

**A DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF LINGUISTIC ELEMENTS EMPLOYED TO
INVOKE GENDER AND POWER DURING DEBATE IN BUSIA-COUNTY
ASSEMBLY IN KENYA**

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**A Research Thesis Submitted to School of Social Sciences in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Award of Doctor of Philosophy Degree (PhD) in Linguistics of
Mount Kenya University**

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DECLARATION

This research thesis is my own original work and has not been presented to any other university for the award of Diploma or Degree.



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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my family. Without your moral and material support this journey would not have been easy. To my parents Mr. Albert Owuor Yamo and Mary Auma Owuor, thank you for making me the person I am. I also wish to dedicate it to all my friends, relatives and colleagues who believed that this journey is possible.



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I thank the Almighty God for the gift of life, the favor of good health and the far I have reached. We give praise to Him forever. I give Special appreciation for the development of this research thesis to my academic supervisors- Dr. Charles Kanyi and Dr. Beth Ngugi. Their input has been invaluable. They have always been available, easily accessible and highly supportive. They have opened my eyes to the importance of connections in conducting a study of such magnitude. I sincerely thank Professor Owino Rew who opened my eyes to the concepts of gender and power. To my friends and professional mentors Professor Peter Barasa and Professor Carolyn Omulando, thank you for holding my hand when I felt feeble; and to Dr. Margaret Njoki Mwihia- your voice gave me reassurance. Special appreciation also goes to the French Institute for Research in Africa (IFRA-Nairobi) who gave me a grant for fieldwork.



ABSTRACT

This study set out to establish manner in which linguistic elements are used to invoke gender and subsequently bargain for power during County Assembly debates. The objectives of this study included: to establish linguistic elements that are strategically used in debating to bargain for dynamics of power in the Assembly; describe the linguistic elements used to invoke gender and power during debate; analyze the effect of these linguistic elements and to explain how members of the Assembly linguistically respond to linguistic elements that are used to invoke gender and power during debate in the County Assembly. This study is significant since it has exposed entrenched hegemonic practices with a view to mitigating them especially with regards to women who occupy political, public and private offices and spaces. Additionally, the study has brought new knowledge to show linguistic elements employed to show how power and gender are negotiated and exploited in county assembly debate. The study employed two theories: the Critical Discourse Analysis theory (CDA) and the Politeness theory. Current literature has been reviewed for the purpose of identifying areas that have been studied and the gaps existing with the intent of filling them up. The Conceptual Framework has also been presented and it shows how the various variables interact. The study involved collecting linguistic data from the assembly as recorded in the *Hansard*, audio recordings of assembly proceedings and interviews with selected Members of the County Assembly. The data has been analyzed according to each of the objectives, been described and relationships -between speakers, choice of discourse and discourse function have been explained. The study targeted a population of 53 Members of the Busia County Assembly. A random sample of 20% was picked for interviews. Of this sample, a further randomly selected 30% was male. The data collected has been transcribed and described qualitatively. Data has been presented and discussed; tables have also been used to make and show comparisons. In the analysis, the researcher established that a number of linguistic strategies were used to invoke gender and power. These include: patronizing, subtlety, disclaimers, damaging face, sarcasm, irony and speaking style among others. These strategies had several effects on the debaters such as: putting them off, continuing debate, intimidation, cooperation and damaging face among other effects. Further, that members of the county assembly responded to these linguistic elements in a number of ways. These include: cooperation, stopping debate altogether, interruptions, taking a tough stance among others. Conclusions drawn are that the male voice is still largely dominant in the county assembly. However, the female voice, despite being outnumbered has shown spirited efforts to be heard. Power has been contested; not just between the males and the females but also amongst the males themselves. The conclusions, summary and recommendations have been presented. Additionally, suggestions for further study have been presented. The choice of linguistic elements is strategic and has been exemplified in the choice of words aimed at wrestling for power, undermining those occupying positions of power and maintaining power.

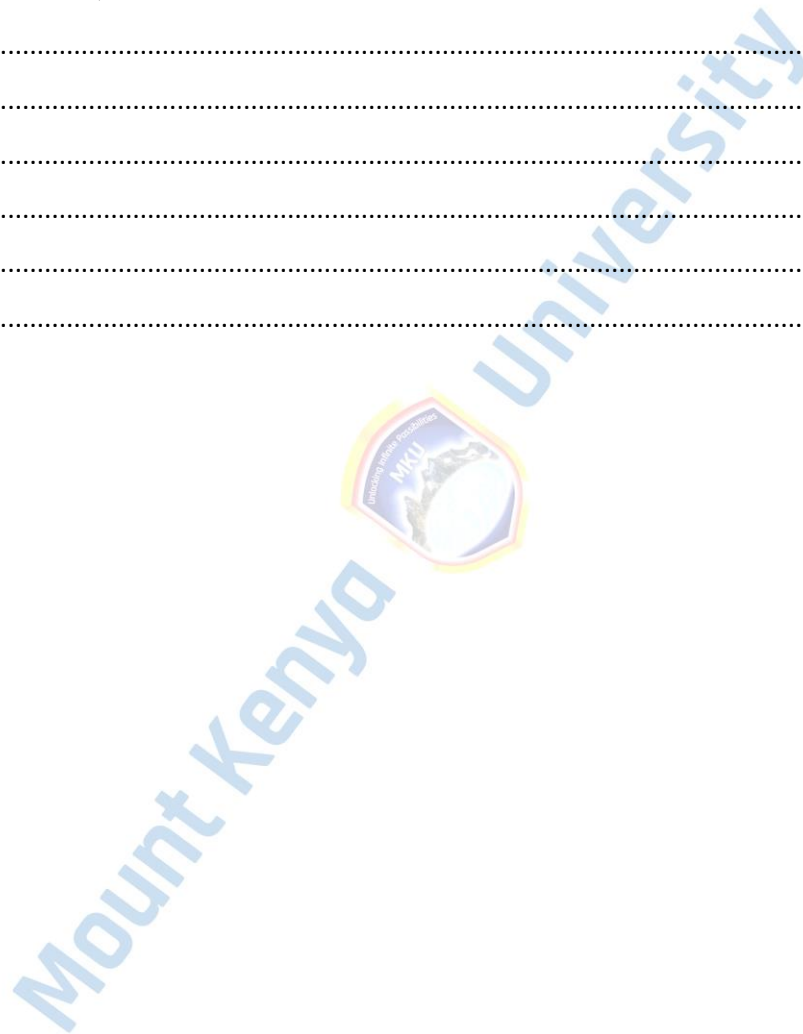
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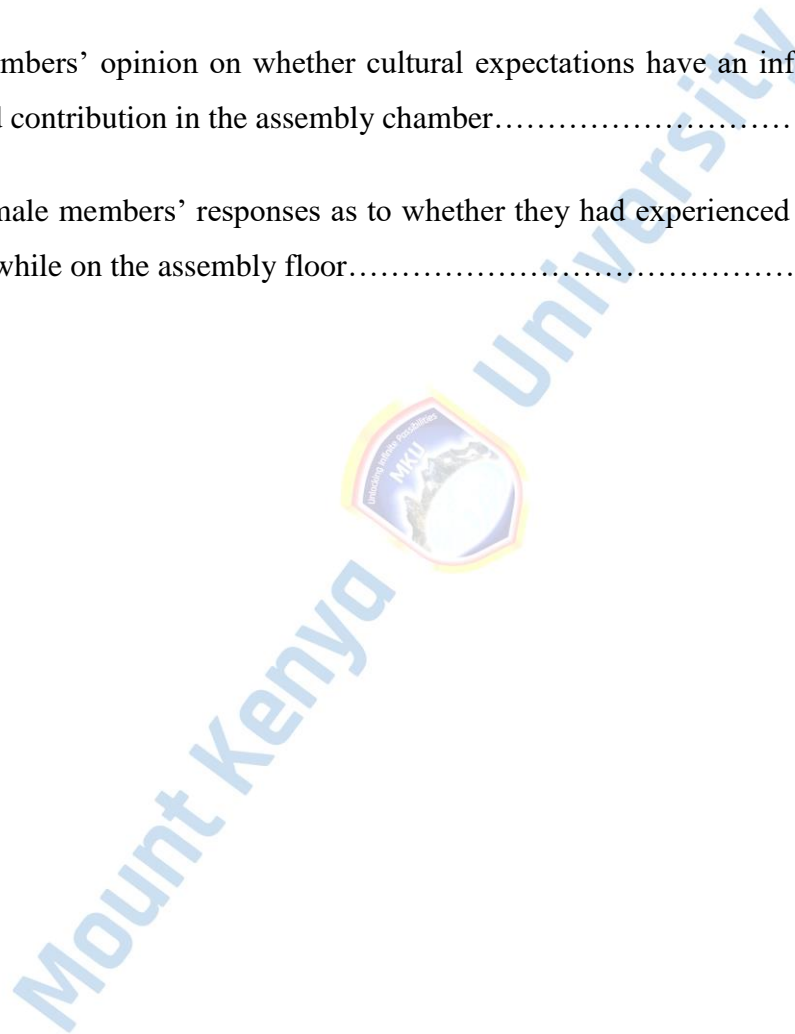
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CoP: Community of Practice

FTA: Face Threatening Act

IPU: Inter Parliamentary Union

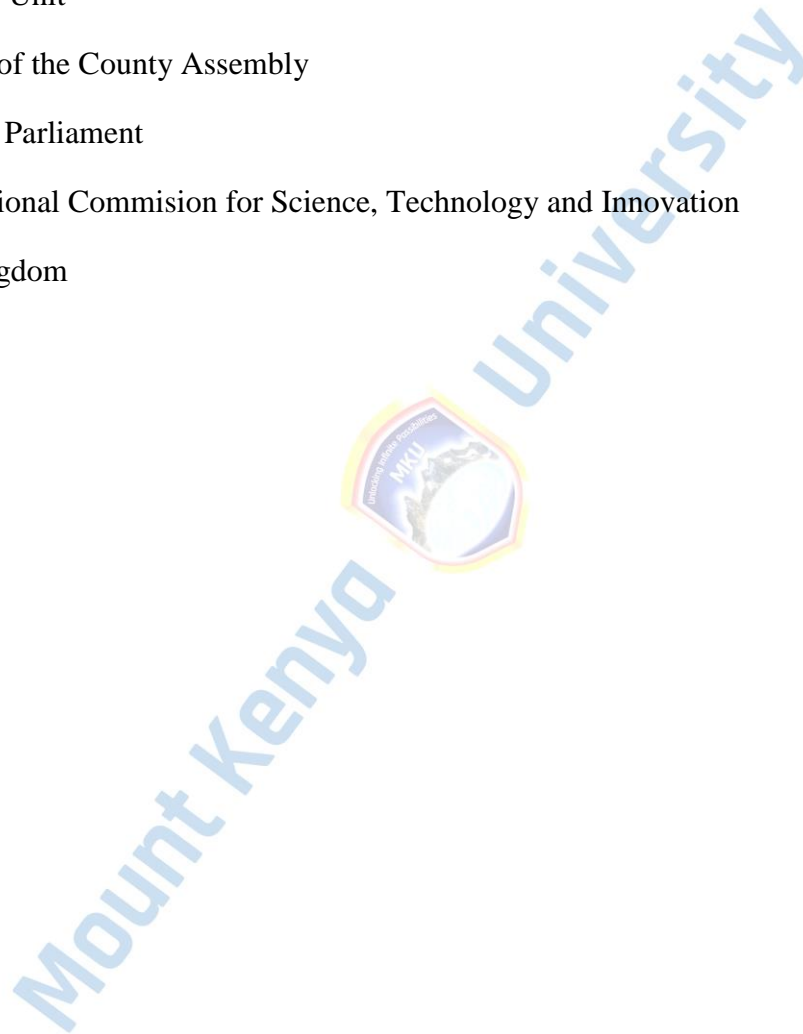
IU: Interactional Unit

MCA: Member of the County Assembly

MP: Member of Parliament

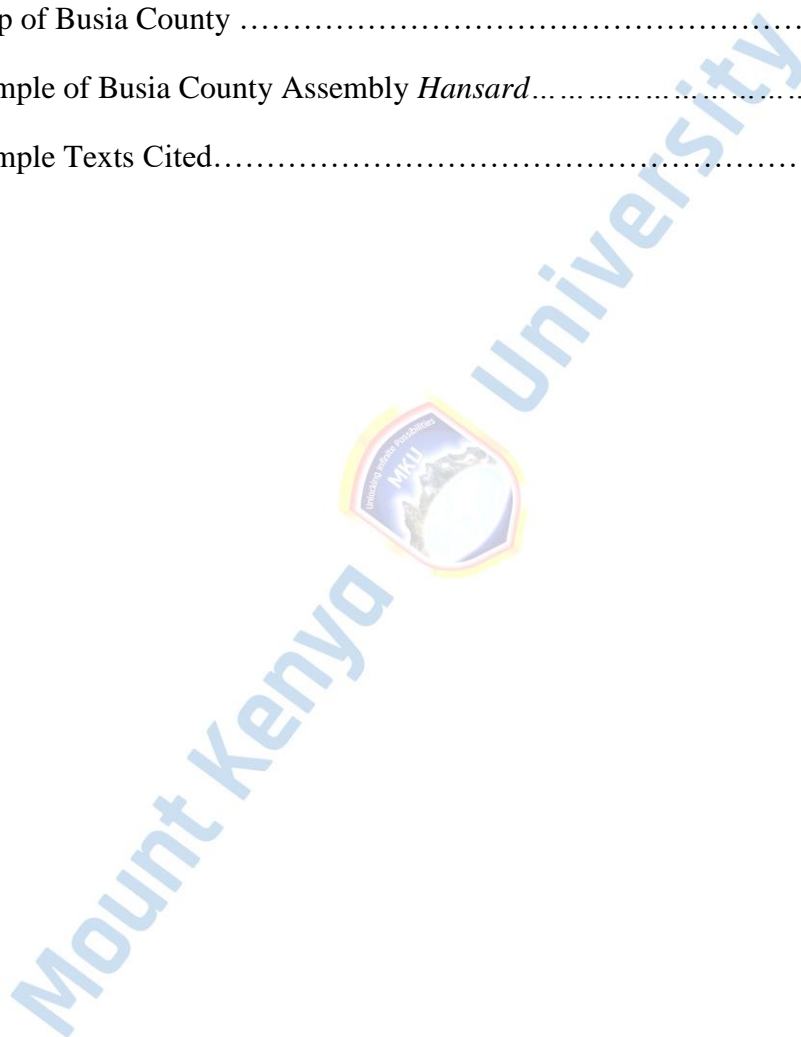
NACOSTI: National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

UK: United Kingdom



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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Research shows that there exists a relationship between politics and language (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997). Additionally, the two scholars have used the terms necessary, inextricable, essential and inseparable to show that language and politics are intertwined. Chovenac (2010) asserts that it is not possible to engage in politics without using language and that this is likely to be the reason that language is used in the construction of social groupings leading to what we in a broad sense call “politics”. Pelinka (2001) avers that we have to view language and analyze it as a political issue; further, politics has to be understood and studied as a discursive linguistic subject.

Chilton (2004) states that politics is a clash for power. It involves two groups of people: those who set out to protect themselves against it and those who endeavor to strengthen and maintain their access to power. Alternatively, politics could be a form of “cooperation” among people or different agencies and institutions in a particular social setting to resolve challenges that arise due to differences over money, power and the economy. Basnett and Schaffner (2010) are in agreement with the previous assertion and state that research on political matters have generally found a connection between power and politics. Politics is seen as a contest to access power and dictate a particular social, economic or political program. Beard (2000) sees politics as referring to institutions and individuals in their quest to be in positions of leadership.

In public debates or political duels, rhetorical speaking becomes significant. It refers to oral speaking strategies and maneuvering to make arguments effective (Kirshner-Breen, 2017). It is a craft that involves the use of the spoken word to please, persuade or influence in specific situations, (Bizzell & Herzeberg, 1990). They further note that Aristotle regarded rhetoric as an art and as being critical to citizenship during the rise of the city states in ancient Greece. Likewise, Cisero perceived rhetoric as a potent political weapon that can be used to shape political action, belief or power. Where there is politics, power dynamics will always come into play.

Bloomert (2011) states that in recognition of the pivotal function played by women in matters of development, the United Nations incorporated women empowerment among the Millennium

Development Goals in the year 2000. Several conferences worldwide have been used to provide political visibility to the rights of women. However, no equal advancement in numbers has been realized for women occupying political offices. Men continue to dominate political spaces and offices, public leadership roles and elective offices; all this is despite initiatives to legislate quotas and encourage women's political involvement and leadership.

Kilimo (2010) notes that Kenya is a patriarchal society where politics is considered a male domain with women being regulated largely to domestic chores. Further, that women interested in politics face many obstacles such as lack of political party nomination, abuse, violence, propaganda, negative publicity and discrimination. Many others have failed to get family support and have had to choose between family and politics- with many withdrawing from politics altogether.

Additionally, Dunmire (2018) states that analyzing political discourses involves a multi and inter disciplinary research which pay particular attention to both the discursive and linguistic aspects found in political talk and text and on the political character of discursive practice. The current study, which focuses on gender, power and linguistics, is inter-disciplinary since it acknowledges that the analysis of discourse cannot singularly function within a discursive and linguistic framework. It has to make use of the frameworks, methods and contents of other disciplines in order to study socio-political matters and phenomena important to scholarship.

The IPU report (2009) further acknowledges that women are known to have been discriminated against both economically and politically; they are reported to have faced many barriers- their gender being the top-most. Due to this, they have endured many stereo-types, have even had to contest against structural barriers like political parties and electoral systems. Alhasan (2007) notes that the language of law and politics has treated women as inferior to men and has systematically 'kept women in their place' by defining, labeling and stereotyping them as: infantile, incompetent, immoral, seductive, mother, wife, as non- entities and non-persons.

Because of the limited number of females in political offices, the researcher has endeavored to establish how female MCAs linguistically seek to set their agenda; pursue, maintain and wrestle for power on the assembly floor in a house where they are the minority and one that has traditionally been considered a male domain. This is especially so since the floor of the assembly is a place where power is contested by use of language.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The current study set out to explore the language used by MCAs in the assembly during debate in the chamber- especially how language is used to advance or oppose gender; the manner in which language is used to contest, negotiate or retain power. With the increase of women's entry into politics, this study set out to establish the manner in which they have sought to get their voices heard. The manner in which male dominance has been perpetuated using language on the assembly floor has also been of key concern in this research. Therefore, this study has been an investigation of linguistic strategies that are employed to invoke gender and power during debate in the county assembly chamber.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study have been to:

- i. Establish linguistic elements that are employed strategically during debate to invoke gender and bargain for the dynamics of power in the assembly.
- ii. Describe the linguistic elements used to invoke gender and power during debate.
- iii. Analyze the effects of linguistic elements employed to bargain for the dynamics of power and invoke gender during debate.
- iv. Explain how members of the county assembly linguistically respond to the linguistic elements that invoke gender and power during debate.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. Which linguistic elements are employed strategically to invoke gender and bargain for dynamics of power in the assembly?
- ii. How are these linguistic elements used to invoke gender and power in the context of debate?
- iii. What are the effects of the linguistic elements employed to negotiate the dynamics of power and invoke gender during debate in the assembly?
- iv. How do members of the county assembly linguistically respond to linguistic elements that invoke gender and power during debate?

1.5 Justification

This study has set out to show how linguistic choices affect debate and how these choices come into play in the contest for power in light of gender. The study has paid special attention to the

relationship between male and female representatives during debate on the county assembly floor. This ties with the objectives of this study which do not only seek to find the linguistic elements used to bring out gender and power but also describe them, state their effects on the participants and also show how the participants respond to such linguistic elements. Previous known studies (Ilie, 2013; Edelsky and Adams, 1990; Shaw, 2006 and Zim, 2014) have focused on parliamentary debate; and for those on county assemblies in Kenya, the focus has tended to be on challenges that female MCAs undergo in the course of their work. The choice of Busia County Assembly has been based on convenience sampling technique; this is especially because the study population members and other data have been easily accessible to the researcher; data collection was therefore facilitated in a short time. This study can be of benefit to women in positions of leadership in political, public and private offices and spaces as it has exposed the entrenched hegemonic practices with a view to mitigating them. As such, imbalances experienced in gender and power can be addressed with a view to bring about balance in power and gender relations and further promote the quality of debate based on mutual respect between the males and females in the said offices and spaces.

1.6 Significance

The findings from this study add to the existing body of knowledge in applied linguistics by advancing knowledge, especially on Critical Discourse Analysis. Additionally, the findings have shown how language as a form of social practice has been used to create ideologies, which have in turn led to creation of social identities. It has therefore been interesting to know and demonstrate how power is contested and negotiated among members of the county assembly with particular reference to the highly outnumbered women in the assembly who constitute only about 30% of the members. This study has also brought out new knowledge on gender relations based on linguistic choices in the contest for power in the county assembly floor during debate. Lastly, it has brought out new information to the expanding body of literature on county assembly discourses in Kenya.

1.7 Scope of the Study

Kenya has 47 counties, each with a county assembly. The current study has been conducted in Busia County Assembly. Its study population has been the Members of the Busia County Assembly. The study's main focus has been on debate within the county assembly chambers. It has emphasized on the linguistic output of the assembly's members on the floor of the county

assembly for a period of only three months out of the five year lifespan of the current assembly that runs from 2017-2022. Further, a representative sample of Members of the Busia County Assembly was picked for interview. As well as the linguistic output, the study has also considered the cultural and social setting of the MCAs-which considers politics to be a male domain -and how this comes into play within the confines of the county assembly debates.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The current study has been limited to the use of recorded Busia County Assembly proceedings' transcripts in the form of *Hansard* reports and audio recordings for a 3 months period of the second county assembly of Busia County. Another limitation has been the identification and use of a sample of both male and female MCAs for interview purposes. Its results cannot therefore be used as a generalization as to the manner in which language is used to refer to gender and language as a tool for contesting for power during debate in all county assemblies in Kenya.



OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Accusations/ insulting

By using this technique, a speaker makes a charge of wrongdoing on the part of another or others. It is a statement saying that someone has done something morally wrong, illegal or unkind.

Approbation

This refers to giving or offering praise in a formal manner. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the term can be used to refer to approval or admiration. This approval or agreement is often given by an official or member of a group. In the context of the assembly, it refers to members giving recognition or praise for a report or a task well executed. It has been noted that politicians rely on the public's approbation to get elected.

Cooperation

It refers to joint action; seeking agreement among and between members. It involves working together for a common purpose or benefit. In discourse, it is exhibited in the form active assistance from a person, group or organization. Members seek for cooperation because of some underlying benefit. Where reputation and status are involved, people are known to cooperate.

Defeminization

It refers to the removal of feminine qualities from females. In discourse, this practice involves making a female person not look feminine; in the process, a female is masculinized or treated as a male. Culture assigns women certain roles and characteristics. When a female looks "progressive" and assumes leadership roles or a form of being patriarchal in order to access power, then that is defeminization. This includes the search for economic empowerment.

Directness

This refers to being plain and straightforward. It also refers to speaking or proceeding in a straight line without deflection. A situation or circumstance may be difficult to handle but a person speaking directly is not hindered by the challenges whether they refer to the position

held by another person or prevailing situation in the context. It also refers to being accurate in course or aim.

Disclaimer

The dictionary definition of this term is a formal refusal to accept an interest. It can also be defined as a refusal to acknowledge the existence of something or somebody. In the data, there are several instances of disclaimers.

Disclosure markers

Words that reveal or expose hidden hegemonic practices, beliefs, attitudes and stereotypes.

Discourse

A written or spoken communication or debate. The language of politics.

Face damaging/ threatening

These are semantic moves that inherently challenge the image of a person. It is possible to damage the face of a hearer in discourse through several strategies such as criticism, disapproval, disagreements, expressions of violent emotions, interruptions or accusations. Face threatening and damaging the speaker can be exhibited in several ways, these include: apologies, acceptance of complement, confession and acceptance of offers or thanks among others.

Face saving

This refers to attempts made for the preservation of a person's credibility or dignity. In discourse, it is an effort intended at preventing a person from feeling embarrassed or having to admit that they are wrong. It can also be seen as an action that prevents damage to one's reputation or the loss of respect; an attempt to make a person look better in a situation and keep the person from looking foolish.

Gender

How society has informally categorized males and females according to role. These are the characteristics of men and women that are socially constructed. People are born male or female but learn to be boys and girls who grow into men and women.

Habitus

Ways of behavior expected of a group that shares certain norms and characteristics.

Hedging

This is an intentional noncommittal or ambiguous statement. It may also be used to refer to evasion or equivocation. The statement may not be literally false but that it cleverly avoids an unpleasant truth.

Impersonalizing the speaker

When a speaker is using this strategy, then the speaker becomes devoid of such human characteristics as sympathy, warmth and becomes detached from the issue at hand. It can also involve dehumanizing- lacking feelings for the other person being talked about.

Impoliteness

This is a strategy represented in speech acts. They are communicative acts perceived by members of a social community, and often intended by speakers, to be purposefully offensive. It is meant at destroying harmony among the participants. Sometimes the hearer perceives what speaker said as a threat to him or her.

Invoking gender/ gendered language

This is language that refers to or alludes to one's sexual orientation and /or the roles traditionally assigned by one being either male or female. It is language that has a bias towards a particular sex or social gender.

Linguistic elements

Refers to words, phrases or any other non-linguistic expressions- including tone of voice, intonation or such other prosodic features.

Luhya

An ethnic group found in the western part of Kenya who speak various dialects of the Luhya language but share the same culture.

Metalanguage

It is used to refer to the language that the current speaker uses to restate what a previous speaker said earlier on.

Modesty/ tactfulness

In discourse, it refers to being moderate, limited or level, it also includes using socially acceptable modes of communication or responding to issues. A modest person is not too proud or confident in their abilities. It includes decorum in manner of responses including the manner in which one appreciates others.

Orality

Manner of speaking. The use of speech rather than writing in communication.

Patronizing

According to Adler (2001), patronizing is a strategy designed to belittle or embarrass another person. To Adler, it involves a person “actor” treating another “victim” as being less able in a certain aspect or activities or rituals or practice. According to Adler (2002), a person using a patronizing language will put on a face of noble intentions in the process of patronizing another speaker and that this may involve hypocrisy and pretense posture.

Point of order

This is an instance where the rules of debate in the assembly are violated. As such a member may draw the attention of the speaker to this instance of violation. It is usually presented as an objection as to the validity or soundness of an argument being presented.

Politeness

These are speech acts that express concern for others and minimize threats to self esteem in particular social contexts. In discourse, politeness may be expressed in a number of ways which include the following: juxtaposing criticism with complements, establishing common ground

and using nicknames, jokes honorifics, tag questions and other special discourse markers such as please and in group jargon or slang. Disagreements may also be presented as opinions.

Political discourse

A stretch of talk or writing whose content and context are political in nature.

Power

Having control or dominance over other people. The inequalities experienced in society where one group dominates others and abuse power.

Pretense

According to Van Dijk (1993), power involves control by one group over others; a powerful group may attempt to limit the freedom of others or seek to influence their minds. It is mostly cognitive and enacted through persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation among other strategic ways to change the minds of others in one's own interests. Managing the minds of others is essentially a function of text and talk. In this study, interest is not just on abuse; ie breaches in laws, rules and principles of democracy, equality and justice but also pays attention to legitimate and acceptable forms of power – also referred to as *dominance* (ibid). Power is also evidenced in privileged access to wealth, jobs, status and access to public discourse and communication (Caldas-Coulthard & Coulthard, 1996).

Rhetoric

Way of speaking intended to influence other people. It includes persuasive speaking especially the exploitation of figures of speech and other compositional skills.

Speaker

The Speaker is the leader of county assembly and is elected as per the County Governments Act.

Speech acts

These are utterances that have the weight of actions. It refers to doing things with words.

Subtlety/ cunningness

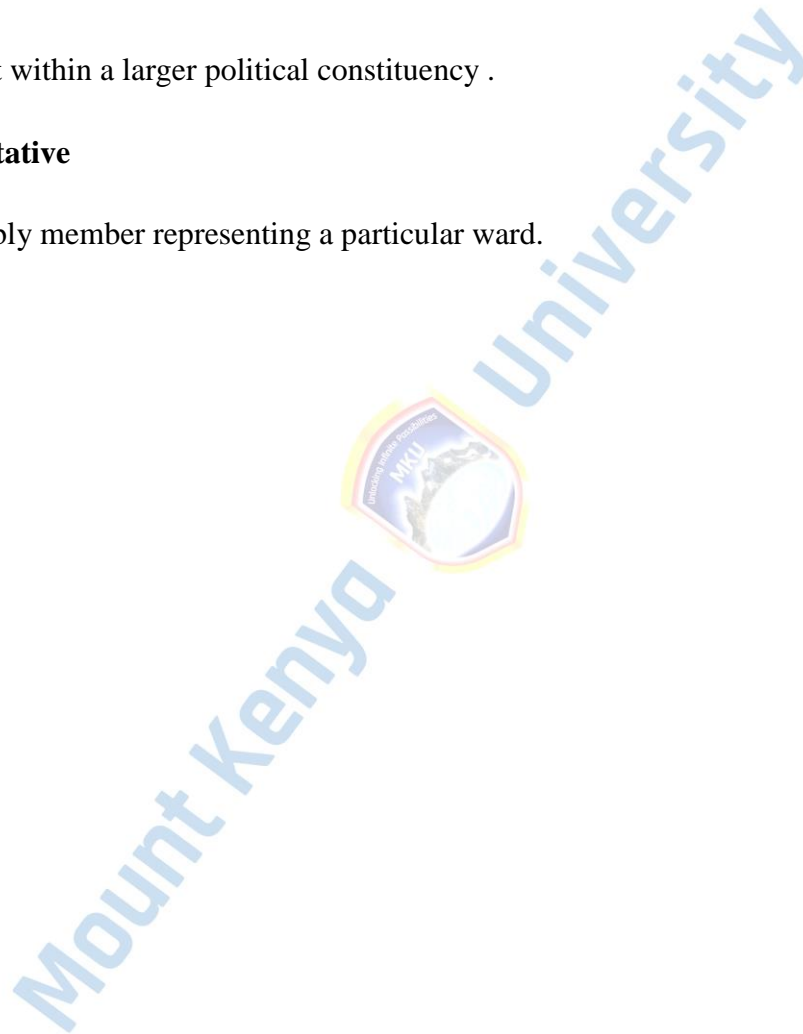
It refers to discourse or speech that is so delicate as to be difficult to analyze or describe. It involves a speaker making use of clever, witty and indirect methods to achieve their desired goal. A statement or remark may go unnoticed; it could have been presented and achieved in a way that does not attract attention. A speaker on the floor may present his or her ideas in such a manner that at the end of the presentation it is not easy to pinpoint the exact position but the message has reached the intended destination or recipient.

Ward

An electoral unit within a larger political constituency .

Ward representative

A county assembly member representing a particular ward.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains an overview of literature that deals with the framework of parliamentary debating chamber that pays particular attention to its institutionalized nature as a site of discourse. These include: studies on power relations and habitus; power and discourse; language and gender studies; performance of women in parliament and the contextualization of political discourse. This chapter also exemplifies the general framework that studies on gender and power have taken. Additionally, it also presents a discussion of the theoretical framework and their tenets, the conceptual framework, existing knowledge and existing literature gaps.

2.2 Studies on Power

According to Foucault (1982), the practice of power must be seen as a practice through which a number of acts have an influence on subsequent ones and that power and authority only exist when they are practiced. Each relationship of power implies a strategy of struggle or resistance. In the current study, the researcher considers strategy as a means enlisted to achieve a certain end, in a manner that an individual or group targets to gain an upper hand over others. Additionally, Bourdieu (1991) asserts that linguistic exchanges are symbolic relationships involving power where such power relations between individual speakers or their respective groups are actualized. It can therefore be assumed that power relations in assembly debates are characterized by instances of conflict and cooperation, and that power is negotiated and challenged through linguistic interaction. In the current study observed several instances where conflict is carried in language while cooperation is still evident at the same time in order for the Busia County Assembly to continue to transact the House business.

Thompson (1991) defines *Habitus* as dispositions that predispose people to behave in particular ways. Such situations which bring about attitudes, perceptions and practices that are actually the unwritten norms that govern language use. The current study considers County Assemblies as formal settings within which MCAs vie for linguistic dominance according to the prescribed formal and informal rules of interaction.

On her part, Wodak (2009) explains that *habitus* is seen in all daily interactions. It is therefore important to acquire the rules governing the game; any society or organization will require that

its members are socialized into these rules. Wodak's study pays attention to 'identity' and 'multiple identities' that politicians are known to acquire and the manner in which they undertake their parliamentary duties. Further, she observes that it takes time for socialization to fully take place in order for one to effectively function in the institutionalized life of politics, this includes mentorship undertaken by political colleagues or party advisors in order to empower occupiers of political offices and spaces acquire a common approach and code thereby familiarizing with the rules expected in the house. The current study has explored the links that exist between language and the gender of the politician. The institutionalized and more or less similar way of linguistic behavior of the assembly affects language use by MCAs during debate as they are aware of the stipulated norms they have to abide by.

2.3 Power and Discourse

Wodak (2009:35) asserts that it is how one uses language that gives it its power. She further argues that language by itself does not hold any power; language only gains and carries power when people who are known to be powerful make use of it. This assertion is important to the current study since one of its key areas of focus is on the manner in which language is used during interaction in the assembly with regard to how it is used to contest, fight for or retain power.

Further, Gal (1991) asserts that for power to be realized, it ought to be opposed through strategic appropriation of ideology saturated in discursive forms. Inoue (2007) whose focus is on neoliberalism and linguistic governmentality argues that speakers have to take personal responsibility for how they use language.

Additionally, Thornborrow (2002) states that power arises when a set of linguistic resources available to a speaker are made use of more or less successfully based upon the person speaking and speaking context. She views power as being accomplished in discourse by turn taking and the space given to speakers or which they access during interaction, with regard to the things they can accomplish effectively using the available space. Further, Holmes (2005) emphasizes that in responding to the behavior of others, individuals are in the process constructing their own identities and roles in the display of power by use of discourse.

In the same manner, Mills (2003) emphasizes that it is during linguistic interaction that power can be appropriated. She notes that during interaction, speakers are simultaneously setting out for themselves vantage positions with regard to the relations of power within their communities

of practice and society in general. In the county assembly, speakers on the floor are frequently positioning themselves to seem to be dominant, resist dominance or continue with tendencies that portray them as dominant. These are relevant to the current study.

Van Dijk (1993) argues that a critical approach has to be used as a subtle means of studying dominance. Therefore a form of address that is impolite could involve the use of informal pronouns or first names. Such impolite forms do not necessarily signify group power or domination. Incidental, personal or occasional breaking of speaking rules does not necessarily express domination of an individual by another or of one group over another. Wodak (2011) goes on to argue that domination can only be ascribed if the rule breaking becomes generalized in talk and text and are targeted towards or are about particular groups that are dominated and only if such rule breaking cannot be otherwise justified other than being because one belongs to another group. As such, veiled references to age, sex, race or class are other forms that could indicate dominance. Further, variation in tone or intonation of a speaker, rhetoric and change of lexical style could also signify dominance.

In order to express power relations, Stubbs (1988) states that certain grammatical features will usually be displayed. They may include utterances that are positive/ negative; active/ passive; action words or nominals, and the manner in which pronouns (particularly the first person *we* or *you*) are used and the manner in which modality is manifested. Such forms show whether participants, agency of causation are overt or covert and if assertions being made represent facts, are true, can be ignored, can be relied upon, are absolute and part of the status quo or as temporary and therefore likely to shift. This has been important for this study as it has helped bring out the linguistic features at the sentential level that bring about and alter power relations in discourse.

Power is not necessarily fixed in speech acts (Sunderland 2004:89). Instead, it is to be found in the choice of words of any speaker and this buttresses the current study which pays attention ever evolving and dynamic conception of power during assembly debate, and the manner in which it is negotiated and dealt with by strategically using language.

In the assembly chamber, members are split into two: majority and minority. The majority are referred to as such because they have an elected majority of political representatives and therefore are dominant and also because of possessing power to legislate. The role of the minority is to make the majority be accountable for all the resolutions they make and to

incorporate their contributions during debate. Due to this given situation, members end up competing for political power during debate in the assembly.

Formal political debates that can be held in parliament, an assembly or media should be organized in a manner that there is equality in turn taking to allow for fairness and equal time in the process of using resources related to debate (Edelsky and Adams 1990). Edelsky and Adam further observe that power in any discursive context, especially with regards to politics, is to be experienced and observed in the control and manipulation of linguistic resources. The resultant effect of this control can be observed on instances when rules are discarded and broken, for instance, when a speaker's turn is cut short because he or she takes a pause in order to attend to instances of heckling, or on instances where the speaker is shouted down by other members and is therefore not in a position to continue with the contribution without asking for the intervention of the chair of debate to ask other members to be quiet.

On power relations, Thornborrow (2002) notes that if a speaker has more turns than others, or is capable of stopping other people talking, and the longer and more chances they have to take the floor, then the particular participant has more power to create influence in the discourse. This assertion is also emphasized by Beritori (2004) who states that the ability to access the debate floor through interrupting other speakers is a display of power. She suggests that it is actually a display of power an unauthorized speaker has access to the floor after interrupting others and that the unauthorized speaker has power and control on the 'current speaker.'

While in groups, men have a regular tendency of occupying the floor for longer periods; that they have a tendency of interrupting more and making several kinds of contributions (Wodak, 2009). Further, men constantly employ strategies to dispute, create and hold on to status distinctions. According to Van Dijk (1984), women have been reported occupy the floor infrequently, and for short periods, they do not have a tendency to interrupt, and are known to employ speaking styles that are helpful to other members and that minimize status distinctions.

Similarly, Ile (2013) views the taking of turns to be as important as other rules and regulations necessary during interaction in the parliamentary context. She states that in order to achieve certain political goals, the rules of parliamentary debate are sometimes strategically violated. However, there are instances where a member may choose a strategic language in the course of their turn in order to antagonize those on the opposing side and perhaps even provoking responses are forms of disruptive discourse practice. Ile further argues that regardless of non-legitimacy or legitimacy during a member's speaking turn, the end result is usually to contest,

frustrate and weaken the power and influence of those on the opposing side. This later assertion has been vital for the current study since it has also paid particular attention to the strategic manner through which spoken discourse practices are used in negotiating the dynamics of power during debate in the assembly.

Goffmann's (1959) work considers the concept of performance. He refers to it as all the activities that a particular participant engages in on particular occasions and which serve to create an effect in any way among other interlocutors and participants in the discourse practice; this is significant for the current study in which performance is significant in the analysis of the discourse practices among members of the Busia County Assembly. Chilton (2004) observes that performance is important in the production of discourse in parliament. During debate, members' contributions are made in order to put the member's views on record, as such they might try to shape or change a minister's position of an issue under consideration. Whether an MCA achieves success in swaying decisions by virtue of his or her contribution or getting their point across during assembly debate is a manner of inherently shaping and changing the opinion of the public or making effort to be heard in the public court.

It is actually a public performance when an MCA stands up and speaks in the chamber. Certain sections of the assembly like the House Business Committee or Parliamentary Accounts Committee have been regarded as being more performance oriented than others because of the usually high turn out of committee members during their presentations. At such times, when an MCA is heckled, 'territorial' power can be demonstrated in their performance by the member continuing to keep the floor and proceeding with their contribution while being heckled (Thornborrow, 2002). In this particular study, such instances of hostility and how the particular MCA responds linguistically –especially from members of the opposite gender – have been an area of focus.

2.4. Features of Language in the Assembly Debate

Debate in the assembly occurs in spaces dedicated to talk in an institutionalized context that has particular characteristics. Wodak (2001) observes that assembly language is like any other persuasive discourse but is non-the-less different with regards to its core functions: decision making and legislation. Assembly discourse exemplifies the normal techniques of verbal engagement that includes allocation of turns and appropriation to official sessions. This further includes interruptions of a speaker on the floor, institutionalized forms used to open and close

debate, including irrelevant side queries that have a tendency of cropping up or official statements or apologies in official settings.

