, POLITICIAN 1 wins, they will be boiled. He will cook them.

INTERVIEWER: Ahhh

INTERVIEWEE: It’s gonna be a total change. So, it is a gamble that POLITICIAN 2 is taking. It’s a gamble that POLITICIAN 3 is taking. So the best option- one option is to come together in my view, and that they will do, even if it means destroying the country. ‘let’s go to the full hog’. And I think right now they have no breaks, they are going that direction. The other option is to become running mates to other people and hide in deputy presidency positions.

INTERVIEWER: Whose running mate will POLITICIAN 2 be?

INTERVIEWEE: POLITICIAN 3, definitely. Your uncle will love that.

INTERVIEWER: That was the scenario from the start, isn’t it?

INTERVIEWEE: the scenario was… POLITICIAN 5 is saying and I think the nation agrees with him that the first criteria for whoever we choose as president must be a guy who will not spoil what he has done. You see he has built roads, he has revived the economy, we separate the politicians from the economy. Right now the economy is thriving although we are going to a very unnerving election. So he is saying that the first order, you know the first criteria, a guy whom we elect must not botch this thing that we have made. And I agree with him on that.

Number two, a guy we elect if he builds in what I have put together, we will be happy with it, but the bottom line is that he must not mess with what POLITICIAN 5 has done.
And that is the reason why when he looks at the son of Jomo, he thinks there is going to be politics for another ten years. This model of separating the economy from politics becomes a little (*……).  

INTERVIEWER: But this POLITICIAN 3- POLITICIAN 2 ticket versus POLITICIAN 3-POLITICIAN 2 ticket, who will win?  

INTERVIEWEE: It will be tricky to get it. But in my view, POLITICIAN 3-POLITICIAN 2 will win.  

INTERVIEWER: Second round?  

INTERVIEWEE: Second round.  

INTERVIEWER: Why not first round?  

INTERVIEWEE: First round would be a little difficult. Although POLITICIAN 2-POLITICIAN 3 Ticket might win first round. That is 50%+1 exactly.  

They will be right on the borderline. That is a possibility, but as I am saying this is a ticket about the two of them, about the two hiding in the nation and borrowing our children and businesses to become human shields against the aggression of the ICC. But it is not a ticket for the country.  

INTERVIEWER: INTERVIEWEE we want to talk of that after the break. Also the election day 4th March, 2013, you have been prophesying these few months but it may not happen-BVR kits aren’t here- the accountant hasn’t signed for them. I don’t know what is holding him back, but could this be someone in the big white house cooking something to delay the elections? Could it be, INTERVIEWEE? Think about it so that these two guys can go to the Hague….. POLITICIAN 3, think about it, hypothesize.
Wah, pen and paper. Wauh, INTERVIEWEE Ngunyi, breaking it as he sees it……

FEEDBACK

- It cooks, it cracks as tyranny of numbers

- It turns out INTERVIEWEE was right after all. Let those who hear, hear; let those who see see; the prophets talks and we didn’t listen. I am predicting a crisis

- Sometimes INTERVIEWEE gets it wrong

- INTERVIEWEE Ngunyi is a genius of some sort but for some reasons I cannot bring myself to listen to him.

INTERVIEW 5

INTERVIEWER: In the absence of CORD leader Raila while in the States, the last few weeks have seen the opposition representatives give a lot of their take on the latest developments and I will start off with the last one being Anglo leasing ad that was mentioned in the story. And the seeming bipartisan view of Anglo leasing payment. Let me start with you Mr. INTERVIEWEE 1, the senator of Kiambu. Do you agree with the payment of 1.4 billion shillings and now we have another 3 billion being asked for.

INTERVIEWEE 1: Well, I think to answer that question probably we need to look in hindsight and also fairly. What is at stake? Because the matter was clear that there is a court order that required the 1.4 billion to be paid, but largely, what is is stake is a better economy for the country. Remembers this was being done to save the sovereign bond which…

[INTERVIEWER: When you say that, when you say that there is a 3 billion being asked for and that sets a very bad precedent but basically what you are saying and I hear you
saying Mr. Kimani is that you agree with the payment. Do you agree with the payment of Anglo leasing?

