Ideology in Political Campaigns: Explicating the Digital-Analogue Metaphor Used in the 2013 Election Campaigns by the Jubilee Coalition in Kenya

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Abstract - The digital-analogue metaphor in the 2013 elections was a way of explaining the different ideologies between Jubilee and CORD coalition as the two major competing parties. The study set out to demonstrate the ideological import of the digital-analogue metaphorical catch-phrase by the Jubilee Coalition of political parties. This paper maps out the conceptual bearings of the digital-analogue metaphor. The study sidestepped other metaphors used at the election time and located itself within a time-frame of between 24th December 2012 and 1st March 2013. Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory was the guiding principle to the study since it hoists metaphor above its linguistic value to consider the conceptual property on which the study was founded. The study adopted an interpretative research design targeting all the telecast campaigns coverage between 24th December 2012 and 1st March 2013. This period stipulated for the video data fitted the study in the sense that the Jubilee Coalition of political parties was inaugurated on the said date in December 2012 and the 1st of March 2013 marked the end of campaigns. The sample was purposively sampled in terms of specific relevance to the objectives of the study. The study made use of video method of data collection as well as FGDs. The video clips used in the study were sought from the mainstream TV channels, namely Citizen, Kenya Television Network and Nation Television. The clips were transcribed and then interpreted for their conceptual relevance to the digital-analogue metaphor. The research findings showed how the metaphor harboured conceptual ideologies that characterized the Jubilee campaigns of the 2013 polls. The results provide opportunities to scholars and the society in general to understand how metaphors can transmit ideologies which shape the socio-political attitudes of the public.

Key Words: Political Communication, Conceptual Bearing, Digital-Analogue Metaphor

1. INTRODUCTION

Every political establishment has got a defining ideology which is a political theory defining a given political practice. At independence, pioneer African leaders fitted their leadership into the pre-existing ideological templates of world ideologies like Marxism and Capitalism [1]. At the dawn of post-colonialism, the founding president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, perpetuated the values of the imperialist and played reconciliatory role between the whites and the blacks. In fact, he reassured the white settlers of integration without dispossessing them the fertile land they had occupied. Kenyatta's leadership was receptive to western civilization even as he pushed for fundamental change in political economic and social relations [2]. Kenyatta's successor, Daniel Toroitich arap Moi, adopted the Nyayo philosophy, which was an upfront prescription of his politics.

The study singled out the 2013 elections in Kenya, conscious of certain peculiarities. First, the 2013 elections were arguably the most fiercely contested in Kenya's political history. The elections also came at a critical time, being the first under the new constitution enacted in 2010. Moreover, these elections came under close international and local scrutiny following the 2007 electoral dysfunction that sparked violence in which over 1500 died, 3000 women raped and other 3000 displaced [3]. Most importantly, the 2013 elections stood out as unmatched contests between what was perceived to be the old against the new guard.

Indeed, the question of generational politics has featured in Kenyan politics for well over two decades, but it was only in 2002 that President Daniel Moi yielded to public pressure to step down and oversee a generational change of guard in national politics [4]. In his apt response, Moi endorsed Uhuru Kenyatta, the son of Jomo Kenyatta, as his successor. However, "Project Uhuru" as a strategy of delivering generational change was defeated at elections. The political environment in Kenya had drifted from what had been invariably ethnic to generational politics that was marked by the perceived young and old ideologies. The post-independent politics applies a relational aspect to "youth"; this explains why Raila Odinga found some space in the "youthful" political group in Kenya during the 2002 elections, even though he was 57 years old.

1.1 Ideology in Political Communication

Introduced into social science by the French philosopher Destutt de`Tracy at the end of the 18th century, the concept of ideology describes the science of ideas. However, the concept later acquired a pejorative meaning, particularly in light of Marxist's who considered it as delusion or false mystification about the world or, as put by Engels, 'false consciousness' [5]. Interested scholars who, however, have still failed to give a consensual definition of the term as presently applied in social science initiated important shifts in the meaning of ideology later. This paper treats ideology as a system of beliefs of a group and its members [6]. Ideologies form the basis of social practice of group members. Thus, social discrimination may be informed by racist or sexist ideologies as pacifist ideology informs anti-nuclear weapon campaigns.

