CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF RECURRING THEMES IN OPINIONS ON JUBILEE GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE IN KENYA BETWEEN APRIL 2013 AND DECEMBER 2015 IN LOCAL DIGITAL DAILIES

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ABSTRACT

Opinions are important in raising public awareness and assessing government on development issues. Understanding opinion of the electorates is a critical aspect for political success and service delivery. The objective of this study was to conduct a critical discourse analysis (CDA) of recurring themes from opinions on Kenya's Jubilee Government's performance from local digital dailies between April 2013 and December 2015. Opinions in local digital dailies have continued to play important role in exposing the will of the citizens on several issues. One thousand opinions were collected from three Kenyan digital dailies; Nation Media, Standard Media and Star Digital Media, uploaded into software and analysed using van Dijk's, Fairclough's and Wodak's CDA approaches. Patterns formed by the corpus revealed six distinct themes; class differentiation, ethnic differentiation, religious differentiation, corruption, terrorism and push for equality. The results indicate that there is a lot of class and ethnic differentiation in Kenya. Issues of corruption, terrorism and negative ethnicity were seen to be the main issues that characterise jubilee government. This study is an eye opener that will help shape the political behaviour of Kenyans. The members of public demand on performance by the government, influence political outcomes and evaluation of the existing policies have also been highlighted.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis, digital dailies, Jubilee Government, Themes.

1. INTRODUCTION

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a research tool has gained favor among discourse analysis researchers. This tool sees discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1989; Fairclough, 1995) and argues that all linguistic usage encodes ideological positions and studies how language

mediates and represents the world from different points of view. It is the connection between ideas, language, power and the ordering of relationship within society that is important in CDA. It unveils the underlying ideological prejudices and therefore the exercise of power in the discourse (Wodak, 2000). The relationship between language forms and limited sense of context tends to be oriented by Discourse Analysis (DA) to a narrow understanding of the larger social, cultural and ideological forces that influence social life. Therefore, CDA addresses ideological dimensions of discourse to which DA is limited since it is a version of discourse that posits language use free of ideological conditions.

In 2013, the most fiercely contested general election in Kenya's political history was conducted. It was the first election conducted after the promulgation of the new constitution and also the first after the disputed 2007 general election results. During this period, two main coalitions emerged thus: The Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD) led by Raila Odinga and the Jubilee Alliance led by Uhuru Kenyatta. The two main coalitions together with their supporters packaged their political speeches and manifestos with techniques that could aid them in obtaining power.

The Jubilee Alliance manifesto was shared between 'The National Alliance' (TNA), 'The United Republican Party' (URP), 'The National Rainbow Coalition' (NARC) and 'The Republican Congress Party' (RC). The manifesto had three pillars namely: Unity, Economy and Openness. On the first pillar of unity, the Jubilee Alliance promised Kenyans to ensure that all Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) such as Mau Forest evictees, Post-Election Violence (PEV) IDPs, squatters in the Coastal counties are settled and where possible return to their homes in accordance with the law. On the second pillar of economy, Jubilee Alliance gave a target of 7-10 per cent growth rate in the first two years of the its government and expected order to create 1 million new jobs for the youth and clean up social evils in the government. On the third pillar of openness, the Jubilee Alliance promised to clean the mess eliminate corruption including enacting the necessary legislation so that Kenyan companies found guilty of corrupt practices would be liable to have their assets frozen by the courts (Jubilee Alliance Manifesto, 2013).

When the Jubilee Government assumed power in 2013, their supporters and the rest of the citizens hoped for a fulfillment of the promises made during their campaigns and enlisted in their manifesto. The said government has been in power for more than 4 years and the citizens have expressed their views and opinions on governance of their country. This has been done especially by political analysts, bloggers, scholars, religious leaders, journalists and popular columnists who have presented their opinions regarding the government. This has made the analysis of opinions expressed in media attractive in understanding people's views on the performance of government.

According to Ryan and Bernard (2003) identification of themes is one of the most ultimate tasks in qualitative research. Opler (1945) clarifies that themes are only visible through the manifestation of expressions in data. The themes investigated in the present study were generated from the texts through word lists and key words in context analysis. Wordlists and key words in context (KWIC) draw on simple observation of what people talk about (Ryan and Bernard, 2003). To generate word lists, researchers first identify all the unique words in a text and then count the number of times each occurs. Computer software (Nvivo and WordSmith) were used in the present research to perform that task effortlessly. Ryan and Weisner (1996) asked parents of adolescents to describe their children then transcribed the responses and produced wordlists of all the unique words. Results revealed that parents were concerned with themes related to their children's independence, moral, artistic, social, athletic and academic characteristics. This information was used as clues for themes. Most obvious themes in a corpus data are those topics that occur and recur according to Bogdan and Taylor (1975). The more the same concept occurs in a text the more likely it is a theme.