INTERVIEWEE 2: First of all, let me put it that we were aware that *they* would bring another claim of 3 billion. Actually, even the motion to approve the 1.4 billion was withdrawn from the house. *The government* is not telling *us* the truth. This demand note is not new. It has been there. It was kept somewhere so that we make this payment and then it follows. But then I totally do not agree with this theory being floated here and there

[INTERVIEWEE 1: what we are saying..]

[INTERVIEWEE 2: . . .that we could only float the sovereign bond. What is 1.4 billion as a debt to a country like Kenya if you disclose it? In accounting we have want we call disclosure. The moment you make a disclosure - here is a debt we have and we have not paid and the reason why we have not paid is so much, no one will resist or refuse to buy your sovereign bond.

INTERVIEWER: Away from the Anglo leasing, this is something that is on going and development here now, the score card-the thirty page score card you say ‘these are the lies Jubilee government is telling you’- let’s respond to some of the easily spotting or highlighted lies, for instance, the laptop project. In defense, do you think you have Filed or not?

INTERVIEWEE 1: No No. to begin with, which are the lies? Which lies were picked out. And who…..

INTERVIEWER: For instance, if a Kenyan were to ask you , where are the laptops?

INTERVIEWEE 1: Fine. Very simple. The government already undertook what should have been done to initiate the laptop project. We went straight to tendering. We went
straight to evaluation, that was all done and straight to our word and from there, the mater was taken to court. And remember Jubilee’s policy and manifesto (‘*uwezo, upendo, uwazi*- independence, love and transparency). When we got to that point when we were taken to court because of the laptop project, it was prudent and important to wait. Let the courts do their job. Let them evaluate, let them judge. Once it is clear, we are ready, the money us set aside 29 billion for the project. Immediately it is cleared by the court, we go straight to roll out and within the first year, *we hit the road running*.

INTERVIEWER: Sounds like a good defense there on the laptop project. But what do you say of other promises that the Jubilee government…

[INTERVIEWEE 2: What CORD is saying is that Jubilee government went into a social contract with the people of Kenya. And in that contract there are certain deliverables, one of them is the laptop project and they promised without any provocation, without anyone asking for it. The Jubilee promised to give standard one children of this country, of our country, ah, each one of them a laptop by the beginning of 2014. And therefore, what Jubilee needs to do is to give us a lot of explanations. There are deliverables, we expect those deliverables. You cannot promise me *ugali* and you tell me *Ugali is not available* because the cooking stick got broken; that there was no water to cook it or that the *unga* was not enough. What I want is ugali.

But it is not just laptops. There are a lot of lies from this government. I will tell you for a fact:

One, even the maternal health care that has been talked about- The Jubilee government talked about it knowing very well that the majority of the people in Kenya who deserve free maternal care are those in the rural areas, who go to the health facilities managed by county governments. Has the government given enough resources to provide for maternal health? No. and therefore, how will then the jubilee government claim to be
providing free maternal health sector? I want to give you another example of failure of the Jubilee government.

The vision 2030 - there were certain flagship projects that were spent out, that the grand coalition government started. They are either stuck under the Jubilee government cooking rooms or even when they attempt to implement them, what you see is either exaggerated cost of total problems.

Take the example of Agriculture, there was a promise of putting one million acres of land to irrigation at Galana. What they have not done even is the feasibility study. Therefore, they are implementing these projects haphazardly in haste to an extent that you are not likely to any valuable…..

[INTERVIEWER: Mr. INTERVIEWEE 1..]

[INTERVIEWEE 1: Just to ]

[INTERVIEWER: And as you respond, there is criticism that in the latest development, the assigning of commissioners to be in the counties; it has taken us back to the KANU days, and I saw you smack when he talked about the maternity health care.]