Having affective, cognitive and motivational properties [7], ideology is arguably central in political communication, a communication defined by Denton and Woodward [8] as a pure discussion about the allocation of public resources, official authority and the state sanctions. Political campaign communication seeks the conferment of official authority to power seekers to allocate the state resources and make state legislations. In general, political discourse or communication is a class of genres with politics as its domain [9]. Accordingly, parliamentary debate and campaign communications are examples of specific genres in political communication largely shaped by political cognition, discourse structures and socio-political contexts.

Political communication is a practice of political establishments in the form of governments as well as political parties. In putting political parties in perspective, McNair [10] identifies the defining aspects of political parties as an aggregate of like-minded people coming together within an agreed organizational and ideological state to pursue a common goal. In the same vein, McNair proceeds to suggest, as indeed many other scholars in social science have, that the goals or objectives of a political party or any such group reflects the underlying value systems or ideology. However, from contemporary practice of political communication one can ask, with the receding influence of traditional ideologies of Marxism, Conservatism, Liberalism and the like, does ideology prescribe or describe political communication and, in turn, practice?

Since competition is a major factor in elections of multiparty democracies, campaign communication, especially in modern-day politics is greatly a manifest of marketing –the science of 'influencing mass behaviour in competitive situations' [11]. Political marketing ensures effective and favourable self-presentation to electorates and, as a commercial activity, it targets the public audience from whom electoral support is sought in a competitive

environment. The setting of such contests is presented through some ideological screens that Van Dijk [12] calls the ideological square. With the rise of democratic societies, conferment of political powers seems to have been commoditized in the public market. Power seekers market themselves through shared values, ideals and policies that can persuade the voters to elect them. There exists a functional discrepancy between the world political ideologies in the face of Cold War and the ideological positioning in present democratic societies. At independence, traditional political ideologies served to orient states to the factional dichotomy of polarized world politics of either the West or the East. The founding president of Kenya, for example, perpetuated the values of the imperialists at independence [13].

If Jomo Kenyatta's regime was organized around any ideology, then it squarely fitted onto the colonial master's template of capitalism and utter conservatism as opposed to change. The end of Cold War saw the emergence of a scholarly debate on the 'end of ideology' in political communication and practice and several arguments were raised in support of this view [14]. Political parties competing at election in democratic states define themselves in terms of certain political, social and economic ideals from what Van Djik [15] refers to as the socio-political context. This paper is antithetical to the 'end of ideology' debate as it singles out a 21st century case study to demonstrate that shared ideals and values characterize individual political parties in competitive political activities democratic societies.

2. METHODOLOGY

The study adopted an interpretive research design, an approach that acknowledges human knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action as a social construction by human actors [16]. This design fits the study because it sets out to interpret the campaign content of the Jubilee coalition of political parties in an attempt to determine how the digital-analogue metaphor and its perception as used in the 2013 general elections campaigns in Kenya shaped the coalition's victory.

The study was guided by Conceptual Metaphor Theory as espoused by George Lakoff [17] The theory posits that metaphor is not just a linguistic phenomenon but a reflection of how concepts are organized in our minds. It goes beyond a mere linguistic description to give understanding of one thing in terms of the other by mapping knowledge about the one concept (source domain) to another (target domain). As a theory CMT reigns in the field of cognitive linguistics and its early formulation negated the mere aesthetic value of metaphor in language. The understanding or our world is based on a system of related concepts of which some are emergent as others are structured metaphorically.

The target population of the study involved all the footage clips of the Jubilee coalition campaign communications between December 24th and 28th February 2013. The study purposively sampled eleven video footages from the mainstream TV channels, namely Citizen TV of Royal Media Services (RMS), Kenya Television Network (KTN) of the Standard Group (SG) and Nation Television (NTV) of the Nation Media Group (NMG).