This study has paid attention to specific linguistic strategies as opposed to the general debating strategies in the assembly. It has focused on establishing and examining strategies employed to negotiate the dynamics of power during debate. As earlier noted in section 2.3.3, these strategies are ultimately geared towards frustrating or challenging political opponents (Ile, 2010). In light of this, the current study has viewed the assembly talk as “strategic discourse” and is goal directed and power-laden (Thornborrow, 2002).

Bayley (2004) states that both linguistic and non-linguistic behavior such as irony, tolerance of aggressive linguistic behavior, humor and general politeness in a given culture have a tendency to appear in the language used in parliament. Bayley (2004) also proposes that the discourse practiced in parliament is according to rules of engagement which all parliamentarians are expected to conform to. Further, discourses in parliament are at times adversarial.

However, all parliaments and assemblies have routine business that have no political benefits. Therefore in analyzing the audio and *Hansard* of the County Assembly, all the above will be considered.

The Busia County Assembly’s seating plan is unlike that of the Kenya National Assembly; the latter has the opposition/ minority seated facing the government/ majority side. This latter fact makes debate adversarial. For instance, in the Busia County Assembly, the majority side far outnumbers the minority- 45 to 8. This therefore means that apart from the leaders of minority and majority who must sit on opposite sides, all other members of the majority who cannot sit on the same side with their leader must sit on one side with the minority.

As far as debates are concerned, Rojo (2000) argues that they are part of the game of politics and that they affect the character and conduct of business in the assembly. In assembly debate, there is usually a contest and the involvement of all members in this common enterprise explains the varied features of debate. Speakers will therefore attempt and sometimes manage to subvert the institutionalized norms by engaging particular language strategies.

Chilton (2004), states that parliamentary language exhibits three broad characteristics. These are: coercion; legitimization and delegitimization and representation and misrepresentation. These functions have been discussed in studies which inform the approaches identified for use during analysis.

Another characteristic feature in debate is the use of questions. This is “a powerful interactional move, since the interlocutor is obligated to provide a response or to account for its absence”, (Cameron, 1998:86). In the assembly questions are asked to seek for information or to hold the members to account (Fenton- Smith, 2008). Additionally, Wilson (1990) proposes that the questions asked during parliamentary debate serve to bring about presuppositions, create propositions and make inferences by a sequence of organized techniques so that such questions could be used constructively or to bring down a person or idea.

Another peculiar habit frequently adopted in the genre of parliamentary debate is heckling; this is an intervention that breaks rules as a parliamentarian gets into the path of a contribution by an opponent and disrupts it. Analysis in this study must take into account this phenomenon.

During a study on insults in the operations of the Swedish and UK parliamentary discourse, Ile (2004) found out that in the UK, insults and other derogatory remarks made in parliament are usually quickly responded to by use of countering insults while in Swedish context, these are frequently quickly responded to through moralizing rejoinders, and that these trends are to be found in both parliaments. Never-the-less, there is a similarity in the two assemblies’ debating chambers in that women legislators are more predisposed to issue moralizing rejoinders to insulting remarks than the male legislators.

Further, Harris (2001) observes that apart from habitual abuses, witty and humorous remarks are used to disparage those on the opposing side as well calculated strategies of threatening a positive face. Harris further points out that such calculated moves are quite effective as compared to unconcealed aggressive behavior towards a member of the opposition. The current study has closely considered this phenomenon especially being that the minority side is overwhelmed by the majority in terms of numbers.

The rules and regulations that govern the nature of debate in the county assembly are set out in its *Standing Orders*. It is incumbent upon members to speak to one other using the third person as “Honorable [surname]”; they must avoid a direct form of address to another as *you*. In spite of the existence of such rules, a few members still do not adhere to them and sometimes participants fail to address each other through the chair. When the rules of engagement in assembly debate are violated, it is not accidental; most times it is a strategy employed to get at another participant. The current study has considered this dimension in the analysis of linguistic strategies employed in the assembly.

Standing Orders are applicable during debate to ensure that all individuals who wish to speak have been awarded equal time and opportunity so that no single MCA gets monopoly of debate in the chamber. Only a single speaker is authorized to occupy the floor to speak and be listened to at any one time. This rule is often defied by political contestants especially to demonstrate or challenge for power and attention. There is, however, an acceptable means for a member to give way. In the process of debate, some members will make use of notes, prepared scripts or some even without extemporizing. To some extent, speeches or contributions may be prepared since members have been informed in advance about the topic to be handled during a particular debate.

Debate transcripts in the county assembly are edited in a similar manner to parliamentary debate elsewhere. Chilton (2004), notes that the *Hansard*, which is the written report of parliamentary proceedings makes corrections on certain aspects spoken in order to obtain an idealized representation of the debating session. This is also the case in the Busia County Assembly since it has a *Hansard*. The corrections or 'repairs' are made in order that errors, repetition, hesitations and false starts are not included. Additionally, unparliamentary language that also includes direct address not made through the chair are edited. MCAs are also given an opportunity to liaise with stenographers to make corrections on things that had been said.

In comparing Hansard report with the spoken word, Slembrouk (1992) characterized the discrepancies as assumptions within the institutional framework on issues that are considered to be of relative significance in the description and delineation of the discourse used in parliamentary. These deviations between the spoken and the written text should be taken into account during analysis. The researcher in examining transcripts has also considered the audio recordings of proceedings in the assembly debate chamber. The benefit of the transcriptions is that the researcher has been able to clearly identify and been able to elucidate the effects of linguistic elements that evoke gender and make references to power. This has helped remove any biases the researcher may have and as a result increased the researcher's objectivity in analysis of the data.

Van Dijk (1997) observes that modulating the voice- volume by either, speaking in low tones or shouting; intonation and pitch that a speaker chooses to use can have an effect on other participants during discourse with regard to attention and comprehension of what is said. How one chooses to speak subsequently has an indirect function through which preferred meanings

and interpretations are emphasized through high pitch, raising intonation and sometimes by shouting.

Rhetorical devices are common in political discourse. Sauer (1997) asserts that members of the public will usually pay attention to oral techniques particularly where controversy arises. There are benefits that accrue for politicians who have honed their oral skills; their stature increases, they receive more attention and visibility is an advantage for them.

With regard to speaking style, Cameron (2005) observes that when Margaret Thatcher was elected the first woman prime minister of the UK, she was obliged undertake a 'linguistic makeover': she had to lower the pitch of her voice to about half its normal range, flatten out the prosodic contours and slow down her rate of speaking in order to be felt to exude more power. Cameron (2005) further notes that such open forms of sexism still exist, are less appreciated today in comparison with the past three decades, but serious power in institutions still remain in the hands of largely a male preserve. Thatcher is reported to have also adopted both authoritarian and domestic personas and was extremely successful in politics; however, she did not do to bring about a difference about the perception of women MPs since she is reported to have propagated and reinvigorated adverse stereotypes of women as mothers, housekeepers and wives (Webster 1990).

Cameron further notes that researchers have had a tendency of focusing on the effect created by the entry of women into professions and institutions in which they were not allowed entry or otherwise generally dominated by men. It was obviously assumed here it would be necessary for women to adopt to a 'masculine norm' with regards to their manner of speaking but that still, a number would be disadvantaged professionally disadvantaged as a result of failing to have this 'linguistic makeup.'

An example of rhetorical function is repetition; this is a technique that draws attention to preferred meanings and to easily bring back memory in ongoing persuasion attempts (Van Dijk, 1997:35). This study has paid attention to the manner of speaking cited as strategically functional in the context of assembly debate especially as regards the male versus female engagement with relevance to dominance and power on the floor of the assembly.

In the current study, *gender* as opposed to *sex* is perceived as a disposition that is not biological but is constructed by society. This study has not viewed women as a homogeneous sociolinguistic block neither has it considered divisions of male and female speech styles.

Holmes and Meyerhoff (2003) emphasize that despite studies moving from fundamental ideas and concepts about gender; as a social category, gender has continued to be prevalent, essentialised and stereotypical gender categories still exist and are oriented in conversation.

Swann (2002:19) states that it is currently accepted widely that the manner in which a person acts brings about their gender and subsequently their identity as opposed to a category that viewed people according to how they speak. Butler (1990) regards gender as habits that have become entrenched in our mannerisms and are therefore repeated over and over again, however, to a number of linguists language use is also an instance of 'repeated stylization' that is realized in our regular language habits; these eventually form part of an individual's being.

In an analysis of the ways girls and boys position themselves during English lessons at school, Baxter (2008) observes that the lessons are meant to help girls develop crucial skills in communication by using an approach she refers to as 'feminist poststructuralist analysis.' She notes that at such times, there is a possibility of observing a broad range of femininities and masculinities as they are constructed in this particular group that is not very different with regards to ethnicity, age, culture or class.

Cameron (2005) observes that previous research had focused on the manner in which girls and women were patronized and muted in public instances or prevented from accessing linguistic resources, literacy and speaking styles necessary for entry into public spaces and institutions on level terms, or sometimes demeaned due to prejudices and stereotypes on the manner in which they write and express themselves orally.

In modern Japan, a study conducted by Inoue (2007) reveals that there is a strong bond that binds the political economy, gender and language. She does this by identifying the language of women during their endeavor to build the nation. It is observed the language women use is not solely tied to gender; this is also cited by Barret (1995) in an analysis of a stereo-typed language used by American drag queens.

Georgieva (2014) states that the speaking styles of women and men are not monolithic. Gender is embedded in our actions, our beliefs and our attitudes that it looks so natural Eckert and McDonnell-Ginet (1995) assert that people speaking to each other are perpetually performing "gender". Various forms realized in the forms through which men and women speak are as a result from prevailing social circumstances that they operate within and that these are usually marked by gender for instance as child nurturer, manager, bread winner or caretaker.

In the county assembly, gender is still a visual factor with the paucity of elected women MCAs; however, party membership and political experience could have an effect on the dynamics of linguistic interaction. Since women are still numerically outnumbered in the assembly at having only about 10% elected- and nomination raising their representation to about 30%, this study has taken into consideration the manner in which the small number of female representatives affects the manner in which debate in the assembly is conducted.

Studies about women engaging in discourses in public assert that quite often there have been incompatible presumptions on the manner in which women should and can participate in discourses on public matters. Holmes (2006) observes that there exists a ‘double bind’ so that women who adopt and conform to stereotypical forms deemed to be masculine are perceived in negative light. These challenges are equally valid for women who occupy powerful positions in corporate settings. Holmes (2005) also observes that women who are leaders in business also have to find a way of managing expectations especially with regards to the manner of discourse practice.

A study conducted by Fairclough (1989) points out that women who occupy prominent positions are “damned” if they are perceived to behave in a masculine manner since masculine behavior exposes women to being disparaged and of being ‘unfeminine’. Eliasoph (1987) notes that language has been used to perpetuate inequality. Lackoff (1975) observes that women are frowned upon and regarded to be ineffective if they used polished language and are condemned for failing to do so. In the UK, Fairclough (1989) states that the former prime minister Margaret Thatcher was frequently satirized as wanting in terms of ‘femininity’; this was especially so since she had adopted a ‘husky’ voice. Cameron (2005) also makes use of Thatcher as a case in her argument that women are not generally given due praise because they have adopted tendencies such as resoluteness and competence which are cherished especially in males. Edelsky and Adams (1990:185) also give an example of a female political candidate who was satirized through cartooning because she was “mannish”.

Mills (2003) draws upon the notion of *habitus* and notes that since one has to be initiated to the discourse of debate in public life, especially in the domain of politics, people are generally expected to conform to the linguistic rituals, codes and norms of their linguistic environment; as such if circumstances are such that masculine speaking styles are consistently being used, there is a likelihood that women who operate in such environments will tend to espouse these speaking styles in order to be regarded as being professional.

In the same manner, Walsh (2001) notes that there has generally been an assumption that if women parliamentarians participate more in debate in the house floor, they would bring in a civilizing effect during debate time as an unnecessary load to them since apart from adopting ritualized norms of the CoP, they are further burdened to “civilize” an otherwise “male-gendered species.”

Additionally, Walsh (2001) conducted a study on women who chose to become priests in the Anglican church when this otherwise male dominated field was opened to them in 1994. She observed that in this CoP, the acceptance of women priests was not because they took on masculine features; it was tied to them displaying feminine characteristics. Walsh further found out that there arose a division of labor in which male priests attended to linguistic duties that required a performance in public such as being chair in parish meetings while their female counterparts took charge of pastoral care and counseling bereaved or troubled members of their parishes. This situation arose because the women priests were expected to “earn” their place in their priestly calling by being able to display a well cut out female or feminine impact.

In a study on female police officers in the UK, McElhinny (1998) observed that they adopt behaviors that are generally perceived as masculine such as emotional distance and non-involvement. Further, female and male members of the police department displayed identical linguistic approaches at the point of report writing and this prevented interactions from being too personal. The strategy they adopted took on an assumption that showed that theirs was the manner in which they did their work, with a mentality that showed that clients were on one side as the police took the other, this therefore made the police to have a strong collective identity as a CoP..

McElhinny sees that it is inevitable for women to adopt masculine tendencies in order to fit in professions that have been historically dominated by men with the observation that the process through which women entered the masculine workplaces necessitated that they adopt the norms within the institution. Also, that those who seek to undertake certain professions have to change faster to meet the professional expectations.

McElhinny finds that ‘the economy of affect’ that is required during interaction is a form of adapting during linguistic interaction with the public as an attribute expected of the police. Female police were reported as smiling less and assuming ‘graffer and tougher’ styles that are realized in the language they use. This particular way of behavior has been significant to the present study since the researcher set out to ascertain whether female MCA’s adopt such

strategies to be at par with their male counterparts despite cultural demands of their being submissive to men.

In 2000, Shaw investigated whether the increased representation of female MPs in the British Parliament in the aftermath of the Labor party victory of 1997 had had an impact in reducing the otherwise extremely adversarial styles commonly experienced during debate. In a similar manner to Walsh's female priests, a number of female members of The House of Commons encountered incompatible and contradictory forces from within and without from colleagues and the electorate: they were expected to undertake their responsibilities with competence by living up to the set institutional standards while simultaneously using their supposed difference from men to "civilize" an otherwise boorish and aggressive debating style.

A method the female MPs used to solve this ambivalence was to punctiliously conform to the official norms of engagement in the House of Commons. They were as competent as their male counterparts in The House of Commons that is very competitive in a self-assertive manner of speaking expected in order to be able to keep the floor; however, in contrast to their male counterparts who routinely sought to illegitimately attain additional advantage by means of heckling, joking, filibustering or interrupting, the female MPs did not engage in these.

Some MPs had hoped that the increased number of female MPs would help make rule breaking unacceptable since it was seen as 'purile'; to others still, it was believed that if a female MP broke the rules of the house then she would attract more severe punishment especially because the rule breaker was a female. This, the male MPs hoped, would undermine the female MPs credibility and reduce their claim to professionalism. It was also noticed that female MPs time on the floor was only two thirds of their male counterparts.

Women who operate in mixed gender CoPs were seen as 'interlopers' Eckert (2000). They had to put extra and special effort in order to show that they had conformed to expected norms of speaking in order that they may be judged as being 'good' members of the particular CoP. For this reason, women MPs were found to be particularly attentive to the rules of engagement in the House of Commons. Those regarded as non-interlopers could deviate from the conventional rules without damage to their character as members of the CoP.

Mey (2009) states that in the political arena, there was no prescribed way of speaking; women did not have an appropriate style available either. However, studies on gender and language confirm that particular discourse styles and available linguistic resources have been singled out

to be masculine: being direct and confrontational towards opponents during political debate and being assertive in the exercise of power. Not all men politicians exhibit these characteristics in parliamentary debates. Such stereotyped masculine features in discourse are increasingly being frowned upon by female MPs. Among the members of the Labor Party in Britain, Harriet Harman has rejected what the ‘macho’ and ‘militaristic’ the language of the laddish association that were always around Tony Blair, and claimed that discussions that referred to “big beasts”, “big guns” and “big hitters” do not reflect the way in which women should refer to one another (*The Guardian*, 1999).

There has been an attempt by researchers to define the features that characterize a feminine style. According to Blankenship and Robin (1995), the following five traits are to be found in language used by women during parliamentary debate in the United States:

- Their political judgments are based on concrete, lived experience
- They value inclusion and human relations.
- The power bestowed upon holders of public offices should be for doing things and empowerment
- Formulation of policies should be approached in a holistic manner.
- Women’s affairs ought to be in the forefront in the public court.

Eckert (2000) argues that the so called ‘man-made’ language perpetuates oppression, and that minorities and women have to act in order to reverse this. This assertion is in line with two objectives in this study since, among others, the researcher set out to find out the effects of linguistic elements used to invoke gender and power and how such linguistic elements are responded to on the assembly floor. Walsh (2001:11) argues that the search for cooperation rather than an aggressive style could be regarded as weak, ineffective or bluntly stated as incompetent professionals arriving due to the patronage of males that have chosen to give them a place they are not worthy of place as a result of quota policies. Margaret Thatcher adopted a style regarded as hybrid: she carefully conjugated select aspects of speech that have been linked to middle class femininity together with expressive authoritative speech aspect frequently adopted by the male political class and was referred to as “the best man in cabinet.” This alternating of styles as adopted by Thatcher was not a rational choice but rather a symbol of the anxiety the female politicians have to bear thereby leading them to different choices. Wodak (2003) also notes that in the European Union parliament, female MPs exhibit several identity

constructions. In the current study, the researcher will set to establish whether linguistic elements that invoke gender and power are resisted or conformed to.

Several scholars (Puwar, 1997; Ross and Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1997 and Walsh, 2001) have noted that women feel that a confrontational style that goes beyond parliamentary debate is inhibiting and alienating. Sedgemore (1995:54) noted that in parliamentary discourse and debate, minor differences have to be made major; where they are nonexistent, they must be manufactured. Never-the-less, how these differences are experienced and confrontation managed is dependent on culture, there is therefore no 'standardized' manner of handling them; this latter part also forms a key component of this study. In many parliaments, interventions include: stamping, interjections, noises and all other forms of reactions and comments which demonstrate disapproval or support for the speaker holding the floor. Shaw (2000) illustrates that most legal and illegal interruptions are made by male politicians. Because women politicians do not avail themselves for these disruptions, they end up limiting the number of instances they occupy the floor and in the process surrender their power and influence during debate.

Women are reported to have been socialized in less competitive places such as politics in regional assemblies such as in the autonomous governments in Spain and the UK because less power is wielded there. Women who reached high positions such as Golda Meir and Margaret Thatcher have been seen as deviant and been further referred to as virilized, this is because power has always been associated with masculinity. The political sphere is as such a highly gendered social space. This study has been based particularly on political debates in regional governments at the county level- and whether the above assertions are have been studied. Two research questions in this study regarding the above involve how assertions of gender and power are responded to and how they are negotiated.

The speaking styles of men are unlike those of women. Georgieva (2014) notes the following are differences observable in the speaking styles espoused by women and men:

- Women have a tendency of using more standard forms as opposed to men
- Women have a tendency to use rising intonation in statements not as questions and these have generally been interpreted as markers of hesitancy and diffidence
- Women have a tendency to shift their speech style to suit the situation

- Men have a habit of using more vernacular forms and swearing words than women as a mark of self assurance.
- Men have a tendency of raising more topics in a conversation and prefer less polite communication techniques
- Men have a tendency of frequently interrupting their conversational partners, especially when they are females.

The above findings are important in the present study because in setting out to find linguistic elements, the spoken word as well as other prosodic features have been important in interpretation of the effects created by linguistic elements that invoke gender and power.

According to Lackoff (1975) women's use of tag questions show powerlessness; and that women's speech that has vocabulary that is specialized, is excessively polite and an inclination to make requests rather than commands is that of an 'insecure, intimidated group.' To Lakoff, such forms are reflexive of the conversational security expressed in a 'man's world' by women, where the women have to engage in extra linguistic work in order to be heard. Lakoff's assertion has however been challenged by other scholars such as Johnson (1980).

In investigating reasons for politeness among Mayan villagers, Eckert (2000) considered three contexts: woman to woman, woman to man and man to man. It was recorded that politeness in language use was especially useful among women and that varied degrees of politeness were used as strategies to be able to handle different levels of power. Politeness was chosen as a disarming strategy. Eliasoph (1987) further notes that in expressing friendliness, women create their sympathetic and emotional connections as they get things done. In the present study, the researcher also sought to find out whether politeness has been used as a linguistic element; indeed, politeness theory is one of the theories that has been used in the interpretation and analysis of collected data.

A study conducted by Brown (1980:93) also observes that since women lacked power, they were beholden to be polite. It was also noted that women are more sensitive to potential face threateningness and therefore, they modify their speech accordingly. Women that attempt to demonstrate power in discursive practices were perceived in negative light and were therefore to be shunned. Further, women have less power in men's domain like politics since they do not usually interrupt. Interruption equals power. For the current study, interruption is significant in the contest for power.

Several scholars from the 1990s espoused Judith Butler's idea that regards gender as 'performative'; it is not what someone 'does' by regularly undertaking tasks which make up masculinity (Cameron, 2005). To Butler, gender is repeated 'stylization of the body'. However several other researchers dispute the 'masculinity' and 'femininity' theories as natural categories.

While investigating women's language as performed by American drag queens, Barret (1998) notes that it typically exhibited a polite demeanor and refined manner that was creatively juxtaposed with an African American Vernacular English produced a sexually and racially indistinct personae that was viewed as a street variety. Hall (1995) who studied the styles in spoken discourses assumed by telephone sex workers in California was able to identify characteristics of 'women's language' as identified by Lakoff to be a crucial means for fabricating the highly hyped extravagant mental image of the feminine personae. Hall additionally observed that a number of personae regarded as being most successful were alien to 'real' identity of the workers: black women acted the white personae; white women performed as Latino. One of these workers was a man.

Kulick and Stroud (1990) studied the advice presented to male-to-female transsexuals on how to make their speech behavior feminine, and found out that those considered proficient in this field also heavily relied on training or advising those who receive their services to exhibit the features of Lakoff's 'women's language'.

From these studies it becomes impossible or is difficult to make use of the commonly accepted notion that the manner in which a person speaks is a simple way of expressing the inner essence of their being or the identity they acquired during their childhood. These therefore challenge the notion of a single prototype for masculinity or femininity by calling attention to the multiplicity of gender and sexual identities it is possible to perform. However, Cameron (2005) still emphasizes that teachers of English have a high regard for the symbolic 'masculine' competence to 'take command' in discussions involving groups, their calling principle additionally gives them a dependable and lasting loyalty to a system of symbolically 'masculine' virtues that include teamwork and listening sensitively.

On the Kenyan situation, Sifuna (1997) conducted a study on management of public universities in which he established that most appointees to positions of senior management positions in publicly owned universities were politically instigated rewards and that the appointees were answerable to nobody other than the appointing authority. In the current context, a vast majority

of female MCAs are nominated; do they accept to play a subservient role? Do they steer assembly affairs in the nominating authority's favor or do they seek to create space for themselves by getting themselves heard and if so what linguistic strategies do they employ? These aspects have been of key concern to this study.

Onsongo (2005) in a research on women in management positions in universities notes that women are demeaned, unrecognized, discriminated against, face hostility from male counterparts, are sexually harassed and that men will often find faults in them for no apparent reason. For this study, the above findings have been important since the researcher, among other things, set out to establish linguistic elements and strategies that women in public offices-MCAs employ in their quest for power and political space on the floor of the county assembly; and any linguistically overt signs that they are discriminated, demeaned or undermined as females.

It is upon such premises that gender has been studied. This study has also sought to consider some or all of the above features such as how women adopt to a male dominated domain of politics and to determine their effects since this later aspect is also among the questions this study seeks to address. It has further taken into consideration assumptions that women MCAs could have a civilizing effect on the County Assembly debate especially because they constitute a minority in the assembly that is traditionally the preserve of men.

The current study has had its center of attention on the way in which the spoken discourse is strategically used in the County Assembly debate, and whether linguistic choices and strategic use of language are used to invoke gender and power in debate. Mills (2003) however cautions that relationship between power and gender is not simple. Baxter (2012) observes that women who occupy leadership positions can choose to deploy language as a *resource* and not a task. This later fact is relevant to the current study in terms of examining whether gender and power are invoked through the strategic use of language in the County Assembly.

A number of studies were conducted to establish the interaction between gender and power in boardroom settings. Baxter (2012) set out to pinpoint instances of "linguistic traces" with regard to the manner in which linguistic resources that are gendered were used in senior management boardroom positions dominated by men. This study established that women in leadership positions shifted their style of speaking by using gendered resources during conversation and that these shifts were meant to undermine and contest hegemonic tendencies and practices. Holmes (2005) found out that women in positions of power undertook their

activities in similar ways to their male colleagues and that sometimes they would take on a linguistic style that strategically gave a test to the limits of appropriately gendered behavior in the course of undertaking their duties. Both studies emphasize the fact that despite increased state of equality of gender in these corporate contexts, gender continues to be an important factor in directing linguistic interaction. For the current study, women occupying positions of House leadership such as Chair of committee is significant since they have to find a way of steering the business and agenda of their various committees in a male dominated assembly.

Walsh (2001) proposes that there is a need for women to use varied linguistic strategies and models and also shift between these. Women use several available linguistic strategies for CoPs that have traditionally been male dominated and consider the disadvantages and benefits with regard to individual career interests of women and attaining gender parity. This could be achieved through a 'performative model' in which a speaker on the floor employs both feminine and masculine linguistic styles in manner of speaking. This therefore presupposes that gender can be deployed strategically.

In a study that considered a collaborative versus formal floor by Edelsky and Adams (1990), women were more comfortable talking precisely those times in which several persons took to the floor to speak. Further, that at such instances female MPs also spoke frequently, cracked many jokes, spoke more confidently on occasions when talk was more in instances involving more than one speaker or in a free-for-all or collaboratively constructed single plan while operating on the same wavelength. Then, members behaved in an amicable manner and demonstrated collegiality and the spirit of camaraderie.

According to Wodak (2003), gender is biological; she further states that we are ultimately always considered as women or men and that this classification according to gender subconsciously or consciously directs the behavior and interaction of many people in several contexts.

Shaw (2006) argues that gender is a factor that affected membership and participation within a CoP. The current study also set out to establish 'if' and in which specific instances gender could direct linguistic interaction during the Busia County Assembly debate.

Trudgill (1983) notes that women have been known to make use of more polite forms in comparison to men, this is in line with their need to be valued by the society; it is a way of protecting their face. Fishman (1983) concurs with Trudgil and observes that the deficiencies

realized in the language used by women are not due to their incapability in vital communication; it is because men have assumed a leading role during conversation and in this manner enact physical (according to sexuality) dimorphism and social dimorphism. In this manner, power is assumed to occupy a pivotal role and as such women are pushed to less valuable positions on the linguistic floor. This, the men do by use of a number of techniques such as slurring the women, refusing to take up gambits thrown to them by women and by at times making interruptions and overlaps.

Other studies have suggested that an increase of women in political and corporate spaces would tend to raise their position and performance. Dahlerup (1988) who proposed the 'Critical Mass' theory asserts that women can bring about change and are likely to challenge and undermine the dominant practices that have continued to exist in institutions traditionally dominated by men with their increased numbers. This critical mass according to Dahlerup is 30%. However, this position is opposed by Mateo Diaz (2005) who notes that this is not automatic since women do not usually form a homogenous group and that they are likely to take different positions on the same matter. For this study, this "Critical Mass" theory has been significant since the researcher, among other related aspects, has used this to examine women's performance in the assembly by how they respond to a male dominated house: do they negotiate, conform or resist this dominance?

Cameron (2009) also asserts that equality cannot be brought about by simply dislodging obstacles to women's involvement in particular activities. This is because entrenched behavioral patterns and old divisions can continue to be in place even after structures that kept them in place have been brought down.

However, Walsh (2000:21) argues that a reduced number of women is capable of bringing about change when they adopt 'critical difference strategies' that will ensure that the power of their interaction is greater than the status and power they have within the institutionalized framework. It might therefore be necessary for women to dare and question the existing fraternal networks and power dynamics currently in existence by the manner in which they use language. Shaw (2006) suggests that engaging in rule breaking in certain ways could be used as a means of undermining male authority; one way Shaw identifies is the deliberate refusal to use the formal address such as "The honorable member".

In a study conducted in Morocco, Sadiqi (2008) considered the complex nature of interaction between gender, language and centers of power centers as they are exemplified in the political

and religious realms. She states that women have learned the power embedded in language and that they are manipulating it to their benefit according to their different resources. By manipulating language, women's issues become state issues. By manipulating the language resource, Moroccan women have confronted patriarchy- a challenge to the male dominated society.

Walsh (2000) notes that the rise in numbers of women in public spaces has drawn attention to the unproblematised status of the implicitly masculinist systems of belief value systems and discursive practices that have always predominated these spaces and that if women pursue a 'critical difference' approach, they can impact on the dominating discursive norms. If women opt to adopt an approach of accommodating pre-existing practices and norms, their increasing numbers will only serve to be assimilated and as such they will be unable to extricate themselves from the state of being dominated.

The above assertions are of significance to this study. This is because the researcher set to find out whether and how the masculinist belief systems and values are exemplified and how female M.C.A.s use language to challenge these in light of their cultural disposition and make their voices be heard.

However, Holmes (1995) states that adult males have no motivation to surrender highly sought after speaking time in public contexts. Indeed, Walsh states that in order to strengthen fraternal networking among men, then an increase the representation of women in some institutions is important. Yoder (1991) describes it as the 'intrusiveness effect' where raising the number of women in generally masculinized institutions only serves to make it more resistant to change.

This study has sought to establish whether in terms of norms in the county assembly, women have options or simply tailor their ideas and views to the otherwise prevailing masculine culture and norms of the CoP. It has also attempted to show whether women MCAs use various strategies to challenge male dominance and the dynamics of power and existing fraternal networks in the assembly during debate or whether as Fishman (1970) says they accept to be pushed to the linguistic floor- as the culture requires of 'good' women.

2.5 Studies in Language and Gender in Parliamentary Contexts

Shaw (2006) who studied the United Kingdom's House of Commons where the representation of women is low refers to it as the 'bear pit'. This is because it is considered to be adversarial.

As such, very few women are to be found in it. She hypothesizes that the floor of the House of Commons is not a level playing field for a large number of elected male representatives and all their female counterparts. This is because the House of Commons has for many generations been a dominion of members of the elite male white upper –class. Due to this, predominantly male discursive norms developed. Shaw further notes that women were alert to the rules governing debate and that they do not flout them in the way their male counterparts do. Examples of rule breaking include: directly referring to another member on the opposing side, using language considered unparliamentary or invoking inappropriate forms of addressing other members. She further shows that rules are more likely to be broken by male MPs and in so doing they have increased chances of gaining access to the floor and that their female counterparts in the assembly have chosen to avoid getting involved in such unacceptable practices.

A study on how speaking and turn taking rules are broken during a televised debate in the United States. Edelsky and Adams (1990) examined whether gender was relevant in spaces and instances used to contest political power. They note that the rules governing debate have been put in place to create equality and fairness in the allocation of time. However, they observed that the rules are frequently broken and violations take place and session therefore turns out to be an episode where inequalities of age, race, gender and ethnicity are re-enacted.

Ilie (2013) noted that practices that are disruptive that alluded to the gender of a speaker in a male dominated parliament were made with the specific purpose of downplaying or undermining the authority of women. Such words and terminology include: dear, ma'am, queen, love, missus, etc. Ilie also found that in the Swedish Rikstag or parliament, attempts at undermining and challenging the balance of power between male and female interlocutors was undertaken in more artful and ingenious forms. Such include more casual ways of addressing used by male MPs that these ended up causing embarrassment to the female MPs thereby made them lose face before their colleagues in the Rikstag.

In both the Swedish and British parliamentary interaction, Ilie (2001) points at instances that she proposes indicate that female parliamentarians exercise a challenge to power by using discourse strategically in order to undermine and challenge the authority of their male counterparts and the aggressive practices experienced in parliaments. Shaw (2006) also found out that female parliamentarians may attempt to change the norms and culture experienced in

the parliamentary chamber by use of language and that different methods can be used to achieve this goal.

In a study of the German Bundestag, Zim (2014) examined the contribution of female MPs including interventions and interruptions by their male counterparts as women held the floor. Respondents to her questions asserted that interruptions were not due to considerations of gender; rather, they were prompted by the quality of the speech. She further stated that experience had shown that politicians who had been MPs for longer periods were more experienced and had more influence and as such, they were more likely to be listened to. This is important to the present study as the researcher has set to establish how female MCAs conduct their house business: do they conform, negotiate or resist dominance and find their space? How do they get their voices heard?

2.6 Gender and Politics

Lovenduski (1996) notes that the push for an increase in representation of women in positions of making decisions is based on the notion that the interests of women are articulated better by the women themselves. Several scholars (Hansen, 1997 and Lawless, 2015) argue that women who hold offices have a tendency to put emphasis on different matters as compared to their male counterparts and that these matters are particularly concern women. They include: abortion rights, child care family leave, health and education (Hansen, 1997).

The implication here is that when women are underrepresented, little emphasis is placed on their interests by men in the assembly (Lovenduski 1996). It has been postulated that increased representation of women in political spaces would aid in emphasizing the different and wide ranging concerns of society as a whole. However, the dissection of interests and topics according to gender would cause problems as this would reinforce entrenched social stereotypes that women can best function as educators and housekeepers (Norris 1996). Mensah-Williams (2009) noted that women in politics in Namibia had raised concern and successfully lobbied for improved child care facilities, a gender sensitive budget and safeguarding women's rights. This study does seek to find out how the female voice in the assembly chamber comes out sine representation is not just a case of numbers but getting oneself heard. The researcher therefore sought to identify the strategies they use to get heard despite their reduced numbers in the county assembly.

In a paper presented at an international women's parliamentary caucus in Geneva, Yamego (2009) noted that in Burkina-Faso, women's representation in parliament in 1992-1997 stood at a paltry 3%, with the number rising to 15% in 2002-2007. She argues that the following factors limit the participation of women in politics:

- Assigning duties according to gender.
- The heavy load of home duties that make it hard to strike a balance with professional and political engagements.
- Women have no confidence in their fellow women's abilities.
- The manner in which women perceive political spaces.
- A deficit of women with experience.
- Women have inability to muster sufficient financial resources.

For this particular study, representation has been emphasized in terms of women's participation with regard to issues raised and the linguistic strategies they employ despite their minimal numbers on the floor during debate. Further, the study has sought to establish whether the female MCAs' cultural background influences their concerns and how they linguistically and strategically negotiate the dynamics of a male dominated chamber.

2.7 Barriers to Women's Participation in Politics in Kenya

Mey (2009) notes that the inability to use language is a barrier that hampers women's entry into political spaces and offices, further that rates of illiteracy among females are higher as compared to those of men world-wide and women have not traditionally been socialized to seek elective political offices. That the political space is gendered in favor of men is further exemplified in the fact that power and masculinity are the symbols in politics and women who have reached high positions in politics (for instance Golda Meir and Margaret Thatcher) are regarded as deviant examples of virilized women.

It has been cited that in Kenya, the failure by women to take up public positions has been brought about by destitution and the unfair manner in which wealth is distributed (Anyango, Alupo and Ayala, 2018). Another major barrier cited in this study is the government's failure to enforce the two-thirds rule on gender - this in effect makes the few women in politics to be regarded as 'strangers in the house.' This is in contrast to the social welfare in the Nordic countries that proffer women in public sphere (Norris and Inglehart, 2001). It has further been asserted by Mwangi (1996) and Sifuna (2006) that there is no social support program in Kenya

and that in Africa, leadership is embodied in the dominance of masculinity since matters of making decisions are completely monopolized. Women have traditionally and culturally been apportioned the position of homemakers while the men have been given support to learn leadership and the art of ruling from an early stage (Kabeer, 2005).

Women's involvement could promote equality since they have been reported to be sensitive to the plight of others. Their presence in parliament has reportedly been instrumental in the passing of laws that include the Children's Act and tax waivers. Women are also well adapted to advocate policies and laws that put into consideration the poor in the country (Hughes and Mwiria, 1989).

Schein (2010) notes that culture within organizations yields power that can influence members' beliefs, understandings and perceptions of reality. In this way it impacts on social dynamics. For this reason therefore the male dominance experienced in political spaces continues unabated since this is the situation that the citizenry are used to.

The above studies and findings are important to the present study since they touch on females getting their voices heard; the techniques and strategies they use, and whether culture influences their linguistic choices are among the objectives under study.

A research study conducted on women on the Kenyan political scene by Nyokabi (2010) notes that their performance has been mixed, and sometimes below par. She notes that in the 9th Parliament, women perceived to be active were those in cabinet such as Charity Ngilu, Martha Karua and Jebii Kilimo. The study states that Njoki Ndun'gu got much attention and publicity because of the Sexual Offences Bill that she fought for; the other women parliamentarians were virtually unknown to the Kenyan public.

Ester Keino drew the attention of the media attention because she failed to give a maiden speech in parliament- arguing that being in parliament for the first time meant she needed time to understand the manner in which house business operated. Njoki Ndun'gu, who had just got into parliament for the first time also confirmed that parliamentary procedures could at times be intimidating for first-timers. This study reports that women having political mentors was crucial for new-comers, especially because they are greatly outnumbered- such circumstances could intimidate women considered to be the most courageous.

Domingo, McCollough, Sambiri and Wanjala (2016) noted that in an interview with a female MP in her third term, she asserted that women who stay in politics for long where they are a

minority in parliament dominated by men, such women could undergo a process referred to as ‘masculinization.’ However, other female MPs interviewed said they had passion and focus, and that if there existed a critical mass of women in political spaces and offices, then much could be achieved in terms of driving women’s agenda and other social affairs would receive the much needed input.

Kyalo, Omia and Maloy (2019) conducted a study on obstacles that female members of Mombasa County Assembly faced and they established that the Swahili women’s social lifestyle is unmistakable and stands out. The Swahili women experience ‘worse cultures’ that do not allow them time and spare energy required for political engagements. Further, that women have a subordinate position *vis a vis* men. The women are generally less valued than the males; this is because of their roles in matters of motherhood, child-bearers and housekeepers- all of which are socially ascribed.

Kikechi (2005) carried out a study on how Members of parliament participate in Kenya and observes that in most instances during house debates, questions asked by female MPs are left unanswered. For this study, this revelation is important. Do female MCAs questions go unanswered in the current times? This is important for the current study because if women’s questions on the assembly floor get unanswered, that would be an indication of dominance and a continued perpetuation of power by the male elite. That would probably warrant queries. How female MCAs linguistically respond to situations where their questions go unanswered on the assembly floor is has been among the concerns of this study.

In their quest for political office and power, women face discrimination (Wambui, 2003). Further, that they are treated differently from men where rules of operation result in favoring one sex though this was not the intention of the law. This fact must be put into consideration in this study. How the female MCAs overcome barriers deliberately placed in their way by use of linguistic strategies and choices in the contest for power and space during assembly debate are issues this study sought to pursue.

The studies cited above on women on the political scene in Kenya are crucial for this study since they provide a window through which their participation and contribution can be assessed. Those studies were conducted on women politicians at the National Assembly; the current study has paid particular attention to their involvement at county level- and how they conduct their business and occupy the political space at the county level by making themselves heard in their ‘backyards’.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

This section presents the theoretical framework that the study has employed in order to achieve its set objectives. Ahmadvand (2009) advances that meaning is not constructed in a single way; it is multidimensional and requires that different approaches be employed. This is because it is complex to understand the silent meaning in discourse - whether it is written or spoken especially because one cannot always be certain about the information surrounding the discourse. The study has involved the use of two theories: Critical Discourse Analysis and the Politeness Theory. These two theories are significant since they have helped the researcher to have a detailed understanding and interpretation of some of the linguistic phenomenon likely to be observed. The arising interpretation created by the use of more than one approach has certainly been more influential and revealed much more than any amount of diagrams or computations (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 1996:77).