INTERVIEWEE 1: I mean, unless with all due respect, mheshimiwa has not been paying attention to what has been happening or to the statistics or realities. I mean before free maternal healthcare was rolled out, implemented, we had an average of 40-45% attendance of maternal healthcare by professionals, women going to our health facilities to deliver. Now, that has risen to 67%, almost 70% such that now you know that there is 70% chance that a woman in the rural area can go to a dispensary, the clinic and access professional.

Those are some of the women who used to die because they will have to go to traditional midwives and so on. And that is a plus. The question of whether enough money has been
allocated or not allocated is not there in context. This year we all know, we have increased the allocation of money from the national level, and also the budget.

But also going quickly to what *msheshimiwa* is alluding about the Galana irrigation project, who said there was no feasibility study? The part that has started is the 10,000 acre pilot project. It is a trial project of the intended 1 million acres, you know. And from what comes out from that 10,000 acres trial, then we roll out the rest. And what would have been better? To stay put and watch the country look at its food reserve deplete or be proactive. Get this straight.

INTERVIEWER: Would you say you are where you wanted to be? As we finalize before we give him the final chance.

INTERVIEWEE 1: Immediately, immediately

[INTERVIEWER: Are we where we want Kenya to be?]

INTERVIEWEE 1: We are way past the 5 mark, I would say that very well past the 5 mark and if we have the cooperation, and I want not to fault my colleagues at the opposition but I want them to understand precisely what opposition is supposed to be and what it is not supposed to be. Opposition is not just supposed to be about criticism. It doesn’t mean that to look active in the opposition, you have to be going the other way round. It is to offer alternative solutions.

INTERVIEWER: What alternatives are you offering as the opposition, moving forward? Because there has been a back and forth ....whatever they do, you have an opposition to it.

INTERVIEWEE 2: Frist of all…. 
[INTERVIEWER: And some very strong statements about impeachment of the president, ah, this past weekend,. Moving forward you are starting some rallies, starting this coming weekend, what can we expect from the opposition?

INTERVIEWEE 2. First of all, I wanted to tell my colleague, Hon. Senator INTERVIEWEE 1 that really you do not have to ask the opposition to keep you in check to really perform. But having said that I want to say that we have offered s number of alternative solutions. But what we see or get from Jubilee is arrogance. They dismiss ever other solution that we offer. Take the case of security, we’ve talked about investing in intelligence and stop this chest thumping and show of might unnecessarily in Eastleigh is a waste of time. There are no terrorists who will be waiting at Eastleigh, waiting for you in three days, to go and round them up.

INTERVIEWER: Yes

INTERVIEWEE 2: And we’ve talked about it.

[INTERVIEWER: Mr..]

[INTERVIEWEE 2: When you watch Duale speak about housing for police at.. I mean, that would be good but the kind of insecurity we are faced with today is not about giving houses to the police. It is a crisis that we really need to attend to urgently.

INTERVIEWER: of course yes. To be fair, also because juts we are out or time, terrorism is something that the opposition and government, we need to work together as it is a challenge we would face whoever will be in government.

INTERVIEWEE 1: Absolutely,

INTERVIEWEE 2: That is right
INTERVIEWER: You say a little over 5 in a scale of 10. It is not the job of opposition, you are the government asking the opposition to keep you in check.

INTERVIEWEE 1: No, we don’t have to ask the opposition to keep us in check. We are right on track. I mean the point I made was that they don’t have to criticize to look that they are active. It’s understandable but..

[INTERVIEWER: Actually we are now out of time. It’s understandable as you would expect. You have a bit more especially from Mombasa because you have just spoken about security situation in the county.

So thank you Mr. John INTERVIEWEE 2 and Senator, INTERVIEWEE 1. We take a break, and after the break, we will have the debacle from Mombasa.

FEEDBACK: Good interview.
Interviewer: Welcome back and thank you for staying with Citizen TV live at 9 and welcome back to Opinion Court and be part of the discussion. And now we want to go to the question of devolution. This is what the president said in the State of the Nation address. He said of course that they have given more funds than the constitution required from 15% to 32%. He said that they have gone ahead to devolve most functions ahead of the three years envisaged in the constitution and given skills transfer to the counties et cetera.