The footages were availed from the campaign trails of Jubilee coalition. The videos provided multimodal data that enhanced the authentic contexts of the campaign messages. There are many examples of studies re-purposing videos for research including homemade videos, broadcast media [18], automated CCTV recordings [19] and YouTube videos [20].

The following table displays an overview of the Jubilee campaign video clips sampled for study

CLIP NO.	VENUE	EVENT	KEY ATTENDANCE	SPEAKER	SUBJECT
CLIP 1	KISII	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Simeon Nyachae, Sam Ongeri Najib Balala	Simeon Nyachae	Leadership and generation change
CLIP 2	NAKURU	URP, TNA & RC Merger Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale Joshua Kutuny	Joshua Kutuny	Swearing in the 4th President of Kenya
CLIP 3	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Inefficiency of CORD Principal
CLIP 3	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Technology and social development
CLIP 3	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Technology and national security
CLIP 4	MTWAPA	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale Ali Chirau Mwakwere	William Ruto	Drug trafficking
CLIP 5	NAIROBI	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Najib Balala	Leadership and generation change
CLIP 5	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Najib Balala	Constitutional Implementation
CLIP 5	NAIROBI	Campaign Rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Najib Balala	Expiry of the old generation politics
CLIP 6	RONGAI	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Uhuru kenyatta	Youth abuse by politicians
CLIP 7	NAIROBI	First Presidential debate	All the 2013 presidential aspirants	Uhuru Kenyatta	The ICC question and the Would-be Service delivery
CLIP 8	RIFT VALLEY	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	CORD's insignificance in developing the country
CLIP 9	COASTAL KENYA	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	Uhuru Kenyatta	CORD's perceived historical non-performance.
CLIP 10	KURIA	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Voter's choice
CLIP 11	WESTEN KENYA	Campaign rally	Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Najib Balala, Aden Duale	William Ruto	Voter's choice

The video clips obtained from the selected TV channels were transcribed. The study focused on the specific parts of footage that served objectives of the research. The message in each clip was analysed in line with the digital-analogue metaphor conceptual mappings to unearth the set of ideas embedded in the Jubilee campaign communication. Since the study was basically interpretative, the findings were presented in a narrative format, supported by evidence from the data.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The conceptual mapping in the study was modelled along what Charteries-Black **[21]** gives to Winston Churchill's rhetorical speech that created 'the heroic myth' in the portrayal of the self and his cohorts in contrast with Adolf Hitler and his allies. He achieved this end by the following metaphor:

> Side by side, unaided except by their kith and kin in the great Dominions and by the wide empires which rest beneath their shield – side by side, the British and French peoples have advanced to rescue not only Europe but mankind from the foulest and most soul-destroying tyranny which has ever darkened and stained the pages of history. Behind them – behind us – behind the Armies and Fleets of Britain and France – gather a group of shattered States and bludgeoned races: the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Dutch, the Belgians – upon all of whom the long night of barbarism will descend, unbroken even by a star of hope, unless we conquer, as conquer we must; as conquer we shall (19th May, 1940).

The presupposition in the heroic myth is that Britain was on a selfless military course; that Britain was leading its allies against the forces of evil to salvage humanity from the forces of barbarism and tyranny perpetuated by Hitler. The metaphor conceptualizes nation-states as human participants with their status as heroes, villains or victims. Nation-states are depicted as having thoughts, beliefs and feelings. Churchill, therefore, describes international politics and military as if they were personal hopes and anxieties. He successfully uses the metaphor that is full of emotive appeal in both the portrayal of the self and then that of the opponents. The explication of the digital-analogue metaphor as well presents a myriad conceptual mappings that contextualized the 2013 elections in Kenya.

The mappings gave a contrastive dichotomy of the two coalitions considered by the study. In establishing the relationship between two domains in the conceptual metaphor, there has been contention between Lakoff and Johnson's **[22]** incline to unidirectional approach, on the one hand, and Black's **[23]** push for a back and forth (directional)

approach. Despite the opposing scholarly intrigues about the directionality of conceptual mappings, the study inclined to the unidirectional mapping approach due to its precise conceptual transference from the source domain to target domain purposing that one domain is to be understood in terms of the other. Since digital-analogue was a composite metaphor having two contrastive source domains, it could well be explicated with each of the two source domains viewed in isolation. The table below presents these domains.