2.8.1 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a specialized approach that is used to study and analyze emerging critical semiotics, critical linguistics, talk and text; it is a socio-politically deliberate and differentiated manner to be used to analyze and investigate practices used in communication and discourse (Van Dijk, 1995). It does not characterize a school, field or sub-discipline in the analysis of discourse neither is it issue oriented; rather it is problem or issue oriented. Van Leeuwen (2006) states that it is an explicit and critical approach, stance or position that is to be deployed in studying of talk and text. Additionally, that CDA is premised on the notion that talk and text have a pivotal function in upholding and propagating injustices; and ultimately legitimizing oppression and inequality in society.

From inception, CDA as a discipline was intended to question and challenge the status quo through detection, analysis and also creating resistance and counteractions to enactments that involve abuse of power as exhibited in public and private discourses (Wodak, 1997). To others, being critical might be misconstrued as being judgmental; however Jager and Maier (2009:36) state that this is not the case here because such a critique makes no claims to be the sole and absolute truth.

CDA is perceived as essential in a number of ways: it has an attitude that is unapologetic, and explicit concerning acceptable values (Van Leeuwen, 2006); it is committed to the analysis of socially unacceptable vices such as inequality in terms of accessing power or prejudices

(Fairclough, 2009); it is interested in discovering the prevailing hegemonic social practices that have brought about these vices and in the development of approaches applicable in their analysis (Bloor and Bloor, 2007).

Fairclough (1995) and Wodak (1997) additionally state that a crucial analysis goes beyond hermeneutics. To them, CDA is targeted towards demystifying discourses ideologically shaped by relations of power; it pays focus to the obscure relationship between discourse and the structures in society by ways of candid interpretations and explanations. CDA relies on methodical systematic steps, that is, by effecting distance from the data and applying them to the context.

CDA is typically inter or multidisciplinary, and pays particular focus on the relations between society and discourse and these include politics, culture and social cognition. CDA might also consider all dimensions of discourse- those of style, speech acts, style, pragmatic organization and grammar including interactive ones among several others. Toolan (2002) states that CDA has been used to explore discourses of racism and anti-Semitism, immigration and asylum, the discourses of neoliberalism and their role in neo-capitalist policies and practices of governments, gender, education, doctor-patient communication, war and terrorism, welfare and unemployment. CDA has also been used to pay attention to and study debates in parliament, reports in the media, editorials and the speeches politicians make. CDA is an intervention meant at grounding critical discourse in social theory and articulate the relationship that exists between discourses and the social practices in which they are embedded.

According to Van Dijk (1995), in the process of studying the role played by discourse in a society, CDA pays particular attention to relationships within the group with regards to the balance of power, inequality and dominance and how they are enacted, displayed or opposed by members of a social group by means of talk and text. CDA also pays attention to established or legitimized arrangements and strategies used in domination and resistance to power in existing social arrangements that involve ethnicity, gender, class, sexual disposition, age, religion and language (ibid).

CDA is singularly applicable to investigation of the manner in which language is deployed in constructing and maintaining power relations in any organized group (Saville Troike, 1982). It sets to establish links between power and language, and between ideology and language. Georgieva (2014) defines attitudes, beliefs, positions, and perspectives assumed by organized by social groupings towards each other. She further argues that by using a “critical”

perspective, ideology is about particular means of representing issues and instances that support the domination and empowerment of organized groups against others. Consequently, discourses are studied with regard to their effects on relations of power.

CDA sets out to establish instances where there is appropriate practice of power in presumed “equal” linguistic engagements or for indicators of subtle assumptions on ideology on the usual and expected manner of performing those practices that undermine and hurt minorities. It considers a wide spectrum of factors such as strategies used in marketing and advertising, medical texts and analysis of political speeches (ibid). CDA’s theoretical underpinning is social constructivism: this is an assertion that humanity is in general constructed socially and that routine and stylized discourse practices play a pivotal function in the process (Georgieva 2014).

Van Leeuwen argues further that CDA adopted a more fully multi-disciplinary approach by not only studying text and transcripts of verbal exchanges, but also considered the contexts in which discourse was produced; whether by using ethnographical or historical approaches. Another key component of CDA is taking into account other modes of communication through images; members of some social groupings are never personalized- they are depicted *en groupe*, in most times in identical or near similar arrangements poses to create a feeling and effect ‘that they are similar’ or that ‘one cannot tell them apart’.

CDA seeks to give explanations as to the reason why texts appear as they do, and why they change in particular ways; and in adopting the Hallidayan approach, seek for responses to these queries in the political, economic and social spheres.

Fairclough (2010:10) posits that CDA does not only deal with discourse analysis; it is a transdisciplinary analysis involving relations. Additionally, it is not just a series of explanations about discourse. It involves the methodical study of texts- written or spoken. It is not just descriptive; it is also normative. It addresses social wrongs in their discursive aspects and possible ways of righting or mitigating them.

To Van Dijk, CDA is not a branch of discourse analysis. To him, CDA is interdisciplinary- it should similarly have socio-economical, cultural, philosophical, historical, neurological and logical approaches. Van Dijk argues that there isn’t a direct relationship between discourse structures and social structures. Discourse embodies a triangular communicative event that includes body language, written texts, oral interactions and semiotic signifiers that may include pictures. Further, the society has micro- structures which include the political and social; and

the macro- structures which include social groupings and the existing relationships among them such as inequalities and dominance

In his viewpoint, Van Dijk asserts that critical discourse analysts have to demonstrate clarity with regards to their socio-political positions; are obliged to expound on their goals, principles and viewpoints. Since their work is political in nature, their criticisms on the nature of discourse ultimately become political criticism of the people responsible for the propagation of ascendancy of elite groups in power and social inequalities, those who sanction injustice and social inequalities and continue to validate them.

Van Dijk argues that it is not necessary to have a full analysis of discourse in a large corpus of talk or text (Wodak, 2001:26). If research on such discourse focuses on the manner through which particular speakers or writers exhibit power in the process of engaging in discourse, then the study will in essence attend to the features that are dynamic and bound to change as a realization of social power. As such Van Dijk opines that the analysis of discourse should concentrate on the following linguistic makers: intonation and stress, the ordering of words, lexical style, coherence, the use of disclaimers as semantic moves, one's choice of topic, speech acts exhibited, the schematic organization, the use of rhetorical figures, the kind of syntactic structures employed, the manner of taking turns, repairs and hesitations. .

The researcher has considered the above linguistic markers as significant linguistic signposts that have been used in the analysis of data. Van Dijk supposes that these are instances of the various ways in which interaction is in principle within a speaker's control. Other structures such as sentential structures are grammatically obligatory and are invariant contextually, and as such they are not within a speaker's control and social power.

Van Dijk additionally suggests the following six steps to be used during analysis which the researcher has also considered:

- i) To have an analysis of macropropositions and semantic macrostructures.
- ii) Analyze local meanings in which a number of forms of implicit or indirect meanings including presuppositions, vagueness, allusions, implications, polarization and omissions are of special interest.
- iii) Have an analysis of subtleties with regard to formal structures.
- iv) Embrace an analysis of local and global discourse formats and forms.
- v) Conduct an analysis of specific linguistic phenomena such as hyperbole and litotes.

vi) Context analysis.

Van Dijk sees the ultimate goal of critical discourse analysts as that of helping the deprived in society by addressing the issues that threaten them; not small issues relating to discourse structures. Their work goes beyond 'here' and 'now' and attempts to study the roots of fundamental social problems and that their criticisms are neither temporary nor personal. This implies that in critical discourse analysis, what is said or written is not evaluated on the present or on impulse but in context- this also considers the past.

The relevance of focus on the concept of power as domiciled in linguistic discourse must be clarified in the case of the current study. Fairclough (1989) avers that linguistic discourse is of great significance during production, maintenance and change in social relations of power. Fairclough further claims that the social is connected with language since language is where ideology is domiciled and the place for power struggles. Various facets of power are ingrained in the practice experienced in parliamentary debate. The norms in political debate are made and expressed by way of text and talk but in politics, there is a constant and perpetual power contest for those bent on seeking, exercising, defending and maintaining their power and those bent on resisting it (Chilton, 2004:3). These assumptions are relevant to the present study since the researcher believes that linguistic choices are important in negotiating and possessing power in the county assembly.

Fairclough (2010) proposes what he calls a critical approach to discourse analysis. In this approach, he makes a link between social practice and language on one hand and a systematic investigation of connections between the nature of social processes and the properties of text. Accordingly, texts could either be written or spoken. In this discussion, a 'critical' approach sets out to make a visible, thorough analysis and to criticize connections between texts and social processes and relationships that include those of power and ideologies that are generally obvious to people who produce and interpret those texts and whose effectiveness depends on this opacity.

As such, this approach adopts a three dimensional conception of discourse, and simultaneously a three dimensional approach to discourse analysis. Discourse, and any specific instance of discursive practice, is considered simultaneously as follows: (i) a language text- written or spoken; (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation); (iii) sociocultural practice. Discourse is always embedded in socio cultural practice. At several levels: the immediate situation of producing a text, the larger institutional norms of speaking that govern

social relations and at the societal level; in the assembly chamber a discourse analyst can read and interpret relationships between the members as an institution, or the gender relationships that hold among them.

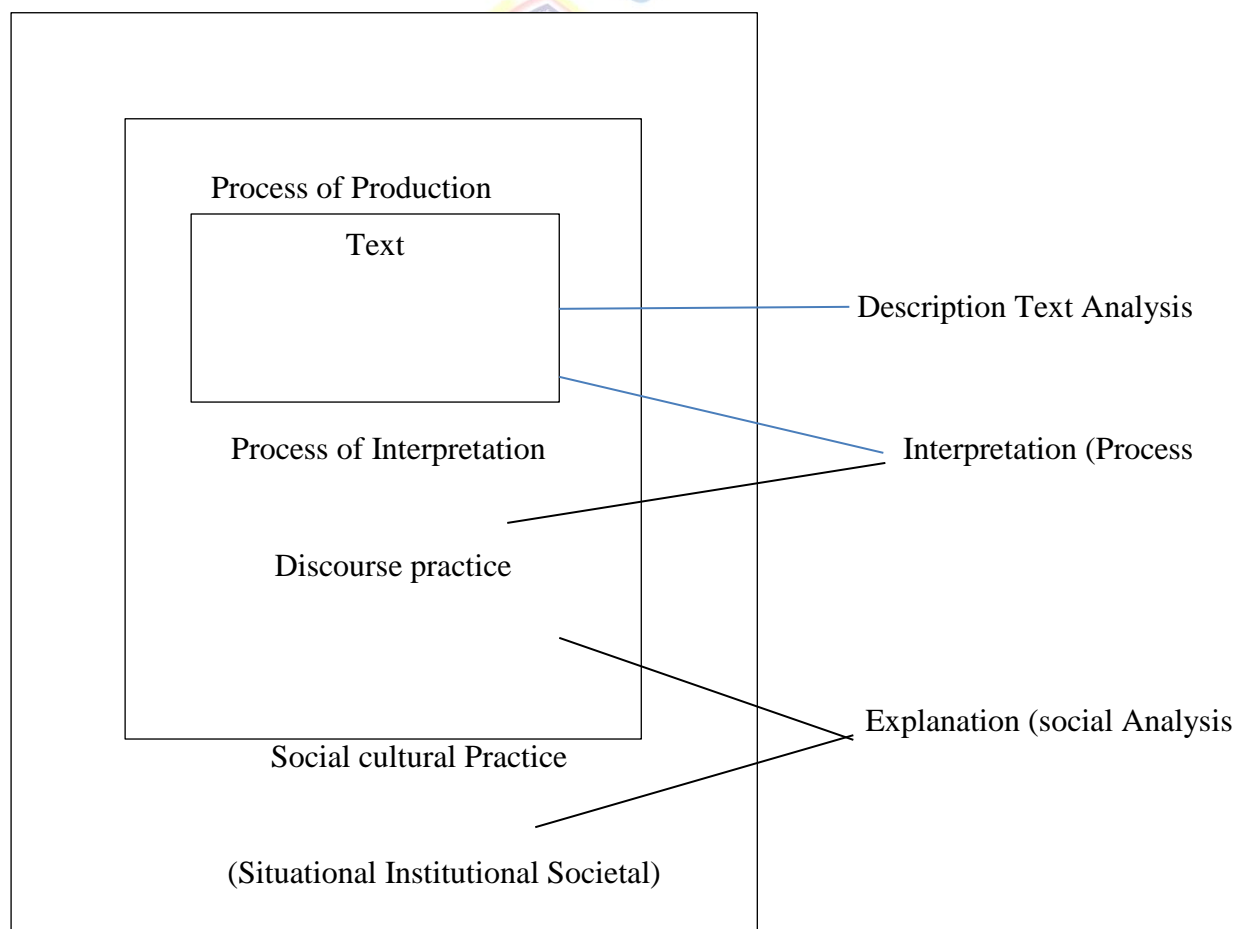
This theory has specifically been considered in the analysis of data in this study with regards to the (im)balance of power in the county assembly, incidences of inequality and dominance and how they are enacted, displayed and opposed. Further, entrenched cultural beliefs, positions, attitudes and subtleties- including occupancy of the floor have been found to be significant. As such, the study has paid close attention to the following: stress, intonation, topic choice and organization, speech acts, turn-taking, insults, advising and making assertions, commands, rhetorical figures, disclaimers and syntax. The analysis of data has been focused on the social aspects of communication and the manner in which members of the Busia County Assembly used language to achieve specific effects such as building trust, creating doubt, evoking emotions, or managing conflict. Further, the researcher has used Discourse Analysis to study larger chunks of language, such as entire conversations, texts, or collections of texts. In the course of doing this, certain words or phrases have been found to be significant in the interpretation of the data. The selected sources have been analyzed on multiple levels. In the analysis of data, Luo (2019) notes that as far as vocabulary is concerned, words and phrases can be analyzed for ideological associations, formality, euphemistic and metaphorical content; this approach has been embraced in analysis of the data. With regard to grammar, this theory is significant since it helps the researcher to pay attention to the manner in which sentences are constructed- the verb, the topic organization and tenses, whether active or passive in construction; the use of questions and imperatives which eventually reveal aspects of the speaker's intentions and meaning. Through CDA, the structure of the text is also borne in mind with regard to how it creates emphasis and builds the narrative. Non-verbal speech acts such as tone of voice, volume, pauses and sounds like "um" or "er" also become significant in the analysis to reveal the speaker/ hearer's attitudes, emotions and state of mind in the discourse process. Lastly, CDA also helps a researcher to consider the interaction between members of a CoP with regards to semantic moves such as turn taking, interruptions and listener responses.

This method of discourse analysis includes linguistic description of the language text, interpretation of the relationship between discursive processes and the text, and an explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes. A special feature of the approach is that the connection between text and socio-cultural practice is mediated by

discourse practice; how a text is produced and interpreted, in the sense of what discursive practices and conventions are drawn from what order(s) of discourse and the manner in which they are articulated, depends upon the nature of the socio-cultural practice which the discourse is a part of; and this includes existing hegemonic tendencies. The nature of the discourse practice of text production shapes the text, and leaves 'traces' in surface or overt features of the text; and the nature of the discourse practice of text interpretation determines the manner in which the surface features of the text will ultimately be interpreted. A diagrammatic representation to this approach is presented below.

Figure 2.1

Method of Discourse Analysis



Summarily, CDA sets out to lay bare how discourse practices can be manipulative and enhance the communication process thereby dislodging obstacles involving pre-existing assumptions that have been perpetually legitimized by use of discourse. These aspects are core to this study which particularly set out to establish how power relations and gender come into play during discourse in the county assembly debate.

2.8.2 Politeness Theory

This theory was initially advanced by Brown and Levinson (1978). They introduce the concept of 'face' in order to introduce 'politeness' in a broad sense in the theoretical part of their work. The politeness theory is premised on the Grice's philosophy (1982) and Searle (1975) who first discussed politeness by means of the four maxims of the cooperative principles in 'logic and politeness.' These four maxims are: *maxim of quantity*-information should be brief or long enough so that no part of the information is left out; *maxim of quality*- truthfulness and with confirmation; *maxim of relevance*- one should always be relevant and *Maxim of manner*-always strive to be clear, orderly, avoid obscurity and ambiguity. The cooperative principle assumes that human interaction is generally cooperative in terms of showing polite manners. The signals of politeness can be observed by the interlocutors in conversation. The speech acts are therefore significant since each act is meaningful. Searle (1969) puts emphasis on the indirect nature of speech act as being the main motivating factor - although not the single motivating factor- as the driving factor that makes a speaker use the indirect forms of politeness.'

Brown and Levinson suggest four politeness strategies that can become the speaker's choice as follows: negative politeness; positive politeness; by going off record and by not doing a face threatening act (FTA).

Positive politeness strategies involve the following: noticing, attending to the hearer exaggerating, concentrating interest on speaker/ listener, the use in-group identity markers, seeking agreement, asserting common ground, joking, affirming or imagining the knowledge of the speaker and expressing interest for him/ her, offering and promises, being optimistic, bringing in speaker/ hearer in the activity, giving and asking for reasons, reciprocating and giving gifts such as be sympathetic, cooperative and understanding.

Negative politeness is used when a person wants to keep his liberty to act unhindered and to have his attention unrestrained. It is usually aimed at the addressee. Such strategies include the

following: being direct, questioning and hedging, being pessimistic, minimizing imposition, giving difference, apologizing, impersonalizing hearer/ speaker, nominalizing and being on record as acquiring debt or as not indebting the hearer,

Off the record is done with an off the record communicative act that makes it impossible to assign a single intention to the communicative act. The following strategies could be considered: giving hints, giving association clues, presupposing, understating, overstating, using tautology, observing contradiction, being ironical, using metaphorical language, stating rhetorical questions, being ambiguous, being vague, using incomplete sentences and elliptical structures.

The fourth strategy which is called *opting out* refers to when the person decides not to do any of the face threatening acts. The benefit of this is that the person does not become engaged in any possible interaction. The speaker would therefore be unlikely to get any effect at all. It has been noted that not all interaction is geared towards politeness. This theory has the assumption that its target is to make participants cooperate during dialogue. However, in the circumstances around the assembly chamber, interactions aren't always tailored towards cooperation, and FTAs are usually overtly encouraged (Bayley, 2004 and Harris, 2001). Bargiel-Chiappini (2006) argues that when emotions are accounted for, they are also a technique of protecting face. This theory is significant in this study since it provides yet another avenue through which linguistic choices and techniques not accounted for by the CDA theory can be analyzed.

Other scholars who deal with politeness away from the cooperative principle include Lackoff (1973) who identifies pragmatic rules for minimizing conflict between speaker and addressee. Such include:

- Clarity- give all the necessary information, but only enough; state only those things you hold as truthful on the basis of evidence and knowledge; relevance; being concise and avoiding confusion and ambiguity.
- Expressing politeness- do not dictate; provide choices and let other people enjoy. Being polite requires that maxims of camaraderie, deference and distance are always borne in mind (Johnstone, 2008).

Leech (1983) adopted an approach represented by the notion of indirectness. It involves respect and appreciation. It has a tendency for agreement, reverence, synchrony and some illocutionary

acts like offering an apology whereas orders are not. The maxims Leech identifies include the following: being tactful, using approbations, modesty, agreement, sympathy and generosity.



Each of these maxims involves other minor maxims.

According to Goffman (1967), face refers to the positive social value which a person is able to claim for himself or herself by the rank or trajectory other people assume he or she has adopted in the course of a particular contact. It refers to self image. For the current study, “face” refers to one’s self esteem. To him, face is a regulator with the following two processes: remedial process and avoidance. Remedial process refers to instances where a person is involved in effectively keeping face; in this manner, social harmony can be established. Avoidance shows that an interlocutor is avoiding being party to an interaction so as not to get a negative face. Face refers to the social value of the speaker, hearer and others outside the discourse. For a social interaction to progress harmoniously, it is necessary to have a reciprocal relationship among interlocutors, even if it is only temporary, it therefore calls for acceptance and respect for other people. Goffman argues that there is protective and defensive face. Protective face involves saving another person’s face while in defensive face a speaker makes efforts to save his/ her own face while protective face involves saving someone else’s face.

2.9 Contextualizing Political Discourse

Political discourse, language issues and gender will be considered in shaping methodology. The study has adopted two broad techniques in analyzing data: the first involved a close study and analysis of debate transcripts and video recordings of assembly sessions; the second involved having interviews with sitting MCAs. According to Simpson and Mayr (2010), the use of more than one method provides a better and insightful comprehension of the research problem. Creswell and Clark (2007:9) state that mixed methods have benefits that help overcome the weaknesses of individual approaches. Using more than one method is also beneficial as it minimizes the risk of bias (Wodak and Meyer, 2001).

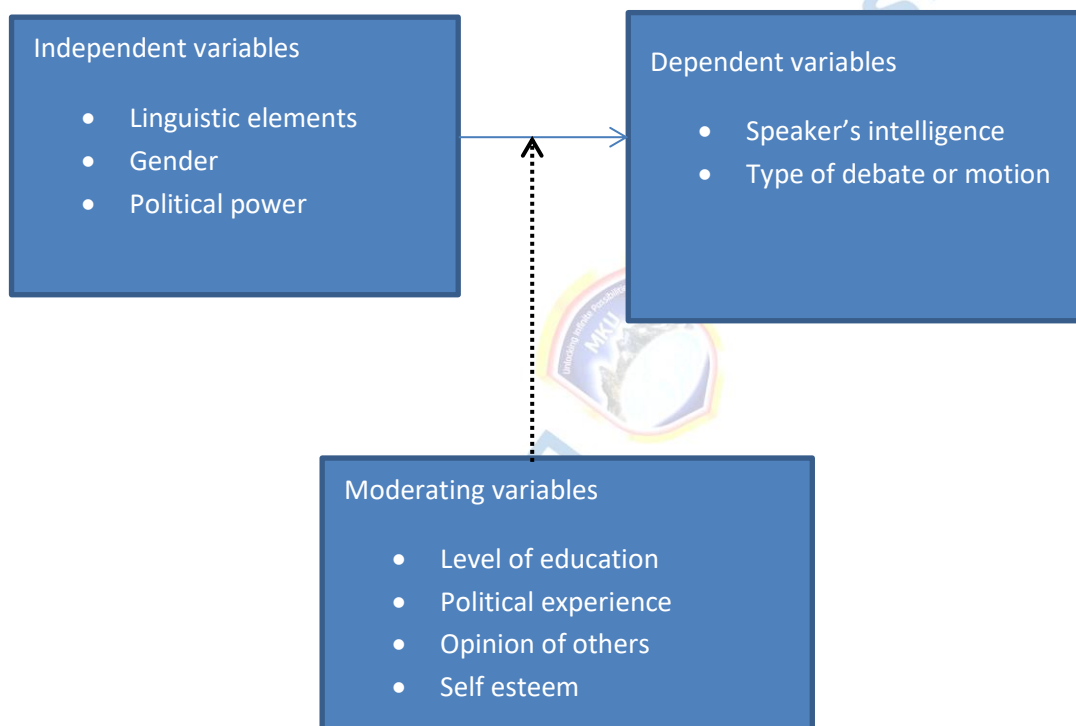
Geertz (2001) recommends the use of the ‘thick description’ noting that involving a number of approaches of analyzing such as use of interviews, social profiling of study population, and observations all aimed at capturing special features that characterize each social setting from the view of the people involved in the situations as they unravel. Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999) note that in a research that sets out to provide an emically oriented explanation of the culture and practices of individuals, a number of varied forms of data ought to be considered since multiple perspectives enable a more valid description than any single kind of data alone. For this study the researcher has created a transcription of assembly debate

recordings from the selected county assembly of Busia for a period of three months so as to obtain a wide spectrum of linguistic strategies that have been used during analysis. Semi-structured interview sessions involving sitting M.C.A.s were also conducted. These methods have produced adequate data in order to achieve meaningful insight into the language employed in the assembly during debate.

2.10 Conceptual Framework

Figure 2.2

Conceptual framework



The conceptual framework above indicates how the three types of variables interact in the research: the independent variables “stand alone”. They are external and cannot be influenced by any other variables in the study; however, they can be manipulated by the researcher. In the current study, linguistic variables, gender and political power are independent. However, the dependent variables are those variables that can be measured or tested. In the current study, dependent variables that are being examined include the speakers’ intelligence and the type of debate as dictated by the motion. They can be influenced directly by the independent variables. Of significance to this study is the manner in which debaters manipulate language in a strategic manner to achieve set goals. Moderating variables are those variables that can strengthen, diminish, negate or otherwise alter the association between the independent and dependent

variables. They can also change the direction of this relationship. At certain times they may not have any influence on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Their influence therefore is not certain. In the current study, moderating variables that may have an influence on the nature of debate include: level of education, political experience, the opinion of others and self esteem.

2.11 Existing knowledge

Several studies have been conducted on women and political office; these have dwelt on the following themes: the challenges they face before they get into those offices and after, their level of effectiveness and performance while occupying those offices, themes that they advance while in political office and general cultural perceptions about women occupying offices perceived to be a men's domain. Others include: studies on their specialized language and tendency to conform to house rules and how they are disadvantaged through underrepresentation. For studies on women and politics in Kenya, the focus has been on their performance in the national parliament; challenges and obstacles in their quest for political office and execution of their mandate and how they adapted or failed to adapt in political spaces. Njoroge (2003) whose dissertation focused on Women in Political Power and Public decision Making in Kenya found out that laws that set out to empower women were in place and that there were deliberate efforts to empower them. Onsongo (2005) established that women in public leadership roles had challenges emanating from the multiplicity of roles they had to play as academicians, wives, mothers and managers. The women also faced institutionalized discrimination and socio-cultural attitudes towards their roles as leaders.

The USAID *Kenya Gender Analysis Report 2020* paid attention to identifying key gender issues, inequalities, constraints and opportunities in within the country. Its parameters included the following: transform systems such as markets, health and governance –with resultant effects on quality, inclusivity, accountability and efficiency. This study also considered economic transformation, citizen responses to vulnerable groups and themes such as adolescent girls and gender based violence. The *Inclusive Security Report* for October 2015 asserts that where women's inclusion is prioritized, peace is more likely particularly when women are allowed to influence decision making. The report further argues that women's presence in organized institutions is a predictor of peace and moderator of extremism by creating room for dialogue with those who perceive themselves as being marginalized.

Amina and Fatiha (2015) in their paper titled *Blairism Versus Thatcherism* compared the influence of Margaret Thatcher, a former female Prime Minister to that on the leadership styles of Tony Blair- her male successor. They found out that her successor's policies and ideologies were borrowed from her. As such there were many similarities with regards to methods and practices with regards to governance.

Maphosa, Tsuma and Maviza (2015) undertook a study on the participation of women on participation of Zimbabwean politics. They refer to it as a mirage. They argue that participation of women in Zimbabwean politics has been more of manipulation than a genuine attempt to promote gender equity and equality. They state that despite efforts to bring about parity with regards to numbers, there's a glass ceiling that women politicians cannot break; that they have been sold a political dummy with cosmetic measures that seem to portray them as equal to men while the opposite is the reality.

Kiguru (2014) in his PhD thesis, employed Critical Discourse Analysis theory on the analysis of language used in selected law courts in Kenya and established that experienced court examiners had advantages over lay litigants. The experienced examiners manipulated language so that evidentiary rules empowered them and since they were in control of the topic choice, they had the means to constrain the contributions of others. Because of this, witnesses were rendered powerless- thanks to the strategic manipulation of linguistic resources and the experience of the court examiners.

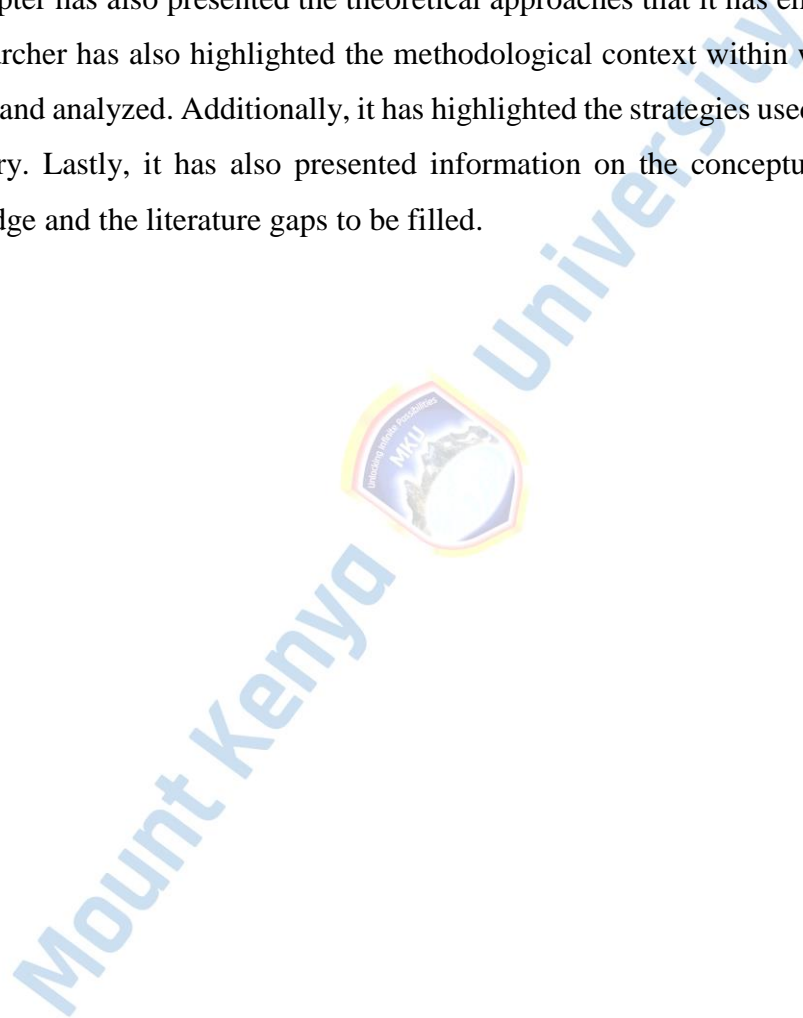
2.12 Literature Gaps

Several studies concerning women, power and politics have tended to pay attention to matters such as performance of women on the political scene and public office; those on county assembly debates especially in Kenya have tended to focus on challenges that women MCAs face within the county assembly chamber and outside it. The existing gaps in the literature include the following: there are no studies that specifically address how linguistic strategies and elements are strategically employed in the quest for power in the county assemblies; there are no studies on county assembly debates that describe how linguistic elements and strategies are used in the search for power; there are no known studies in Kenya in which effects of linguistic elements that refer to gender and power are discussed; lastly, there are no studies that seek to explain the linguistic manner in which members of the county assembly in Kenya respond to strategies that invoke power and gender in the context of debate on the floor of the

county assemblies. This study has provided detailed information particularly on how male and female MCAs use and employ linguistic choices available to them in the contest for power and in a bid to drive their agenda in the assembly.

2.13 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the researcher has presented a number of studies conducted on gender and power. The researcher has also shown how those studies are related to the current study. Further, this chapter has also presented the theoretical approaches that it has employed- CDA theory; the researcher has also highlighted the methodological context within which data has been considered and analyzed. Additionally, it has highlighted the strategies used basing on the Politeness Theory. Lastly, it has also presented information on the conceptual framework, existing knowledge and the literature gaps to be filled.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the following: the research design, study population and location of the study. It also describes sampling procedures, the pilot study, data collection instruments, reliability and validity of tools, instruments and procedures. Further, it contains the data analysis procedures and techniques and ethical considerations that have been born in mind during the study.

3.2 Research Design

This study has employed the qualitative research design. This involves describing naturally occurring phenomena. Issues being studied can be understood better only if they are seen in context. A qualitative research involves the researcher getting immersed in the setting. Qualitative methodologists use the term *social constructionism* or *naturalism*. This takes the position that the knowledge a sociologist possesses about social life requires an understanding of both the meaning carried for the participants in the interaction and appreciating that any analysis about a society is undertaken from a position or view that directs the analysis (Warren & Karner, 2010).

3.3 Study Population

The study population is Members of the County Assembly (MCAs) in Kenya. These are members of the Second County Assembly whose five year term was from August 2017 to August 2022. The Busia County Assembly has a total of 53 members; 33 are male and 20 are female.

3.4 Study Location

The study has been conducted in the Busia County Assembly in Busia County. The researcher has selected this particular county since it is the researcher's county of residence and is therefore accessible and familiar.

3.5 Sampling Procedures

The researcher has used the non-probability sampling strategies. Convenience sampling technique has been used to identify the Busia County Assembly. Blaxter, Hughes and Tight,

(1997:79) refer to purposive sampling as ‘sampling those most convenient.’ The Luhya, who form the majority in Busia County commonly refer to themselves as ‘Mulembe Nation’ - largely because they are known to be socially harmonious-this again makes the choice of Busia County purposive since this refers to handpicking supposedly typical or interesting cases (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 1997:79).

This study also sought to make the interviewees as representative of the assembly as possible. The current study has paid special attention to the role of women during debate; however, it has also been necessary to interview their male counterparts as well in order to access a broader comprehension of power dynamics as embedded in language in the chamber.

It has however been necessary to interview more female MCAs since they are a minority in the chamber. The researcher has used non-probability sampling techniques- this is used in instances when a probabilistic approach is not deemed as essential (Blaxter et al, 1997:79) and has been based on the stratified sampling technique using the criteria below:

- Frequency of contribution
- Majority/ minority
- Experienced/ inexperienced
- Male/ female

Gay (1993) observes that in descriptive studies 10% of the accessible population is enough. However, for the Busia County Assembly that has 53 members, the researcher interviewed a total of 11 MCAs using the above criteria. This number- approximately 20%- is beyond the 10% sample necessary for descriptive studies. The identification of the interviewees has been based on purposive sampling that constitutes carefully selecting hypothetically typical or interesting cases (Blaxter et-al, 1997; 79.) In order to accommodate the male voice, the researcher randomly sampled 3 male MCAs for the interviews.

3.6 Units of linguistic analysis

Every County Assembly debate is a long document as a text. It is usually a day’s sitting. The Busia County Assembly usually has weekly sessions in the following way: every Tuesday 2.30pm to 4.30pm; Wednesdays: 09.00 am to 10.30am then 2.30pm to 4.30pm; Thursdays 2.30pm to 4.30pm. Each session in this sense has been regarded as an Interactional Unit,

henceforth IU. However, other sessions are usually convened depending on the business at hand, especially if they are urgent or special to discuss the annual budget, the supplementary budget or in cases when there are important bills to be discussed. The researcher has purposefully identified those periods when the Busia County Assembly is busiest especially during the budgeting sessions and when there are important bills to be discussed as the source of data that is adequate to study the phenomena in question; this, Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (1997) refer to as “Time sampling.” In order to narrow down the corpus to allow for a systematic and organized manner, the linguistic exchanges and interactions between MCAs have been broken down into smaller units of analysis. In this study, only linguistic exchanges and interactions between MCAs that directly refer to or allude to gender and power have been considered for analysis. The IUs vary in length depending on the number of participants engaging in a particular discourse. For the current study, a minimum of 48 video recordings of the debating sessions and an equal number of *Hansards* have been studied- thus IUs.

3.7 Pilot Study

The researcher has attended county assembly debates in the neighbouring Siaya County Assembly in order to familiarize with the chamber *habitus* since they are a CoP. Among others, the researcher paid close attention to turn taking procedures, observed whether MCAs speeches are extemporized or read from a prepared text and checked on instances of heckling or booing. Further, the researcher has sought to obtain extracts from the *Hansard* reports of the selected county assembly debates and compared them with audio recordings; these have helped the researcher see whether edited transcripts are a true reflection of the audio recordings. Also, the researcher tested the reliability and efficiency of the interview schedule developed within the county assembly chosen for piloting. The researcher was therefore able to fashion the research instruments chosen in a manner that they were sound for use in the current study.

3.8 Data Collection instruments

The researcher has collected data through a number of methods as indicated below.

3.8.1 Video Recordings

The video recordings of county assembly proceedings from the Busia County Assembly Library and Communications Office have been used to analyze the unedited spoken words, and

the manner in which they are produced by the MCAs. The video recordings have further helped the researcher to be objective since they are a source of raw data.

3.8.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

This type of interviewing technique has helped broaden the researcher's scope in the ability to develop certain probing questions and where possible make the interviewing session open ended. Simultaneously, the interview schedule has incorporated questions deemed to be essential since they have been directed towards eliciting particular views of the MCAs on given themes. This approach has been of benefit to the interviewer since it provided the interviewees with the freedom to freely explain themselves on responses they have provided and at the same time provided them with room to present novel issues, discuss their personal feelings, experiences and perceptions (Berg, 2004). According to Chambers (1983), the semi-structured interviews have flexible wording, a language that can be adjusted, questions that can be re-ordered according to need, and clarifications can also be obtained. Towards this end, the researcher formed acquaintances with interviewees so as to stimulate them to fully participate. Warren and Karner (2010) observe as follows:

‘The personal interview is penetrating; it goes into the ‘living source’. Through it the student...is able to go beyond mere outward behavior and phenomena. He can secure accounts of events and processes as they are reflected in personal experiences, in social attitudes (Quoted in Platt 2002, 36)’

The methods employed have involved a slightly ethnographic perspective so as to elucidate important data to help understand the MCAs personality and background. They have also reflected a non-linguistic phenomena such as gender and political experience to acquire an understanding about the socio-cultural context that is significant in discourse (Edelsky and Adams, 1990).

It has also been necessary to juxtapose debate transcripts with MCAs responses from the interviews. Wodak (2009) refers to these as ‘frontstage’ and ‘backstage’ levels of performance.

3.9 Reliability of the data

Blaxter, et-al (1996) view reliability as being use of techniques and procedures used in a manner that would allow another researcher studying the same questions in the same setting to come out with essentially the same results although interpretation may be different. Denzin

(1994) refers to reliability as use of overlapping methods and / or inquiry audits. Overlapping methods have been employed for the study and they include carefully planned triangulation that includes the use of two theories that have been used in data analysis and interpretation. Additionally, the researcher sought to interpret the data with the assistance of experts – assigned academic supervisors who have helped to verify the consistency of agreement among data, research methods and conclusions, (Brown, 1994).

3.10 Validity of the data

Dornye (2007) refers to research validity as soundness of the whole research process. Blaxter, et-al (1996) observe that validity has to do with whether the approaches, methods and techniques used apply to, or measure, those aspects that the researcher set out to find. Joppe (2000) describes validity as research that allows one to hit “the bull’s eye,” - this means to do something in the right manner; to get the best possible result or to be exactly right. To attain this, the researcher has employed the use of semi-structured interviews alongside video recordings and written records in the *Hansard*. The researcher has further sought the assistance of experts- assigned academic advisors during the development of the research tools and also during data analysis.

3.11 Data Analysis Procedure and Techniques

The analysis of data in this study was based on the techniques discussed below.

3.11.1 Analysis of Hansard and Video Recordings

The researcher began by obtaining copies of *Hansard* reports and video recordings of assembly proceedings from the respective county assembly chambers. Scheglof (1992a) advances the procedure below which the researcher has followed:

- i) Undertake a detailed study of the video recordings to identify and analyze instances when gender, power and culture are invoked in word and also using paralinguistic features during assembly debates and how they influence debate.
- ii) Next, the researcher undertook a detailed study of Hansard reports for the Busia County Assembly to find out instances when gender, power and culture are invoked in debate/ conversation within the assembly chamber.

- iii) Lastly, the researcher set out to interview MCAs so as to further understand the phenomena under study and their reasons for speaking and behaving towards one another as they do.

3.11.2 Analysis of Interview Data

The researcher has followed a systematic order in analyzing the interview data. Griffiee (2012) recommends the following process in analysis of interview data:

- i) Listening to recordings and transcribing the interview responses.
- ii) Reading the transcripts severally so as to familiarize with the phenomena under study.
- iii) Codifying the interview (information)- this involves reading the transcripts until certain themes are clear. Identifying every theme using a code. Defining the codes for consistency in each of the interviews.
- iv) Writing a summary of the codified data.
- v) Writing a memo to oneself. Miles and Huberman (1994; 72) propose that when one writes a memo to himself, the memo will not only make a summary but that it will also bring together themes and as a result compel one to put down their thinking.