Interviewee 1, let’s start with you, the CORD coalition has been very vehement that this government is hell bent on derailing devolution. What do you base that premise on?

Interviewee 1: I would tell you when you want to kill a dog, you first give it a bad name and the way that the Jubilee government is doing it is not going straight to devolution and saying that devolution is bad, but you start by giving governors bad names. You know, you start an unjustified attack on governors.

I know that there are governors that are bad but not all of them, like where I come from in Homabay, we are the leading in terms of implementing our work. But give governors a bad name and you forget about grand corruption at the national government and focus on the counties. I am not saying that we should ignore them; but once, even if you listen to one of the guys who was being asked out of parliament he said the biggest challenge Kenya has you know is devolution. So you are making devolution unpopular for Kenyans so that Kenyans say ultimately he wage bill, what is this story about the wage bill.

Interviewer: It sounds like a sentiment and not a fact. What particular actions can you point ut and say ‘this is what the government …
INTERVIEWEE 1: I will tell you- my sentiments are bent on fact. And it is after we have attacked governors.

Interviewer: Yes.

INTERVIEWEE 1: Jubilee government has attacked governors.

Interviewer: Has that not happened across the political divide in parliament? The members of parliament, MPs in fact, have all ganged up and INTERVIEWEE 2Duale, I will come to you- checking on governors or giving them a bad name because the question is oversight.

INTERVIEWEE 1; No, I agree there is an issue of oversight but what I am telling you is the way they are overdancing about their governor. For them their intention is to oversight like for us who are in Homabay, I know there are issues with our governor and we raise them, and that is oversight. But when you want to make governors unpopular, you want to make devolution unpopular so that you can come back to Kenyans and tell them: ‘look, did we not tell you? They are the ones that are responsible for all the issues of food insecurity. They are the ones that are responsible for corruption. All your ills now can put blame on governors. And you are forgetting that all these problems are at the national level. One of the problems that we have is devolution. But secondly, the other issue that I will blame tis government is on the issue of devolution, is that devolution brings in a new system of governance. And in terms of transition, not much effort or energy had been placed. So those counties are having challenges..

[Interviewer e: Be specific. Such as? Be specific.]

INTERVIEWEE 1: I will tell you such as, for instance, when we are talking about transition, we set up a transition authority.

[Interviewer e: mmmh]
INTERVIEWEE 1: what did we need to do? The governors, most of them are people who have never even worked in government. We have left them on their own with very little assistance from the transitional authority that has very little..limited mandate, they are trying to hire, they are hiring people. Some of whom have never worked before. What guidance are we giving them as a national government/ what guidance are we giving them as a national government? We are actually setting them up for failure! So the government is not going enough to enable the devolution government settle, the devolved government take off. Instead, the language we are having already is ‘let us take back certain functions from government that are not performing’. And yet the constitution is clear we need to build their capacity, we are not doing that enough.

Interviewer e: Alright, INTERVIEWEE 2 your take?

INTERVIEWEE 2? Ah, number one, devolution is not an option. It is not a choice for this government. This government can’t kill it. Even future governments can’t kill it. That is number one. And it is not a preserve of any political party or individual.

Number two, the constitution talks about 15% in the first year. You speak today, 48 billion of the devolved funds from this financial year is still lying in the central bank where you are saying. From where I am sitting and INTERVIEWEE 1 our role is to oversight the way we do oversight to national government, the deputy president, and the money allocated to the national government. The senate and the national assembly, under the constitution- the county government Act, they have to oversight, every penny must be accounted for so from where I sit, let me give you an example of the elements that, that is my final take- The elements of the county such as the elements of the flag, if you read section 5 of the county governments Act, it says every county of the 47,must design their public scene and their own courts of arms. Today, the only, because patents rights, today the only government out of the 47, who has applied to the Attorney General to protect his patent right is the government of Kisumu. Like INTERVIEWEE 1, I have
no problem with my governor, the government of Garissa. I have been there, he is trying with all the challenges.