The table below shows the digital-analogue source domains and there perceived qualities

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

The idea of new generation versus the old generation leadership

The digital-analogue metaphor reflected the age-old generational politics. It comparatively depicted the youthful segment of the Kenyan society, which is considered inept and is regarded as a societal burden about which politicians worry in terms of their control and manipulation to loyalty. The Jubilee Coalition dispelled this attitude, conscious of their relative youthfulness. The following speech (excerpt A) taken from Hon. Simeon Nyachae's speech at a campaign rally in Kisii County demonstrates this generational politics at a point of transition:

Excerpt A

> *nikiwa nimezeeka nawaambia nyinyi vijana… hataweekijana ambaye atakuwaraiswetu. Ukumbuke sisi tunawaachia nyinyi mamlaka hii kulinda hao vijana mwalindekabisa hatutaki ile lugha tumewaambia mwaka* in *mwaka* out. *Vijana for tomorrow we want vijana for today hio ndio kitu tunahitaji sasa.*(Being an old man I tell you young people… even you the young man who will be our president, remember we are relinquishing power to you so that you completely take care of those young people. We no longer want the talk of the youth for tomorrow that has been there for years. What we want now is the youth for today).

Simeon Nyachae's stature in the Jubilee Coalition is iconic of the old generation's submission to the perceived generation change in leadership. Supposedly, he hands over power to

the young generation on behalf of his perceived contemporaries. By the time of the election he was well over eighty years – like Mwai Kibaki the outgoing president – and, therefore, subscribed to the old generation leadership. The idea informing this piece of communication was that the old generation should make way for the new generation of leadership. The speaker in this excerpt first confesses his old age presupposing that the analogue wing perceived as old should unconditionally allow transition to the new generation leadership. This idea also explains the inclusion of Hon.Francis Ole Kaparo – who was about 62 years at the 2013 elections – as the chair of the URP wing of the Jubilee coalition.

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

The spirit of the youth is invigorated by the inclusion of personalities poised as young and authoring some discourse typifying the Kenyan youth as demonstrated by excerpt B from a speech given by Hon. Joshua Kutuny:

Excerpt B

> *… Si mnacheki prezo yuko bez. Mwaka ujao tarehe nne mwezi wa nne tutakuwa tuanaapisha rais wa taifa la Kenya anaitwa Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta. Tukimwaapisha rais tutakuwa tukimwaapisha mwenzake makamu William Samoei Ruto.* (It is okay guys. You can see the president is around. Next year on fourth of April we shall be swearing in the president of the republic of Kenya called Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta. As we do that, we shall be swearing in his colleague deputy presidentWilliam Samoei Ruto).

Joshua Kutuny spoke the above during the merger rally for Jubilee affiliate parties. The speaker uses Sheng, an informal language that emerged from the complex multilingual situation of Nairobi city. It is spoken mainly by young people – preadolescents to young adults – and dominates the discourses of primary and secondary school children outside their formal classroom setting as well as young adults. This can be argued to be a deliberate political strategy to appeal to the youthful sensibilities among the Kenyan electorates. The political class keen on the youth agenda wanted to identify with the young nation.

The idea of efficiency/speed

The digital-analogue metaphor was intended to juxtapose the perceived inefficient old systems of the CORD coalition against Jubilees own perceived efficiency at the political battlefront as well as in combating the socio-economic challenges facing the Kenyan nation. From the outset of the Jubilee coalition campaigns, the CORD coalition leader is perceived to be inefficient or slow as expressed in excerpt C a speech by William Ruto.

Excerpt C

> *…kuna jamaa mmoja wa analogue amekwama kwa referendum iliyopita. Badoanazungumziamaneneo ya referendum iliyo pita kwasababu ni analogue, upgrade inachukua muda. Sisi tunata kumwambia referendum imekwisha, tuko na katiba mpya Kenya, na ni katiba ya Wakenya wote.*(There is one analogue fellow stuck in the past referendum period. He is still talking about the past referendum because he is analogue and it takes him time to upgrade. We want to tell him the referendum is over and we have a new constitution for all Kenyans).