3.12 Procedure for Data Analysis:

The researcher has been systematic in the analysis of data. In order to do this, the process has involved close reference to each of the objectives of the study as follows:

Objective 1: this involved establishing linguistic elements that refer to instances when gender and power are alluded to/ invoked. In order to do this, the researcher has separated the two so that each stands alone. The presence of the following linguistic markers: speech acts, turn taking, rhetorical figures, order of words, semantic moves, hesitations, repairs, topic choice, etc have been identified as the CDA theory by Van Dijk (1995) presupposes.

If in the data there are instances such as: jokes, exaggeration, in-group identity markers, offer of promise, apologies, direct address, reciprocation, offering sympathy, the use of any of the four *maxims* of the cooperative principle, etc- then the Politeness Theory by Brown and Levinson (1978) has been applied.

Further, any disclosure markers and/ or allusions to gender, sex, interruptions, manner of dress, stereotyping, embarrassing another, etc contrary to the established norms of the CoP, then reference to studies on CDA has become relevant.

Objective 2: Description of linguistic elements that invoke gender and power. Again the researcher has separated these two themes as they became apparent. For instance any mention of societal roles such as *mama, baba, sister*, etc have been explained in the context of the CoP. Why were such terms used? Probably to minimize conflict- the Politeness Theory has become applicable in this case. The cooperative principles (maxims) have also been closely studied. This again is as per the Politeness Theory. In instances where an insult or embarrassment has been documented, then this is explained using the CDA theory as continued hegemonic practice or dominance, etc.

Objective 3: This involved an analysis of the effects of the linguistic strategies and choices that have been identified and explained above. In cases where there have been non-linguistic but linguistically relevant responses such as deep audible breathing, repairs, hesitations- as observed in the video recordings of debate or from the recorded interviews, then these have been considered in light of the CDA. Again, other responses including disruptions, rejoinders, duration of occupancy of the floor or the failure to take the floor as expected have been considered under the CDA theory as continued dominance, surrender, etc as the case may apply. In instances where a member has purported to or deliberately offered increased attention to a speaker or offered apology- then these have been classified as face saving acts- therefore the Politeness Theory has come into use.

Objective 4: Explanation of the linguistic responses to instances where gender and power are alluded to. In order to do this, the researcher has considered the context, ie the previous instances where gender and power are alluded to so as to appropriately place the response. As such either CDA has been used where instances of insults or stereo-types have been observed; the Politeness Theory has been considered in cases where the *maxims* of conversation became relevant, etc. It is for this reason that the researcher has considered using linguistic data for a sustained and continuous period of time (3 months).

3.13 Ethical Considerations

The researcher applied for and obtained a letter of approval to conduct research from Mount Kenya University, NACOSTI, the Office of the Governor- Busia County, the County

Commissioner- Busia County, and the County Director of Education- Busia before setting out to collect data. Further, the researcher acquired permission from the Clerk of Busia County Assembly to be able to obtain transcripts of their *Hansard* and audio recordings of proceedings in the debate chamber that have already been captured. For transparency, interviewees were informed before the start of each interview on the criteria that led to their being selected. They were informed that their participation is optional and that their contributions to the interview has been handled with confidentiality; in order to protect their anonymity, transcriptions of the interviewees responses have not been incorporated in the appendices.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the analysis and interpretation of data from the audio recordings of live proceedings of the Busia County Assembly from the 48 Interactional Units that were sampled. A day's sitting has been considered as an Interactional Unit because of the continuous nature of discourse during that time. The analysis has also involved written information from transcripts and the semi-structured interviews with individual select members of the assembly. The analysis of the data has been guided by the Critical Discourse Analysis theory as espoused by Van Dijk (1995) and other CDA scholars. The Politeness Theory as advanced by Brown & Levinson (1978) and other scholars who advance the idea of politeness has also been used. Further, in this section the researcher presents the findings and these have been discussed based on the objectives of the study. The data is presented in two broad sections: those referring to or alluding to gender and those referring to or alluding to power. At the tail end, a discussion on the manner in which politeness has been exhibited is presented in the various forms in which it manifests itself.

4.2 Official Languages of the Busia County Assembly

Like the Kenya National Assembly, all the 47 county assemblies in Kenya have their official languages as Kiswahili, English and Kenyan Sign Language. The Busia County Assembly is not exempted from this rule. As such, the business of the county assembly is conducted in Kiswahili, English and Kenyan Sign Language.

4.3 Membership of the Busia County Assembly

In the study it was observed that a majority of members of the Busia County Assembly are male. Only two women were elected with 16 being nominated to raise their number as is required by the Constitution of Kenya (2010)

Table 4.1

Composition of the Busia County Assembly

	Women	Men	Total
Elected	2	33	35
Nominated	16	2	18
Total	18	35	53

Source: Office of the Clerk: Busia County Assembly (2022)

4.4 The nature of debate

Debate in the assembly floor is a structured argument. Two sides speak alternately for and against a particular contention usually based on a topical issue in the form of a bill. Unlike the arguments in which a person might have with his or her family or friends however, each member of the assembly willing to speak and debate is allocated a time they are allowed to speak for and any interjections are carefully controlled by the Speaker who serves as the “Prefect” in the house. The subject of the debate is often prearranged so a member may find himself or herself having to support opinions with which one does not normally agree. Before the end of each session, members will usually be notified of pending businesses and when they are due. As such, each member is allowed to prepare adequately for the sessions. In the assembly, one has also to argue as part of a team, being careful not to contradict what other members on their side has said.

4.5 The significance of debate

In the county assembly, debate is significant since members debate issues that touch on their constituents. For instance, when a bill is introduced or tabled, the minister or member who is proposing the bill presents an argument in favor of the new legislation. It is through debate that the county assembly makes decisions on how to run the county government with regard to resource allocation, deployment of personnel, matters of development and such others that directly affect the residents of the county. It is also through debate that decisions are made or supported or otherwise challenged. Despite many matters being addressed at the Committee level, they must ultimately be debated before final decisions to approve, amend or reject them is made. As a result, no decisions made at committee level can become law before they are debated upon. Also, debate in the county assembly floor has the authority of law for the decisions made can be enacted. Matters debated and on record can also officially be presented in the High Court and such other bodies as the Kenya National Assembly or Senate.

4.6 Basic debating skills

It is important that members involved in debate consider the style and manner in which they will present their positions. This is the most basic part of debate. Content and strategy are worth little unless a member involved in debate delivers his or her material in a confident and persuasive way. As such, it is vital that a speaker on the floor talks at a pace which is fast enough to sound intelligent and allows him or her time to say what they want, but slow enough to be easily understood. During debate, varying tone is what makes the member sound interesting. MCAs involved in debate are expected to speak quite loudly in order to be heard. However, one is not expected to shout through debate regardless of context. There is absolutely no need for a member to speak any more loudly than the volume at which everyone in the assembly chamber can comfortably hear what is being said by the member occupying the floor. Shouting does not win debates. Speaking too quietly is clearly disastrous since one is not audible enough to be heard. In order to make members speaking on the floor audible, the county assembly has introduced a public address system to enhance members' audibility. Upon such premises rests the analysis herein.

The ability to concisely and clearly express complex issues is what debating is all about. Members involved in debate seem to lack clarity when they lose the "stream of thought" that has kept them going. It is also important to keep it simple. While a long speech involving many words may make a speaker sound clever, they may also make the speaker incomprehensible. Notes are essential during debate because they help the member speaking to remain focused on the issues. However, they ought to be brief and well organized to be effective. However, experienced debaters have been found to speak without referring to written notes.

No member is allowed to speak twice on a motion unless the said member is answering a question or when required to offer an explanation during a committee of the whole house or when replying to a substantive motion that the said member had moved. No member is allowed to read a written speech unless the Speaker of the House is convinced of its necessity with regard to precision of facts. A member may however refer to written notes in presentation of an argument or to refresh memory.

4.7 Basis for analysis

The analysis of linguistic elements employed to invoke gender and power in the Busia County Assembly during debate has incorporated the following dimensions during its analysis and interpretation:

- The purposes and effects of the various types of language elements/ strategies
- Established cultural rules and conventions in communication in the assembly as provided and guided by the *Standing Orders*.
- The manner in which beliefs, assumptions and values are communicated
- The manner in which language use relates to its social, political and historical context.

4.8. Anonymity of the members of the county assembly

In this study, the researcher has chosen to keep members of the Busia County Assembly anonymous. This is especially so because the researcher has used raw data as is recorded on audio tapes. Instructively, members of the county assembly have the right and freedom to change what they said on the floor before it is transcribed in the official records as contained in the official *Hansard*. As such, in the current study, members' names and identities are kept under cover. Solove (2016) asserts that anonymity allows people to unleash their id and all the ugliness they conceal beneath their polite facades; it also allows the subject under study to speak and do things without taking responsibility. As such, members of the Busia County Assembly whose sentiments have been recorded in this study have been identified by use of letters of the alphabet as AA, AB, etc; and further identified as male (M) or female (F). The same labels have been used consistently so that a member's label has been used repeatedly if that member appears in the data on more than one occasion.

4.9 Research presentation, interpretation and discussions

The results of this research study have been discussed in four broad categories as follows:

- i. Those that discuss the manner in which gender has been invoked
- ii. Those that discuss the manner in which power has been exhibited
- iii. Those that exhibit the manner in which positive politeness has been used and
- iv. Those that demonstrate how negative politeness has been used in the data

4.9.1 References to gender

Using the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory as espoused by Van Dijk and other scholars who discuss it, the following were observed in the Busia County Assembly during debate.

In the following two texts, we observe a language that is not gender inclusive. Mallinson and Inscoe (2020) observe that speakers ought to strive to use a gender inclusive language; that we must avoid asymmetrical language. When referring to men, also refer to women as such. Further, when it is necessary to use titles for men, we should also refer to women as such especially in meetings or conferences. We must therefore only use gender neutral titles or job specific titles such as Prof. or Chair. In the case of the county assembly, the use of the title “Honorable” is enough and appropriate. During debate in the 39th sitting of the second session on debate on the unlawful approval and assumption of power by Allan Omachar, the following came out from the Speaker of the House in an address to the MCAs:

Text 1

Speaker: The petition is inadmissible and we do not have jurisdiction to listen to it. We now move to the statement...we have two. We start with the senior gentlemen Hon. Obuya and Hon. Abiud.

The reference to “senior gentlemen” by the House Speaker is an indication of the continuity of male domination of the House business and debate by males.

The effect of the term above is that it gives preference and is therefore discriminative to a section of the House. It therefore makes the MCAs referred to as such feel as being a cut above all others. One would need to think critically and prepare well before taking them on. It is a continuation of the perceived male dominance of the House.

Members of the Busia County assembly do not challenge this. In fact all subsequent speakers thank the Speaker for his guidance to the House. There is no reference to it whatsoever. It is probably an indication of submission.

Text 2

Deputy Speaker(M): Mr. Speaker I want to appreciate that you were able to recognize me. I have been raising my hand but you know the Speaker is blind, but this time you have seen me.

Speaker(M): I thought it was business as usual, not unusual.

Deputy Speaker(M): You know the sultan is here but I don't want to declare myself as sultan. For the record I am AK. I want to thank the committee.

The use of the term “Sultan” is a reference to royalty; it refers to the Islamic rulers of the then East African Coastal kingdom led by the Arabs from Oman. The term is still used at present to refer to a sovereign or a king (The New Penguin English Dictionary, 2000). The use of this term is not only a reference to male dominance but also a symbol of power.

The effect of this is that it creates an air of superiority for the person referring to himself as such. It is a way of the continuing entrenched hegemonic practices. The use of asymmetrical language in the above cases is discriminatory that is based on gender and sexual orientation in the workplace (Mallinson and Iscoe, 2020).

No member of the house responds to the above reference, it only creates humor among them. It is also suggestive of humiliation: who are we?

Text 3

Hon. AA(F): ...I for one am a Mkenye from Samia, I'm married to a royal family in Nambale. I am married to a royal family in Nambale. So as I stand here you are listening to a princess...

Speaker: Thank you. I am privileged.

Hon. AA(F): Mr. Speaker, I have settled in Matayos, that is where I have put up a small shelter so at times it is very difficult to place me: whether my ancestral home, do you place me where I have settled or do you place me...and I am making good inroads in Teso North (laughter)...you can place me in four subcounties...there are people who you cannot place anywhere (noises). Thank you.

Calls for Points of Order

Hon. AB(M): Mr. Speaker, is the member in order to say that some of us do not belong anywhere?

Speaker: Hon. AA kindly withdraw that last statement

Hon. AA: Which one sir?

Speaker: That last sentence. That there are members you cannot place in any one sub-county.

Hon. AA(F): Okay. I have withdrawn

The honorable member, a female MCA invokes gender during debate in the following manner: first she takes pride in her clan name. Further, she brags about her marriage to a royal family. Supposedly, she insinuates the joy of marriage. Women are known to be home makers (Kivoi, 2014). This is what she advances: roles as assigned to gender. Hall (1996) observes that in the traditional set up, women consider their roles as mothers and wives as an obligation. A further interpretation is that she is therefore motherly (ibid) and can be relied upon. According to Luhya folklore the clan is the basis of one's identity. One without a clan is considered an outcast, lost. One belongs to the father's clan (Abimanyi, 2014). So the female member assumes power and an air of royalty. Perhaps this is why even after she is asked to withdraw the statement that other MCAs cannot be placed anywhere she feigns ignorance. At the end of it she demonstrates politeness that can be said to have been extended unwillingly for she says: "Okay. I have withdrawn. This later position can also be perceived as ascribing power to herself: she belongs to an elite group (Van Dijk, 1995). Further, this is in line with Dowerje (2008) who asserts that in Kenya, a woman must prove that she is a good housewife and homemaker as a prerequisite for being seen as a trustworthy political leader. This is what the member alludes to.

To some members, her speech is humorous yet to others it is offensive. As such she is made to withdraw her words.

During the 132nd sitting of the second session, the committee of the whole house was in session to debate the Budget and Appropriation Committee report. The following were observed when a female member took the floor. In fact she uses more than one technique: she at one time assumes a gendered role then at another takes on a polite posture.

Text 4

Hon. AC(F): I would like to congratulate the two committees for a job well done. Errors are there because of workload. Error is to human. I also have a cry over the youth, culture and social services. The amount given is very little...it's my cry we make the amendment. Thank you Mr. Speaker sir, that's my cry.

The member begins by congratulating others, perhaps those who appropriate funds and sympathizes that errors have occurred. She then becomes over polite by use of the word cry- which she uses repeatedly. Further, she uses the shortest time to express her point so that there is no doubt as to why she took the floor: to plead for the youth. According to Bouka et-al (2019) women have always been seen as mothers; they have children and can therefore take care of other citizens. This is the significance of this gendered language. This strategy has perhaps been borrowed from her first language, *Dholuo*, and is supposedly a direct translation: *Yuak mara- My cry*. This is normally the language that people in disadvantaged positions use to ask for sympathy and favors- in this case for a group that cannot speak for itself in the house.

The effect of such a strategic use of language is that it avoids damaging the face of those who made errors while at the same time seeking their support. On the other hand it portrays the user of the term as being weak. It is also a sign of the meekness (Kyallo et-al, 2019) and as Kivoi (2014) puts it, she presents herself as a “caretaker” to the youth and of culture; these must be seen as gendered roles.

The House Speaker appreciates her for her words as she has sought to maintain the harmony expected in the management of business in the House.

During the 132nd sitting of the second session where there was a committee of the whole house, the following gendered language was observed:

Text 5

Hon. AD (F): I stand to support it by mentioning its importance...it will help our youth and also in attaining Vision 2030. It will help the entire household of Busia County. I am sure that by 2030 wifi will be in every house. Even housewives will be learned. I want to say that there are our girls who are drop outs, these girls need to go to polytechnics or vocational training centers

According to Lokwami and Muna (2019), the increase of women and girls into educational facilities and training is a “powerful tool” that can be used to bring about development to a community, nation and worldwide. This is what the female member AD is referring to. It is therefore very important that women and girls be given education, knowledge and skills that enables them compete with men and boost their participation in decision making processes in the society (Tadros, 2014).

The effect of this strategic use of language is to draw attention to the future expectation: the need to empower women for community development; for this cause therefore such monies should be effectively used.

The female member AD’s reference to women and girls draws support from the other members of the house in attendance. In fact in her subsequent submission the Speaker of the house/ Chair of the session “protects” her from other members’ intrusions and interruptions during her presentation.

4.9.2 References to Power

From the data, it has been observed that some speakers have used a single strategy to challenge for power while in some cases speakers have used more than one strategy to drive their point(s) across.

4.9.2.1 Patronizing

An entity engages in patronizing and condescending language when it shows a superior attitude towards others or depicts them in a compassionate way (Perez-Almandos, Espinosa-Anke and Schockaert, 2021). Further, this superior attitude might lead to exclusion and inequalities. According to Foucault (1980), such a language tends to strengthen power relationships and places an individual or community above others. As such, it tends to call for charity in place of cooperation among the people involved. Because of this, the people or person in need is presented as passive, unable to find solutions to his or her problems and waits for a “savior” to help them out (Straubhaar, 2015). The use of a patronizing and condescending language by a speaker will usually be concealed behind a friendly or compassionate approach towards the situation or persons involved. The texts below are used as illustrations from the data collected.

Text 6

Hon. AE (M): Mr. Speaker, this is a house of facts...I stand on a motion that is property of the House...that is why we have to debate. We have no law that stipulates that if a member willingly withdraws, the whole motion in possession of the assembly is to be withdrawn Mr. Speaker. I am against. I am against the motion to be withdrawn. I wish you had asked the House to approve or withdraw the motion...Mr. Speaker Sir, allow me to say this: on that account we have no proof of withdrawal of those two. And I want that section to be quoted for a member to withdraw himself or herself (Raised voice). It is upon members to say Yes or No. I stand to oppose this motion.

Point of order

Hon. AF (M): I want to differ with AE...what the Speaker is trying to say AE is the way you are framing it...Mr. Speaker, we are not insane, we are stating facts...

Speaker(M): I agree with you . I accept you are a good speaker...

From the above debate, several important issues arise. The speakers are male. They adopt a confrontational posture. The former speaker makes several insinuations as follows: first that there are lies, not facts, being put forward in the hallowed house. He seeks the freedom to debate, he feels it is their right; so he uses the words "...that is why we have to debate." This must be seen as an imperative against the powers that be and as such a challenge to power. Further, the speaker is impolite and does not appropriately refer to the previous speaker. According to the House Standing Orders, a member should always address another through the Chair with decorum as "Honorable." This belittles the former speaker AE; AF treats him as lesser, not belonging to the class of "Honorable." This AF does by inappropriately referring to the former by name; and this should not be a direct address to the former but rather an address to the chair. As such this can be regarded as patronizing. In fact Hon. Patrobas goes on to say that they are not "insane" to imply that everything is going on as planned; it is a strategy.

The latter speaker, AF fails to acknowledge the former appropriately. He simply refers to him as "AE", more than once. This could be seen as a patronizing strategy since he, AF assumes a higher rank and AE a commoner's. This, according to the Politeness Theory is being impolite and therefore damages and has a tendency to reduce the status of Hon. AE. Further, by the member AF saying "...we are not insane", he is making insinuations the Hon AE does not seem to know. This further damages the image of his referent.

Debate continues for quite some time with several linguistic exchanges, for or against what was said. However, this has had the effect of making several other members take to the floor

in criticism of AE- the Chair of the Finance Committee who however continues with the hope of redeeming his image.

The reaction of the subsequent speaker to this was mixed. Although they did not directly refer to the matter, several MCAs- both male and female either opposed or supported the previous speaker. Below is the reaction of a female MCA Hon. AA.

4.9.2.2 Use of sarcasm

Sarcasm can be used to undermine power. According to Hurt and Dye (2019), it can be used to win a presentation, derail a meeting and shut people down. Further, they aver that sarcasm creates shame in the target and destroys trust. This is exemplified in the discourse below as found in the data analysed.

Text 7

Hon. AA(Female): The Majority Leader is stating that some two members have withdrawn for lack of interest. So I am asking: how much interest is one supposed to have for him or her to agree to be a member of a committee? Is there a metre (laughter) that measures the interest? I would love to be given that metre...I want to be given an intrestometre (more laughter and noises in the background) like Hon. Kajwang's passionometer. I am an interested party because I was placed in a committee where I have no interest...I didn't know there was room to withdraw. If I had known I could have written a letter (applause)...your interest, I was looking for that word interest in our standing orders...whether it should guide placement, and that word is not there in the Standing Orders. I am in a committee that exists on paper but they are technically dead.

Speaker: Hon. AA. (laughter)...

Hon. AA (Female): I am sorry...but you are the Chair (laughter)...it is dead. But because I respect the committee I have decided....

Speaker: It's good you have said "technically dead, not "clinically dead".

Hon. AA (Female): Labor is not in the mandate given to the county governments but then we have a labor committee here and you wonder what the committee is supposed to do...and we struggle to find work to do. That is why when county workers are on strike they go to the DC's office. And when we appear there we look like the

accused...we have a committee where Azida Ali was placed there, my interests were not considered.

Using the CDA theory, we realize the following from the above linguistic interaction: that the member AA, a female MCA has openly challenged the male leadership of the House on matters of procedure by being sarcastic. Further, she has used a number of linguistic strategies to drive her point across as follows:

She starts by being humorous then becomes ironic. These must all be seen as strategically used. These can be seen in the development of her topic or schematic organization (Van Dijk, 1995) where she begins in a very friendly and supposedly harmless manner then goes on to undermine the House leadership as well as challenge the “powerful individuals” outside the house to supposedly make decisions for the MCAs. She actually employs sarcasm- the use of irony to mock or convey contempt. Her lexical style must be seen in light of a challenge. In fact she uses more than one technique in her presentation to the house. Another strategy she employs is sarcasm: she says that the members of the committee struggle to find work. This is pouring scorn on the appointing authority for she concludes by stating that she was placed in a committee where she has no interests.

Further, with regards to the Politeness Theory, she goes on to damage the face of the Speaker, by telling him that he (Speaker) is leading a “dead” committee. The reaction of the Speaker, though humorous, is defensive, that the committee members she is referring to are alive. The Speaker rationalizes by creating a humorous situation and this in effect “settles the scores” so that debate goes on unhindered.

The effect of the mixed techniques and linguistic strategies used by Hon. Azida serve as a caution to the House: that they have to be autonomous. AA addresses issues that are a threat to the House; her arguments go beyond “here” and “now” (Van Dijk, 1995).

The effects of the linguistic strategy employed by AA are as follows: first, she awakens members of the county assembly to glaring facts. She gets into their emotions for they laugh at her wittiness but at the end of it they find her final statement offensive. They protest for they feel that she has been impolite and carefree in her presentation.

The linguistic response to AA is varied. However, her approach breeds contempt and she is asked to apologize.

4.9.2.3 Accusation as a strategy

These are charges of wrongdoing that are usually aimed at bringing the character of the person being accused into question. It is a linguistic strategy aimed at undermining a person in a position of power and or responsibility over certain matters. The texts below from the data analysed illustrate this.

Text 8

Hon. AB(M): Passing this document as it is is equivalent to a felony. This document ought to be rejected.

The linguistic strategy used here is an accusation. The current member on the floor is treating others in the house who authored the document as criminals and ought to be behind bars.

The effect of this strategy is do damage the face and reputation of others in the house.

Members do not directly refer to this term, however, the members take the cue and launch a spirited linguistic attack against the authors of the said document. Further accusations are not aimed at individual MCAs but at the committee as a whole. Below is an accusation that followed:

Text 9

Hon. AG(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker Sir. I want to inform this house that while we were in Kisumu in a retreat to propose some changes on any issues that had been raised, the Chairman planning ruled out inclusion of any changes until when the matter is addressed on the floor. So I am surprised if there's already a change and a page has been pulled out....

The member is accusing the chairman of being untruthful and falsifying information by supposedly “pulling out” a page from the initial deliberations.

This portrays the chair in negative light. The chairman’s credibility and image are at stake. This undermines the Chairman’s power and standing in the committee and in the house.

Honorable AG is on record again for making accusations against other members of the house. He does this during the 136th sitting of the second session. This is what he says:

Text 10

Hon. AF(M): Mr. Speaker, the amount of eight million shillings was approved but unfortunately it was not uploaded at the other end. Mr. Speaker the just concluded games involved a deliberate embezzlement of funds Mr. Speaker. Seven buses were hired to ferry two hundred and forty people. The committee used three names for the same people for allowances and this denied others with talent a chance to represent us in the games. It is a shame to take people who cannot represent us, people with no talent.

Accusation as a strategy is used. Further, the member on the floor justifies his accusations with evidence.

By the Leader of Majority choosing to make accusations coupled with evidence, he is in effect drawing on the power vested to him. He is issuing a challenge and further casting aspersions on the integrity of the members of the concerned committee that has representation in the house.

More accusations are heaped on the concerned committee which does not make any effort to defend itself. These accusations are made by both elected and nominated members who end up calling upon investigative agencies to take up the matter. A nominated female member from the majority, AC, party also weighed in on the matter as follows:

4.9.2.4 Refusal to cede the floor

It was noted that during debate, most members confined themselves to the time allocated for debate. Further, the majority spoke freely and spontaneously while a number read from prepared notes. Still, there were others who refused to cede the floor when there were points of order or when prompted by the Speaker of the house. Of significance are instances when female members refused to cede the floor to an otherwise charged house as in the following instances below:

Text 11

Hon. AA(F): ...I know! I know! (overlapping communication between her, the Speaker and other members). Assuming that we are taking your word. So that was a political statement. Now the figure has come back to 15 million from 47 million for the governor's house. What is the ultimate figure? I would like to know about the spatial

plan. It is budgeted for yearly and removed; budgeted for and removed. What is so special about it? Can somebody tell us about this spatial plan for our county that we are unable to implement? Mr. Speaker the assembly building went up by 33 million shillings. What is the total cost? We seem not to know the total cost. There's the issue of 200 million but we only see 101 million We insist. Can the department clarify? There's 100 million hanging. I am concerned. Even for a family budget some items are fixed. There is no room for bargaining something like rent, fees, water- they are fixed What did the committee think by reducing medical insurance? What is the impact of this on the family? For bursaries it is reduced by 15 million. What informs this? Of note is the reduction of 20 million for drugs; if anything we should think of increasing it. (Attempted interruptions from other members, she ignores their points of order)

Speaker: Honorable AA, you know you are discussing Supplementary budget

(Turn too close, almost overlapping)

Hon. AA(F): Yes! (Raised voice)

This is an indication of refusal to be dominated. It is a spirited effort by a member of the minority group- women to get their voices heard.

The issues raised by the honorable member irk several members present and there are a number of attempts to call points of order; on some occasions the Speaker attempted to stop the member but she raised her voice and so she went on until she had completed her presentation that was altogether charged.

Members of the house continued with debate either supporting the Supplementary budget statement or pointing out issues they were uncomfortable with.

In refusing to cede the floor the member also strategically adopted a number of linguistic techniques as follows:

Casting aspersions. She notes that the cost of the governor's house has gone down to 15 million from 47 million. The cost of the building being constructed in the assembly grounds went up by 33 million; there is some 100 million "somewhere". Nothing is stable.

Repetition. The member strategically repeats the following line: “It is budgeted for yearly and removed; budgeted for and removed.” This is strategic. It is supposed to show that there is no stability and that members of the budget committee cannot be trusted- casting aspersions on their mode of operation as being untrustworthy.

Analogy: she compares the county budget to a family budget. Some things cannot just be removed at will. She strategically uses this to show the flawed system and as such question the budget committee.

Gender: she ends by assuming and referring to her roles as a mother. She is concerned about family health; medicine and health insurance. This she does to strike at the heart and conscience of each and every member because everyone needs good health for self and family.

4.9.2.5 Hesitations

According to Van Dijk (2010) a critical analysis also involves the consideration of hesitations and audible breathing since they are significant as indicators of power or the absence of it. They are indicators of nervousness and uncertainty. This challenge has been constantly attributed to female speakers: however, they may also be found in men (Shapira, 2015). She further argues that in order to have influence and command over an audience, one has to give the voice “richness’ and “authority” while exhaling slowly. This is a practice mastered over time and with regular practice. In the assembly, it was noted that a number of female speakers had hesitating voices. Some spoke haltingly and quickly cut short their presentation especially when there were noises and grumbles for they felt unsure of themselves. This has been indicated in previous discussions above. Others began haltingly but with time acquired confidence. An illustration is given below when a female speaker took to the floor during the charged debate on the Supplementary budget.

Text 12

Hon. AU(F): I am honorable Beatrice Kanoti Phenny representing Bwiri Ward. (Speaking hesitantly and clearly breathing heavily and audibly as to be heard over the public address system) Mr. Speaker Sir I congratulate the committee for their amendments but it is unfortunate that the amendments I personally submitted to the committee have not been captured. I have several projects some on-going. The contractors are on sight and have been given LPOs. I want to urge this house that if

you want his excellency the governor to leave a legacy behind let us help him in the right way because we cannot be starting new projects yet we have existing projects that are incomplete. (Now speaks with a clear voice and the breathing is regular and so cannot be heard) I have a borehole in my area. I have been fighting for it since the 2017/2018 budget and 2018/2019 budget but it is unfortunate it has been left out. There is also a request for a maternity in my ward. The budget committee have not captured it. Same for Hakati Dispensary but not captured. The market in my ward was allocated 3 million but I only saw 2.5 million I talked to the department who wanted the figure enhanced but the committee has not done so. (The member goes on to list projects in her area that had been planned for but removed from the supplementary budget by the committee)

The member starts peaking and seems uncertain of what she should say. However, she gains in confidence and proceeds without hesitating and her confidence growing.

The significance of this is that she at first feels intimidated and discriminated by the atmosphere in the house but quickly asserts herself. She strategically chooses to enumerate projects that directly affect women, children and the family at large which she presented to the Budget Committee but were never considered. These include: water supply, health care, maternal care and a market center. Women are known to be the majority sellers and buyers in local markets. As such she is seen as strategically adopting a linguistically gendered stance. By enumerating the above projects not catered for, she is in effect fighting as a mother- a caregiver. Her hesitations and loud audible breathing are a sign of the difficulty she faces as a member of a minority party Ford –K.

Other members, including female Members of the County Assembly do not “come to her aid”. In fact the other female Members of the Busia County Assembly, both elected and nominated who belong to the majority party, heap praise on the Budget Committee for considering their proposals. This is an indication that despite the perceived solidarity between the female Members of the County assembly of Busia, they have been divided along certain interests. An illustration of this is given below:

Text 13

Hon. AH(F): Mr. Speaker I thank the committee for the budget because projects in my ward have been incorporated.

This stance and approach is replicated in subsequent presentations by all other speakers. None of them seems interested in the lamentations of the female MCA honorable AU whose lamentations have been presented above.

4.9.2.6 Occupation of the floor

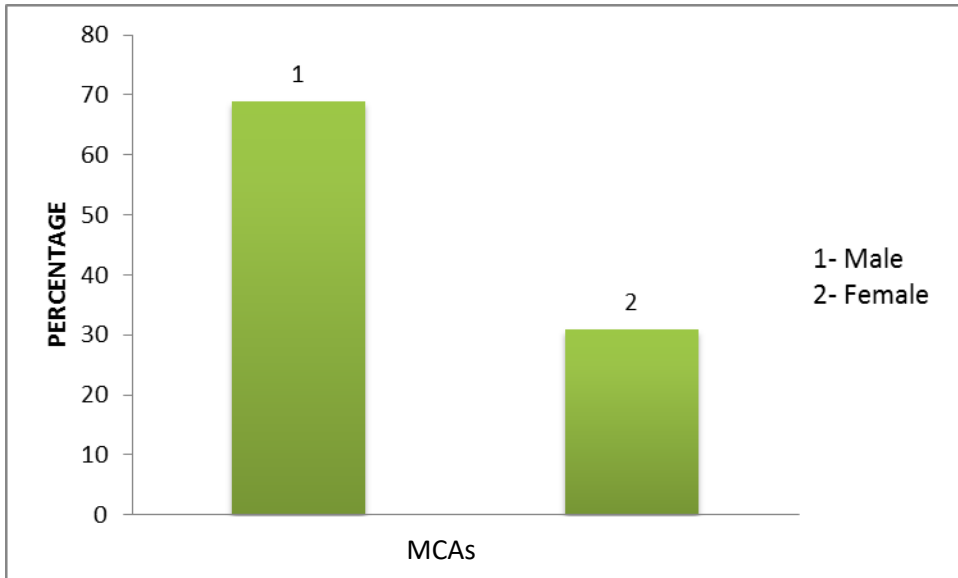
Tashkorri and Teddlie (1988) aver that when a researcher uses different ways of data analysis and dissemination: qualitative as well as quantitative techniques that become one of the best ways of achieving study objectives. It is upon such basis that some information is presented graphically below.

It was generally observed that both men and women sought the indulgence of the Speaker to occupy the floor and debate. There was healthy debate largely based on cooperation. However the majority were males. During selected sessions the following was the nature of contribution by both male and female members.

During debate on the Punguza Mzigo Bill by Ekuru Aukot, the following was the level of participation and activity by both male and female MCAs. Male members of the county assembly participated more than their female counterparts as illustrated in the pie chart below where the male membership occupied 69% of the speaking chances while the female took up 31% of these speaking chances; this is graphically illustrated below.

Figure 4.1

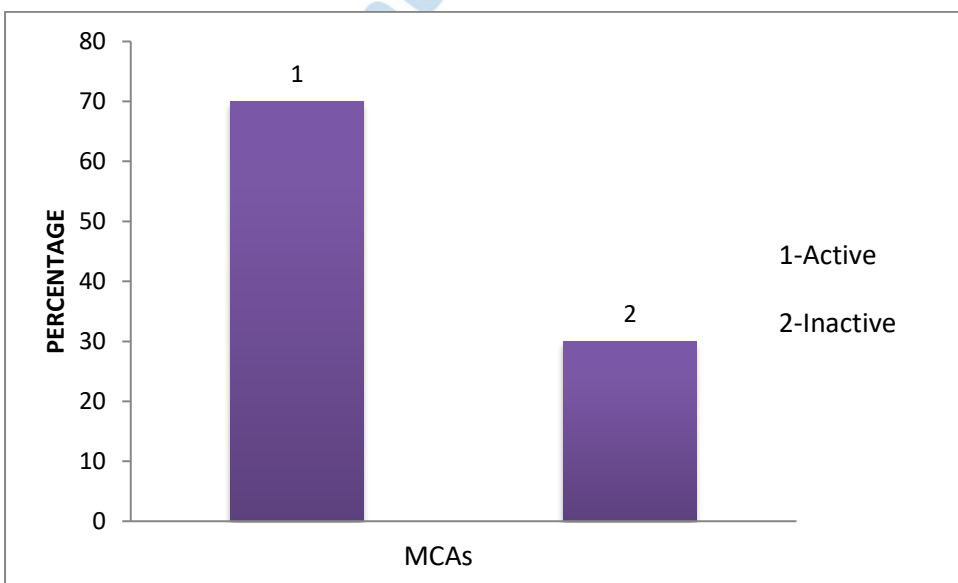
Comparative Occupation of Speaking Chances between Males and Females during the Punguza Mzigo Bill.



With regard to female members participation on the *Punguza Mzigo* Bill, female members of the county assembly took to the assembly floor to make their contribution and it was noted that 7 out of 23 spoke. This indicates that despite being nominated and without a “political base” or electorates, the female members participation compared favourably with their representation in the county assembly. The illustration below indicates that of the female representation in the Busia County Assembly 30% participated in the *Punguza Mzigo* Bill while 70% were unheard or were away.

Figure 4.2

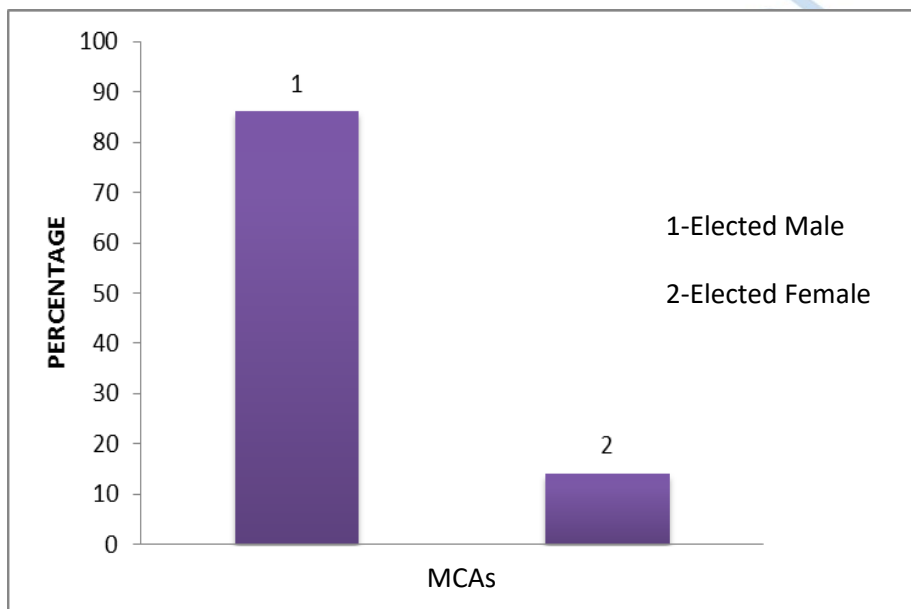
Comparison of the Participation of Female Members during the Punguza Mzigo Bill.



Of the 7 females who spoke during the debate on the *Punguza Mzigo* Bill, only 1 was elected while the rest were nominated members. This shows that nomination was not a handicap that would prevent the females from speaking their mind in a demonstration of power despite their unequal numbers. It is also an effort not to be seen as “escorts” but as equals and as such a challenge to hegemonistic tendencies and practices. Their participation and contribution has been discussed previously in this chapter. This comparison is diagrammatically illustrated below where the nominated females voices dominated by taking up 86% of the female voices while the elected female took up only 14% of the speaking chance.

Figure 4.3

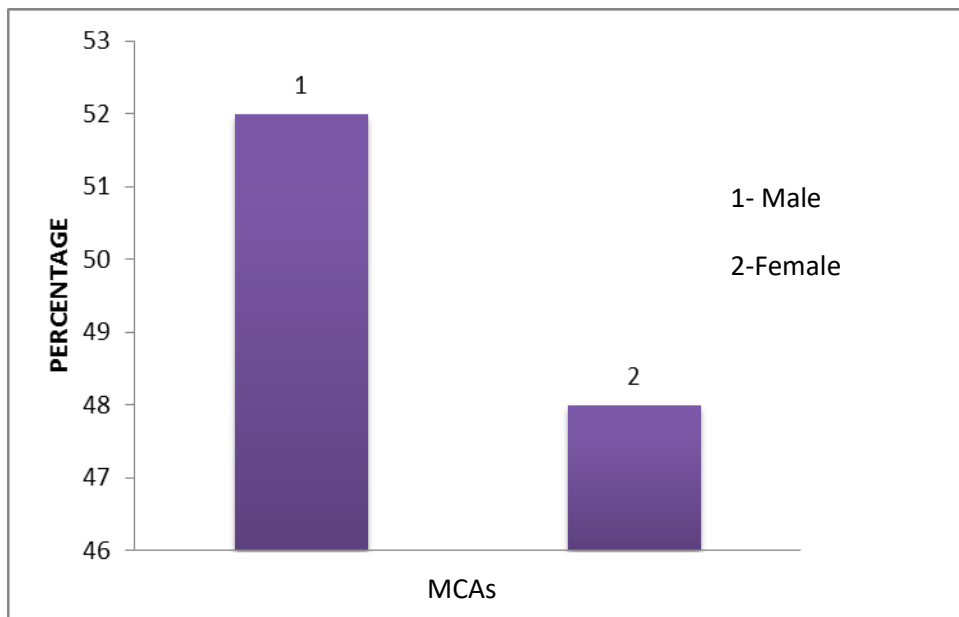
Comparison of Elected Female and Elected Members Occupation of Speaking Chances during the Punguza Mzigo Bill.