Zarei and Sadri (2012) applied CDA to analyze Kaastgaari events through a thematic analysis and findings revealed that discoursal exchanges in *Khaastgaari* events represent the traditional superiority of family and parents over children and reproduce dominant gender relations in Iranian social life. Kiersey and Hayes (2010) on the other hand, employed CDA to analyze Ireland's second periodic report to the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) by the government and the linguistic structure of the report was examined and legislative change and strategy plans were listed as having an impact on children's rights. El-Shariff (2017) also investigated constituents and arguments which reproduced the public discourse on anti-homosexuality and anti-homosexuals and homophobia in Jordan by analyzing 35 journal articles written in Standard Arabic in Jordanian public and open-access media. The analysis revealed that the question of homosexuality and homosexuals in Jordan can be addressed in terms of seven prominent themes: the public anti-homosexuality and anti-homosexuals' calls, the (Islamic) religious argument, protecting and reinforcing law and order, the argument of (homo) sexually-transmitted diseases, the calls of pro-homosexuality and pro-homosexuals and LGBTQIA's rights activists, the homosexuals' own self-representation, and the neutral scientific account and representation.

Teo (2000) applied CDA in a study that focused on newspaper report on a Vietnamese gang in Australia and revealed evidence of a racist ideology. Similarly, McKenna and Waddell (2007) used a computer-assisted content analysis to study a 32,000-word corpus drawn from mediated political statements made in response to the July 2005 London bombing. The research revealed absence of condoling and concluded that the discourse performed a positive epideictic purpose.

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These studies offered a roadmap to the current study in which opinions in digital dailies were analyzed using CDA and computer based software NVivo and WordSmith.

2. METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted using a corpus-based methodology which can analyze large data sets and as a method to achieve high internal validity and increase in effectiveness. The data included 1000 opinions consisting of 708,719 words collected from three different Kenyan, local digital dailies- *Star Digital*, *Standard* and *Nation Media*. Opinions were collected dating from April 2013 to December 2015. Each opinion text was systematically uploaded into NVivo software and WordSmith tools for a corpus-based analysis.

NVivo software and WordSmith tools played a key role in facilitating a rigorous analysis that helped in the management, shaping and making sense of the opinions and they also provided a workspace less complex analysis. With its purpose-built tools for classifying, sorting and arranging information, NVivo provided more time for analysis of materials, identification of themes and development of meaningful conclusions. It was also used as the research tool for integration, exploration, interrogation, organization and reflection of the corpus. WordSmith Tools, developed by Mike Scott, is a corpus analysis tool that best known for its monolingual concordancer (Concord) and wordlist extractors (WordList and KeyWords). It was used in identifying and extracting a concord list for the research.

The corpus of 1000 opinions was uploaded in the internals section of the NVivo software. A list of frequently appearing words was generated from the word frequency query and the resulting list was presented in bar graphs and word clouds. The same data was uploaded in the WordSmith tool, then the concordances of the most frequent words were studied. This formed a proper basis for forming judgments regarding themes that were recurring in the opinions with regards to government performance.

In order to investigate the concealed ideologies from the opinions, presuppositions were analyzed. NVivo provides practical tools to make coding quick and easy. Therefore, presuppositions were coded into nodes based on the information they carried. This information was interpreted as ideologies and presented in the following chapter. In order to examine the ideological attitude, conceptual metaphors from the opinions were analyzed. The similar process in coding presuppositions was engaged in coding metaphors, depending on the information they had. The language pattern that was analyzed, to reveal power status in Kenya, was the use of the modal auxiliary 'must'. Sentences with the use of 'must' were grouped into either deontic or epistemic, then interpreted according to Critical Discourse Analysis.

From 1000 opinions analyzed, 708,719 words were listed which presented different meanings in light of the political opinions. These words were further used to derive conclusions on recurring themes and studying language patterns. The 1000 opinions that were analyzed in the current study were collected randomly from *Nation Media*, *Standard Media* and *Star Digital Media* for the period between April 2013 and December 2015.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results of the 1000 most frequent words were displayed in a word cloud which show the most frequent 1000 words in varying font sizes, where most frequently occurring words are in larger fonts. From the word cloud, it was evident that; 'Kenya', 'government', 'president', 'one', 'public', 'people', 'national', 'political', 'constitution', 'must', 'also', 'country' and 'Kenyans' are amongst the most frequently used words from the corpus of 708,719 words. Words like 'high', 'African', 'ICC', 'deputy', 'nation', 'every', 'Ruto', 'land' and 'issues' are still in the top 1000 list but are less in frequencies. It is noteworthy how 'national' is more frequently used compared to 'nation' and 'president' is more frequent than 'deputy'. Words like 'money', 'bill' and 'cent' made it to the top 1000 list.

The word 'Kenya' was the most frequent in the opinions with 3028 counts followed by 'government' which had 2646. That might explain a collocation between 'government' and 'Kenya' and 'Kenya' and 'president' for example; 'UK wants the same thing as the people and government of Kenya', 'the government of Kenya through its top security', 'as the fourth President of Kenya.', 'the Presidents of Kenya'. The word 'Uhuru', 'cent' and 'money' appear to be close in terms of frequency, same goes for 'ICC' and 'case', 'Jubilee' and 'Corruption'. Since 'Kenya' is the most frequently used word from the opinions, a deeper analysis was conducted for it.