The leader of the CORD coalition is the one being referred to in this extract. He and subsequently, his team are portrayed as those who cannot adapt to new changes; their speed is slow (analogue) compared to the presupposed digital technology that is perceived to inform the Jubilee coalition's mode of operation. Having been in politics for over two decades, CORD leader, Raila Odinga, is considered by the Jubilee group as iconic of an outmoded regime. In this case, the part "digital" means fast and efficient as opposed to "analogue" implied to mean too slow and, therefore, inefficient. This view is further propped in the later campaign discourse on how Jubilee planned to combat socio-economic challenges afflicting the nation. This was captured in the excerpt below

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

The overarching idea in the excerpt is that once they get into office, the Jubilee team would adopt the new technology to address the biting socio-economic challenges of poverty, starvation, unemployment and insecurity. Their perception of 'digital' apparently signifies modern technology appealing to intellect (knowledge base) and technology. According to the speaker, modern technology will drive the economy to double-digit growth. The security concerns – characterized by terrorism, cattle rustling as well as land conflicts – would also be addressed through enhanced technology in security systems as presented in excerpt D, spoken by William Ruto.

Excerpt D

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

Heavy premium was put on the use of technology to upgrade security systems in terms of very specific variables of personnel, equipment, software and hardware. The poise of Jubilee coalition suggested here was that it was a technology savvy team. In illustrating their fitness for political offices, the Jubilee team found its capital on their competitors' perceived campaign liability of unmet promises of the previous regime in which Raila Odinga was second in command as the prime minister with Kalonzo Musyoka, arguably the third in command as the vice president. Unmet promises disadvantaged the CORD team because they expressly confirmed their lack of speed to meet people's expectations. To demonstrate their categorical ability to lead the nation, the Jubilee team even set deadlines on certain issues as exemplified by excerpt E a speech by William Ruto.

Excerpt E

> *Mimi nataka niseme nikiwa hapa Mtwapa, tuwapatie ilani hawa watu wanaouza unga na wanaouza madawa ya kulevya. Tunawaambia, tarehe nne mwezi wa tatu wananchi waKenya wakipiga kura, hiyo biashara ya kuuza madawa ya kulenya itakomeshwa. Aidha watafutebiashara ingine ama wahame kenya kutafuta nchi ingine.* (I want to say this while in Mtwapa, we give these people who are selling cocaine(unga) and drugs (madawa ya kulevya) a notice. We tell them on 4th of March as citizens vote, that business of selling drugs will end. They either look for other business or look for another country).

What comes out from the excerpt is that the Jubilee team has a ready-made prescription to stop certain social evils. This is

analogous to the plug-and-play ICT technology that describes gadgets that come already configured with existing computer systems. Accordingly, Jubilee was advancing a perceived view of utmost readiness to solve problems that have afflicted the nation for years. The question of quashing drug trafficking can be taken to signify other social economic challenges afflicting the nation. This is crafted as a straight juxtaposition to a part of CORD legacy of broken promises as shown in the excerpt F as spoken by Najib Balala, during a campaign rally in the coastal town of Mombasa.

Excerpt F

> We are switching on the digital generation. The digital generation is *vijana chipukizi.Yawezekana kubadilisha Kenya hii. Kule Mombasa tuliahidiwa lakini ilikuwa ahadi ya vitendawili. Tuliambiwa bandari itakuwa huru lakini bandarihaijakuwa huru. LakiniJubileeikiingia kiongozi wetu Uhuru Kenyatta na WilliamRuto, bandari ya Mombasa itakuwa kama ile ya Dubai.*(We are switching on the digital generation. The digital generation is about the youth of today. It is possible to transform this Kenya. We were promised that the port will be a free port but it was just a riddle. Up to date it has not happened. But when Jubilee gets into power, our leaders Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto will make the port of Mombasa to be like that of Dubai).