But let’s not publicize when we ask for accountability of public resources. Where I come from, for 50 years, we have never had proper public sector, proper infrastructure, proper water and sanitation. The solution of the people of North Eastern is devolution. So that baby you call devolution will guide it, we will make sure the little resources that we get are oversighted. That is why the Deputy president was saying the moment you say accountability, then you are branded you are anti-devolution.

Interviewer e: ANALYST 1essor, what do you think?

ANALYST 1: My thinking is this: it is true that there are problems with devolution and we really need to solve these problems and one of them is that the national government should withdraw some officers like the provincial administration staff, I can’t understand it. I have been in school form many years but I don’t understand what they are doing.

Interviewer e: But you should know ANALYST 1.

ANALYST 1: They are doing some things that are parallel to the systems to start undermining government, but having said that, I think the opposition in this country sometimes tend to behave like foxes. They set up traps, they participate in the conspiracy and go to sideline and start accusing the other for causing it.

If you look at the voting patterns in parliament, any time questioning the actions of the governors, has not been in the presence of Jubilee. In fact, in some cases, it is the noises from CORD coalition and other opposition parties has been more. The question of flags is really trivial and parliament is engaging in this just to make sure they fix governors.

And if you look at the voting pattern, both sides of the divide participated in this.
And if you look at the president’s speech with regard to devolution, even if the president may have had reservations about the constitution before, he changed his mind and the deputy president who campaigned against it; probably they might support devolution more than some people who really said they supported the constitution.

So really, when we talk about this, let us not keep to one political wing, and there are so many enemies of devolution within CORD; there are also so many enemies of devolution within Jubilee. Let us isolate them as individuals…..

[Interviewee 1: Starting with the president and the Deputy President.]

[Actually….]

[Interviewee 1: Who should be the champions, they are the first enemies.]

[Interviewee 2: I thought you are the leader of majority,(laugh)]

[Interviewee 1: They are the enemies, the president and the deputy president are the first enemies].

[Interviewee 2: She is becoming the leader of majority.]

[Interviewee 1: Then it goes without saying than it is as good as dead]

[Analyst 1: I mean….]

[Interviewer e: Let’s bring Interviewee 3.]

Interviewee 3: Thank you very much. First of all, I think every key speech that the president has given, devolution was at the heart. Look at every speech he has given. From the inaugural up to today.

Number two, one of the first initiatives the president took was to bring together a team from the national government to start the path of implementing devolution and to fast track then office of the devolution government. The report that the team gave subject to
the first summit between the governors and the president, 95% of those suggestions or measures have been implemented.

Number two, you asked a very key point. What are the issues? I am very proud of the process has gone through. Look, a year ago, none of those governments were in existence. These are all new governments, new legislations, new executives, new systems. We have done very well in bringing a completely new system from the start to where it is now.

And the president has been very clear. So it’s really very unfair that every time someone speaks, the issue of whether the president is an enemy or not… I have worked very closely with him. This was one of the key issues we were working on with INTERVIEWEE 1 in terms of the new constitution.

Interviewer e: What will you do to end the suspicion?

INTERVIEWEE 3: Well, I think it is really unfair we have to…

[INTERVIEWEE 2: Ahh]

[INTERVIEWEE 1: You can end the suspicion when the president stops talking and starts acting.

INTERVIEWEE 2: We can…… I think that is a very good question, what brings the suspicion, not only between the national government and the county government, but also between the senate and the national assembly, is the whole governance structure, there is suspicion. But I think in totality, the constitution is very clear and we are working for the same people- service delivery from the national government and the county governments.

Let me give you an example, I was in Garissa over the weekend. For the first time in history, since I was born, I have never seen the fruits of devolution. Seven new ambulances, 350 new health workers employed. Today, even if I walked to the
president and there was no county government, the best I could have bought are who ambulances and maybe 20 health workers.