The search term 'Kenya' and its co-text as per the concordance list from WordSmith are arranged so that the textual environment can be assessed and patterns surrounding the search term can be identified visually. 'Kenya' is surrounded by words like 'people', 'constitution', 'independence', 'humiliations', 'economy', 'communities', 'nation', 'friendship' and 'progress'. 'Kenya's' is followed by 'partner', 'progress', 'independence', '50th birthday', 'constitution', 'economy' and 'president'. A concordance program was essential for discovering all the instances of a given word from the discourse data and the surrounding context for each instance that is found. The result is known as a key-word-in context (KWIC) concordance.

The word 'the' appears to be the biggest collocate of the word 'Kenya'. 'The' denotes 'Kenya' as unique and could also indicate that the word had already been mentioned or assumed to be common knowledge. 'The' could also imply period whereby 'the Kenya of today' is compared to the 'former Kenya' politically. Considering the political performance of Jubilee government, the

use of the word 'the' to refer to Kenya, could have been used to emphasise the important space that any elected government occupies in the life of its citizens. Jubilee government has to uphold virtues that sustain the significant image of Kenya as a nation, condemning negative ethnicity and addressing intractable problems that could be a challenge to nationhood. Experiences of corruption therefore demonstrate a different Kenya far from the public expectations. 'The' in political context speaks of a nation that is capable of fixing its security challenges, depends on a good constitution and is committed to equity and equality in provision of employment opportunities and resources. It thus explains a departure from the old phase of the nation to a new phase which in this case is a mark of positive transition in terms of development. This signifies nationalism as a recurring theme in the opinions.

3.1 Class Differentiation

The 1000 opinion articles analyzed appeared to be overwhelmingly dominated by the theme of differentiation. Differentiation in this study was defined as the practice of differentiating and it appeared in three distinct levels; class, ethnicity and religion. Class differentiation was manifested in terms of levels of income, education, non-political or non-professional groups of the people of Kenya. According to Savage et al., (1995), Karl Marx explained that one class controls and directs the process of production while the other class consists of direct producers and providers of services to the dominant class. The relations between the classes are incompatible because they are in conflict over the appropriation of what is produced. The dominant class controls material production and the production of ideas; it thus creates a cultural style and a dominant political doctrine, and its control over society is consolidated in a particular type of political system.

The opinions reveal that in Kenya, the political class controls and directs both the producers of services and the process of production. Phrases like 'ordinary Kenyans', 'ordinary mortals', 'local people' and 'unemployed' also emerged. This is similar to what was described by Bartley and Tenorio (2013) as 'otherness' in their study of minorities in Ireland. Their analysis that was significant in detecting prejudiced viewpoints held against the marginalized minorities. In the Ireland case, 'others' appeared to be associated with illness, underdevelopment, ignorance and crime. Similarly, the excerpts in the current research reveal that words like 'ordinary', 'other', 'common' and 'wanjiku' are linked to poverty, hunger, crime, unemployment, ignorance and illiteracy. Social class differentiation appears to be recurring in the opinion discourse probably because of the fact that forty two percent of Kenya's population of 44 million, live below the poverty line (UNICEF, 2009). They have a limited access to basic quality services such as health care, education, clean water and sanitation. (UNICEF, 2009).

Unemployment Rate in Kenya increased to 40 percent in 2011 from 12.70 percent in 2006. Unemployment Rate in Kenya averaged 22.43 percent from 1999 until 2011, reaching an all-time high of 40 percent in 2011 and a record low of 12.70 percent in 2006 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics) as indicated in the graph below. The word 'unemployed' collocated with such words and phrases as '68 per cent', 'youth(s)', 'supporters', 'millions of Kenyans', 'Kenyans', 'thousands', 'many' and 'significant fraction'. According to the collocation patterns above, unemployment is a social problem that affects majority of the 'youths' in Kenya. Kenyans are differentiated in the opinions in terms of 'unemployed' where the 'unemployed' are '68 per cent', 'youths' and 'millions'. Teun van Dijk (1996) stated that CDA was applied in analyzing the opinions to reveal the discursive sources of inequality and bias. The opinions unveiled unemployment as a result of unequal distribution of opportunities in Kenya and the most affected group appeared to be the youths in Kenya.

There was also differentiation of class in terms of age noted in words and expressions like 'young people', 'digital' and 'youths'. The word 'digital' connotates with words like 'government', 'duo', 'leaders', and 'youths'. Digital government, digital duo and digital leaders are all used in a similar way to refer to the Jubilee Government which appears to have wooed voters with plans to make Kenya a digital world, operating in digital platforms. Digital era or age (Information Age, Computer Age or New Media Age) is ideally a period in human history characterized by the shift from traditional industry that the Industrial Revolution brought through industrialization, to an economy based on information computerization. The Digital Era is characterized by technology which increases the speed and breadth of knowledge turnover within the economy and society. The Jubilee Government used the word 'digital' as a campaign strategy for the 2013 general elections. According to the except above, 'digital' collocates with words like 'government', 'youth', 'duo', and 'leaders'. 'Digital' is associated with youthfulness and leadership.