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

The Youth Agenda

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

The Youth in Economic Development and National Security

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

Excerpt G

> *… nikiwa nimezeeka nawaambia nyinyi vijana… hata wee kijana ambaye atakuwa rais wetu hata wee kijana ambaye atakuwa rais wetu. Ukumbuke sisi tunawaachia nyinyimamlaka hii kulinda hao vijana mwalinde kabisa. hatutaki ile lugha tumewaambia mwaka* in *mwaka* out. *Vijana* for tomorrow we want *vijana* for today hio ndio kitu tunahitaji sasa.*(…*as an old man, I tell you young people… even you young man who will be our president. Remember we are relinquishing power to take care of the youth. Take care of them completely we do not want the talk we have been telling year in year out that youth for tomorrow. We want the youth for today. That is what we want now).

Being the icon of old age, the speaker – Hon. Simeon Nyachae – in the excerpt is resigning to make room for the youth to take care of themselves "completely". This view is shared by yet another speaker asserting that the current constitution can only be protected by the youth of today who took part in its making process. This argument is presented in excerpt H:

Excerpt H

> *Wananchi wa kenya msiambiwe kwanba watu watakuwa wao ndio watetezi wa katiba. Waliokuwa na kamati ya kutengeneza Katiba alikuwa ni Uhuru Kenyatta, WilliamRuto na Najib Balala wakitengeneza katiba hii. Kwa hivyo katiba hii italindwa na vijana wa sasa, si wazee wanaokwenda nyumbani. Tunasema vijana chipukizi wakiingia, watalinda nyumba hii, nchi hii na kuleta Amani kule* North Eastern, na kule Turkana…(Kenyans don't be told that those people will be the ones to safeguard the constitution. Those who were in the constitution review committee were Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto and Najib Balala making this constitution. Therefore this constitution will be guarded by the

youth of today not the old who are going home. We are saying when the vibrant youth come in; they will guard this house, this nation and bring peace in North Eastern and Turkana.)

Here, the Jubilee team is claiming credit for the Kenyan constitution that was promulgated in 2010.This claim created an inference that the new constitution could only be safeguarded by the youth of the time to ensure peace. From a different perspective, the question of internal security is ascribed to youth unemployment. Politicians as shown by excerpt I spoken by the Jubilee Presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta portray the youth as having been idle and so susceptible to manipulation.

Excerpt I

> *…tunajua ya kwamba vijana wetu wanapiganishwa kwasababu kila kijana anatafuta ajira. Na ndio wanatumiwa vibaya na viongozi. Badala ya kutumia vijana wetu vibaya, wangehakikisha ya kwamba wamepata ajira kupitia sera kama kuhakikisha ya kwamba wamepata ajira kupitia sera kama kuhakikisha yakwamba tumebadilishasharia* procurement *ya serikali ya* procurement 30% *iende kwa vijana. Tuhakikishe yakwamba vijana wamepata mikopo ndio waweze ku* participate *katika hio* procurement… mambo *hayo ndio sisi tunajua yakwamba vijana wetu wakiwa* engaged, *hawana nafasi ya kupigana wenyewe kwa wenyewe kwa sababu kila kijana ako napesa yake kwamfuko.*
> (As we said about our youth…we know that they are being incited to fight because they have nothing to do. That is why the leaders are abusing them. Instead of abusing them, they should have ensured that they have employment through legislation to ensure 30% of government procurement is reserved for the youth. We will ensure that the youth access loans to participate in such government procurement…this are what we know; that when our youth are engaged, they will not fight among themselves since every one of them will have their money in their pocket).

The excerpt attributes the perpetual youth delinquency to the economic dysfunction propagated by regimes perceived to be insensitive to the plight of the youthful generation. This economic impotence has driven the youth vulnerable to abuse by the political class. Accordingly, the Jubilee coalition understands of crime emanating from the youth is such that it is excusable since criminal predispositions are ways of self-assertion in a system that had relegated them to the periphery of socioeconomic and political participation. The Jubilee campaign communication therefore was keen to have a self-presentation of a team that was meditative of youth empowerment as opposed to abuse witnessed in the

preceding poll events such as the 2007 elections and the aftermath.

4. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

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

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

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