During the debate on the *Punguza Mzigo* Bill, 16 male members of the county assembly took to the floor to make their contribution. 17 were unheard or were absent. This is diagrammatically illustrated below where the male representatives that were heard stood at 48% while those unheard stood at 52%.

Figure 4.4

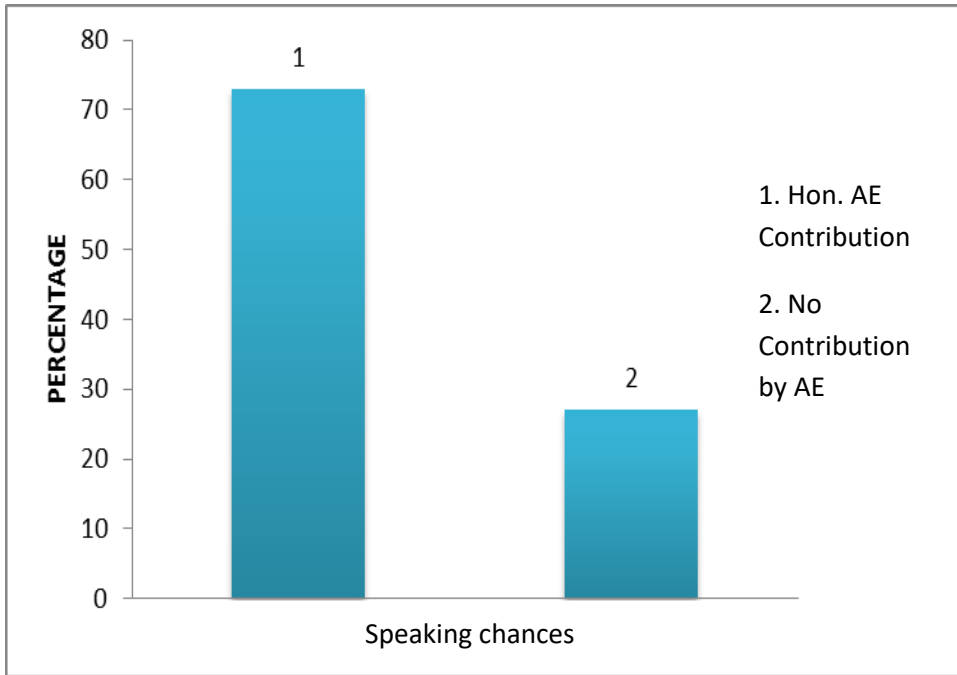
Comparison of Male Members Occupation of Speaking Chances during the Punguza Mzigo Bill.



Apart from the leaders of majority and minority who have cut out roles in the house, a few males stood out in terms of contributions. Of the 57 sessions that the researcher analyzed, honorable AE, a male member, is on record as being in 42 of them either as an active debater or rising on a *point of order*. This is a demonstration of the member seeking to be seen as influential, dominant and as such ascribes power to himself. This is graphically illustrated below where the said member's occupying the floor stood at 73%.

Figure 4.5

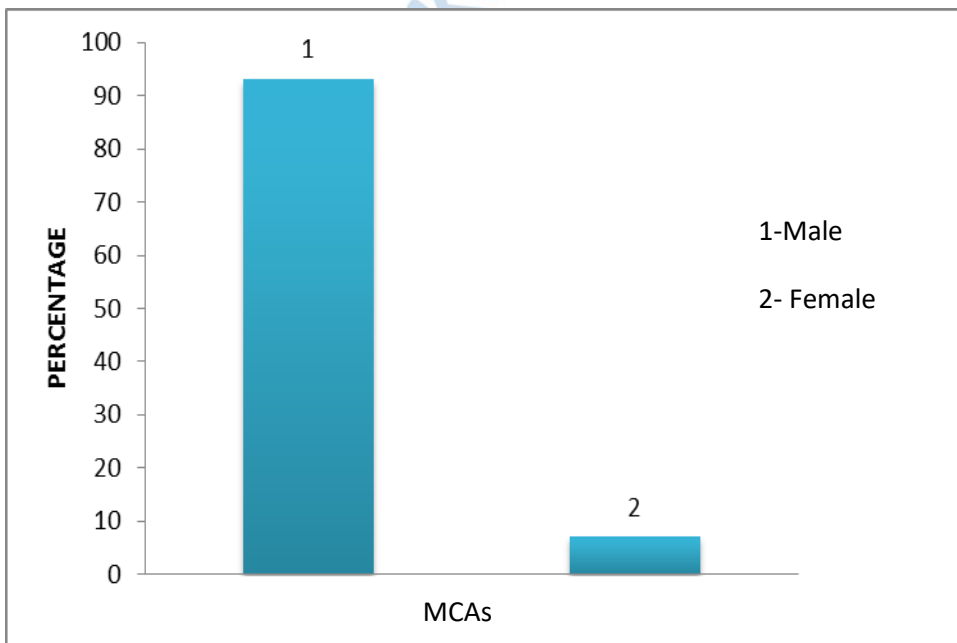
Occupation of Speaking Chances by Honorable AE, a Male Member.



During the debate on the Supplementary budget report tabling for 2017-2018, the following was the comparative representation of male and female voices. Of the 15 members who spoke, 14 were male while only 1 was female. This is represented below as 93% and 7% respectively.

Figure 4.6

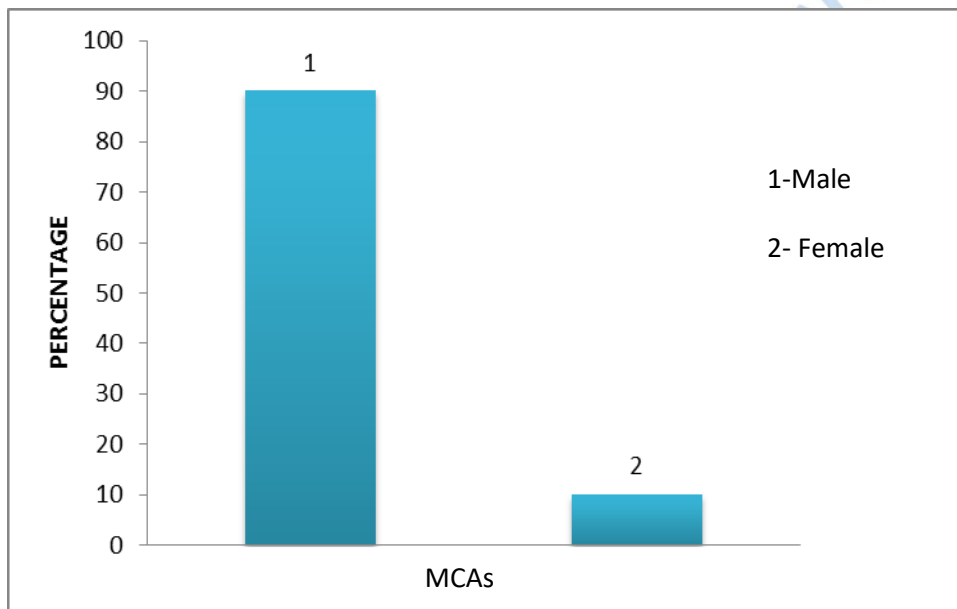
Comparison of Male and Female Members' Participation during Tabling of the 2017-2018 Supplementary Budget.



During the 128th sitting of the 2nd session that debated the Supplementary Budget for the year 2018- 2019, there were 20 members on the floor; 18 were male while only 2 were female. It was noted that it is mainly during the budgeting process that most members are in attendance, further, because of the sensitivity in allocation of resources, members would want to make a contribution so that they are not given a raw deal both as representatives of the electoral areas, wards, or as *Chairs* of the various committees. The representation of males and females during the above session is illustrated below where the males' occupation of the floor stood at 90% while the females' occupation of the floor stood at 10%.

Figure 4.7

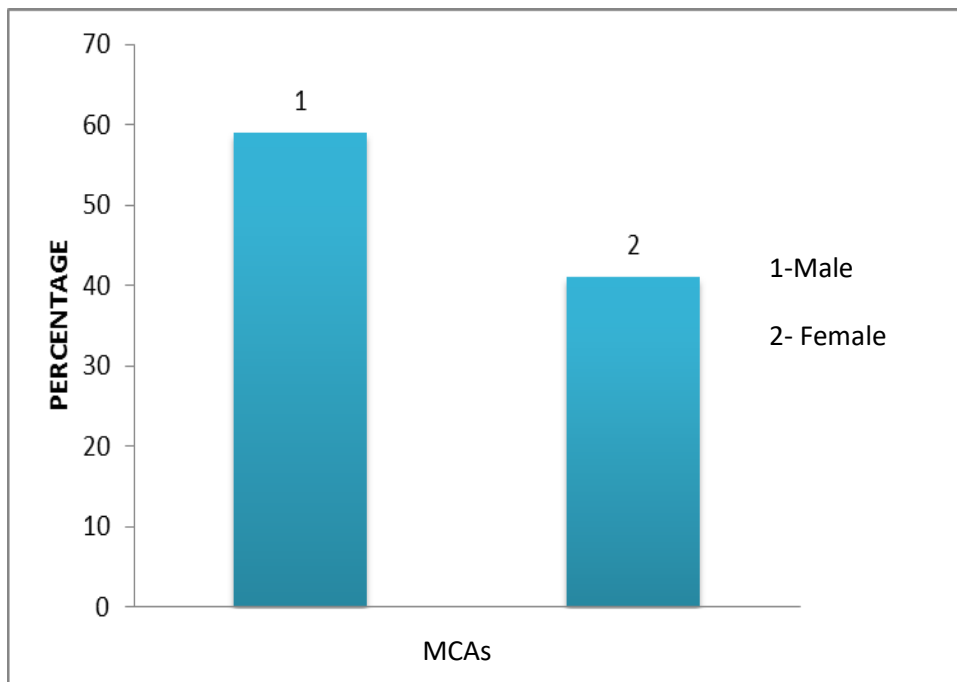
Comparison of Male and Female Participation during Tabling of 2018- 2019 Supplementary Budget.



The most active female representatives Honorable AA, Honorable AD and Honorable Tolo were found to be in 34 out of the 57 sessions that the researcher analyzed. These are the only elected females to the Busia County Assembly. By their regular and active contribution to debate in the house, they have sought to assert themselves and in such a manner challenged the dominant practices in the house, undermined their male counterparts, articulated their agenda and made themselves prominent as discussed in earlier sections of this chapter. Their occupation of the floor in the analyzed data stood at 59%.

Figure 4.8

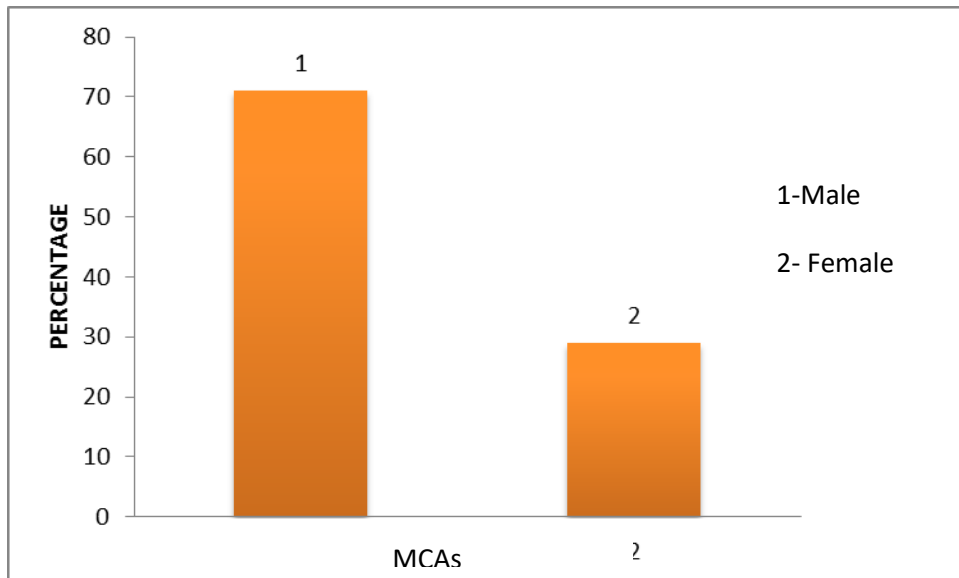
Participation of Elected Female Members to Debate.



During the 80th sitting of the second session, there were 115 turn taking sessions on record. During this session, the Leader of Majority in the house had tabled a report on the selection committee- which he wished to withdraw. This was during the period when County Public Service Board was to be constituted; this board is very important since it is the one that is mandated by law to employ and deploy all employees of the county. Having a say on the composition of this board must be seen as an interest in control of both human and financial resources. As such, the members of the Busia County Assembly sought to assert themselves and abrogate power. This did not go down well with the members of the house and as such a contest for power ensued, albeit linguistically. Of these, turns taken by men were 82. The female members of the county assembly were represented in 33 turns. This discussion has been presented above in this chapter. Their participation is illustrated in the pie chart below as 71% for the males and 29% for the females.

Figure 4.9

Comparison of Turn-taking between Male and Female MCAs during Debate on Nominees to the County Public Service Board.



4.9.2.7 Points of Order

Members drew the attention of the Speaker to violations – real and perceived –during debate. During these calls for *Points of Order*, members sought to interrupt and possibly change the trajectory of an argument being presented on the floor. The interruptions were meant to make the member presenting an argument to stop altogether, change tact or withdraw statements they had made. It was noted that those rising on a point of order felt that their powers were being infringed upon by virtue of being chairs of certain committees and at certain times a male member felt offended by a female member. It was also noted that both male and female Members of the County Assembly called for the *Points of Order*. However, in the data analyzed, no female member is on record as rising on a *Point of Order* when another female member was on the floor. Such interruptions were seen in the manner shown below:

- i. Males towards other males in the county assembly
- ii. Males towards females in the county assembly
- iii. Females towards males in the county assembly.

A number of these *Points of Order* are presented below:

Text 14

Hon. AA(F): Mr. Speaker, I have settled in Matayos, that is where I have put up a small shelter so at times it is very difficult to place me: whether my ancestral home, do you place me where I have settled or do you place me...and I am making good inroads in Teso North (laughter)...you can place me in four subcounties...there are people who you cannot place anywhere (noises). Thank you.

Calls for Points of Order

Hon. AB(M): Mr. Speaker, is the member in order to say that some of us do not belong anywhere?

The Points of Order have been raised.

At the first instance, the member raising the point of order raises the point of order as a challenge to the other member- notable a female. Further, that the female member is an elected member representing Nambale Township ward while the male is nominated.

The member is called upon by the Speaker to withdraw the statement- which the members does but seemingly with reservations for she feigns ignorance of anything offensive she might have said.

Text 15

Hon. AD (F): I am happy that every department has been given a lot of money...I am sure that a few of us are going to come back. I will come back (noises)

Speaker: Hon. AB, what is your point of order?

Hon. AB(M): Is Mheshimiwa Olita in order to say "only a few?" Let her withdraw that statement. We will all come back. Let her withdraw that statement.

There is a Point of Order

The member initially speaking is a female and is on her second term as an elected member representing An'gurai South Ward. The member challenging her is a male nominee to the assembly. In this particular instance, the female MCA asserts her political experience and power. The *Point of Order* is meant to undermine the previous speaker on the floor; it also shows that the member raising the *Point of Order* feels intimidated.

Members present do not necessarily seek to raise *Points of Order*. They see the matter as trivial and as such downplay it by assuming that nothing warrants the attention.

Text 16

Hon. AM(M): Bwana Speaker, mimi huwa nakupatia heshima kubwa sana. Wakati ambao kiongozi wa wachache katika bunge hili letu aliamka kujieleza na ukaanza kuwa na wasiwasi....

Point of order

A Point of order was raised at this particular point because the member had deviated from debating the bill presented and was found discussing the character and person of the Speaker of the house.

The effect of raising this point of order was to stop the member from discussing the person of the speaker of the house and to engage in debate. The member on the floor stood his ground and continued with his presentation- but had to however change tact and debate the bill that had been presented.

Other members avoided discussing the person of the Speaker. Instead, they sought his guidance since the issue before the house was explosive. The discussion was on the appointment of officers- with some members questioning the said nominees abilities and credibility. The ultimate results of the Points of Order in this case make the MCAs to ultimately have their say on the said nominees; this is power they were going to lose due to the strict timelines prescribed. As such, they are able to wrest power in this particular case.

4.9.2.8 Speaking style

During the 97th sitting until the 100th sitting of the 5th session, honorable AV, a female nominated member of the county assembly, occupied the position of Speaker as warranted by the constitution and Standing Orders governing the management of the business of the county assembly. During these sessions, the whole house sat as a committee in order to debate and adopt bills that had been passed at various committee stages. It was noted that she used standard forms with regards to grammar and pronunciation. She was formal, articulate, confident, audible and self assured. She explained herself clearly to members and gave guidance appropriately. Rabiah (2012) states that (good) language is a sign of authority. That a leader who has mastered language and who can express himself or herself with clarity and in a straight

forward manner shows the authority and as such the power that the particular person has. Below is part of her linguistic interaction with members:

Text 17

Acting Speaker Hon. AV(F): Yes honorable AW.

Hon. AW(M): Madam Speaker, this is a house of order and procedure. We are on item 5. Madam Speaker the Chairs who have been on the floor have been on item 6- Notice of motion. They are not on item 5.

Acting Speaker Hon. AV(F): Honorable AW, they have been laying the paper. We are in Order number 5.

Hon. AW(M): They are in Order number 6 Madam Speaker.

Acting Speaker Hon. AV(F): They have used the words "To lay the paper." Can you kindly re phrase using the words "laying the paper" and see how it comes out. Those are the procedural statements that a Chair can say.

Hon. AW(M): Then it is okay.

Acting Speaker Hon. AV(F): Just come up...try using an example of agriculture and we'll see the difference between yours and the others.

From the illustration above, the acting Speaker- a female member of the House, uses polished language strategically. By doing this she sounds polite to the member.

The polished structures and expression of self assurance that the acting Speaker uses gives her an aura of power. It is a way of asserting herself. Further, she refers to the member using his full name as "Honorable AW." According to Georgieva (2014) she presents herself as knowledgeable; she as such raises her standing in the house and in this manner raises her bargaining power. In effect the male member is intimidated and quickly opts out of the interaction. She also encourages the member by telling him not to withdraw; in this manner she is portraying herself as concerned and sensitive to the member's feelings and as such assumes an air of trustworthiness.

The effect of her speaking style is intimidating and Honorable AW, a male member of the assembly who had been occupying the floor, feels intimidated, stutters and quickly finds a way of disengaging.

Text 18

Hon. AV(F): Thank you. Thank you honorable Casper Juma.

Her confidence and guidance to the member, and subsequently to the house, makes her stand out as not easy to dissuade and further presents her as keen on details. She signs off the encounter by thanking the member and once again by referring to him by both names. As such her standing as a person is unquestionable, further presented as polite yet patronizing. As a result of the stance she assumes, debate in the house is harmonious; there is orderliness throughout and there is no record of members calling for *Points of Order*.

4.9.2.9 Self introduction

It was noted that whenever a member of the county assembly stood to speak even after the Speaker of the house had introduced them, most members went on to restate their names and the wards they represent and whatever positions they hold in the county assembly as Chairs of committees or such other positions. Ideally a self introduction should include name and occupation (or desired occupation) and key facts that will help a person make an impression on the person or people one is addressing. According to Marshall (2022), it is a way of making people “care who you are.” If others do not care about your name, it is a way of making yourself memorable (ibid). Below are illustrations:

Text 19

Speaker: Yes Honorable AW.

Hon. AW(M): Thank you Madam Speaker. I am honorable Casper Juma representing Bunyala South Ward. I am also the Chair of the House Broadcasting, Library and Research Committee. ...

The member on the floor strategically mentions his position in the house as chair of a committee.

The effect of this, stating that he is the Chair of the House Broadcasting, Library and Research Committee gives him authority to speak as he does; it is a sign of power. It signifies that the

said member has certain rights and enjoys certain privileges in the house and as such deserves to be heard.

Members do not necessarily react to the title but respect the position of the member who identifies himself or herself as such. In fact, it must be submitted that such position are a symbol of status and power. Most members who hold such positions have continued to introduce themselves as such. Another illustration is given below:

Text 20

Hon. AE(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I am honorable AE, Chair Justice and Legal Affairs Committee.

Hon. AT(M): I am Honorable AT representing Bukhayo Central Ward. I also double up as the powerful chair of Public Works Committee (Laughter From the other members present).

As noted earlier, the member mentioning his or her position in the house does it so as to change the perception of the audience and as such direct their attention to what one has to say especially if they are at the head of such committees. It is a way of ascribing power and attention to oneself. The researcher noted that introducing oneself and mentioning the position was common when the Second County Assembly of Busia came into being in 2017; however, some members kept on repeating their names alongside their position throughout the life of the county assembly despite their being members with positions on record. Further, the Speaker of the house is also on record as introducing members by acknowledging their positions.

On a few occasions, some members did not state the positions they hold despite the Speaker introducing them as such. An illustration is given below.

Text 21

Speaker: Honorable AC. Oh! Sorry, Chair Health.

Hon. AC(F): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I thank the Implementation Committee for the report they have presented in the house. We have community health workers at the grassroots level. They do a good job, they give us the right statistics on what is on the ground. We need enough equipment and drugs like panadol and anti malarials. Mr.

Speaker, we were told that the maternity wing is non-operational. When a woman like me goes to deliver and unfortunately complications arise, what happens yet I have no money to go to the Aga Khan Hospital?

The member has deliberately avoided mentioning her position as *Chair* of the Health and Sanitation Committee despite the Speaker introducing her as such. However, she goes on to speak about her docket.

Her avoidance to mention her position is strategic: she presents herself as being accountable without being in position of responsibility. This accountability is meant to increase trust. As such she appears task oriented. Responsibility is ongoing but accountability is situational. Because of her deliberate choice not to mention the title, she presents her position as a process, not an end. She is not after personal reward. The effect of this is to raise her standing in the eyes of her audience. However, the House Speaker's reference to her position as "Chair, Health" is an indicator that members are probably keen on others acknowledging the leadership positions they hold- and as such ascribe power to themselves.

Members who follow after her presentation take the cue; they emphasize that resources have to be allocated as budget for in order to save lives and promote good health.

The researcher also noted that while introducing themselves before their presentations, certain members also went on to mention that they had been elected. An illustration is given below:

Text 22

Hon. AN(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker Sir. I am Honorable AN representing Burumba Ward, a member of the Orange Democratic Movement Party....

The member on the floor reminds members that he is an elected member. Further, that he belongs to the Orange Democratic Movement Party.

The mention of the two factors above is strategic. First, that the said member has his power derived from the electorate: as such he will speak for them. Secondly, the member mentions his party which is the Majority in the Busia County Assembly: as such he presents himself as one in a position of dominance.

Other members take the cue in the debate along party lines or as independents. An illustration from a female member is given below:

Text 23

Hon. AZ(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I represent the people. I don't support the bill.

From the discussion on introduction, each member has presented himself or herself in a manner that makes the presentation show “who they are and “where” they belong.

4.9.2.10 Change of language

The online article “How language and dialect reflect power” (2018) has it that language becomes more powerful when understood by a wider community than just those closest to a person. Power grows when a person can communicate for more reasons to more people. The more powerful the language the more independent a person becomes and the more a person can contribute to the community. In the Busia County Assembly, it was noted that a few members deliberately and strategically change from English to Kiswahili. The following illustrations (as previously cited) are presented.

Text 24

Hon. AY(F): Mimi ni mjumbe mteule na nataka kuzungumzia jambo hili kwa lugha ya taifa. Na mimi kama mjumbe wa Orange Democratic Movement nalikataa. Namjulisha mwenyekiti mheshimiwa AE kwamba hakuna mahali nimeitwa nisimame na chama. Hili ni wazo langu pekeyangu.

The member has strategically chosen to use Kiswahili, the national language.

By choosing to use Kiswahili during debate on the *Punguza Mzigo* bill, the member wishes to make her stand clear to a wider audience; further, that she understands that the bill has a Kiswahili title and so she wishes to respond to it assertively in the same language.

Members of the county assembly who speak during this session all weigh in on the matter with the majority dismissing it and the said bill flops.

This change of language is also seen where a member uses Kiswahili during the formative days of the Busia County Assembly during debate on the appointment of county executives as follows:

Text 25

Hon. AM(M): Bwana Speaker, mimi huwa nakupatia heshima kubwa sana. Wakati ambao kiongozi wa wachache katika bunge hili letu aliamka kujieleza na ukaanza kuwa na wasiwasi, hata ulikuwa ushapeana wazo kulingana na vile mheshimiwa Obwogo alikuwa amependekeza, kuwa wapewe wiki mbili, wengine wetu. Bwana Spika hatujawahi tumwa na mtu. Tulumwa na wananchi wa Busia tuwawakilishe kikamilifu. Wakati mheshimiwa Luyemba alikuwa anatoa dosari ya nakala hiyo, mbili, tatu, sisi hatukukuwa wajinga.

The member strategically chooses to change the language.

By choosing to use Kiswahili as opposed to English in addressing the Speaker as the member does, the particular member undermines the powerful position of the Speaker. He uses the Kiswahili language to look “mysterious” since in the whole presentation the member undermines those he is against and affirms his position (as discussed earlier in this document).

During that particular sitting, every member who spoke adopted an adversarial stance and the Speaker had to quickly re-strategize to rescue the motion since it was bound to be lost.

4.9.3 Positive Politeness Strategies

These are strategies that are intended to avoid giving offense by highlighting friendliness and include attempts at establishing common ground, jokes, in-group jargon and juxtaposing criticism with complements among others. The texts below from the data illustrate the forms through which positive politeness has been used. Its use is to emphasize that both speaker and hearer want the same thing, and that they have a common goal (Yule, 1996).

4.9.3.1 Friendliness

Positive politeness strategies are intended to avoid giving offense by highlighting friendliness. They include juxtaposing criticism with friendliness, establishing common ground and using jokes, nicknames and other in-group identity markers. In the data analysed, the texts below exemplify this strategic use of language in the debating chamber.

Text 26

Speaker(M): No! No! Let me get something. You are a member of the committee...it ought to be 100% not 107%.

Hon. AH (F): It's not 100% because of the faulty information we have here.

Speaker (M): But now after the amendment, will it be 100%?

Hon. AH(F): Yes sir! (With a rising intonation)

Honourable AH, a female member of the house demonstrates extreme politeness towards the Speaker. This is not according to the house Standing Orders which clearly indicate a formal way of responding or appreciating the Speaker/ chair of session as: Yes Mr. Speaker sir. In the later, the Speaker is appreciated for the role while in the former, Honorable AJ fails to acknowledge the role of the Speaker in guiding the house. It presupposes that she is subordinate.

Text 27

Hon. AP(F): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I am Honorable AP a nominated member ANC party. I have a question for you sir: whether I can use my notes to air my concerns (laughter) and observations. I am a member of the education committee. I wonder whether the accounts have balanced. Some pages are printed up side down- leaves a lot to be desired. There should be equitable distribution of resources (laughter). I beg to reject this document.

The female MCA uses pretense strategically to catch the attention of members. The female MCA initially presents herself as humble. She thanks the speaker, cites that she was nominated- perhaps to suggest that she has certain desirable qualities that made her get nominated. She goes on to present herself as one seeking guidance for she probably does not know. Finally she undermines the document and the motion by citing flaws in it and questioning the quality of the document and its contents- she says it “leaves a lot to be desired” and as such casts its authors in negative light. She damages the face of its authors but reduces the impact by assuming a position of ignorance. She also uses hedging as an element in a strategic manner for she says: “...I wonder...” Meaning she seeks to be guided. Finally she rejects the document. This technique is an allusion to the analogy that if one wants to talk about the weaknesses in a strong man’s house, you use a weak person to tell them out. The member also

strategically assumes a posture of being incoherent and by doing so portrays herself as unfamiliar with procedure. By doing this she seeks to draw attention to herself- which she does.

The effects of her strategic use of linguistic elements are as follows: she appears harmless, feigns ignorance and presents herself as motherly for she takes care of the education of the young people and as such she should be listened to. In this manner she seeks to be seen as cooperative. However the effect of her undermining the authors of the document appears mischievous since the other MCAs can read in between the lines and see her intentions as being subversive. By “being incoherent” she not only becomes humorous so that other MCAs laugh but in essence see the “folly” in the document presented. In effect, she draws the house speaker’s attention that all is not well.

The speaker of the house chairing the session calls upon the chair of the budget committee and says as follows: “Chair budget, I hope you are taking notes.” This in essence validates the previous speaker’s sentiments that there is work to do with regards to the document since members are able to see that it is flawed. In the long run the document is rejected and returned to the committee. As such, power has been exercised.

4.9.3.2 Metalanguage

Reddy (1979) posits that metalanguage is language used for the analysis of the object language. As such, it is language about another language and is usually used in describing concepts. In doing so, the metalanguage transfers peoples’ thoughts and feelings to others because speakers are able to insert their mental content into words because words are containers from which listeners extract content. Tran (2020) asserts that metalanguage is a way of helping the listener to gain insights into ideas portrayed. A significant point about metalanguage is that the listener has to endeavor to investigate the reason for a speaker using this device. The data below presents instances of metalanguage in the data analysed.

Text 28

Hon. Majority Leader(M): is the honorable member in order to mislead this house that the CEC finance gave them a reason that they could not collect revenue due to the political atmosphere? The committee itself did not indicate this anywhere.

The leader of majority refers to the language used by the previous speaker as misleading. This is metalanguage.

The effect of this is to undermine the previous speaker's sentiments.

There is more heated debate and at the end the document is rejected when a vote is taken. Following this, the following are said by members of the county assembly after which the document is rejected with an overwhelming vote.

Text 29

Hon. AQ(M): With due respect the committee interrogated the director of revenue. I urge honorable members to reject this report

Speaker: Debate is closed. Point of order...

Hon. AE(M): Mr. Speaker....

Speaker: No, honorable AE. You nominated honorable AQ to speak for you. What is your point of order?

Hon. AQ(M): Mr. Speaker we are all equals. This is a house of democracy. There is no reason why one person should be allowed to overrule your decisions by participating in discussions when you as chair have already closed. Mr. Speaker, the same same democracy follows rules....

Speaker: Standing Order 1 gives me latitude.

Hon. AE(M): And I agree with Standing Order 1. We accommodate divergent views. I beg this house, let us support this report. On the second report these issues will be addressed. And I know honorable AQ has that thing about his document failing yesterday. (Noises)

Speaker: Hon. AE withdraw that statement and apologize. Honorable AE, I am directing you. (Hon AE makes for his chair) No! No! No! Honorable AE, withdraw and apologize.

Hon. AE(M): I withdraw Mr. Speaker.

A number of linguistic elements are used strategically, all in the name of fighting for power. Honorable AE literally “begs” the house to adopt his committee’s report. He realizes that in the debate he is powerless to push on with the agenda. However, he goes further and accuses another member of ill will. This is rejected by the chair and the member AE is repeatedly asked to withdraw and apologize. He withdraws but does not make an apology as is required.

By making an accusation against another member AQ, other members are up in arms—they make noises that bring disorder in the house. This is a refusal to accept such insinuations from the member AE. As such, honorable AE is forced to withdraw his remarks lest he be sanctioned by the speaker.

When a vote is called, Honorable AE loses his motion.

4.9.3.3. Cooperation

The cooperative principle in discourse describes the manner in which interlocutors strive to achieve effective conversational communication in common social situations. Speakers and listeners will usually strive to act cooperatively and mutually in order to attain a common ground in the discourse process. In such a conversation, the interlocutants make an effort to be informative, truthful, relevant and clear. The significance of cooperation is that it helps the members play a role in the development of their communities since they live together. Such development may be economic, social or cultural (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The texts below from the data analysed illustrate the manner in which cooperation is exemplified.

Text 30

Hon. AR(F): I thank members of the committee who have in their wisdom paid attention to all matters of education. I am chair education committee. Money has been set aside and allocated so we shall employ teachers, have books and money for making necessary laws for education is there. In education, some matters cannot move in an isolated

manner; there must be books. Children are there already. I thank the committee for it has seen that education is vital for this county.

The member uses cooperation as a strategy since she stands to benefit. She appreciates that money has been set aside for employing teachers and purchase of books.

The effect of this linguistic strategy is to give reward, and subsequently mark herself and committee for future benefits.

Members do not necessarily refer to her remarks but debate continues harmoniously.

Text 31

Hon. AN(M): as a county government we have nothing to smile about. But moving forward we can get grants. I happen to be in the Health Committee and I have toured the health facilities. A lot needs to be done Mr. Speaker and I want to beseech the Budget Committee, I know our brother, our very own honorable Asiba who happens to be the governor's political advisor...no wonder the governor has been winning.

The member also uses cooperation as a linguistic strategy. He begins by 'beseeching'- this is to present oneself as needing help then goes on to cooperate. He identifies 'closely' with the Chair of the Budget Committee and fondly refers to him as 'my brother, our very own'.

The effect of this is to get cooperation and support he needs in order to advance the health sector.

Members do not necessarily directly respond to this strategy; however in the ensuing debate members who seek for favors from the otherwise supposedly powerful Budget committee embrace other strategies that put them in good standing.

Text 32

Hon. AS(M): Thank you. That is the greatness of this house that I am talking about. Pointing out mistakes where they are and amending them. Thank you so much brother Kokonya. I appreciate. This house has matured. Every other mistake is corrected on time. Thank you so much brother.

Hon. AN(M): I want to urge my very good friend mheshimiwa AG, you have consulted enough (laughter).

Hon. AG(M): I would like to express my pleasure with the efforts we put together as a house and reached a consensus...and I am here to very much support the passing of this report. Personally I am very proud.

In the turn taking observed above, the speakers have all sought to be cooperative. The members extoll the values of belonging to the house: that it is great and well informed. They are strategically using words that are meant to please. This is strategic because the use of cooperation is meant to hasten the agreement and passage of the bill. It is an acknowledgement that power and authority cannot be monopolized and that it rests with others. By reverting to the term *mheshimiwa*- Kiswahili for honorable, the member seeks to be informal and friendly- all signs of cooperation.

Members who speak all seem to embrace cooperation upon realization that power is vested in the house; it has to be negotiated for.

Members embraced a conciliatory tone; even where there are gaps in the documents presented a more diplomatic and cooperative stance was adopted.

4.9.3.4 Modesty

Leech (1983) considers modesty among the maxims of politeness. In his discussion, modesty is considered as a way in which a speaker minimizes praise for himself or herself. The modesty maxim states that a person should "...minimize the expression of praise of self; maximize the expression of dispraise for self." As such it refers to giving others preference or praise. It also refers to being moderate and temperate. The texts below illustrate the manner in which modesty has been exemplified in the data analysed.

Text 33

Hon. AA(F): I would wish that we spend some time to interrogate the document as you have said. It is a document that will guide the government on what they can do and what they cannot do. It is a roadmap for the financial year. We should put in a lot of thinking and dedication. Mr. Speaker I have noted that the committee is looking for an increase in local revenue to the tune of 50 million. 50 million is not small money. Mr.

Speaker I have noted that we have budgeted for the Kenya Revenue Authority 110 million shillings as penalties. We should not be budgeting for penalties Mr. Speaker. We should be asking ourselves what brought this about. It would have been used for something else. What occasioned this? The government should be answerable for that.

The speaker has strategically chosen to be modest in her linguistic style. The modesty is seen in her choice of words: she avoids blame; instead she offers guidance. She politely wonders why the county should be budgeting for penalties instead of collecting money for development and includes herself and the hearer: “We should be asking ourselves....” She finishes off by not singling out any individual but the “government.” She does this with knowledge and as such gives the members of the budget committee a ‘soft landing’. She is lessening damaging their image and attributing it to ‘the government.’

After the member AA’s questioning on why there are penalties, the Speaker of the house responds:

Text 34

“The penalties are because of the per-diem that you earn but are unaccounted for and therefore not taxed.”

Honorable AA continues in the same modest way as follows:

Text 35

Those are the explanations we need. I don’t defend something blindly Mr. Speaker. Mr. Speaker the Agriculture support program has not specified the kind of money they would wish to have to implement their program. To me, this reminds me of a support program I initiated and the money was not released. The Controller of Budget said that it had to be itemized, not an open cheque. Those programs not specified are making it difficult for the oversight committee to follow up because they have vaguely said “support program.” During oversight, what exactly will the committee be looking at?

Such an approach used above is a polite way of criticism. It is a thoughtful way of bringing up issues for discussion. This is because the speaker on the floor gives herself as a failed case- and as such is issuing caution that the committee will equally not pass this particular test.

4.9.3.5 Face saving

This is an act that is meant at preventing someone or an institution- in this case the Busia County Assembly- from getting embarrassed or to admit that they are wrong (Goffman, 1955). It is meant at preserving the reputation, credibility and dignity of a person or institution. The text below exemplifies this.

Text 36

The Speaker: You know members, I would have said some things but the members of the fourth estate are here. But I also understand and that is why I am saying this report will still come back here. But I want to pronounce the legal position. I am going to consult the appointing authority on what is reported. That's why I made the second statement that this report still remains on the floor of this assembly. (Loud consultations)

Honorable members let us understand each other. I am pronouncing that this report is still on the floor of this house. You have not yet voted on it. I am also going to consult the appointing authority on the issue of time. (Loud consultations.

The semantic move by the speaker not to make his position known by declaring that members of the fourth estate are present makes the speaker accede to the members sentiments against the document before the house. The speaker has accepted that he has no power over this matter- that the issue still rests with members. As such, the speaker saves face by requesting members for “understanding.” During the “consultations” and before the speaker calls the house to order, a member rises to proceed with debate and declares that he will proceed from where the debate stops. This is declaration of unfinished business on the matter. The speaker and his deputy, who were still consulting, have no option but to listen. In fact the member disrupts their consultation. The member ascribes power to himself and the house as such. There's an open contest for power: who will carry the day? The honorable AQ strategically uses the adjective phrase “very disrespectful” to stir emotions of the members and this makes them angry. He goes on to make a personal declaration: “I will not”. He strategically ends his move by referring to the speaker as such: “Therefore honorable speaker” in order to reduce the impact of his hard hitting statements. He had the option of ending as follows: “...Mr. Speaker....” and in the process urges the speaker not to get himself entangled in this matter.

The effect of the Speaker of the County Assembly choosing this route is to diffuse the tension and preserve the dignity of the office of the Speaker and ultimately that of the Busia County Assembly.

Members feel that they have unfinished business with the document before them. They consult loudly and resume debate as shown below.

4.9.3.6 Use of disclaimers

Miller (2022) states that a speaker can choose to use this linguistic element in a strategic manner in order to increase the audience's attention. When a speaker does this, the audience is likely to appreciate their honesty, tune to the whole presentation with the end result of earning credibility while undermining the other person that is the focus of what is being said. This is contained in the texts below.

Text 37

Hon. AE (M): I am an honorable member who is embarrassed. Up to today midday I did not know we have a special session to deliberate on the document before this house and approve it. I stand here on behalf of 30,000 people who elected me. I find it very hard Mr. Speaker. I received this document 20 minutes ago. I have just perused it and I realize there are a lot of things to correct. I have been in the system and I know it is very hard to approve this document as it is. I would wish Mr. Speaker as an honorable member has mentioned – give us time so that if issues arise we can discuss with committee. And for the whole house, let us not be remote controlled by the executive. Thank you. I support Honorable Toloi that we be given time.

Speaker: Thank you very much Honorable AE.

Majority Leader (M): It is good Mr. Speaker that we grant them time until tomorrow at nine. Thank you.

The speaker begins by bringing up his emotion- that he is embarrassed. This in essence is an attack on the authors of the document before the house. He goes on to issue a disclaimer: that he did not have any knowledge until the last moment that there is a session to discuss the document before the house. Further, he ascribes power to himself by citing the number of electorates whom he represents. Next he issues a disclaimer: that the document has so many

errors and cannot therefore be approved as it is. Lastly, the speaker overtly declares the power vested in the house: that it cannot and must not be manipulated by outside forces.