3.2 Class Differentiation

One of the themes that recurred in the opinions was the theme of differentiation which manifested itself into certain subcategories; class differentiation, ethnic differentiation and religion-based differentiation. Class differentiation was manifested in terms of levels of income, education, non-political or non-professional groups of the people of Kenya. According to Savage et al., (1995), Karl Marx explained that one class controls and directs the process of production while the other class consists of direct producers and providers of services to the dominant class.

CDA approaches discourse as a process in which social practices influences texts, through influencing the context and mode in which they are produced (Bichanga and Aberi, 2012). Going by this, it is noteworthy that there is a tendency of social classification in Kenya, a practice that

has influenced opinion writers. Sometimes it appears as a political strategy especially when politicians attempt to identify with the electorates in order to acquire votes from them. The opinions that were analyzed revealed that social classification is a common social practice in Kenya. The phrase 'when elites and ordinary citizens alike internalize…' is a good example of differentiation through class where on one hand there are 'elites' and 'ordinary citizens' on the other.

Fowler and Hodge, (1979) argues that in CDA speakers make choices regarding vocabulary and grammar, and that these choices are consciously or unconsciously principled. In the above excerpt, the phrase 'other Kenyans' has been used 'consciously' to mean a certain portion of Kenyans associated with suffering, voting and affordability of high rates. 'other Kenyans' can also be associated with great numbers '40 million' and 'many'. Politically, 'other Kenyans' could be the larger percentage of Kenyans who are regarded as poor and suffering and ironically they are the voters.

The other terms that were used interchangeably though in less frequencies to mean ideologically 'ordinary' or 'other' in the opinions included 'hoi polloi', 'common' and 'Wanjiku'. Whereby 'common' collocated with 'Kenyans', 'raia', 'citizens', 'man*' and 'people'. Common people or commoners are words used to denote social division referring to ordinary people who are members of neither the nobility nor the priesthood. The term common people has been used in a more general sense to refer to typical members of society in contrast to highly privileged in either wealth or influence. The common people, according to the following excerpts are associated with 'lives', 'problems', 'relief', 'helping', and 'justice'.

Unveiling the connections between discourse practices, social practices, and social structures (social institutions) was done through the application of CDA principles. Differentiation through class is a theme that recurs in the entire 1000 opinions and it appears to be a social practice that is evidenced in the analyzed pieces of discourse. Class differentiation was also manifested through the use of 'unemployed' as indicated in the excerpts below. Unemployment Rate in Kenya increased to 40 percent in 2011 from 12.70 percent in 2006. Unemployment Rate in Kenya averaged 22.43 percent from 1999 until 2011, reaching an all-time high of 40 percent in 2011 and a record low of 12.70 percent in 2006 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics).

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2016) recommendation on digital government strategies state that; digital governments should make use of digital platforms to improve government accountability, social inclusiveness and partnerships, to create a data-driven culture in the public sector, to ensure coherent use of digital technologies across policy areas and levels of government, to strengthen the ties between digital government and broader public governance agendas, to reflect a risk management approach to address digital security and

privacy issues, to develop clear business cases to sustain the funding and success of digital technologies projects, to reinforce institutional capacities to manage and monitor project implementation, to assess existing assets to guide procurement of digital technologies and to review legal and regulatory frameworks to allow digital opportunities to be seized.

The Recommendation aims to support the development and implementation of digital government strategies that bring governments closer to citizens and businesses. It recognises that today's technology is not only a strategic driver for improving public sector efficiency, but can also support effectiveness of policies and create more open, transparent, innovative, participatory and trustworthy governments. However, the multiplication of technological options may give rise to new risks and greater societal expectations that governments are not always fully prepared to address. Many governments still do not see technology as a collaborative means to shape public governance outcomes. A "business as usual" approach to technology that reinforces existing internal government processes only leads to failed projects and public criticism.

The Recommendation can enable a fundamental shift from citizen-centric approaches (government anticipating the needs of citizens and businesses) to citizen-driven approaches (citizens and businesses formulating and determining their needs in partnership with governments). The word digital also indicates focus on the young people, or the youths in Kenya. The youths in Kenya were promised jobs and the school going children were promised free primary education. The opinions reveal that the unemployment rate especially for the young people is still high currently and this can be evidenced using latest surveys and news particles.

Efforts towards youth development programs had been made in other subsequent policy documents such as, the Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1992, on Small Scale and Jua Kali Enterprises, the 1997-2001 Development Plan and the National Poverty Eradication Plans 1999-2015, among others. However, youth problems have been worsening in spite of the remarkable increase in the number of agencies dealing with matters that affect the youth. CDA was used to explain the complex relationships between the texts and the social context in which they were produced (Fairclough, 1992). In this case, CDA provided the connection between the frequent collocates of 'young' and 'youths' and the real challenges young people go through, or maybe what young people are associated with in the Kenyan scenario.