The fruits of devolution are there. We have challenges in terms of infrastructure, we have not reached there yet but as the ANALYST lesser said, if each group follows the constitution and does its bit in service delivery and we leave the squabble, then Interviewer e, I tell you that will be nice for Kenyans. It will be nice to see you as leader of majority take that position in parliament and lead your members into a bus that supports devolution.

INTERVIEWEE 1: Exactly.

Interviewer e: And not to point fingers at governors.

INTERVIEWEE 2: That is where you are going wrong. The bills, legislative bills on devolution are supposed to be in the senate. The 22 bills that the president talked about. And you will agree with me -20 of them are from the national assembly. So we are doing our bit.

INTERVIEWEE 1: And who is the leader in the senate?

INTERVIEWEE 2: There is a leader in the senate.

INTERVIEWEE 1: It’s Jubilee.

ANALYST 1: Hon Duale, let me come to your aid. As the leader of majority, one of the things you need to do, probably the national government has the ability to give over 15% to the county government. What you need to do is to initiate legislative... so that we members of the public can hold these governments to account. Part of the reason they exist is to raise revenue. All they are looking at is money from the national government.

INTERVIEWEE 1: But can I say something about....

[INTERVIEWEE 2: No]
INTERVIEWEE 1: Can I say something about.. he spoke

INTERVIEWEE 2: What the ANALYST 1essor is saying is very important. After the scenario in Embu involving Wambora, a member of parliament has initiated a process where a member of the Kenyan society from any county can bring a petition to parliament (he is doing an amendment), can bring a petition to parliament as the national assembly will investigate through a committee. The members petition and recommend just the same way the senate recommends foe actions to be taken against that county. The legislation is being brought by a member.

INTERVIEWEE 1: But you see now we are bringing in a lot of other institutions.

Interviewer e: I want to...

INTERVIEWEE 1: Can I say something?

INTERVIEWEE 2: Ahh..

INTERVIEWEE 1: Can I say something about the budget?

Interviewer e: YES

INTERVIEWEE 1: Hon INTERVIEWEE 3 will tell you we had suggested 40%. And I remember even where Hon. William Ruto used to say we were in the same committee with them and him, Hon Ruto even sat with Uhuru and they reduced it to 50%, we had said 40%.

INTERVIEWEE 2: You are lying on the national television

INTERVIEWEE 3: Not true.

INTERVIEWEE 1: And what I can tell you if you look at the devolved roles, and the 32% they are saying it is not sufficient. With the devolved roles given to the counties,
you must give them at least 50%. That is when they are able to run efficiently. Can they raise that on their own? ANALYST 1, how much?

Interviewer e: It is one thing to have a suggestion but the constitution is clear.

INTERVIEWEE 1: No, the constitution only talks of less not more…they can be given up to 70%.

Interviewer e: I agree with you they can be given up to 70%.

[INTERVIEWEE 2: I was ]

Interviewer e: But I think the point the president was making, to be fair, is that we have gone above and beyond what the constitution has limited.

INTERVIEWEE 1: it’s not above.

Interviewer e: Whether or not, that should be expanded, maybe the subject of another debate, because we must move on.

INTERVIEWEE 2: Can I come in?

Interviewer : No no please please.

INTERVIEWEE 2: I want to, just one minute.

Interviewer e: Okay.

INTERVIEWEE 2. The Jubilee manifesto, when we were campaigning, we said we will offer 40% to devolution the coalition, which is she is a member, did not offer even 10%. I want to challenge her. Jubilee on its manifesto, we said if we take over power, we will do 40%. In the fisrt year, we have done 32%, next year we will add the 48 billion lying in the central bank. It will be 40%. I want INTERVIEWEE 1 to tell the country what was in the manifesto of CORD.
INTERVIEWEE 1: Yes I can tell you.

INTERVIEWEE 2: what percentage?

INTERVIEWEE 1: Let me tell you on devolution we would have given 90%.