The first effect of the strategic use of emotion is to express dissatisfaction. The disclaimer has the effect of removing himself from the mistakes of others and as such presents himself as innocent. The effect of the strategy employed by Honorable AE is that it ascribes power to the electorate- the 30,000 he represents and further cautions members against being used to pass bills without their input.

The Speaker of the house who is Chair of the session appreciates Honorable AE's sentiments. In turn, the Majority Leader, the leader of business in the house accedes that the document be retracted and members be given time to have their input. This must be seen as a contest between the executive and the house.

Text 38

Hon. AG(M): Thank you very much Mr. Speaker. I am honorable Kokonya David representing Malaba South Ward. Mr. Speaker we seem to be achieving two different intentions here. Member i want to say that from the Speaker's statement if we put the question to postpone because of the legal circumstances awaiting this motion, it will go through without needing us. What we resolved is that there are gaps. There are gaps; there are issues in the report that do not mandate us to pass the report. We would have passed the report but because of those two matters; that the person who is supposed to be the secretary- as read by our representative – has no proof that he meets the minimum requirements. There is also the issue of us approving members who are still serving as public officers. If by adjourning for two weeks will create the gap for the approval of the names we are saying let us deliberate and vote for the report. (Applause)

The honorable member on the floor assumes an air of power by openly challenging the report: he declares that there are gaps and as such the house ought not to transact business. He issues a disclaimer, that there is no proof that the nominee has requisite qualifications. He strategically ends by urging members to take a stand so that the MCAs have their voice so that decisions are not made by others based on the house's failure to deliberate.

The effect of the discourse strategy employed above is to stir members to take action. He seems to have challenged others for a contest for power and as such there is applause. This raises his

standing in the house at that time. As a result, members do not accept to vote for the bill as it stands. There is continued debate as presented below. The refusal to proceed debate actually causes anxiety for the speaker of the house and the presenters of the motion that apparently looks destined to fail.

Debate actually stops for some time to allow for “consultations with the appointing authority” and during this time there is some disorder in the house.

Text 39

Hon. AH(F): We are not here just to be approving budget, they come with supplementary. It is high time we stood firm and fulfill our role and check on the executive because I suspect this money is going to benefit a few as usual...this house must exercise the unusual...lets not work under pressure.

The member on the floor AH uses a number of linguistic elements strategically to drive her point across. The first is a disclaimer: this is a rejection of the status quo- they refuse to be used. Further, she involves the other MCAs by using the term “We” to show that it is not a one-person affair. Finally, she uses the hedging strategy by stating that she “suspects” that a few will benefit from the money allocated.

The disclaimer has the effect of rejecting the proposed document. It is a sign of power vested in the members. As a female she is in essence challenging the males in the house to a contest- especially since the document was presented by a male MCA. Involving the other MCAs by stating “We” has the effect of rallying others to support her sentiments. By using the hedging technique, she is displacing any negative energy that would be probably aimed at her: those she opposes have a duty to defend themselves.

After her sentiments, several male MCAs take to the floor either in support of her or in opposition. Further, her sentiments do not go well with the mover of the motion AE- a male MCA who seeks to respond but is denied the chance by the speaker of the house who asks the latter to listen to others since he had spoken beyond his allocated time.

Text 40

Hon. AH(F): ...I am told from rumors that if you want to hide money in Busia County there are two departments you can use smartly: ICT and Finance and Agriculture...these two departments have been awarded 618 million. The health sector

has over 1,060 staff and have been allocated a figure slightly higher than this for employee compensation. My question is this: who are these being paid this money in ICT department? We have only been given a figure here. I don't know who these are.

Point of order

The current speaker on the floor of the assembly uses a number of elements in a strategic manner. She begins by excluding herself from the author of the alleged rumors. This is a disclaimer. She cites the figure of 618 million to show that it is not little money allocated to a handful of staff; then she moves on to make a comparison with a crucial sector- health that in her opinion should be nowhere close to ICT since it has many staff. She concludes by issuing a disclaimer: she does not know who those people are- this she does emphatically in a simple sentence.

The effects of the strategic use of elements cited above are as follows: from the disclaimer that there are rumors so she should not be asked more since it is in the public domain. Nothing can be hidden; they already know sources of losing money. Additionally, the figure she cites has the effect of drawing members' attention to misappropriations. By issuing a disclaimer, she is in effect rejecting and in the process rallying other members in the house not to accept the report.

Other members of the county assembly rise in her support or in opposition by trying to justify their input in the document and to supposedly support. This is shown in further examples below:

Text 41

Hon AI(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I want to thank the Budget Committee for a job well done. I stand to support the document as it is. Even if there are errors in the budget, let us accept the budget as it is and move on. Let us accept it with amendments.

Hon. AB(M): passing this document as it is is equivalent to a felony. This document ought to be rejected and taken back to the committee....

It is significant to note that female MCAs were in the frontline to reject a flawed document. It is also further noted that despite a majority of women MCAs being nominated, they have simply not become “flower girls or *bonga* points” (Kivoi, 2014), some have been noted to adopt a “combative” posture (ibid) in the oversight role they are charged with as in the case above.

Text 42

Hon. AA(F): I want to know whether any sub county was consulted for me to be placed where I am. Was any sub county consulted? (Applause)

Speaker: I do not know.

Hon. AA(F): The fact that we come from the same sub county does not mean that we are friends. (applause)

The member on the floor undermines the power of those in the house. She initially questions them by making a demand as an individual: “I want to know,” then goes on to issue a disclaimer that they are not necessarily friends and as such she was unwilling to join in. This makes her stand alone and portrays her as tough.

The effect of her strategy is to undermine the work of the other committee or supposedly powerful forces that place people in committees. She goes against the current. She is as such in direct opposition to power and the status quo. She in fact receives applause and acknowledgement from across the house for taking a stand. She is as such seen as powerful for taking up such a tough stance.

In subsequent presentations, members follow in her footsteps and take a tough stance against the manner in which the members were assigned to committees.

4.9.3.7 Approbation

It refers to giving praise and making approval. According to Lim and Bowers (1991) it involves warmly commending a person’s abilities and recalling his or her previous successes to minimize blame or offset specific inabilities or failures.

During the debate on the Supplementary Budget on the 18th October 2019, approbation as a politeness strategy was observed in the manner presented below:

Text 43

Hon. AA: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I do not take this opportunity for granted. I would love to share a few observations that I have made. But I would love to start by congratulating the team for having brought us to where we are. It takes a lot of effort and commitment to come up with such a document and on that note I would like to congratulate them.

In the above speech, the member gives praise and acknowledges the commitment that other honorable members of the House have had in producing the Supplementary Budget statement.

The effect this has had is to encourage positive discussion devoid of hostility and grandstanding.

The members proceed with the debate in an amicable manner; adjustments are made to it and it is finally approved.

4.9.4 Negative Politeness

Negative politeness in the data analysed is seen in various forms such as hedging, directness, minimizing imposition, being apologetic, impersonalizing speaker, non-conformity to a general rule and use of unparliamentary language. This is significant because in a social interaction, people are usually judged according to how they talk (Njuki and Ireri, 2021). Negative politeness found in the data analysed is presented below.

4.9.4.1 Use of Unparliamentary Language

This refers to the use of language that goes against the *Standing Orders* of parliaments or assemblies. It is language that deviates from the standards of membership to the “hallowed House.” The texts below are an illustration of the manner in which this was observed in the data analyzed.

Text 44

Hon. AE(M): Mr Speaker, I was just trying to pump some sense...

Speaker(M): Hon. AE, withdraw the words “pump some sense.”

Hon. AE(M): Mr. Speaker, I withdraw. Let the member know that revenue was low because of campaigns. At that time the parliament was dissolved...(raised voice above expected levels) Mr. Speaker let us not reject for the sake of rejecting. I support the

document 100%. Mr. Speaker we have actually reported the true position and I want to beseech the Majority Leader. We hope there will be some changes as we come to the 2nd and 3rd quarters but the biggest problem the county government must up their game through the department to ensure they bring current report. But the issues may come back...those in charge of those subcounties are the same same officers. We indicated that as a committee, we ever advised the Minister of Finance to swap these officers...(shouts from the back).

Speaker: Point of order Hon. AG.

Hon. AG(M): Mr. Speaker, is the member contributing in order to mislead this house by giving recommendations not on this paper?

(At this point Hon. AE continues to speak despite attempts at intervention by the speaker of the house. It is impossible to follow who is saying what since there are multiple voices attempting to outdo one another. Hon. AE "forces" his speaking turn to proceed. There's continuous engagement with several other speakers challenging the position put forward by the Chair of Finance Committee).

From the members' engagement above, politeness can be discussed in several ways: the use of the expression "pump some sense" is unparliamentary language; it goes against house rules and this is why the Speaker of the house demands that it be withdrawn. Again by Hon. AE saying, "Let the member know" is inappropriate; is impolite since the member on the floor is supposed to address another member indirectly through the speaker. Another incident of politeness is seen where the member intervening, Hon. AG(M) states that the current speaker is "misleading" the house. This is negative politeness.

The effect of the expression "pump some sense" implies that a member is not sensible; the user of the phrase assumes a patronizing strategy by portraying the other as lesser. This must be seen as an insult. The use of the expression "Let the member know" is seen as a direct confrontation on the said member. By the intervening speaker saying that the current speaker was "misleading" the house, the speaker on the floor Hon. AE gets a negative face which he does not accept thereby leading to the near collapse of orderliness in the assembly business. It must also be appreciated that the raise in voice beyond the expected level is a reaction towards

other members grumbling. This is unparliamentary. It can also be safely stated that from the discourse above, there is a clear contest for power.

Members of the county assembly respond to the technique employed by the current speaker by protesting. Many other speakers rise to air their voices, some for or against. In the very end the Finance report is rejected – perhaps because of the posturing adopted linguistically.

4.9.4.2 Hedging

Mira (2010) observes that hedges are linguistic devices and strategies that are used to express uncertainty or hesitation as well as to demonstrate politeness and indirectness. According to Lakoff (1972), hedges are generally used to obscure or make fuzzy one's intentions. Fuzzy language refers to strategic manipulation of hedges so as to deliberately introduce ambiguity. Hedges can also be used to express sarcasm.

Text 45

Hon. AH(F): Mr Speaker, I thank the committee for the budget because projects in my ward have been incorporated. But I am hoping they will not be left out because sometimes operations in this county are sometimes wanting...Mr. Speaker if someone asks you for 300,000 and you give them 15 million because it has a signature from the governor- money that the department is not ready to account for especially on how previously allocated funds were used...there's a letter from the governor, well signed. But Mr. Speaker we are doubting its origin. It should be investigated further. Mr. Speaker, there is an annex here from an engineer. Engineers give BQs. We want this house to give us BQs, not informal documents. I am worried this document is not valid because it is not signed anywhere. I don't know this engineer. I don't know how it got to this document. (Raising her voice beyond the expected level since there are noises from other sections of the house) Lastly I want to talk about trailer park. Awarding was done. It was allocated 30 million. An LPO has been issued to a contractor and site has been handed over. But the committee just decides to remove the whole amount and say the project is ongoing. How are they going to pay the contractor?

The speaker on the floor is casting aspersions on the members of the committee concerned and others that they work with.

By casting aspersions, the speaker tactfully sets out to challenge and undermine the members of the committee concerned. She points out that this committee has abrogated power to itself and does as it wills without care of the house membership and its effects on the development of the county as a whole. She begins by thanking them for including projects in her ward but quickly changes tune that she is not sure if they will be implemented at all: that the said projects could only be on paper. She goes on to state that the committee has irregularly increased a certain allocation- and are not ready to account for such funds. Further, she questions the signature on the purported document and demands that it be investigated to prove that it is genuine. She goes on to disapprove existence and knowledge of the engineer who instead of issuing BQs writes “informal documents.” Lastly, she declares that money allocated for the trailer park has been allocated but again moved yet the work is said to be in progress.

In her presentation, the member AH deliberately and strategically cites figures. The effect of this is to show the extent of the irregularities in the said department and committee and as such move other galvanize other members of the house into action: to reject the report. This must be seen as a challenge to power. The speaker also strategically repeats herself using parallel structures when she says: “I don’t know this engineer. I don’t know how these documents got here.” The effect of this is to further challenge and undermine the said committee. It is an indication that power is vested in the assembly; not with the subcommittees especially because one of the principles of assembly member’s rights to free and unhindered speech.

Members present during the discussion engage in a heated debate either supporting her stance or seeming to justify the document as it is depending on how they relate to the committee or how their wards and areas of interest have been allocated resources in the Supplementary budget for the year 2018/2019. Another member also casts aspersions as is indicated below.

Text 46

Hon. AT(M): I am Honorable AT representing Bukhayo Central Ward. I also double up as the powerful chair of Public Works Committee (Laughter From the other members present). Mr. Speaker there is the issue of the three bridges costing 15 million. How is it that bridges far apart, one up in hilly areas and another in low lands have near similar BQs and costs? I think this was a wrong introduction from the committee. I propose that money for repair of graders, bulldozers and lorries be enhanced so that

they can serve the whole county. Let the figure of 25 million for public works be enhanced by 15 million to 40 million then I will support the document.

Casting aspersions is a strategic linguistic approach that has been used to achieve desired goals: to challenge for power. It is used to undermine and subsequently turn tables. This is possible and does take place because in the chamber it is possible to change actions previously decided upon. This is also a principle of the nature of operations in the assembly.

4.9.4.3 Directness

Greinger and Mills (2016) assert that directness has on many occasions been considered as an ungracious harshness and therefore impolite. It is also largely used in commands. In speech, it can, and has quite often been used as a direct communication to the intended recipient or recipients. As such, the message may only be relevant to a small percentage of those receiving it. The illustrations below are used to demonstrate this as found in the data analysed.

Text 47

Speaker: Honorable Leader of Majority, you are making so much noise I can't even concentrate.

The speaker of the house disapproves of the manner in which the majority leader conducts himself. He lets his emotions be felt by stating further that because of the Majority Leader's noisiness, he- the speaker- is unable to concentrate. As a *Speech- act*, it is a command to stop making noise.

This has the effect of damaging the face of the majority leader; he is stopping the house from transacting business effectively.

Order is restored and the house business resumes promptly with the house speaker giving guidance appropriately.

Text 48

Hon. AB(M): Passing this document as it is is equivalent to a felony. This document ought to be rejected, taken back to committee...the executive should up their game. We are going to squander money meant for development instead of developing Busia. It is disappointing that Honorable AZ after citing various gaps in this document ends up supporting it. That is quite unbelievable. I beg to reject this document totally.

The speaker on the floor uses directness in a strategic manner: he uses it as a show of power. He refers to it in criminal terms “a felony.” He uses this term deliberately to show that someone should be charged and put behind bars. He “attacks” several persons namely the executive, the committee that moved it and also an honorable member in the house. This latter attack also involves the use of irony: that honorable AZ cites gaps in the document yet ends up supporting it. He ends by being polite yet firm: begging to reject. This is a case of being a paradox. In fact, the whole speech act is about rejecting the document and admonishing its supporters as lacking in knowledge.

The effect of the elements employed are as follows: by being direct to the various persons, AB, is attempting to turn tables on the document and its presenters. He is in essence challenging them to disqualify themselves from the duty. Men are traditionally known to talk tough to show their mettle (Kivoi, 2014). By launching accusations against Honorable AZ, Honorable AB belittles him- thus the strategic use of patronizing as a technique to challenge for power. Further, by “begging to reject”, the member assumes a posture of pretence to be kind yet “keeps his words intact.”

The other members of the county assembly react in several ways as follows: first, the Spaker of the House who has been chairing the session jumps to the defense of Honorable AJ by stating as follows: “Honorable AB, that is his right.” This is because he, the Speaker, feels that the other member’s right of opinion has been infringed on. Other MCAs seek for permission to be on the floor either to continue with the narrative as advanced by AB or to challenge his position.

Text 49

Hon. AK(M): thank you Mr. Speaker. I was keenly listening to names of people you mentioned who made this document. Unfortunately I did not hear you mention the Majority Leader and the Deputy Minority leader. You know I sit in that committee by virtue of being a leader.

Hon. AE(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker. Is it in order for the member to mislead the house that he participated in the committee? I have read the document and I do not see his name anywhere. Honorable AP has signed.

Speaker: Honorable AE, participation is wide. Perhaps he appeared before the committee. He does not have to be a signatory. He has not said he is a signatory, he said he participated. Honorable Liyemba, please proceed.

The member AE undermines the power and authority of the Minority Leader by using directness as a strategy. He questions his participation and as such seeks to lessen the power of the Minority Leader.

The Speaker of the House uses patronizing strategy in response to honorable AE's interjection. He educates him, that participation is wide. This has a further effect of damaging the face of honorable AE and as such presents him as ignorant. The latter is dismissed by the Speaker and the previous speaker on the floor resumes his presentation.

The member that was occupying the floor who is called back to resume his presentation mounts an attack on honorable AE as follows:

Text 50

Hon. AK(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker for protecting me. I want to tell honorable AE that although I went to the same school with him, let him know I was one of the best English students in that school we went to (laughter)

Honorable AE is undermined; the power he sought to have over the other member is lost. The member he sought to undermine emerges stronger having had the Speaker's nod. He reminisces their school years and presents himself as being better than honorable Jakaa. Further, he refers to honorable AE using his first name. This is strategic and it helps bring about a closer relationship suggesting familiarity. He also presents himself as superior- from the past. Other members laugh at the whole spectacle. Laughter does not have a linguistic value; it plays a functional role and in this case it undermines the member AE.

4.9.4.4 Damaging face

These are speech acts that are directed to a listener in order to make him or her be embarrassed and ashamed. According to Korashinadze (2015) and Derrick (2010), one way of doing this is by "belt-lining." Like fighters in a ring, each of us has a "belt line"- this refers to a person's emotion. When one is hit below this beltline, injury and serious damage may occur. Another such face attacking strategy is blame. In stead of focusing on finding solutions, people tend to

focus on others. This has a tendency to divert attention from the problem and create resentment; as such, the conflict is likely to spiral into a personal attack as shown in the data below from the Busia County Assembly.

Text 51

Hon. AM: Bwana Speaker, mimi huwa nakupatia heshima kubwa sana. Wakati ambao kiongozi wa wachache katika bunge hili letu aliamka kujieleza na ukaanza kuwa na wasiwasi, hata ulikuwa ushapeana wazo kulingana na vile mheshimiwa AR alikuwa amependekeza, kuwa wapewe wiki mbili, wengine wetu. Bwana Spika hatujawahi tumwa na mtu. Tulutumwa na wananchi wa Busia tuwawakilishe kikamilifu. Wakati mheshimiwa Luyemba alikuwa anatoa dosari ya nakala hiyo, mbili, tatu, sisi hatukukuwa wajinga. Waheshimiwa wa kaunti ya Busia waliketi kwa kauli moja na kusemezana na kusema kwamba kutokana na dosari hizo, tukipitisha hawa watu, itakuwa ni aibu kwa watu waliotutuma mahali hapa kwa sababu hatuzingatii sheria. Ndiposa tukasema Bwana Spika kwamba pendekezo lako la wiki mbili ambalo Mheshimiwa Obwogo aliwakilisha mahali hapa, kulingana na sheria, litampa Bwana Gavana fursa ya kuendelea. Ndio maana tunasema kwamba utukubalie Bwana Spika tumalizane na nakala hii wakati huu ili ikiwa wanaenda nyumbani, tunaiangusha wanaenda. Hatuoni ubaya mkirudia hii kitu mara ya pili. Mbona wanatuambia siku saba? Hizo siku saba ni za nini tena? Mimi naomba Bwana Spika; tuptatie nafasi wakati huu tuwakilishe wajibu wetu tuliotumwa kufanya na wananchi (Applause). Tumekuwa marafiki sana tukitembea na serikali hii ya ugatuzi wa Busia, lakini mambo ambayo yako pale chini! Hamwezi kaa miezi sita lakini kwa muda huo hakuna kitu ambacho kimefanyika kinachohusu mwananchi wa kawaida na ikifika wakati wa uajiri wa watu, mnatuletea sisi tuajiri watu. Wananchi wanaumia pale mashinani. Bwana spika wewe pahali ulipokaa, unaona ni vizuri kweli? Waheshimiwa tukianza kuongea mambo haya, unaona kwamba sisi si marafiki zako. Bwana Spika mimi ni rafiki yako lakini kama sheria iko, lazima tuheshimu sheria. Wewe ni mwanasheria Bwana Spika. Sisi wengine hatujapata fursa ya kusomea sheria. Tafadhali tuelekeze kulingana na sheria katika kaunti hii ya Busia. Kubali tu, dakika hii, wakati huu, tumalizane na hiyo nakala na iende. Tumalizane na hiyo maneno. Asante kunisikiliza. (Applause)

Point of order

(Mr. Speaker I have always given you a lot of respect. When the minority leader in this assembly stood to explain himself then you became worried, you had even given your opinion on how Honorable Obwogohad proposed that they be given two weeks. Mr. Speaker, we have never been used by anyone. We were sent here by the electorate so that we can represent them fully. When Honorable Luyemba was pointing out anomalies in the document, two, three, we were not foolish. The honorable members of the Busia County Assembly sat down and in one accord agreed that because of the flaws cited, if we approve these people, it would be shameful to the electorate since we will not have followed the law. That is why Mr. Speaker, we said that your proposal for two weeks that Honorable Obwogo presented here, according to the law, will give the governor a free hand to proceed. And that is why we are asking you to allow us to dispense with this matter at this point so that the nominees can be rejected at this early point. We do not see a problem in you repeating the exercise a second time. why are they giving us a seven days notice? What for? I request you, Mr. Speaker, give us time now so that we can fulfill our mandate as given by the electorate. (Applause) We have been great friends in the Busia County government but the things down there (are terrible) You cannot sit over such a matter for six months that concerns the ordinary citizen then when it reaches then you rush us to approve that these people be employed. The ordinary citizens are suffering. Mr. Speaker, from where you sit, do you think it is in order? When honorable members raise this matter you feel that we do not like you. Mr. Speaker I am your friend but if there is a law, let us uphold it. You are a lawyer, Mr. Speaker. Some of us have not had the opportunity to study law. Kindly guide us according to the law governing the Busia County Assembly. Just accept, now so that we can dispense with the matter at hand. We want to finish this matter. Thank you for listening to me.)

The member on the floor strategically chooses to speak in Kiswahili; not because he does not understand the English language. The choice of Kiswahili is strategic: to appear unsophisticated; to identify with the commoners that the member represents. The member begins and for a large part of his presentation refers to the person of the speaker. The member ‘refuses’ to be pushed aside or to be swayed from his talking point and trajectory. The member who is speaking in Kiswahili, the national language, begins by expressing politeness to the speaker then undermines him as “kuwa na wasiwasi” – being anxious or worried. The use of these words is strategic: the speaker is portrayed as having had vested interests or was being pushed from outside the house to make the bill on the nominees to pass unscrutinized with the effect of removing power from the members of the county assembly. The current member on

the floor goes on to make a declaration that they have never been “sent by anyone” and that they owe their allegiance to the people. Power is ascribed to the voters and as such to the members of the county assembly, not to forces outside the assembly. It is also instructive that the member on the floor is an elected member, not nominated. He sees himself as such. The member goes on to declare as follows: “...hatukuwa wajinga...” meaning that they were not fools or foolish. Further, the member collectively refers to other members by using the words “Waheshimiwa wa Busia waliketi kwa kauli moja” to mean that the declaration to reject the nominees was unanimous. He goes on to request the speaker to allow them, the members of the county assembly” to debate the bill and possibly send the nominees “home.”

The member goes on to openly question the speaker and by doing this undermines the speaker’s authority as an impartial leader of the house business. He open declares that they should be left to dispense with the matter. When the current speaker receives applause, which seem to undermine the speaker, he tactfully reduces the damage on the person of the speaker by politely saying that they have always been friends- “Tumekua marafiki sana...” The current speaker goes on to strategically talk and question the house speaker “Bwana spika wewe pahali ulipokaa, unaona ni vizuri kweli?” this can be translated as follows: “Mr. Speaker, where you sit, do you see it as good?” He even refers to his being a trained lawyer- “Wewe ni mwanasheria Bwana Spika” this further undermines the house speaker’s perceived impartiality on the matter at hand. The member on the floor as such leaving the matter at hand. Towards the end the member pleads with the house speaker to guide the house and finally thanks him. The member on the floor also uses directness as a strategy.

The semantic moves described above have several effects. The member undermines the position and standing of the speaker. The member further ascribes power to the members of the county assembly by virtue of their representative role. The member also damages the face of the speaker and as such asks him to distance himself and allow for debate. This is what ultimately happens. The member’s choice of Kiswahili alludes to his simplicity of thought and perhaps his identification and representation of the masses outside the house.

There is more debate by members. Strong opposition to the position initially adopted by the house speaker is voiced. More cheers and applause from the rest of the members are expressed as shown in the exchanges below. Ultimately the bill fails to sail through.

Text 52

Point of order

The Speaker: Hon. AG

Hon. AG(M): Mr. Speaker, we are not superior to the law. This House is not superior to the law. Our decisions here cannot override the law. The law overrides us. The law allows someone to proceed with a decision that we will have declined to make. Therefore, let's not adjourn. Let's make a decision Mr. Speaker. (Applause)

The Speaker: Honorable AN

Hon. AN(M): Thank you Hon. Speaker for giving me the latitude to contribute on this. I want to start by quickly supporting what my colleagues have said. It's a fact and I don't want to be misquoted. Hon. Speaker as you consult, I want to say that I do respect you so much as the speaker of this Hon. House who is supposed to offer guidance. Not just guidance but sincere and honest guidance. Mr. Speaker, when you were advising this Hon. House that we've got two options, adjourning or withdrawing this document, one, you said, this is a statutory document that has got legal ramifications and if we approve it or not, the appointing authority has got powers to go ahead and approve it. By the honorable House accepting and proposing that we adjourn for a certain period of time, it was for the goodwill and benefit of the appointing authority. I don't know what has happened. After consulting with the deputy speaker for two minutes, you want to override the law that you were quoting that now we can adjourn for 14 days.

I do respect you so much as a Speaker in this honorable house who is supposed to offer guidance. What guidance can you accord us kindly honorable speaker? I am a good listener, when you are advising this honorable house that the report has two phases by adjourning or withdrawing this document. One, and I stand to be corrected you said this is a statutory document that has legal implications if we approve it or we do not approve it the appointing authority has got powers to go ahead and approve it. Honorable Speaker by the honorable house accepting and proposing that we adjourn for a certain period of time it was for the good will and of health and benefit to the appointing committee. Honorable Speaker I don't know what kind of miracles has happened within a short time after consulting with the deputy Speaker that has overridden the law that you were quoting Mr. Speaker and with due respect that now we can adjourn for 14 days. I want to say honorable members that let us be sincere and

honest in decisions that we make and history will guide us harshly. We are not witch hunting we have got no personal vendetta over the nominees that are in this report but what we are asking ourselves is the procedure and legality that was used to ensure that we discuss what is important here and we ask and answer questions without biting your fingers .Honorable Speaker with due respect I want to beseech honorable members that let us debate this report and come up with a decision that we feel is so fit for this county. Thank you so much.

4.9.4.5 Subtlety

It is the property of being skillful or clever with language. It is a speech act that is sometimes difficult to understand, is elusive and sometimes difficult to detect and describe the speakers' intentions (Harris, 1991). The texts below illustrate this.

It was noticed that a Member of the county Assembly referred to himself severally as follows:

Text 53

Hon. AO(M): I am honorable AO representing the great people of Malaba Ward.

Here, the honorable member of the assembly ascribes power to himself in a subtle manner. His remark as representing "the great people" could easily pass off for a harmless statement. In fact, its impact goes unnoticed by the other members; also the speaker does not refer to it in any way.

The effect of this statement and reference makes its user feel powerful. He assumes he is representing people and voters greater than those in other electoral areas in the county. To others, it is probably just a harmless statement made by a "mischievous" MCA in the house. Being that he is elected and not nominated makes him appreciate his electorate in such a manner.

Because of its perceived harmlessness, house business goes on uninterrupted.

Text 54

Hon. AX(M): Mr Speaker, I am happy to have listened to the mover of this motion Honorable AE. He is an independent member like myself. Honorable Maskini represents Chakol South Ward.

The member subtly reminds others that he was elected on an independent ticket and therefore does not owe allegiance to any party except those who elected him. He is skillful even as he introduces himself- one would probably think that the member AX is talking about another person altogether. One also wonders at the name; whether it is real or symbolic. Also, unlike other members who have 'fronted' their areas of representation or leadership, the member AX chooses to mention his area of representation last; to look like an afterthought- or if "you care to know."

This was said during debate on the *Punguza Mzigo* bill by Ekuru Aukot that was meant to change the constitution of Kenya. By declaring that he is an independent member without any allegiance to a political party, the member is ascribing power to himself: - that he did not need to align himself to any group of persons or political party to get elected. He portrays himself as standing alone; his allegiance is not in the house and that he is ready to proceed in the same trajectory. Further, the member refers to himself in the third person as follows: "Honorable Maskini represents Chakol South Ward."

Such a skillful and tactful use of language gives the member an air of reassurance, the house business is not interrupted at all and members proceed in a calm and reassured manner.

4.10 Results from interviews

The researcher was able to interview some members of the Busia County assembly. The following are results from the research questions posed to them. According to Kumar (2014) the use of mixed methods in data collection and analysis enhances the accuracy and meaningfulness of conclusions, have a complete picture of the situation and reconfirm findings. Further, Benard (1984) argues that regardless of our theoretical orientation, a sound mix of qualitative and quantitative data is inevitable in any study of human thought and behaviour. It is upon such bases that the researcher has included the data from thesemi-structured interviews and subsequently presented the discussion below. The information in this section is as such significant since it gives insights into the study population's motivating factors in their linguistic positioning, strategies and choices within the context of the county assembly.

4.10.1 Question on the importance of debate in the county assembly

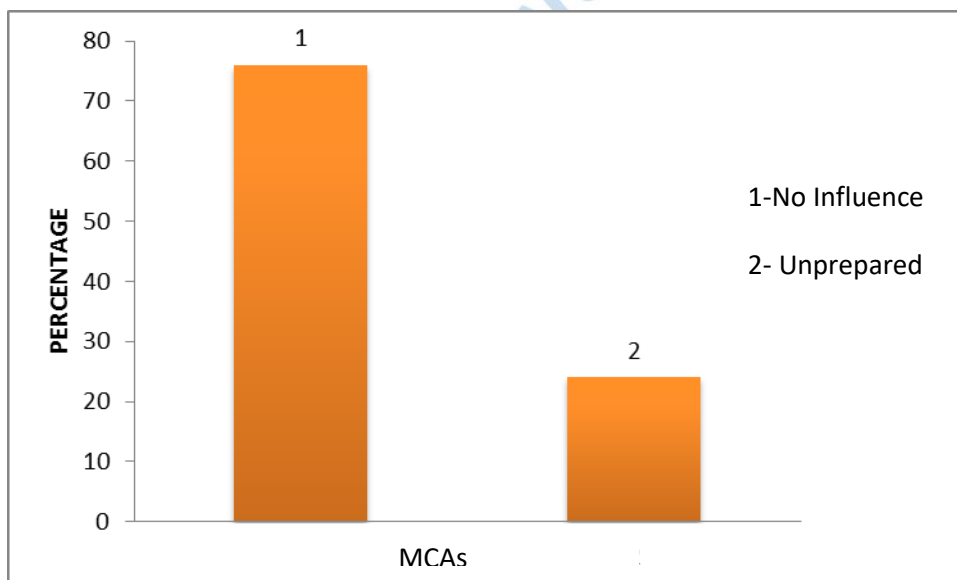
All MCAs interviewed agreed that debate is very important in the county assembly since it is where all members have a chance to give their input to a policy document or voice their concerns especially if they were not given a chance at the committee level.

4.10.2 Question on whether members deliberately choose the language they intend to use on the assembly floor.

Of the sample of 11, 9 members stated that they have always prepared and deliberately chosen the language, style and choice of words they intend to use. The reason given is that one has to strategically position oneself in order to win or linguistically wrestle in order put their points across and that if they do not do so, there is always a likelihood of being overlooked or having their input shot down. Three members stated that they do not need to prepare. The reason they gave is that they have been in the county assembly long enough and as such they have the political and linguistic experience to read and see the direction an argument is taking. This is illustrated in their pie chart below where 76% represents those who prepared their linguistic approach while 24% did not need to “linguistically” prepare for debate or presentation.

Figure 4.10

Comparison of Members who Deliberately Prepare and Choose the Language to Use on the Assembly Floor against Those who do not.



4.10.3 Question on whether live recording or streaming has an effect their choice of language during debate.

All the members interviewed stated that whether the debate is being recorded or not does not affect their choice of language. to them, the running of house business is more important than

the record. However, they noted that they have a chance to rectify their words in the official record as represented in the *Hansard*.

4.10.4 Question on the manner and kind of language expected in the county assembly

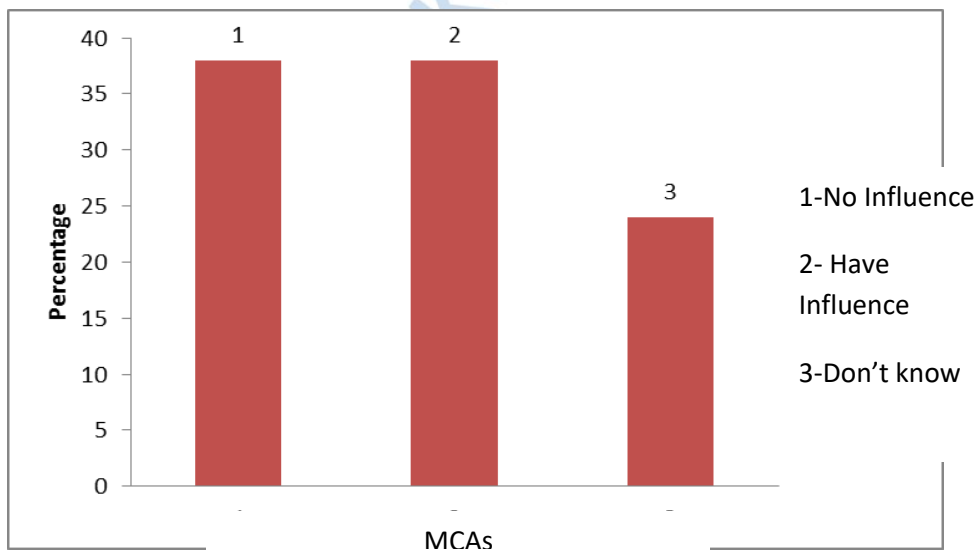
The members noted that the language used in the county assembly is businesslike. It facilitates orderliness and the smooth running of the business of the house. As such, it must be upheld.

4.10.5 Question on whether informal session *Kamukunji*'s influence choice of words later on in the debating chamber.

5 members stated that the informal sessions before the house formally sits to transact business have an effect on the choice of words and linguistic approach that they later use to debate bills and motions that were raised at such forums. 5 others stated that the informal sessions do not have any effect on their linguistic approach and choices in the subsequent house sittings to debate bills and motions earlier raised. 3 members of the county assembly stated that they do not know whether the *Kamukunjis* have any linguistic effects on the manner in which they make their contributions in the house over the matters raised earlier. The irepresentation of the numbers above is presented below as 38%, 38% and 24% respectively.

Figure 4.11

Comparison of Members' Opinion on Whether Kamukunji's have an Influence on Speaking Syle lateron during Debate.



4.10.6. On the question on conformity to the *Standing Orders*.

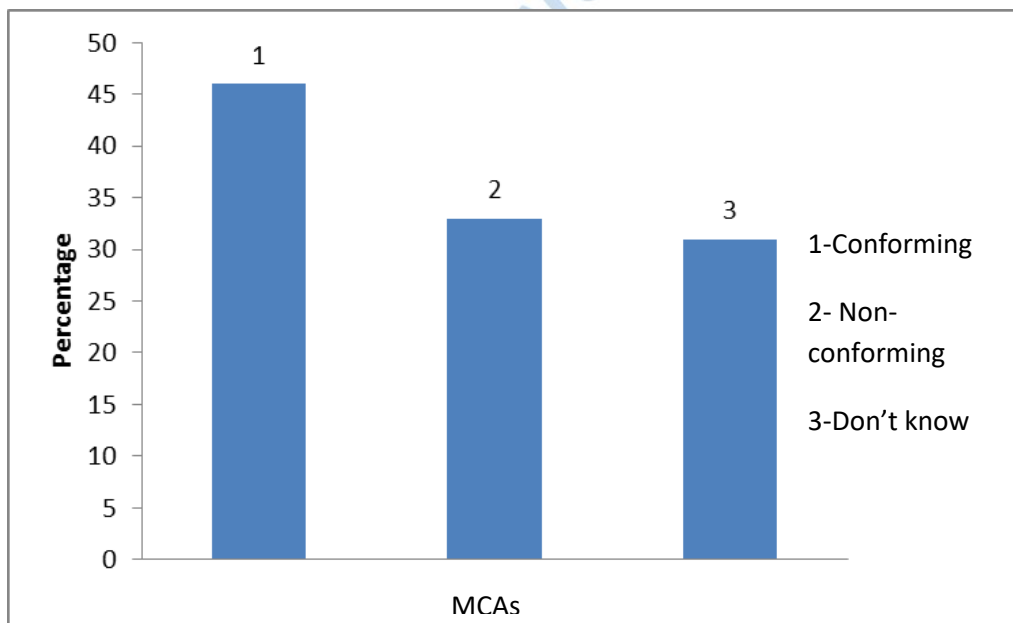
11 members stated that most members of the Busia County Assembly made deliberate efforts to conform with the Standing Orders in the running of the house business. This they asserted is what enabled the house transact its business smoothly. However, 2 members were of the opinion that some members of the Busia County Assembly did not make any attempts to conform with the *Standing Orders* and as such, their approach was meant at disrupting or annoying or simply to intimidate others at such times.

11 members were of the opinion that members made deliberate efforts to conform and observe the house Standing Orders.

Members were asked the question on whether any group, male or female, regularly and deliberately violated house rules and standing orders governing the running and management of house business. 6 members stated that male members of the county assembly deliberately engaged in violations of the stated rules; 3 members stated that females would engage in violations while 4 stated that both male and female members deliberately engaged in violations. The information is graphically presented below as 46%, 33% and 31%, respectively.

Figure 4.12

Representation on Whether Members Conform to the Standing Orders or Deliberately Violate them



4.10.7 Question on consequences or benefits derived from violating house rules.

Members were in agreement that those who engaged in violation of the *Standing Orders* that govern the conduct of business in the house always had reasons and therefore they in some way

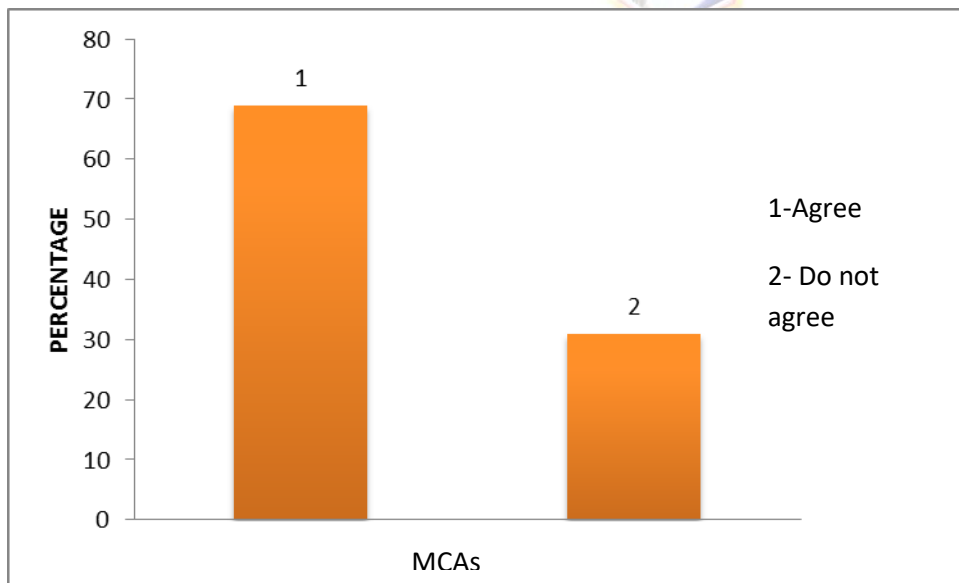
sought to benefit from such linguistic moves. Usually, they stated, it was for settling political scores, sometimes for personal reasons to “teach others a lesson” and sometimes to jostle for power. It is a way of asserting oneself. 4 noted that there are sometimes negative consequences for those who violate the rules governing the conduct of business in the house. The members stated that this applied to both male and female members. Further, that members of majority groups in the house- whether male or those in the Majority side by virtue of political affiliation frequently did this.