3.3 Ethnic Differentiation

The analysis of opinions also revealed ethnic differentiation which seemed to be a recurring element of the theme of differentiation. Kenya is a country that is divided in ethnical lines. The following phrases evidenced that; 'Eastern Kenyans', 'Central Kenya', 'North Eastern Kenyans', 'Kenyan Asians' and 'Kenyan Somalis'. Kenya is a multi-ethnic society and has more than 40 ethnic communities that have coexisted for a long time. The most dominant ethnic communities

in this linguistic and ethnic landscape are the Gikuyu, the Luyha, the Luo, the Kalenjin, the Kamba, the Giriama and the Kisii. There are however many other smaller ethnic communities in Kenya. Since the commencement of colonialism, power in Kenya has been associated with a particular ethnic group (Decalo, 1998). Kenya was initially a protectorate and later colony of the United Kingdom. From self-rule in 1963 until the death of the first president Jomo Kenyatta in 1978, political and economic power was increasingly bestowed to his trusted circle of fellow Kikuyu (Decalo, 1998). During the second presidential regime, political power became concentrated in the hands of Kalenjin élites. In all the different regimes then and after, the ruling group sought to use the resources of the state for the special benefit of its own ethnic community and its allies.

Large-scale inter-ethnic violence is a new phenomenon in Kenya. The proximate causes of violence are intrinsically related to democratization and the electoral cycle; its roots are to be found in recent times and are politically instigated, and not primordial. As the move to multi-partyism became increasingly probable, senior politicians in many political rallies issued inflammatory statements and utterances, asking for people to go back to their ancestral lands or they be forced out. The advent of the violent ethnic clashes closely followed these rallies (Human Rights Watch, 1993). As new political parties emerged, a clear enduring pattern of ethno-regional interests appeared (Human Rights Watch, 1999). The violence in Kenya appeared to be an ethnicized expression of political conflict. Ethnicity in this case, was the medium of political violence, not its cause. However, the system once in place, became self-perpetuating: it increased the likelihood of future conflict by sharpening ethnic identity and chauvinism, as well as promoting the doctrine that specific region of the country "belonged" to the groups that "originally" occupied them. This has led to terms coming up such as "outsiders," "foreigners," "strangers" or "aliens," and this is regardless of the legal ownership of land and the constitutional right of all Kenyans to live anywhere of their choosing within their country (Ndegwa, 1997). Tribalism is manifested through; nepotism and favoritism, tribal political parties, polarized general elections, inequitable allocation of resources and bad governance. The excerpts below indicate another incident of ethnic differentiation.

According to Wamai (2009), an analysis of the Kenyan Health situation and enduring challenges that was conducted in 2003 (by population data from the Household Health Expenditure and Utilization survey) revealed that Northeastern and Eastern provinces have the worst ratios of hospital beds and cots per 100,000 population. Comparatively, Central Province has the best health and social-economic indicators according to the 2003 Kenya Household Health Expenditure and Utilization Survey. For instance, levels are higher for life expectancy, literacy rate, income, contraception use, sanitation coverage, immunization coverage, and attended

deliveries. That might explain why the society associates 'Northeastern' with 'negligence' and 'poor performance' for example.

'Northeastern' also collocates with 'terror' because as al-Qa'ida affiliates continue to target Kenya for its role in the Global War on Terror and 2011 military invasion of Somalia, there have been frequent small-scale attacks, exemplifying that the surrounding threats to regional security can only act as an even greater prediction for future problems. It has become clear that the insecurity stemming from terrorism in Kenya does not remain restricted to the confines of the country. The implications of further instability, therefore, affect global security and create a critical need for successful anti-terrorism policies that promote the Global War on Terror. Nevertheless, the current anti-terrorism strategy in Kenya neglects the history and geopolitics of the nation and is thus flawed in its most basic capacity (Vittori, Bremer and Vittori, 2009).

The geography of Kenya is crucial to understanding its present importance in combating terrorism. The country is situated on the Eastern coast of Africa and has direct access to the Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Aden. The location of Kenya makes it a part of both East Africa and the Horn of Africa. Much of the Global War on Terror is based on its northern neighbor, Somalia. When the government of Somalia collapsed in 1991, it created a lawless society where crime and radical ideologies flourished. Lacking state capacity since that time has allowed unrestricted movement of people and goods into and out of Somalia. While many of these people were, refugees seeking a better life in Kenya, the number of terrorists should not be underestimated. With a porous border and a confirmed presence of Islamic fundamentalists, Somalia poses a threat to Kenya and the rest of the world (Mogire and Agade, 2011).

3.4 Differentiation in Religion

The third level in which differentiation as a theme was also revealed on the opinions was religion. The Muslims and Christians are some of the largest religions in Kenya. Kenya is predominantly a Christian country with Muslims making up about 11% of the population most of which live along the Kenyan coast (Wesonga, 2017). Muslims and Christians of Kenya have a long history of peaceful co-existence compared to other countries in Africa like Nigeria. Despite terror attacks on Christian establishments, there has never been a full-blown conflict between Muslims and Christians of Kenya.