4.10.8 Question on whether a there is a connection between linguistic approach and access to power in the house.

9 members stated that linguistic approaches and strategic linguistic posturing was always aimed at winning and be seen to be tough and powerful. 4 members stated that they did not see a link between linguistic posturing and power. This information is graphically represented below as 69% and 31%, respectively.

Figure 4.13

Members’ Opinion on Whether there is a Connection between Linguistic Approach and Access to Power



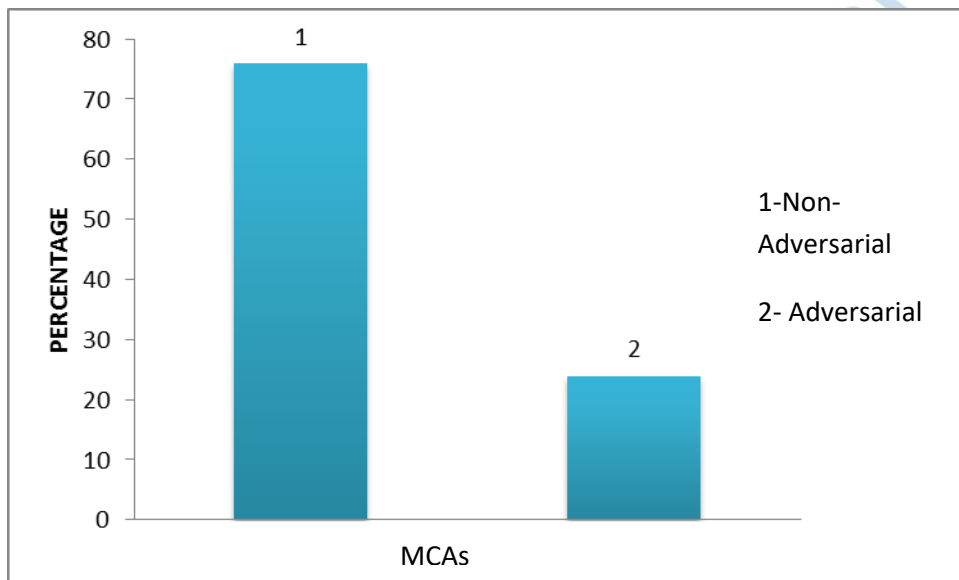
4.10.9 Question on whether Busia County Assembly sessions are adversarial.

10 members stated that the Busia County Assembly sessions were generally friendly. However, 3 members stated that the sessions were linguistic contests in which one had to act tough in order to get oneself heard in the house. This later group noted that the adversarial linguistic posturing was adopted during debate on “crucial” sessions like debating adoption of the annual

budget and subsequent supplementary budgeting. This is graphically represented below as 76% and 24%, respectively.

Figure 4.14

Members' Opinion on Whether the Busia County Assembly is Adversarial in Nature or not



4.10.10 Question on whether one would interrupt another because of difference in terms of gender.

All respondents stated that they would not disrupt another member on the floor or comment negatively on any other by virtue of belonging to the opposite gender. The respondents noted that males were the majority in the house and as such they were already in a vantage position as far as house business is concerned.

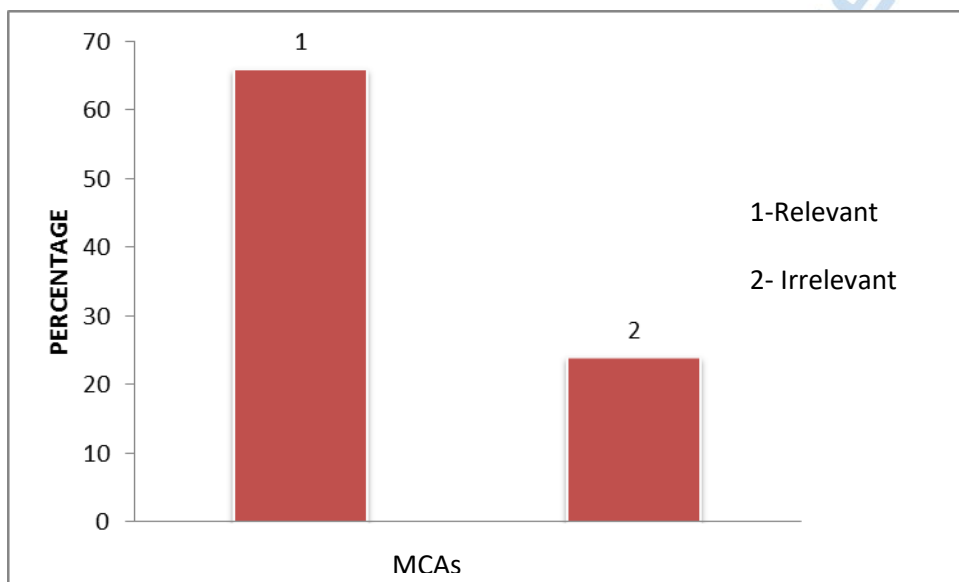
4.10.11 Question on relevance of grandstanding, heckling and shouting.

The respondents noted that such acts as political grandstanding, heckling and shouting were to be expected in running of the house business. These are ways used to silence political adversaries, could be used to make one heard and are at certain times a sign of rejecting the status quo.

8 respondents from the county assembly stated that they would not engage in such acts; 4 stated that most at most times their male counterparts were generally friendly and would avoid engaging in ugly linguistic fights and contests. 66% of respondents stated that they would not support incidences of heckling, shouting and grandstanding; 34% thought that these were sometimes necessary in a clash of power and ideas.. One respondent did not respond to this question.

Figure 4.15

Member's Opinion on Relevance of Grandstanding, Heckling and Shouting in the Assembly.

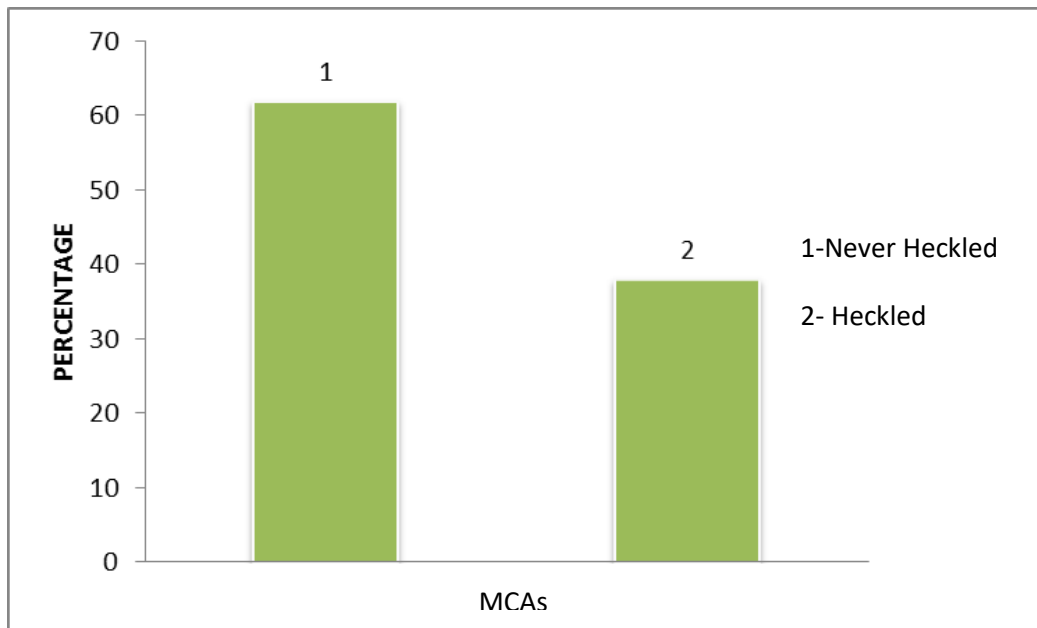


4.10.12 Question on whether respondents have had to respond to heckling and grandstanding.

2 male respondents stated that they have had to respond to heckling during their contribution on the assembly floor; 3 women respondents noted that they have also had such encounters. 8 members of the Busia County Assembly stated that they had never had to respond to heckling and grandstanding. The information above is represented below with 38% having responded to instances of heckling and grand standing while 62% had not encountered this.

Figure 4.16

Members' Responses on Whether they had to Respond to Heckling and Grandstanding during Debate in the County Assembly Floor



2 female respondents stated that they were shaken and felt helpless during such situations and that the Speaker of the house intervened to “rescue” them. 1 male respondent stated that such experiences were initially difficult to come out of but by regularly participating in sessions as a contributor during debate, a member gets used and so is able to find a way through.

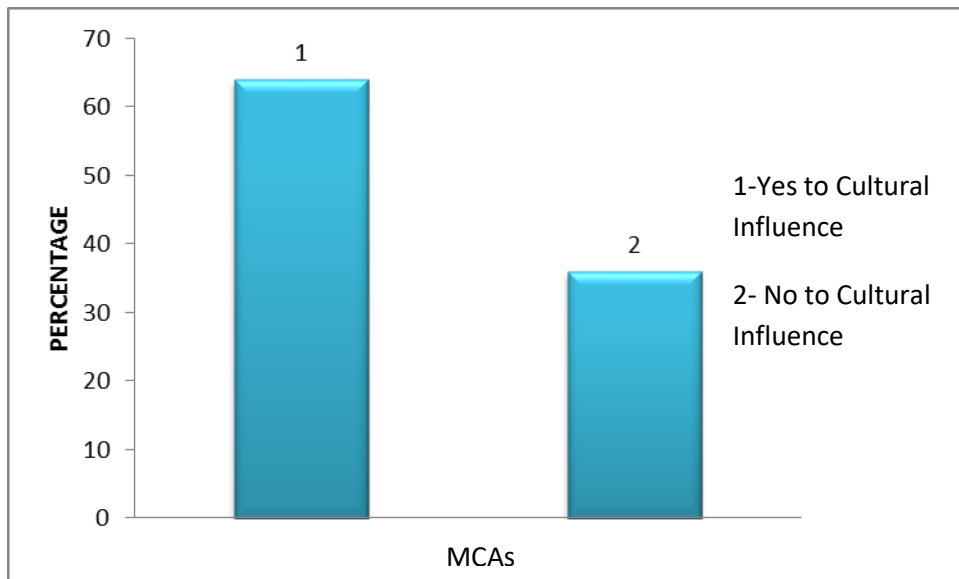
Further, 2 male respondents stated that they had been heckled by other males; 2 female respondents stated that they had been heckled by male members of the assembly. No respondent- male or female- went on record as having been heckled by a female member of the house in the data analyzed.

4.10.13 Question on whether gender and cultural expectations have an effect on members’ participation and contribution in the assembly chamber.

The 3 male respondents from the county assembly stated that they were “expected to take the lead” by virtue of being men. 4 female respondents noted that they were expected to play a complimentary role. Further, 7 respondents stated that the male members of the county assembly were expected to be “gentle but tough”.

Figure 4.17

Members’ Opinion on Whether Cultural Expectations have an Influence on their Participation and Contribution in the Assembly Chamber.



4.10.14 Question on whether age and political experience have an effect on linguistic style and choices.

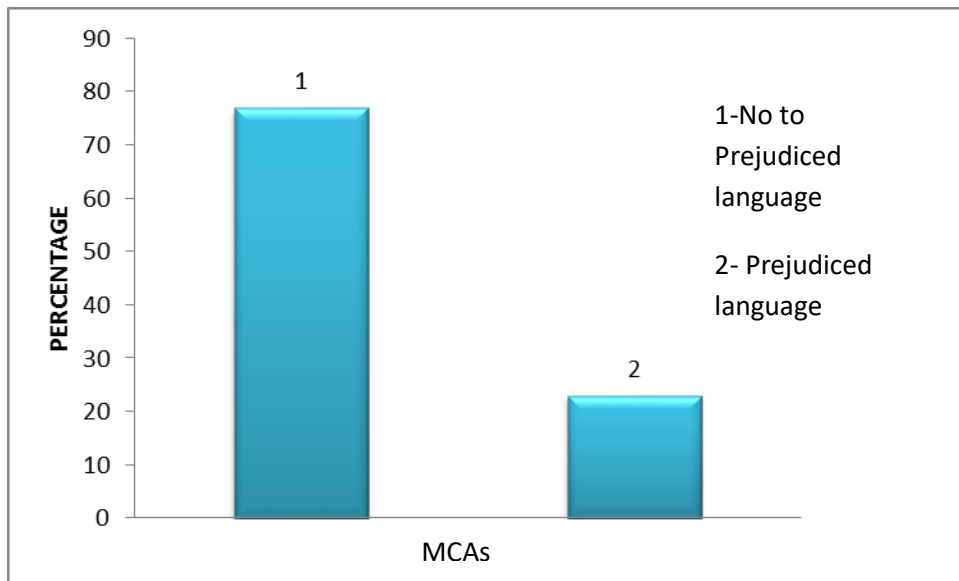
4 respondents from the Busia County Assembly observed that older MCAs were found to be understanding and that their speech styles were tailored towards a generally harmonious linguistic engagement; 5 respondents stated that first time and younger members were found to engage in linguistic posturing that portrayed them as “tough”; 2 respondents stated that experienced MCAs- those who had served for more than one term- were found to be generally assertive in their linguistic engagements.

4.10.15 Question on prejudiced and sexist language in the chamber.

All male respondents stated that they had never experienced such language on occasions when they had taken to the floor; however, they stated that they had been in sittings where such situations had arisen. 3 out of the 8 female respondents stated that they had experienced prejudices during their presentations or after by subsequent male members of the county assembly who took to the floor to speak after them.

Figure 4.18

Female Members’ Responses as to Whether they had Experienced Prejudiced and Sexist Language while on the Assembly Floor.



4.10.16 General question on any other opinion the respondents have.

The female respondents noted that having more women as elected members of the Busia County Assembly would increase their “linguistic prominence.” They noted that despite some of them belonging to the dominant or majority party, they had at times been made to play second fiddle. This is because those who had been elected felt that they were the ones “representing the people” and as such had a right to be heard. The female respondents also noted that an increased number of women in the leadership in the various house committees would be a move towards empowering them. This is because those in such leadership position as Chairs enjoyed certain powers and privileges when it came to debating in the county assembly floor.

The male respondents noted that the increase in the number of females in the Busia County Assembly had a positive impact since in their opinion the females were able to “carry along family matters” and as such the various facets of the society had always been borne in mind during debate and consideration of *bills* and motions.

4.11 Summary

In this chapter, the researcher has discussed several facets of the manner in which the data has been studied and analyzed. These include the following: the membership of the Busia County Assembly, the nature and significance of debate and basic debating skills. These formed a context upon which debate has been analyzed. The chapter has also analyzed and discussed the data based on its thematic concerns: strategic use of language in the contest of power and the manner in which gender has been articulated in the Busia County Assembly. The analysis has

been premised on the Critical Discourse Analysis theory and Politeness. With regards to power, the researcher has demonstrated various ways in which it is contested, preserved and retained both by the male and female members of this assembly. Some of these strategies include: approbation, accusations, hedging, modesty, directness- among others. Gender has also been strategically presented in a number of ways. Additionally, the interview questions have also been presented both as discussion and in a graphically comparative form in this particular section.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the researcher gives an overview of findings regarding the strategic use and apportionment of linguistic elements and strategies that are used to invoke gender and power during debate in the Busia County Assembly. It gives a summary of the findings, the conclusions made and then makes recommendations to various players and sectors. It ends by giving recommendations for further study.

5.2 Summary of the results/ findings

The discussion under this section has provided the findings as per research questions as follows:

- i. Which linguistic elements are employed strategically to bargain for dynamics of power in the assembly?

The researcher has established that a number of linguistic elements are used strategically to bargain for the dynamics of power. Some of these include: sarcasm, use of disclaimers, accusations, hedging and casting aspersions, use of different language – for instance a member choosing to use Kiswahili- the national language as opposed to English, cooperation, a number of speech acts, face saving and face damaging strategies and linguistic moves among others.

- ii. What linguistic elements do participants in debate use to invoke gender and power in the context of debate?

The researcher was able to identify a number of linguistic elements that members of the Busia County Assembly have used in debate to invoke gender and power. Gender has been demonstrated in a number of ways. These include reference to gender roles as culturally assigned for instance as mothers and caregivers, female members steering the issues that affect the family, orphans, health and economic empowerment of vulnerable groups. Some female members also referred to themselves and their roles in the family as being happily married, tasks assigned to the girl child or by speaking in a manner suggestive of their submissiveness and making pleas to their male counterparts not to wish away the issues they have put before the house. The female have also presented themselves as modest, dependable and as task oriented.

Power has been invoked or alluded to in a number of ways. The dominant male members have been assigned a pivotal role in that they occupy most leadership positions in the house as *Majority Leader*, *Minority Leader* and as *Chairs* in most committees in the house. These positions give the male members of the county assembly a head start over their female counterparts since they dominate them on the assembly floor when they present motions or are given preferences in debates. Because of this situation, the male members have greater and more say and are as such ascribed power and domination. Power has also been contested in a number of ways. These include: male members ascribing power to themselves, members undermining each other by making accusations against others, casting aspersions, hedging, use of ironic statements, strategically using face threatening speech acts among others. Power has also been retained using a number of linguistic strategies such as using face saving acts, cooperation, use of disclaimers, politeness and linguistic scheming such as heaping praise and such other strategies. Female members of the Busia County Assembly have also been seen to contest for power and the right to be heard despite their disadvantaged position with regard to elected members and being fewer. They have done this by regularly taking to the floor to debate, challenge and ascribe power to themselves by using a number of linguistic strategies. They have been seen scheming by being polite only to undermine the leadership of the house; at other times they have made accusations against their male counterparts- especially those in positions of leadership. At other times, in the face of adversity and difficulty, they have stood their ground and gone on to make their presentations even when not a single voice from either the males or females gave moral or psychological support. The majority of the female members, though nominated, have as such indicated that they have a duty and have been able to participate actively. Further, they have gone on to articulate their agenda.

- iii. What are the effects of the linguistic elements employed to negotiate the dynamics of power and invoke gender during debate in the assembly?

The linguistic elements strategically employed during debate in the Busia County Assembly have had several effects both on the members involved in debate and in the agenda and debating process in the house. The researcher observed that the strategic use of linguistic elements at times changed the course of debate by forcing the Speaker of the house to intervene or the members on the floor to cut short or even change tact. Some linguistic strategies adopted were aimed to bring down a *bill* or motion that had been tabled, some were strategically used and such bills and motions were referred back to committee for debate and incorporation of issues raised. Sometimes language was observed to have been strategically used to pass a bill or

motion. These strategies at times boosted the morale of the member on the floor and drove the agenda forward or intimidated the member who had to quickly withdraw to go and re-strategize at committee or in a subsequent session. This latter fact also affected the Speaker of the Busia County Assembly on more than one occasion when the members were seen to challenge authority, defy orders and sought to have their ways. In doing this, powerful forces outside the county assembly that had sought to use members as rubberstamps had to withdraw to let the members have their say and way. The strategic use of language to invoke gender was also seen to have effects on the debaters and the bills and motions and discussion. The house had to for instance reject certain bills or order that they be reconsidered in subsequent sittings only after the gendered matters raised had been incorporated.

- iv. How do members of the county assembly linguistically respond to linguistic elements that invoke gender and power during debate?

Members of the Busia County Assembly responded and reacted to the linguistic elements that invoke gender and power in a number of ways. Some members sought for cooperation, demonstrated friendliness, engaged in face saving or face damaging acts. Yet others stood their ground during debate or had to cut short their presentations. At other times, the members were seen to be cooperative, friendly or hostile. At other times the members used metalanguage strategically to achieve their goals- personal or group. On most occasions debate went on well while at other instances the Speaker had to intervene in order for the county assembly to effectively perform its mandate.

5.3 Conclusions

It is appreciated that in the Busia County Assembly, members have the right to express themselves in a healthy manner that is ultimately expected to bring positive changes to the management of affairs not only in the conduct of business in the assembly but also with regards to service delivery. It has been noticed that members are keen and are eager to play their oversight roles and this must be applauded. It is also to be appreciated that female MCAs have been incorporated in various other committees such as finance, education, infrastructure, labor, environment and library and culture- among others. Further, that the women in the committees do not only play a secondary role but have also been appointed as Chairpersons of the same. Women have been allowed in what Kyalo, et-al (2019) refers to as “masculine” and “powerful” committees like Finance among others. This is to be encouraged. It is also further noted that despite a majority of women MCAs being nominated, they have simply not become “flower

girls or *bonga points*” (Kivoi, 2014); this refers to political parties making cosmetic appointments and nominations of women to political offices for their own expediency. Some female MCAs have been noted to adopt a “combative” posture (ibid) in the oversight role they are charged with. They do this because they acknowledge that they have a role to play in the house. This is good for women joining the political field. The researcher also observed that the members of the Busia County Assembly were not divided along gender lines. The members played a complementary role so that a female stood in for a male member and males are also on record as standing in for their female counterparts when they were due to present but could not attend the sessions due to other circumstances elsewhere. The researcher also observed that as members lived and worked together, there was a more harmonious relationship during debates in the *Fifth Session* of the Second County Assembly as opposed to the *First* and *Second* sessions when the members had just been elected and were seen to be sizing up each other. As such, it has been concluded that “political experience” accruing from longevity in the county assembly can lead and has led to a more harmonious working relationship as exhibited in a healthy and hygienic linguistic environment where members tease, encourage and constructively contribute- albeit with the idea of power and domination in the background; and those who seek to have it employing strategies that undermine and undercut others subtly.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the detailed analysis of linguistic data from the Busia County Assembly, the researcher has come up with the following recommendations for the various stake holders and interested groups in academia and industry. These are presented below.

5.4.1 Recommendations to authorities

The political class are appointed to various positions by the political outfits they represent not only to drive such political groupings’ agenda but also for the benefit of the electorate. The following are the recommendations to authorities charged with the appointment and management of political offices and spaces:

- i. More women should be appointed to the leadership of county assembly committees in order to increase the performance, strengthen accountability and enhance service delivery of the county assemblies.
- ii. The researcher noted that leadership of positions in the county assembly such as *Majority Leader*, *Minority Leader* and such other house committees have changed severally. There is need to have more effective leadership and consistency in this area.

- iii. Women in political spaces such as the county assembly also need to occupy such positions as *Majority Leader*, *Deputy Majority Leader*, *Minority Leader* and such like positions to increase their performance.

5.4.2 Recommendations to service users/ beneficiaries

Members of the county assemblies are elected or nominated. They all have a duty- whether elected or nominated. The researcher makes the following recommendations:

- i. An increase in the number of elected women in political spaces would strengthen their performance and effectiveness in these offices.
- ii. Women in the Busia County Assembly need to show more solidarity amongst themselves as a group regardless of the political outfits they belong to especially with regards to the performance and duty within the assembly chambers.

5.4.3 Recommendations to other stake holders

A number of interested groups in the management and performance of political offices and public spaces have been at the forefront of discussing and strengthening women's effectiveness in such offices. The researcher makes the following recommendations:

- i. Adoption of a more inclusive gender approach to training and management of political spaces and offices to increase performance and enhance service delivery.
- ii. Creation of awareness to both genders, in formative stages of learning, of the complimentary role they have in leadership and management of political offices and spaces. This would make the dominant group, men, more sympathetic in their approach towards their female counterparts and gendered approaches towards service provision.

5.5 Suggestions for further study

The current research confined itself to the manner in which gender and power are strategically employed in the Busia County Assembly. This is just a small part of political discourse analysis that exists in many faces and dimensions. The following are recommendations for further research in this field:

- i. A comparative analysis of the linguistic styles and effectiveness of nominated members of the county assemblies based on gender.
- ii. A detailed and comprehensive study of the linguistic strategies adopted by the Chairs of various committees in the county assemblies in order to effectively steer such committees to achieve their set goals.

- iii. A linguistic construction of male politicians and how such political commentaries would shape the attitudes of the electorate.
- iv. A comparative study of the linguistic styles employed by male and female Speakers of county assemblies in Kenya.



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APPENDIX A RESEARCH PERMITS

REPUBLIC OF KENYA
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **845159**
Date of Issue: **14/February/2022**

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Mr. Boswell Omondi Owuor of Mount Kenya University, has been licensed to conduct research in Busia on the topic: A Discursive Construction of Linguistic Elements Employed to Invoke Gender and Power During Debate in Busia County Assembly for the period ending : 14/February/2023.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/22/15598**

Applicant Identification Number
845159

Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Verification QR Code



NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.

Mount Kenya University



DIRECTORATE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

PHD/2018/36713

8th July, 2022

*The Director, Research Coordination Division
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation
Utalii House, 8th & 9th Floor
P.O Box 30623- 00100
NAIROBI*

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: OWOUR BOSWELL OMONDI - REGISTRATION NO. PHD/2018/36713

The purpose of this letter is to introduce the above named student who is pursuing Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Psychology in the School of Social Sciences.

The title of his research is *"A Discursive Construction of Linguistic Elements Employed to Invoke Gender and Power during Debate in Busia County Assembly."*

He has been cleared by the University's Ethics Review Committee (Certificate attached) and now has to proceed to the field to collect data for his research between July, 2022 and January, 2023.

Any assistance accorded to him will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.


Dr. Samuel M. Karanja, Ph.D.
Director, Graduate Studies
Enc.

Mount Kenya University
P.O. Box 342-01000, THIKA
Office of the Director
Graduate Studies

COUNTY GOVERNMENT OF BUSIA



COUNTY ASSEMBLY OF BUSIA
OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE COUNTY ASSEMBLY
P.O BOX 1018-50400, BUSIA-KENYA, TEL: +254 721 675217
EMAIL: clerkbusiacountyassembly@yahoo.com

REF. NO.: CA/BSA/ADM/36/VOL.III (195)

DATE: 21ST FEBRUARY, 2022

Mr. Owour Boswell Omondi
C/O Mount Kenya University
Main Campus Thika
P.O. Box 342

THIKA

Dear Sir,

**RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN BUSIA
COUNTY CHAMBERS**

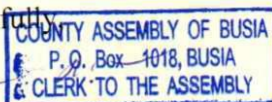
The above subject refers.

Authority is hereby granted to conduct your research within the County Assembly precincts with effect from the date of this letter to 14th February, 2023.

You will be attached to the Head of Department for Hansard, Mr. Elijah Mwaro.

A copy of the report of your research will be expected by the office of the Clerk at the end of the exercise.

Yours faithfully,



ALLAN W. MABUKA
CLERK TO THE COUNTY ASSEMBLY



**COUNTY GOVERNMENT OF BUSIA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
P.O. BOX PRIVATE BAG – 50400
BUSIA, KENYA**



18/02/2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: BOSWELL OMONDI OWUOR

The above named person has sought permission from the Office of the Governor to allow him carry out research on the topic: **Discursive Construction of linguistic Elements Employed to invoke Gender and Power during debate in Busia County Assembly**, as a requirement to complete his course at Mount Kenya University. License Number NACOSTI/P/22/15598.

Among the Counties he is researching on, is Busia County.

This letter is therefore to notify you that, he has permission from the County Government of Busia to carry out his research without hindrance of any case whatsoever, from the date of this letter to close of business on 14th February 2023.

Any support accorded to him is highly appreciated.

Regards,

Ezekiel Otieno Okwach
CHIEF OFFICER OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
FOR: H.E THE GOVERNOR

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND CO-ORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
ccbusia@gmail.com

COUNTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
BUSIA COUNTY
P.O. BOX 14
BUSIA (K)

When replying please quote
Ref No. ADM. 15/27/113
and Date

16th February, 2022

All Deputy County Commissioners

BUSIA COUNTY

RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following research authorization vide letter Ref.No. 845159 dated 14thFebruary, 2022 by the National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation (NACOSTI) authorizing reseach on "*A discursive Construction of Linguistic Elements Employed to Invoke Gender and Power during Debate in Busia County Assembly*" for the period ending 14th February,2023.

This is to inform you that **Mr. Boswell Omondi Owuor** has been authorized to carry out reseach in Busia County for a period ending 14th February, 2023.

Kindly accord him the due co-operation.

P. K. Kemei
For: County Commissioner

BUSIA COUNTY

Copy to:

Mr. Boswell Omondi Owuor.

APPENDIX B
RESEARCH TIME PLAN

Year	Month	Activities
2018	Sept.	Exploration of study problem
2019	Jan –Dec	Exploration/ development of concept
2021	Jan- April	Development of Proposal
	July	Presentation of Proposal at the Department
	August	Making corrections to Proposal
	September	Presentation of Proposal at School level
2021	September	Submission of corrected Proposal to the School of Graduate Studies
	October	Pilot study and review of research instruments
	October	Data collection
2021/2022	November-February	Data analysis
	March- July	Writing of Thesis
2023	April	Defense of Thesis
	May	Correction of Thesis
	July	Graduation

APPENDIX C RESEARCH BUDGET

Item	Approximate cost (Ksh)
Transport: to and from Mount Kenya	
Univ.	60,000
Pilot study	150,000
Main study	
Stationery	
Field note books 10@300	3,000
Photocopy paper 5@500	2,500
Photocopying documents	30,000
Document holders & files	5,000
Secretarial services	50,000
Proposal printing 10@1500	15,000
Proposal final draft 10@1500	15,000
Thesis printing 7@2000	14,000
Revision of prints 10@2000	20,000
Internet services	80,000
Airtime	60,000
Miscellaneous	300,000
Grand Total	804,500

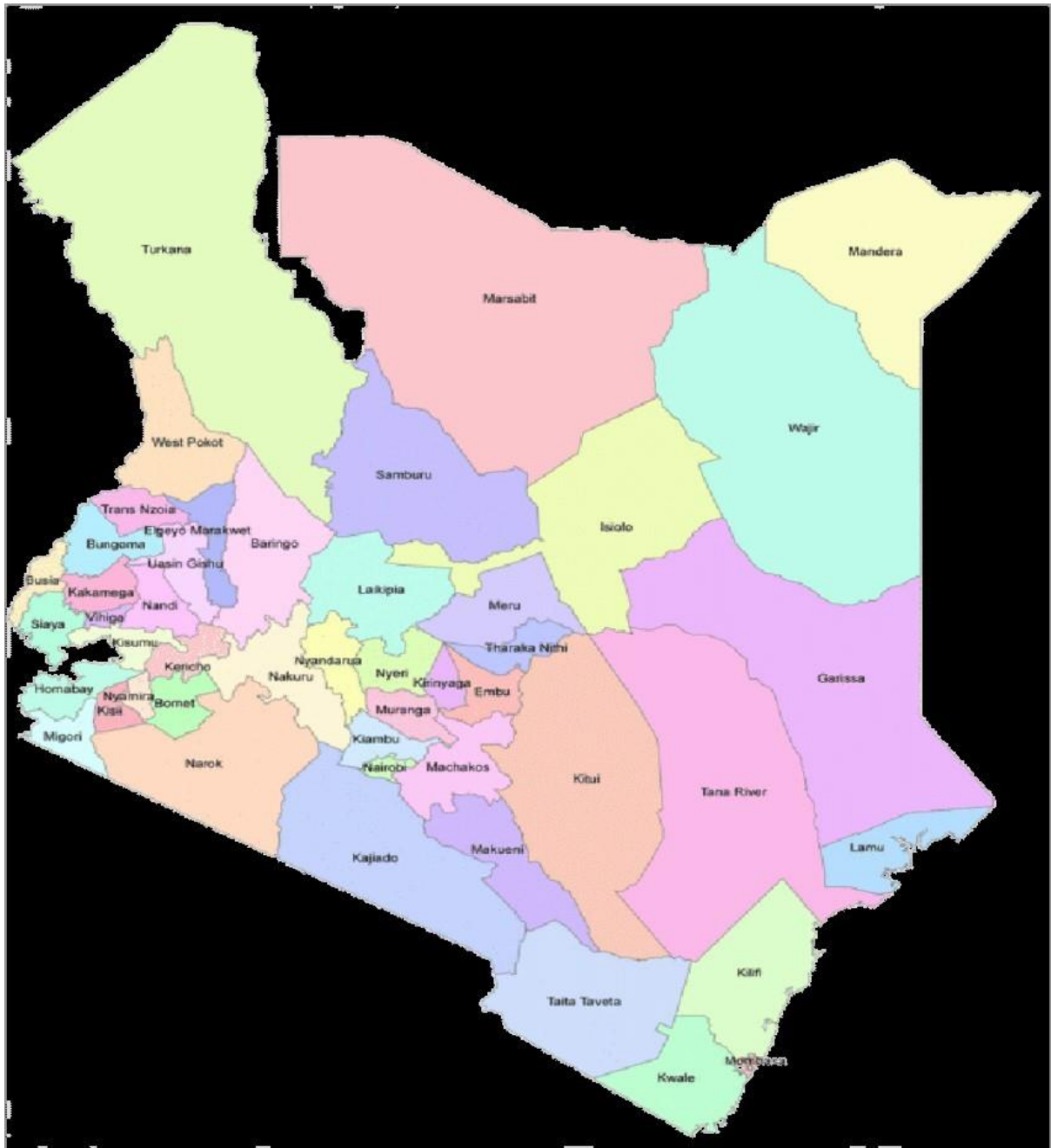
APPENDIX D

Checklist for Semi-structured interview

1. How important is debating in the county assembly chamber?
2. During participation in assembly debates, or in anticipation, do you deliberately choose the language you intend to use on the assembly floor?
3. Since debates are recorded and the public have access to the chambers, does this in any way affect your contribution or the language you use in the assembly debate floor?
4. How would you describe the language that MCAs are expected to use in the assembly debate floor?
5. Do the informal sessions “*Kamukunji’s*” in any way influence your choice of language in the debating chamber?
6. To what extent do MCAs conform by the guidelines spelled out by the Standing Orders? Do they make effort to observe these rules? In your opinion is there any group, male or female MCAs who regularly violate rules of engagement during debate?
7. Are there any negative or positive consequences for breaking rules during debate?
8. In your own opinion, does a relationship exist between MCAs use language and the manner in which they attain power?
9. In your opinion, are county assembly sessions adversarial? If so, in what ways?
10. Would you make an interjection against what someone else is saying just because they are of the opposite gender? If so, what is the significance of this to you as a sitting MCA or to the side you belong to? Does your culture allow such occurrences?
11. It has been said that heckling, grandstanding and shouting, among others are methods of engagement in the assembly. What is your opinion on this? Is there a function or a reward that comes with these acts especially against members of the opposite gender?

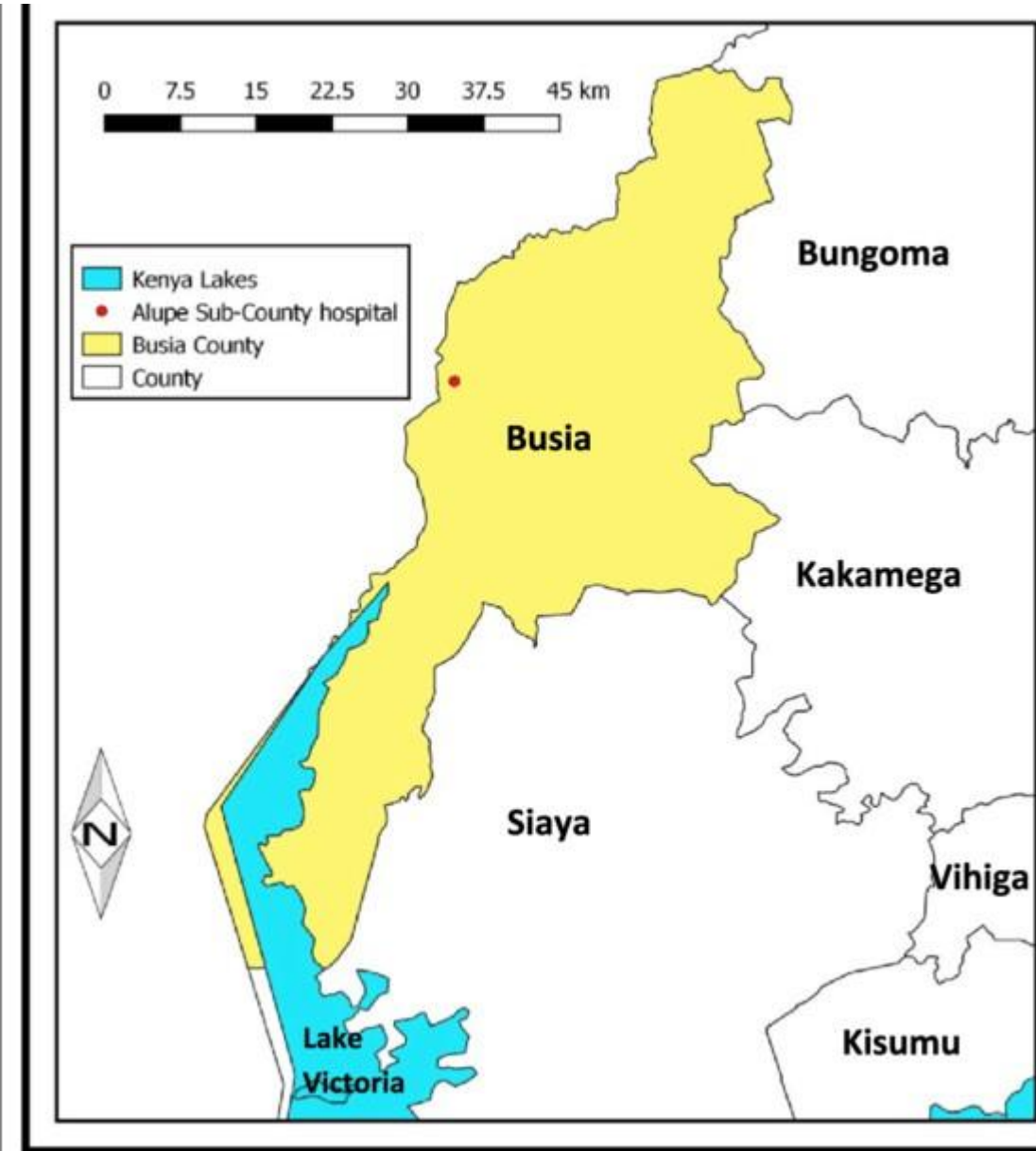
12. During your own contribution, have you ever responded to heckling? What was the impact of this to you? Have you ever been heckled by a man/ woman? If so, how did you respond to this?
13. Does the gender of a speaker and cultural expectations have an influence on their contribution in the chamber? Do you think gender and culture can in any way affect the language a speaker uses when holding the floor?
14. What is your opinion on the contribution of MCAs based on their age and experience in the house: newer or older MCAs?
15. Have you ever experienced prejudiced or sexist language in the chamber? Any examples?
16. Supposing the number of female MCAs was equal to that of their male counterparts, do you think that this would have an impact on the nature of debate?
17. Does your cultural disposition as male or female in any way influence your choice of words in the assembly chamber? If so, kindly state how this occurs.
18. Based on our discussion, do you have anything important to add to a research such as this one we are having based on language use in the county assembly during debate?