The word 'Muslim' collocated with words like 'scholars', 'Somali', 'extremist', 'mainstream', 'Kenyan', 'Alshabaab', 'terror' and 'victims'. Botha and Blunsom, (2014) argues that Islamist extremism did not begin in Kenya after the country's military intervention in Somalia in 2011 or with al-shabaab's subsequent attacks in Kenya. The first significant manifestation of the growing threat of extremism in post-independence East Africa can be traced back to the 7th August 1998 attacks on the US Embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania, which were

attributed to al-Qaeda. Islam is the religion of approximately 11.1 percent (2009, Population and census) of the Kenyan population, or approximately 4.3 million people. The Kenyan coast is mostly populated by Muslims. The vast majority of Muslims in Kenya follow the Sunni Islam of Shafi school of jurisprudence. There are also sizeable populations of Shia and Ahmadi adherents. In large part, Shias are Ismailis descended from or influenced by oceanic traders from the Middle East and India. These Shia Muslims include the Dawoodi Bohra, who number some 6,000-8,000 in the country.

3.5 Theme of Corruption

The word 'corruption' collocates with 'fight', 'war', 'eradicate' 'weed out', 'wipe out' and 'against'. Those collocates point out the fact that there could be attempts being made to fight corruption in Kenya. The other collocates of the word 'corruption' include; 'scourge', 'monster', 'cancer' and 'endemic' which show that corruption is perceived as a misfortune in the society. Corruption is also viewed in terms of 'grand', 'high-level', 'petty', 'massive', 'mega', and 'widespread'. Corruption in the post-colonial Kenya has had a history which spans the era of the Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi's KANU governments to Mwai Kibaki's PNU government. Corruption has many definitions, but one well - known is "the provision of material benefits to politicians and public officials in exchange for illicit influence over their decisions" (Weyland 1998). Corruption has become a salient problem not only because of its demonstrated significant negative effects on the economy (Elliot 1997) but also because corruption generates economic inefficiencies and inequality that can lead to ineffective government (Rose-Ackerman 1999), which in turn erodes the belief in the legitimacy of the political system (Canache and Allison 2005; Seligson 2002).

In the Corruption Perceptions Index 2012 Kenya was ranked 139th out of 176 countries for corruption, tied with Azerbaijan, Nepal, Nigeria, and Pakistan (least corrupt countries are at the top of the list) (Transparency International Kenya). It is estimated the average urban Kenyan pays 16 bribes per month. Most of these bribes are fairly small but large ones are also taken – bribes worth over 50,000 Kenyan shillings account for 41% of the total value. There is also corruption on a larger scale with each of the last two regimes being criticized for their involvement. Between 1986 and 1991 the construction of the Turkwel Hydroelectric Power Station was riddled with claims of corruption. The dam was eventually built at three times the estimated cost, twice the allocated amount and producing energy significantly below capacity.

Misuse of public funds is another element of victimization in the government. The word 'public' collocates with 'goodwill', 'resources', 'money', 'services', 'investments', 'spending', 'debt', 'financial' and 'infrastructure'. The excerpts above reveal that 'public money' is being misused, rationalized, stolen and not well managed. Public expenditure in Kenya is governed by the

constitutional provisions and supported by subordinate statutes and regulations. Article 229 (1) of the constitution of Kenya not only establishes the office of the Auditor General while article 229 (4) states the duties of the office and the scope of public bodies that are subject to an audit. This is important because it situates the work of the Office of the Auditor general within the constitution, confirming that performance of the role is a constitutional requirement.

The allocation of resources in most African countries is socially unacceptable; they cause massive deprivation and inequalities, marginalization and in some cases, trigger interethnic conflicts, as various groups struggle for scarce state resources (Ong'ayo, 2008). Again, this is more common in countries less endowed with natural resources while in those cases with natural resources, regional conflagrations emerge as different parts of the country compete or lay claim to such resources. Furthermore, the consequence of external pressure combined with internal mal-governance problems in Africa are enormous and have had serious implications for political stability. For instance, in Kenya, "the presidential centralisation of power and the intensification of kleptocracy were backed by an increasing resort by the regime to greater repression and intimidation" (Southall, 1998).

The Corruption Perceptions Index ranked countries and territories according to their perceived levels of public sector corruption in 2011 and no country in the world was immune to the damages of corruption, the vast majority of the 183 countries and territories assessed scored below five on a scale of 0 (highly corrupt) to 10 (very clean). New Zealand, Denmark and Finland top the list, while North Korea and Somalia are at the bottom (Transparency International, 2011). CDA postulates that social practices influence texts and misuse of public funds is a hidden activity which appears to be a matter of concern as depicted in the opinions.

Corruption is usually depicted in one of two ways: as stemming from a lack of government accountability, or from a lack of capacity. Neither depiction predicts that the structure of institutions meant to control corruption should vary across autocratic regimes. If corruption results from moral hazard between politicians and citizens, then all unaccountable governments should eschew anticorruption bodies. It should be surprising that corruption persists in democratic countries, where voters have the chance to choose honest people for political positions. One widespread line of inquiry (Persson and Tabelini 2004; Ferraz and Finan 2008) focuses on informational failures to explain the puzzle of electing corrupt candidates.