APPENDIX E
MAP OF KENYA SHOWING ALL THE 47 COUNTIES



Source: Kenya National Bureau of statistics (2021)

APPENDIX F
MAP OF BUSIA COUNTY WITH OTHER NEIGHBOURING COUNTIES



Source: Kenya National Bureau of statistics (2021)

APPENDIX G
SAMPLE OF BUSIA COUNTY ASSEMBLY HANSARD

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



COUNTY ASSEMBLY OF BUSIA

SECOND COUNTY ASSEMBLY - FIFTH SESSION

THE HANSARD

Wednesday, September 29, 2021 at 2.30 p.m

The Assembly met at 2.30 p.m

PRAYERS

QUORUM

The Speaker (Hon. Bernard Mubinja Wamalwa): Honorable members I welcome you all to this 96th sitting of the fifth session on 2012 at 2.30pm. Clerk read out the order

Clerk:1. Administration of Oath

2. Communication from the Chair

3. Messages

4. Petitions

5. Papers (As listed in the Appendix)

6. Notices of Motion (As listed in the Appendix)

7. Statements

8*. Motion: Chairperson, Planning, Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives and Industrialization Committee

The Speaker: The report of Planning, Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives and Industrialization Committee on the Busia county Urban institutional strategy 2019/2024, chair table.

Hon Papa: Mr. Speaker I beg to table Report of the Planning, Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives and Industrialization Committee on the Busia County Urban Institutional Development Strategy (BCUIDS 2019-2024) I beg to table.

The Speaker: Thank you. Secunder. The Majority Leader.

Hon Ochieng: Thank you Mr. Speaker I second.

The Speaker: Thank you. Next notice of motion.

Hon Ibela: Thank yyou. I am Hon Ben Ibela Papa, Chair Planning, Trade, Trade, Tourism , Cooperatives and Industrialization Committee **THAT**, this County Assembly adopts the report of the Planning, Trade, Tourism, Co-operatives and Industrialization Committee on Busia County Urban Institutional Development Strategy (BCUIDS 2019-2024)laid on the Table of the County Assembly on Wednesday, 29th September, 2021. I beg to give notice.

The Speaker: Thank you very much. Secunder of notice. Yes Majority Leader.

Hon Ochieng: Thank you very much. I am Hon Moses Ochieng Mr. Speaker I second the notice of motion as issued out by the Chair Planning, Trade, Tourism, Coopertives and Industrialization Committee on BCUIDS 2019-2024

The Speaker: Hon members, notices of motion read by the chairperson, having been given, I now direct the motion together with report of the committee be debated on Friday Morning this week 9.00am. Thank you

I now move to number nine motion by the Chairperson, Planning, Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives and Industrialization Committee

Hon Ibela:Thank you Mr. Speaker. I am Hon Ben Ibela Papa Chair Chairperson, Planning, Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives and Industrialization Committee **Mr. Speaker Sir**, I beg to **MOVE** the following motion; **THAT**, this County Assembly adopts the report of the Planning, Trade, Tourism, Co-operatives and Industrialization Committee on the Busia Integrated Strategic Urban Development Plan (ISUDP) 2020-2030 laid on the Table of the County Assembly on Tuesday, 24th August, 2021.

The Speaker: Thank you. The seconder of motion. Yes Majority leader.

Hon Ochieng: Thank you Mr. Speaker Sir. I am Hon Moses Ochieng. I beg to second the motion issued by the Chair Planning, Trade, Tourism, Cooperatives and Industrialization Committee on Busia Integrated Strategic Urban Development Plan.

The Speaker: Thank you. Hon members I will now put to question that this county adopt the report on Busia Integrated Strategic Urban Development Plan (ISUDP) 2020-2030 laid on the Table of the County Assembly on Tuesday, 24th August, 2021. Chair or the representative of the committee open debate.

Hon Ochieng: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I am Hon Ochieng Moses. I want to open the debate

Mr. Speaker Sir, the Committee as currently constituted is comprised of the following Honorable Members:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Hon. Benard Ibella Papa, MCA | - Chairperson |
| 2. Hon. Moses Pius Ouma, MCA | - Vice Chairperson |
| 3. Hon. Hawa Ishmael, MCA | - Member |
| 4. Hon. Ruth Ochola, MCA | - Member |
| 5. Hon. Vincent Olumbe, MCA | - Member |
| 6. Hon. Zainabu Muyoti, MCA | - Member |
| 7. Hon. Eric Kaibe, MCA | - Member |
| 8. Hon. Fred Musirimba, MCA | - Member |
| 9. Hon. Moses Ochieng, MCA | - Member |

Mr. Speaker Sir, Let me take this opportunity to express my appreciation and sincere thanks to your office and the Office of Clerk to the assembly for facilitating the committee to produce this report. I wish to also thank the Members of the Committee and staff who worked with it for dedicating their time to sit for long hours to analyze the ISUDP 2020-2030 before retreating to generate this report.

Mr. Speaker just to give an overview of the report that we are submitting today. Mr. Speaker the committee did invite for hearing the Chief officer in charge of Lands, Housing and urban Development and the Municipality Board Vide a letter dated 7th May 2021 to clarify on some of the issues raised by the committee. Hon. Speaker the two submitted as follows: That the Review of Busia Municipality ISUDP 2010-2030 to a midterm development plan (2020-2030) is a

culmination of the participatory efforts of technical teams from Busia Municipality Board, the County Government of Busia, the public and experts with knowledge in strategic planning. The 10 year (2020-2030) ISUDP shall guide land use development in the Municipality and shall be the basis for spatial distribution of land use activities, projects and programmes pursuant to the provisions of Section 20 of the Urban and Cities Act, (2011). Pursuant to the provisions of this section of the law, the reviewed the ISUDP 2020-2030 shall provide a clear framework that guides development and facilitate investment aimed at achieving expectations and needs of all the stakeholders for a period of 10 years in line with the national, county and local-level development objectives. The stakeholders include the citizens, Donors/Financers/Development Partners, Special Interest Groups (SIG), Business Community/ Private Sector, Professionals, Media, Political Class, Land owners, Civil society, The ISUDP besides outlining policies and proposals to guide how and where development will take place in the Municipality, it envisages a robust 24 hour regional commercial and logistical hub that has a well developed efficient and sustainable infrastructure and services to enhance quality of life for both inhabitants and visitors alike. The planning area the plan will cover is in the three (3) wards: Angorom, Burumba and Mayenje. The Plan addresses issues of sustainable urban development, economic investment provision of social and physical infrastructures, and modernization of agriculture. The committee went further and interrogated the municipality board to establish if the objectives captured in the ISUDP are achievable within the set timelines. The municipal board submitted that proposals will be achievable if they are accorded political good from the municipality, county and national government. Number two; it will also depend on availability of funds through donor support, Public Private Partnership (PPP), national government grants and improved revenue generation. They also gave us assurance that through availability of capable human resource through recruitment of skilled manpower, regular training and capacity building. Also clear institutional and governance structures outlining departmental mandate will also enhance the implementation of the plan, availability of Land through land acquisition, land pooling, developing a land revolving fund, Public-private partnerships on land, leasing of land and land banking. Finally full implementation and adherence to development control standards of the area. Hon. Speaker, the Committee observation Mr. Speaker Sir, having studied and analyzed the ISUDP and heard from the board and the executive, the committee observes as follows; The ISUDP 2020-2030 captures

the municipal of Busia plans in line with Section 36 of the Urban Areas and Cities Act, 2011 which mandates that cities and municipalities operate within the framework of integrated development planning. This is ideal for development and achievement of objectives of devolution, protection and promotion of fundamental rights and freedom and realization of socio-economic rights. Number two, the ISUDP 2020-2030 is essential for the preparation of other important plans such as of environmental management plans, valuation rolls for property taxation; Provision of physical/social infrastructure and transportation, Preparation of annual strategic plans for Municipality of Busia; Disaster preparedness and response; Overall delivery of service including provision of water, electricity, health, telecommunications and solid waste management; and The preparation of a geographic information system for the municipality; lastly the ISUDP 2020-2030 is aligned to best practices, legislations, policies and strategies approved at the county, national and global levels such as National Environment Policy, National water policy, National Land Use Policy, National Urban Development Policy (NUDP,) the Vision 2030, national housing policy, The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of 2015, The National Spatial Plan (2015-2045), The Big Four Agenda, Busia County Integrated Development Plan 2018-2022 etc. The ISUDP 2020-2030 need proper funding for it to be implemented.

Mr. Speaker Sir, having studied and analyzed the ISUDP and heard from the board and the executive, the committee observes as follows, that:

1. The Integrated Strategic Urban Development Plan (ISUDP) 2020-2030 captures the municipal of Busia plans in line with Section 36 of the Urban Areas and Cities Act, 2011 which demands that cities and municipalities operate within the framework of integrated development planning. This is ideal for development, achieving objects of devolution, protection and promotion of fundamental rights and freedom and realization of socio-economic rights.
2. The ISUDP 2020-2030 is essential for the preparation of other important plans such as of environmental management plans, valuation rolls for property taxation; Provision of physical/social infrastructure and transportation, Preparation of annual strategic plans for Municipality of Busia; Disaster preparedness and response; Overall delivery of service including provision of water, electricity, health, telecommunications and solid waste

management; and The preparation of a geographic information system for the municipality;

3. The ISUDP 2020-2030 is aligned to best practices, legislations, policies and strategies approved at the county, national and global levels such as National Environment Policy, National water policy, National Land Use Policy, National Urban Development Policy (NUDP,) the Vision 2030, national housing policy, The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of 2015, The National Spatial Plan (2015-2045), The Big Four Agenda, Busia County Integrated Development Plan 2018-2022 etc.
4. The ISUDP 2020-2030 needs proper funding for it to be implemented.

Those were the observations made by the committee. As I wind up, we have the committee recommendations. Mr. Speaker Sir, upon conclusion of hearing from the Executive and the Busia Municipality as well as close examining of the document, the Committee recommends that this Assembly approves the reviewed Municipality of Busia Integrated Strategic Urban Development Plan (ISUDP) 2020-2030 in line with the provisions of Standing Order 180 of Busia County Assembly Standing Orders. Hon. Speaker, I beseech this Hon. House to approve this vital document for purposes of our town's prosperity. These are the documents that the donors are relying upon in order to give us funding for the development of our town. This document will also give us sanity in terms of how to plan our town as to be able to attract investors. Thank you Mr. Speaker.

The Speaker: Thank you very much majority leader. Hon. Members, the report is now on the floor of the House. Any member with an issue? Second time any member with an issue? Hon. Julius

Hon. Otieng'i: Thank you Mr. Speaker. First of all I would like to take this opportunity to thank the committee for coming up with this good report. They have really tried their best but I will go straight to the Burumba area action plan. When you move to the second paragraph, it states clearly that the area is predominantly a resident and therefore zoning should be done.

The second paragraph, the advanced proposal is to maintain suitable proposed laws for all commercial buildings in the zone and alienate part of the ATC land for a business park. Mr.

Speaker that is a very good thing. That land has been lying there for very many years and with this I hope if they will realize then will move ahead. The only thing that I saw these people forgot is an issue of a polytechnique school to have it in the CBD.If that land can be left out for investors this county can reap more money in source of income which will enable this county to move ahead. Honorable Speaker, this institution is supposed to be moved from the CBD area to at least a further place so that that place can be left for the investors' thank you Mr. Speaker and I support the report.

The Speaker: Thank you. Any other comment? Honorable James Ongole.

Hon.Ongole: Thank you Mr. Speaker sir. I am on my feet to thank the committee for the good work they have done. I have just received this copy now and am seeing some good in it. I think this house needs to support this report if there is anything let it be captured in this report if implemented very well it means we are going to transform the face of Busia whereby we are attracting more investors to invest in Busia and make sure that our municipality grow to the future of our people. Thank you Mr. Speaker I support this report.

The Speaker: Thank you. Any other comment? If there is none I will put the question that this county assembly adopts the report of the Planning ,Trade ,Tourism, Cooperatives and industrialization committee on the Busia strategic Urban development plan 2020/2030 laid on the table of the county assembly of Tuesday 24th August 2021.May as many as of that opinion say Aye.

Members : Aye.

The Speaker: May as many of the contrary opinion say Nay.

Members: (Silence)

The Speaker: The Ayes have it .Therefore by the powers conferred upon me by the constitution this country, the standing orders and the county government act I hereby declare that this report has been duly adopted by this House. The report stands as a property of this county assembly and copies thereof may be obtained in the county assembly library. The report of the Planning, Trade ,Tourism, Cooperative and industrialization committee be forwarded to the county executive

member for Land, Housing and urban development and the county secretary for necessary action. That marks the end of the business today. Thank you the house is adjourned to tomorrow 9am.

Assembly rose at 4.00pm

APPENDIX H

SAMPLE TEXTS FROM THE BUSIA COUNTY ASSEMBLY

Text 1

Speaker: The petition is inadmissible and we do not have jurisdiction to listen to it. We now move to the statement...we have two. We start with the senior gentlemen Hon. Obuya and Hon. Abiud.

Text 2

Deputy Speaker(M): Mr. Speaker I want to appreciate that you were able to recognize me. I have been raising my hand but you know the Speaker is blind, but this time you have seen me.

Speaker(M): I thought it was business as usual, not unusual.

Deputy Speaker(M): You know the sultan is here but I don't want to declare myself as sultan. For the record I am AK. I want to thank the committee.

Text 3

Hon. AA(F): ...I for one am a Mkenye from Samia, I'm married to a royal family in Nambale. I am married to a royal family in Nambale. So as I stand here you are listening to a princess...

Speaker: Thank you. I am privileged.

Hon. AA(F): Mr. Speaker, I have settled in Matayos, that is where I have put up a small shelter so at times it is very difficult to place me: whether my ancestral home, do you place me where I have settled or do you place me...and I am making good inroads in Teso North (laughter)...you can place me in four subcounties...there are people who you cannot place anywhere (noises). Thank you.

Calls for Points of Order

Hon. AB(M): Mr. Speaker, is the member in order to say that some of us do not belong anywhere?

Speaker: Hon. AA kindly withdraw that last statement

Hon. AA: Which one sir?

Speaker: That last sentence. That there are members you cannot place in any one sub-county.

Hon. AA(F): Okay. I have withdrawn

Text 4

Hon. AC(F): I would like to congratulate the two committees for a job well done. Errors are there because of workload. Error is to human. I also have a cry over the youth, culture and social services. The amount given is very little...it's my cry we make the amendment. Thank you Mr. Speaker sir, that's my cry.

Text 5

Hon. AD (F): I stand to support it by mentioning its importance...it will help our youth and also in attaining Vision 2030. It will help the entire household of Busia County. I am sure that by 2030 wifi will be in every house. Even housewives will be learned. I want to say that there are our girls who are drop outs, these girls need to go to polytechnics or vocational training centers

Text 6

Hon. AE (M): Mr. Speaker, this is a house of facts...I stand on a motion that is property of the House...that is why we have to debate. We have no law that stipulates that if a member willingly withdraws, the whole motion in possession of the assembly is to be withdrawn Mr. Speaker. I am against. I am against the motion to be withdrawn. I wish you had asked the House to approve or withdraw the motion...Mr. Speaker Sir, allow me to say this: on that account we have no proof of withdrawal of those two. And I want that section to be quoted for a member to withdraw himself or herself (Raised voice). It is upon members to say Yes or No. I stand to oppose this motion.

Point of order

Hon. AF (M): I want to differ with AE...what the Speaker is trying to say AE is the way you are framing it...Mr. Speaker, we are not insane, we are stating facts...

Speaker(M): I agree with you . I accept you are a good speaker...

Text 7

Hon. AA(Female): *The Majority Leader is stating that some two members have withdrawn for lack of interest. So I am asking: how much interest is one supposed to have for him or her to agree to be a member of a committee? Is there a metre (laughter) that measures the interest? I would love to be given that metre...I want to be given an intrestometre (more laughter and noises in the background) like Hon. Kajwang's passionometer. I am an interested party because I was placed in a committee where I have no interest...I didn't know there was room to withdraw. If I had known I could have written a letter (applause)...your interest, I was looking for that word interest in our standing orders...whether it should guide placement, and that word is not there in the Standing Orders. I am in a committee that exists on paper but they are technically dead.*

Speaker: *Hon. AA. (laughter)...*

Hon. AA (Female): *I am sorry...but you are the Chair (laughter)..it is dead. But because I respect the committee I have decided....*

Speaker: *It's good you have said "technically dead, not "clinically dead".*

Hon. AA (Female): *Labor is not in the mandate given to the county governments but then we have a labor committee here and you wonder what the committee is supposed to do...and we struggle to find work to do. That is why when county workers are on strike they go to the DC's office. And when we appear there we look like the accused...we have a committee where Azida Ali was placed there, my interests were not considered.*

Text 8

Hon. AB(M): Passing this document as it is is equivalent to a felony. This document ought to be rejected.

Text 9

Hon. AG(M): *Thank you Mr. Speaker Sir. I want to inform this house that while we were in Kisumu in a retreat to propose some changes on any issues that had been raised, the Chairman planning ruled out inclusion of any changes until*

when the matter is addressed on the floor. So I am surprised if there's already a change and a page has been pulled out....

Text 10

Hon. AF(M): Mr. Speaker, the amount of eight million shillings was approved but unfortunately it was not uploaded at the other end. Mr. Speaker the just concluded games involved a deliberate embezzlement of funds Mr. Speaker. Seven buses were hired to ferry two hundred and forty people. The committee used three names for the same people for allowances and this denied others with talent a chance to represent us in the games. It is a shame to take people who cannot represent us, people with no talent.

Text 11

Hon. AA(F): ...I know! I know! (overlapping communication between her, the Speaker and other members). Assuming that we are taking your word. So that was a political statement. Now the figure has come back to 15 million from 47 million for the governor's house. What is the ultimate figure? I would like to know about the spatial plan. It is budgeted for yearly and removed; budgeted for and removed. What is so special about it? Can somebody tell us about this spatial plan for our county that we are unable to implement? Mr. Speaker the assembly building went up by 33 million shillings. What is the total cost? We seem not to know the total cost. There's the issue of 200 million but we only see 101 million We insist. Can the department clarify? There's 100 million hanging. I am concerned. Even for a family budget some items are fixed. There is no room for bargaining something like rent, fees, water- they are fixed What did the committee think by reducing medical insurance? What is the impact of this on the family? For bursaries it is reduced by 15 million. What informs this? Of note is the reduction of 20 million for drugs; if anything we should think of increasing it. (Attempted interruptions from other members, she ignores their points of order)

Speaker: Honorable AA, you know you are discussing Supplementary budget

(Turn too close, almost overlapping)

Hon. AA(F): Yes! (Raised voice)

Text 12

Hon. AU(F): I am honorable Beatrice Kanoti Phenny representing Bwiri Ward. (Speaking hesitantly and clearly breathing heavily and audibly as to be heard over the public address system) Mr. Speaker Sir I congratulate the committee for their amendments but it is unfortunate that the amendments I personally submitted to the committee have not been captured. I have several projects some on-going. The contractors are on sight and have been given LPOs. I want to urge this house that if you want his excellency the governor to leave a legacy behind let us help him in the right way because we cannot be starting new projects yet we have existing projects that are incomplete. (Now speaks with a clear voice and the breathing is regular and so cannot be heard) I have a borehole in my area. I have been fighting for it since the 2017/2018 budget and 2018/2019 budget but it is unfortunate it has been left out. There is also a request for a maternity in my ward. The budget committee have not captured it. Same for Hakati Dispensary but not captured. The market in my ward was allocated 3 million but I only saw 2.5 million I talked to the department who wanted the figure enhanced but the committee has not done so. (The member goes on to list projects in her area that had been planned for but removed from the supplementary budget by the committee)

Text 13

Hon. AH(F): Mr. Speaker I thank the committee for the budget because projects in my ward have been incorporated.

Text 14

Hon. AA(F): Mr. Speaker, I have settled in Matayos, that is where I have put up a small shelter so at times it is very difficult to place me: whether my ancestral home, do you place me where I have settled or do you place me...and I am making good inroads in Teso North (laughter)...you can place me in four subcounties...there are people who you cannot place anywhere (noises). Thank you.

Calls for Points of Order

Hon. AB(M): Mr. Speaker, is the member in order to say that some of us do not belong anywhere?

Text 15

Hon. AD (F): I am happy that every department has been given a lot of money...I am sure that a few of us are going to come back. I will come back (noises)

Speaker: Hon. AB, what is your point of order?

Hon. AB(M): Is Mheshimiwa Olita in order to say “only a few?” Let her withdraw that statement. We will all come back. Let her withdraw that statement.

Text 16

Hon. AM(M): Bwana Speaker, mimi huwa nakupatia heshima kubwa sana. Wakati ambao kiongozi wa wachache katika bunge hili letu aliamka kujieleza na ukaanza kuwa na wasiwasi....

Text 17

Acting Speaker Hon. AV(F): Yes honorable AW.

Hon. AW(M): Madam Speaker, this is a house of order and procedure. We are on item 5. Madam Speaker the Chairs who have been on the floor have been on item 6- Notice of motion. They are not on item 5.

Acting Speaker Hon. AV(F): Honorable AW, they have been laying the paper. We are in Order number 5.

Hon. AW(M): They are in Order number 6 Madam Speaker.

Acting Speaker Hon. AV(F): They have used the words “To lay the paper.” Can you kindly re phrase using the words “laying the paper” and see how it comes out. Those are the procedural statements that a Chair can say.

Hon. AW(M): Then it is okay.

Acting Speaker Hon. AV(F): Just come up...try using an example of agriculture and we'll see the difference between yours and the others.

Text 18

Hon. Nancy(F): Thank you. Thank you honorable Casper Juma.

Text 19

Speaker: Yes Honorable AW.

Hon. AW(M): Thank you Madam Speaker. I am honorable Casper Juma representing Bunyala South Ward. I am also the Chair of the House Broadcasting, Library and Research Committee. ...

Text 20

Hon. AE(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I am honorable AE, Chair Justice and Legal Affairs Committee.

Hon. AT(M): I am Honorable AT representing Bukhayo Central Ward. I also double up as the powerful chair of Public Works Committee (Laughter From the other members present).

Text 21

Speaker: Honorable AC. Oh! Sorry, Chair Health.

Hon. AC(F): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I thank the Implementation Committee for the report they have presented in the house. We have community health workers at the grassroots level. They do a good job, they give us the right statistics on what is on the ground. We need enough equipment and drugs like panadol and anti malarials. Mr. Speaker, we were told that the maternity wing is non-operational. When a woman like me goes to deliver and unfortunately complications arise, what happens yet I have no money to go to the Aga Khan Hospital?

Text 22

Hon. AN(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker Sir. I am Honorable AN representing Burumba Ward, a member of the Orange Democratic Movement Party. ...

Text 23

Hon. AZ(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I represent the people. I don't support the bill.

Text 24

Hon. AY(F): Mimi ni mjumbe mteule na nataka kuzungumzia jambo hili kwa lugha ya taifa. Na mimi kama mjumbe wa Orange Democratic Movement nalikataa. Namjulisha mwenyekiti mheshimiwa AE kwamba hakuna mahali nimeitwa nisimame na chama. Hili ni wazo langu pekeyangu.

Text 25

Hon. AM(M): Bwana Speaker, mimi huwa nakupatia heshima kubwa sana. Wakati ambao kiongozi wa wachache katika bunge hili letu aliamka kujieleza na ukaanza kuwa na wasiwasi, hata ulikuwa ushapeana wazo kulingana na vile mheshimiwa Obwogo alikuwa amependekeza, kuwa wapewe wiki mbili, wengine wetu. Bwana Spika hatujawahi tumwa na mtu. Tulitumwa na wananchi wa Busia tuwawakilishe kikamilifu. Wakati mheshimiwa Luyemba alikuwa anatoa dosari ya nakala hiyo, mbili, tatu, sisi hatukukuwa wajinga.

Text 26

In an exchange with the Speaker of the House, the following was said:

Hon. AH(F): Now that I am on the floor, can I continue?

Speaker(M): No! No! let me get something. You are a member of the committee...it ought to be 100% not 107%.

Hon. AH (F): It's not 100% because of the faulty information we have here.

Speaker (M): But now after the amendment, will it be 100%?

Hon. AH(F): Yes sir! (With a rising intonation)

Text 27

Hon. AP(F): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I am Honorable AP a nominated member ANC party. I have a question for you sir: whether I can use my notes to air my concerns (laughter) and observations. I am a member of the education committee. I wonder whether the accounts have balanced. Some pages are printed up side down- leaves a

lot to be desired. There should be equitable distribution of resources (laughter). I beg to reject this document.

Text 28

Hon. Majority Leader(M): is the honorable member in order to mislead this house that the CEC finance gave them a reason that they could not collect revenue due to the political atmosphere? The committee itself did not indicate this anywhere.

Text 29

Hon. AQ(M): With due respect the committee interrogated the director of revenue. I urge honorable members to reject this report

Speaker: Debate is closed. Point of order...

Hon. AE(M): Mr. Speaker....

Speaker: No honorable AE. You nominated honorable AQ to speak for you. What is your point of order?

Hon. AQ(M): Mr. Speaker we are all equals. This is a house of democracy. There is no reason why one person should be allowed to overrule your decisions by participating in discussions when you as chair have already closed. Mr. Speaker, the same same democracy follows rules....

Speaker: Standing Order 1 gives me latitude.

Hon. AE(M): And I agree with Standing Order 1. We accommodate divergent views. I beg this house, let us support this report. On the second report these issues will be addressed. And I know honorable AQ has that thing about his document failing yesterday. (Noises)

Speaker: Hon. AE withdraw that statement and apologize. Honorable Jakaa I am directing you. (Hon Jakaa makes for his chair) No! No! No! Honorable AE, withdraw and apologize.

Hon. AE(M): I withdraw Mr. Speaker.

Text 30

Hon. AR(F): I thank members of the committee who have in their wisdom paid attention to all matters of education. I am chair education committee. Money has been set aside and allocated so we shall employ teachers, have books and money for making necessary laws for education is there. In education, some matters cannot move in an isolated manner; there must be books. Children are there already. I thank the committee for it has seen that education is vital for this county.

Text 31

Hon. AN(M): as a county government we have nothing to smile about. But moving forward we can get grants. I happen to be in the Health Committee and I have toured the health facilities. A lot needs to be done Mr. Speaker and I want to beseech the Budget Committee, I know our brother, our very own honorable Asiba who happens to be the governor's political advisor...no wonder the governor has been winning.

Text 32

Hon. AS(M): Thank you. That is the greatness of this house that I am talking about. Pointing out mistakes where they are and amending them. Thank you so much brother Kokonya. I appreciate. This house has matured. Every other mistake is corrected on time. Thank you so much brother.

Hon. AN(M): I want to urge my very good friend mheshimiwa AG, you have consulted enough (laughter).

Hon. AG(M): I would like to express my pleasure with the efforts we put together as a house and reached a consensus...and I am here to very much support the passing of this report. Personally I am very proud.

Text 33

Hon. AA(F): I would wish that we spend some time to interrogate the document as you have said. It is a document that will guide the government on what they can do and

what they cannot do. It is a roadmap for the financial year. We should put in a lot of thinking and dedication. Mr. Speaker I have noted that the committee is looking for an increase in local revenue to the tune of 50 million. 50 million is not small money. Mr. Speaker I have noted that we have budgeted for the Kenya Revenue Authority 110 million shillings as penalties. We should not be budgeting for penalties Mr. Speaker. We should be asking ourselves what brought this about. It would have been used for something else. What occasioned this? The government should be answerable for that.

Text 34

“The penalties are because of the per-diem that you earn but are unaccounted for and therefore not taxed.”

Text 35

Those are the explanations we need. I don't defend something blindly Mr. Speaker. Mr. Speaker the Agriculture support program has not specified the kind of money they would wish to have to implement their program. To me, this reminds me of a support program I initiated and the money was not released. The Controller of Budget said that it had to be itemized, not an open cheque. Those programs not specified are making it difficult for the oversight committee to follow up because they have vaguely said “support program.” During oversight, what exactly will the committee be looking at?

Text 36

The Speaker: You know members, I would have said some things but the members of the fourth estate are here. But I also understand and that is why I am saying this report will still come back here. But I want to pronounce the legal position. I am going to consult the appointing authority on what is reported. That's why I made the second statement that this report still remains on the floor of this assembly. (Loud consultations)

Honorable members let us understand each other. I am pronouncing that this report is still on the floor of this house. You have not yet voted on it. I am also going to consult the appointing authority on the issue of time. (Loud consultations)

Text 37

Hon. AE (M): I am an honorable member who is embarrassed. Up to today midday I did not know we have a special session to deliberate on the document before this house and approve it. I stand here on behalf of 30,000 people who elected me. I find it very hard Mr. Speaker. I received this document 20 minutes ago. I have just perused it and I realize there are a lot of things to correct. I have been in the system and I know it is very hard to approve this document as it is. I would wish Mr. Speaker as an honorable member has mentioned – give us time so that if issues arise we can discuss with committee. And for the whole house, let us not be remote controlled by the executive. Thank you. I support Honorable Toloi that we be given time.

Speaker: Thank you very much Honorable AE.

Majority Leader (M): It is good Mr. Speaker that we grant them time until tomorrow at nine. Thank you.

Text 38

Hon. AG(M): Thank you very much Mr. Speaker. I am honorable Kokonya David representing Malaba South Ward. Mr. Speaker we seem to be achieving two different intentions here. Member i want to say that from the Speaker's statement if we put the question to postpone because of the legal circumstances awaiting this motion, it will go through without needing us. What we resolved is that there are gaps. There are gaps; there are issues in the report that do not mandate us to pass the report. We would have passed the report but because of those two matters; that the person who is supposed to be the secretary- as read by our representative – has no proof that he meets the minimum requirements. There is also the issue of us approving members who are still serving as public officers. If by adjourning for two weeks will create the gap for the approval of the names we are saying let us deliberate and vote for the report.
(Applause)

Text 39

Hon. AH(F): We are not here just to be approving budget, they come with supplementary. It is high time we stood firm and fulfill our role and check on the

executive because I suspect this money is going to benefit a few as usual...this house must exercise the unusual...lets not work under pressure.

Text 40

Hon. AH(F): ...I am told from rumors that if you want to hide money in Busia County there are two departments you can use smartly: ICT and Finance and Agriculture...these two departments have been awarded 618 million. The health sector has over 1,060 staff and have been allocated a figure slightly higher than this for employee compensation. My question is this: who are these being paid this money in ICT department? We have only been given a figure here. I don't know who these are.

Point of order

Text 41

Hon AI(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker. I want to thank the Budget Committee for a job well done. I stand to support the document as it is. Even if there are errors in the budget, let us accept the budget as it is and move on. Let us accept it with amendments.

Hon. AB(M): passing this document as it is is equivalent to a felony. This document ought to be rejected and taken back to the committee....

Text 42

Hon. AA(F): I want to know whether any sub county was consulted for me to be placed where I am. Was any sub county consulted? (Applause)

Speaker: I do not know.

Hon. AA(F): The fact that we come from the same sub county does not mean that we are friends. (applause)

Text 43

Hon. AA: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I do not take this opportunity for granted. I would love to share a few observations that I have made. But I would love to start by congratulating the team for having brought us to where we are. It takes a lot of effort

and commitment to come up with such a document and on that note I would like to congratulate them.

Text 44

Hon. AE(M): Mr Speaker, I was just trying to pump some sense...

Speaker(M): Hon. AE, withdraw the words “pump some sense.”

Hon. AE(M): Mr. Speaker, I withdraw. Let the member know that revenue was low because of campaigns. At that time the parliament was dissolved...(raised voice above expected levels) Mr. Speaker let us not reject for the sake of rejecting. I support the document 100%. Mr. Speaker we have actually reported the true position and I want to beseech the Majority Leader. We hope there will be some changes as we come to the 2nd and 3rd quarters but the biggest problem the county government must up their game through the department to ensure they bring current report. But the issues may come back...those in charge of those subcounties are the same same officers. We indicated that as a committee, we ever advised the Minister of Finance to swap these officers...(shouts from the back).

Speaker: Point of order Hon. AG.

Hon. AG(M): Mr. Speaker, is the member contributing in order to mislead this house by giving recommendations not on this paper?

(At this point Hon. AE continues to speak despite attempts at intervention by the speaker of the house. It is impossible to follow who is saying what since there are multiple voices attempting to outdo one another. Hon. Jakaa “forces” his speaking turn to proceed. There’s continuous engagement with several other speakers challenging the position put forward by the Chair of Finance Committee).

Text 45

Hon. AH(F): Mr Speaker, I thank the committee for the budget because projects in my ward have been incorporated. But I am hoping they will not be left out because

sometimes operations in this county are sometimes wanting...Mr. Speaker if someone asks you for 300,000 and you give them 15 million because it has a signature from the governor- money that the department is not ready to account for especially on how previously allocated funds were used...there's a letter from the governor, well signed. But Mr. Speaker we are doubting its origin. It should be investigated further. Mr. Speaker, there is an annex here from an engineer. Engineers give BQs. We want this house to give us BQs, not informal documents. I am worried this document is not valid because it is not signed anywhere. I don't know this engineer. I don't know how it got to this document. (Raising her voice beyond the expected level since there are noises from other sections of the house) Lastly I want to talk about trailer park. Awarding was done. It was allocated 30 million. LPO has been issued to contractor and sight has been handed over. But the committee just decides to remove the whole amount and say the project is ongoing. How are they going to pay the contractor?

Text 46

Hon. AT(M): I am Honorable AT representing Bukhayo Central Ward. I also double up as the powerful chair of Public Works Committee (Laughter From the other members present). Mr. Speaker there is the issue of the three bridges costing 15 million. How is it that bridges far apart, one up in hilly areas and another in low lands have near similar BQs and costs? I think this was a wrong introduction from the committee. I propose that money for repair of graders, bulldozers and lorries be enhanced so that they can serve the whole county. Let the figure of 25 million for public works be enhanced by 15 million to 40 million then I will support the document.

Text 47

Speaker: honorable Leader of Majority, you are making so much noise I can't even concentrate.

Text 48

Hon. AB(M): Passing this document as it is is equivalent to a felony. This document ought to be rejected, taken back to committee...the executive should up their game. We are going to squander money meant for development instead of developing Busia. It is

disappointing that Honorable AZ after citing various gaps in this document ends up supporting it. That is quite unbelievable. I beg to reject this document totally.

Text 49

Hon. AK(M): thank you Mr. Speaker. I was keenly listening to names of people you mentioned who made this document. Unfortunately I did not hear you mention the Majority Leader and the Deputy Minority leader. You know I sit in that committee by virtue of being a leader.

Hon. AE(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker. Is it in order for the member to mislead the house that he participated in the committee? I have read the document and I do not see his name anywhere. Honorable AP has signed.

Speaker: Honorable AE, participation is wide. Perhaps he appeared before the committee. He does not have to be a signatory. He has not said he is a signatory, he said he participated. Honorable Liyemba, please proceed.

Text 50

Hon. AK(M): Thank you Mr. Speaker for protecting me. I want to tell honorable AE that although I went to the same school with him, let him know I was one of the best English students in that school we went to (laughter)

Text 51

Hon. AM: Bwana Speaker, mimi huwa nakupatia heshima kubwa sana. Wakati ambao kiongozi wa wachache katika bunge hili letu aliamka kujieleza na ukaanza kuwa na wasiwasi, hata ulikuwa ushapeana wazo kulingana na vile mheshimiwa Obwogo alikuwa amependekeza, kuwa wapewe wiki mbili, wengine wetu. Bwana Spika hatujawahi tumwa na mtu. Tulitumwa na wananchi wa Busia tuwawakilishe kikamilifu. Wakati mheshimiwa Luyemba alikuwa anatoa dosari ya nakala hiyo, mbili, tatu, sisi hatukukuwa wajinga. Waheshimiwa wa kaunti ya Busia waliketi kwa kauli moja na kusemezana na kusema kwamba kutokana na dosari hizo, tukipitisha hawa watu, itakuwa ni aibu kwa watu waliotutuma mahali hapa kwa sababu hatuzingatii sheria. Ndiposa tukasema Bwana Spika kwamba pendekezo lako la wiki mbili ambalo Mheshimiwa Obwogo aliwakilisha mahali hapa, kulingana na sheria, litampa Bwana Gavana fursa ya kuendelea. Ndio maana tunasema kwamba utukubalie Bwana Spika

tumalizane na nakala hii wakati huu ili ikiwa wanaenda nyumbani, tunaiangusha wanaenda. Hatuoni ubaya mkirudia hii kitu mara ya pili. Mbona wanatuambia siku saba? Hizo siku saba ni za nini tena? Mimi naomba Bwana Spika; tupatie nafasi wakati huu tuwakilishe wajibu wetu tuliotumwa kufanya na wananchi (Applause). Tumekuwa marafiki sana tukitembea na serikali hii ya ugatuzi wa Busia, lakini mambo ambayo yako pale chini! Hamwezi kaa miezi sita lakini kwa muda huo hakuna kitu ambacho kimefanyika kinachohusu mwananchi wa kawaida na ikifika wakati wa uajiri wa watu, mnatuletea sisi tuajiri watu. Wananchi wanaumia pale mashinani. Bwana spika wewe pahali ulipokaa, unaona ni vizuri kweli? Waheshimiwa tukianza kuongea mambo haya, unaona kwamba sisi si marafiki zako. Bwana Spika mimi ni rafiki yako lakini kama sheria iko, lazima tuheshimu sheria. Wewe ni mwanasheria Bwana Spika. Sisi wengine hatujapata fursa ya kusomea sheria. Tafadhali tuelekeze kulingana na sheria katika kaunti hii ya Busia. Kubali tu, dakika hii, wakati huu, tumalizane na hiyo nakala na iende. Tumalizane na hiyo maneno. Asante kunisikiliza. (Applause)

Text 52

Point of order

The Speaker: Hon. AG

Hon. AG(M): Mr. Speaker, we are not superior to the law. This House is not superior to the law. Our decisions here cannot override the law. The law overrides us. The law allows someone to proceed with a decision that we will have declined to make. Therefore, let's not adjourn. Let's make a decision Mr. Speaker. (Applause)

The Speaker: Honorable AN

Hon. AN(M): Thank you Hon. Speaker for giving me the latitude to contribute on this. I want to start by quickly supporting what my colleagues have said. It's a fact and I don't want to be misquoted. Hon. Speaker as you consult, I want to say that I do respect you so much as the speaker of this Hon. House who is supposed to offer guidance. Not just guidance but sincere and honest guidance. Mr. Speaker, when you were advising this Hon. House that we've got two options, adjourning or withdrawing this document, one, you said, this is a statutory document that has got legal ramifications and if we approve it or not, the appointing authority has got powers to go ahead and approve it. By the honorable House accepting and proposing that we adjourn for a certain period

of time, it was for the goodwill and benefit of the appointing authority. I don't know what has happened. After consulting with the deputy speaker for two minutes, you want to override the law that you were quoting that now we can adjourn for 14 days.

I do respect you so much as a Speaker in this honorable house who is supposed to offer guidance .What guidance can you accord us kindly honorable speaker? I am a good listener, when you are advising this honorable house that the report has two phases by adjourning or withdrawing this document. One, and I stand to be corrected you said this is a statutory document that has legal implications if we approve it or we do not approve it the appointing authority has got powers to go ahead and approve it. Honorable Speaker by the honorable house accepting and proposing that we adjourn for a certain period of time it was for the good will and of health and benefit to the appointing committee. Honorable Speaker I don't know what kind of miracles has happened within a short time after consulting with the deputy Speaker that has overridden the law that you were quoting Mr. Speaker and with due respect that now we can adjourn for 14 days .I want to say honorable members that let us be sincere and honest in decisions that we make and history will guide us harshly. We are not witch hunting we have got no personal vendetta over the nominees that are in this report but what we are asking ourselves is the procedure and legality that was used to ensure that we discuss what is important here and we ask and answer questions without biting your fingers .Honorable Speaker with due respect I want to beseech honorable members that let us debate this report and come up with a decision that we feel is so fit for this county. Thank you so much.

Text 53

Hon. AO(M): I am honorable AO representing the great people of Malaba Ward.

Text 54

Hon. AX(M): Mr Speaker, I am happy to have listened to the mover of this motion Honorable AE. He is an independent member like myself. Honorable Maskini represents Chakol South Ward.