Winters and Weitz-Shapiro (2013) also provides evidence supporting the "informational" hypothesis. The authors utilized a nationwide survey experiment in Brazil in which respondents were randomly exposed to vignettes containing information about the politicians' involvement (or lack thereof) in corruption and party affiliation while being asked about the likelihood of support by a hypothetical voter. The authors report that respondents rejected the cost-benefit

trade-off, displaying greater sensitivity to information on political misconduct. Another line of research, however, has provided evidence that voters may elect corrupt candidates even when they are informed about their wrongdoings (Manzetti and Wilson, 2007; Golden, 2009; Pereira and Melo, 2015). Pereira and Melo (2015), for instance, argue that although voters hold politicians accountable for corruption, they do not do so to the point of preventing misbehavior, especially when politicians are able to reward voters with public goods in exchange for political support. Their findings supporting the cost-benefit tradeoff hypothesis suggest that while corruption decreases the probability of incumbent reelection, the negative effect of corruption diminishes as public expenditure rises.

Accordingly, Manzetti and Wilson (2007) claim that, especially in poorer countries, corrupt incumbents obtain votes by delivering basic goods and patronage jobs. Golden (2009) follows the same rational, explaining that even informed voters may vote for allegedly corrupt incumbents if they expect to receive material benefits that other parties or candidates cannot guarantee. Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA) transparency, accountability, and corruption in the public-sector rating is 1=low to 6=high of which Kenya as a country is rated at 3. Per World Bank Group Database, Transparency, accountability, and corruption in the public sector assess the extent to which the executive can be held accountable for its use of funds and for the results of its actions by the electorate and by the legislature and judiciary, and the extent to which public employees within the executive are required to account for administrative decisions, use of resources, and results obtained. The three main dimensions assessed here are the accountability of the executive to oversight institutions and of public employees for their performance, access of civil society to information on public affairs, and state capture by narrow vested interests.

Reports from Pricewaterhouse Coopers (PwC) Kenya reveal that asset misappropriation, bribery and corruption and procurement fraud were some of the most predominant forms of economic misconducts reported. The 2016 survey reveals an increase in the incidence of economic crime from the last survey from 52% of respondents experiencing economic crime in 2014 compared to 61% in 2016, which is 25% higher than the global average. The survey reveals that economic crime has a significant impact on reputation/brand strength, employee morale and business relations among organisations in Kenya. According to PwC 2014 survey, corruption in Kenya accounted for 27% of economic crimes in their organisations, which is a marginal increase from 23% in 2011. Kenyan results are in line with the global average at 27% but significantly lower than the African average of 39%. It is important to note the context of these results – the survey measured the extent to which individuals experienced bribery/corruption in their own organisations, not in a macro sense.

The Kenyan new constitution however has made more emphasis on accountability of allocated resources as well as strengthening of the judiciary and other organs fighting corruption. This may be indicative of the fact that bribery and corruption are concerning economic crimes even in the wider public and regulatory platform. According to a separate study on bribery and corruption, PwC's Africa Business Agenda indicates that a significant 75% of Kenya CEOs view bribery and corruption as a threat to growth. Kenya's President Uhuru Kenyatta is reported to conceded publicly that there was nothing he could do to fight corruption in Jubilee government and Kenya at large. Thus, during the "State House Summit on Governance and Accountability", deflected responsibility and accountability for the corruption that is rife in his government to everyone else but himself.

Mr. Kenyatta slammed the Legislature, Judiciary and the Constitution. He even took a shot at an absent John Githongo (Kenya's first anti-corruption czar) and some hapless panelist whose name he, President Kenyatta, allegedly couldn't remember, for asking pointed questions. Conspicuously missing from the summit was President Kenyatta's former crimes-against-humanity comrade-in-arms and self-proclaimed "hustler" Deputy President William Ruto. Kenyatta, at whose office the buck supposedly stops, whined that he had done his part and asked people implicated in corruption scandals to step aside, supposedly at "great political risk" to himself.

Overlooked in the president's self-congratulatory contortion is that his deputy Mr. William Ruto, who has been implicated in more than one scandal during his deputy presidency, is still safely ensconced in office. Moreover, overlooked by the so-called "good man" who is unfortunately surrounded by "bad people" is that it took him a lifetime (in political terms) to acquiesce to his Secretary of Planning and Devolution Ms. Anne Waiguru's request for "lighter duties" after yet another round of millions went missing from the department. The latest episode of gross malfeasance under Mr. Kenyatta's presidency involves the alleged misappropriation of KSh.5Billion ($50Million) intended for free maternity care in hospitals across the country; a cause near and dear to the First Lady Margaret Kenyatta. The electronic payment system at the Ministry of Health was manipulated to make double payments to vendors and divert funds to individuals and private companies. The individuals and private companies implicated in the scandal are respectively members of the president's immediate and extended family and companies associated with them. This latest in a long and odious string of scandals since Jubilee took office now has the party faithful crying foul. To paraphrase a good friend, the family dog has finally created a hole big enough for the hyena to enter the compound and devour the family livestock! If ever there was an apt metaphor for Uhuru Kenyatta's stewardship of Kenya over the last 3+ years, this is it.

The Jubilee government is the most corrupt administration in Kenya's history. This is according to former anti-corruption czar John Githongo. In a television interview with NTV on Thursday, the Inuka Kenya CEO claimed that President Uhuru Kenyatta has failed to tackle corruption in the country, and that now, more than ever before, corruption is rampant. "For the last four years, as a country we have drifted apart as far as the fight against corruption is concerned. This is by far the most corrupt government in our history in terms of procurement, tender-awarding and contracts," Githongo said. Githongo further claimed that agencies in the country mandated to fight and eradicate corruption have spectacularly failed, and therefore making the country "a theatre of corruption."

3.6 Theme of Terrorism

There is also victimization that is triggered by acts of terror in Kenya evidenced from the opinions. The word 'terror' collocates significantly with 'against', 'fight' and 'war' which insinuates attempts to fight terrorism in Kenya. Kenya has witnessed various terrorist attacks for many years. In 1980, the Jewish-owned Norfolk hotel was attacked by the Palestine Liberation Organization. In 1998, the US embassy in Nairobi was bombed, as was the Israeli-owned Paradise hotel in 2002. In 2013, the militant group Al-Shabaab killed 67 people at Nairobi's Westgate Shopping Mall. There have been numerous other lesser attacks. On 21 September 2013, Al-Shabaab associated gunmen targeted and shot customers at Nairobi's Westgate Shopping Mall where 67 people were killed (Krause and Otenyo, 2005).

According to Kuto and Grove (2004), in 1997 Kenya witnessed a politically instigated ethnical clash between the local communities in the coastal area which negatively affected the tourism industry. Kwena (2003), describes the events of 7th of August 1998, when Al Quaeda network simultaneously executed twin attacks in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, targeting the US embassy. A few Americans and over two hundred Kenyans lost their lives while thousands more were injured (Kelley et al., 2003). On Thursday, November 28, 2002, terrorists believed to be linked to Al Quaeda bombed the Paradise Hotel in Kikambala on the North Coast of Kenya in a deadly attack. The Israeli owned hotel was severely damaged by the terrorist bomb. Sixteen people died in the hotel attack, including three suicide bombers. Simultaneously, two rocket propelled grenades were fired at an Israeli airliner at the Moi International Airport, Mombasa. Both missiles narrowly missed the aircraft. (Agutu, 2007).

Kenya began fighting terrorism before 9/11 however, there was lack of funding and support from more experienced Western counterparts. The National Security Intelligence Service was established following the embassy bombings and Kenya was added to the U.S. Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program (Mogire and Agade, 2011). The addition to ATA was largely a formality and no significant funding was dispersed until several years later (Aronson, 2012). Since 2002, The

ATA Program has trained more than five hundred Kenyan Security officials in the United States and many more in U.S. designated training facilities throughout East Africa (Ploch, 2010). The Kenyan Government has also created an Anti-Terror Police Unit (ATPU), a Joint Terrorism Task Force [that has since been disbanded] (Aronson, 2012), a National Counter-Terrorism Centre, and a National Security Advisory Committee.

3.7 Push for Equality

The third theme that recurred on the opinions was the theme of push for equality which in the present research was defined as a political doctrine that holds that all people should be treated as equals from birth, under the law and in society at large. There appears to be push for the Jubilee government to embrace equality in the distribution of resources in the country. It is a belief in human equality, especially with respect to social, political and economic rights and privileges, and advocates the removal of inequalities among people and of discrimination (on grounds such as race, gender, sexual orientation and religion).

World inequality statistics revealed that Kenya stands at 103 out of 169 countries making it the 66th most unequal country in the world in. Kenya's Inequality is rooted in its history, politics, economics and social organization and manifests itself in the lack of access to services, resources, power, voice and agency. Inequality continues to be driven by various factors such as: social norms, behaviors and practices that fuel discrimination (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics). That perhaps explains the recurrence of the theme of equality all through the opinions. Examples of incidences where 'equality' was used in the analyzed opinions included; economic equality or material equality which means the participants of a society are of equal standing and have equal access to all the economic resources in terms of economic power, wealth and contribution.

Locke (1924) discussed that all human beings have the same natural right to both (self) ownership and freedom. Equality implies that beyond apparent differences, certain recognizable entities or units exist that, by dint of being units, can be said to be 'equal'. Fundamental equality means that persons are alike in important relevant and specified respects alone, and not that they are all generally the same or can be treated in the same way (Nagel, 1991). Moral equality can be understood as prescribing treatment of persons as equals, i.e., with equal concern and respect, and not the often-implausible principle of treating persons equally. Equal respect for all persons, equal worth or equal dignity of all human beings (Vlastos, 1962) is now globally accepted.

3.8 Conclusion

This study reveals a representative opinion of the general public and it could be resourceful for the policy makers. One of the tools used in uncovering the underlying ideologies in digital media

is a combination of CDA and compatible computer software such as NVivo and WordSmith whose application is at infancy in Kenya. Findings from this research will help shape the political behaviour of Kenyan citizens, shape public demands on performance government, influence political outcomes and evaluate existing policies.

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