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Framing Strategies in Raila Odinga and William Ruto's 2022 Campaign Speeches' Multimodal Message Frames

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Abstract
This study examined the framing strategies used to construct message frames in the 2022 presidential campaign speeches of Raila Odinga and William Ruto. It was guided by Gamson Modigliani's Framing Theory. The population of this study was the 2022 campaign speeches of Raila Odinga and William Ruto that were broadcast by Citizen Television, NTV, or KTN between January 2021 and 9th August 2022. The study purposively selected 3 televised campaign speeches for each presidential candidate from January to August 9, 2022. In preparation for data analysis, coding was carried out on the literature review: Substantive positive frames, Substantive offensive frames (positive), Negative frames, defensive frames (type of negative frames), and Process frames (personality frames). After coding, the analysis drew on relevant literature on framing strategies, informed by Gamson and Modigliani's Framing Theory. The study found that both Raila Odinga and William Ruto employed a wide variety of framing strategies in constructing their political campaign message frames. It also concludes that these presidential candidates did not always use equal numbers and types of political framing strategies across all campaigns held in various parts of the country. This study recommends a comparative study to determine which substantive and process frames were used more during Kenya's 2022 general elections. The study is significant because it will help research scholars, politicians, and political communication professionals better understand the framing strategies behind political message framing in African presidential campaign speeches.

Key words: Campaign speeches, framing strategies, message frames, negative framing, substantive positive framing.

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INTRODUCTION

This study examined the framing strategies used to construct message frames in the 2022 presidential campaign speeches of Raila Odinga and William Ruto. Raila Odinga and William Ruto came together with other regional leaders – Musalia Mudavadi, Najib Balala, Joseph Nyaka after the "No" vote in the 2005 constitutional referendum to form a coalition known as "Pentagon", a name describing the number of leaders and regions represented. The coalition of members was solidified after leaders of LDP, KANU, and other groups who felt threatened by the newly formed Narc-Kenya party, formed in 2006 by members of the original National Rainbow Coalition (NARC)who were loyal to President Mwai Kibaki, following the defeat of a government-sponsored draft, joined them. During the 2007 election, the party was named after the orange symbol that represented the no vote in the 2005 constitutional referendum.

During the 2007 election, William Ruto was a key person in the campaign for Raila Odinga's bid for presidency. He also stood out as the person who played a significant role in defending Raila's claimed victory. Though Raila Odinga picked him to join the cabinet in the Grand Coalition Government, after the Mau Forest eviction of the members of the Kalenjin community that was spearheaded by Odinga, Ruto parted ways with him. He later teamed up with Uhuru Kenyatta and supported him for both the 2013 and 2017 presidential bids.

A major realignment following the 2018 "handshake" between Raila Odinga and President Uhuru Kenyatta systematically isolated Ruto from the government, creating a political rift between Ruto and Kenyatta (Ochieng, 2020). Ochieng observed that by 2020, Kenyatta had moved away from his promise to support Ruto for the 2022 presidential bid, accusing him of spreading lies and not supporting his political agenda. Uhuru Kenyatta then went on to support Raila Odinga for the 2022 presidential bid. William Ruto framed Kenyatta and Odinga ganging up together in the 2022 presidential election as a contest between hustlers and dynasties. The result was two major competing groups (Azimio and Kenya Kwanza Coalition) in the 2022 presidential contest, which dominated media coverage and broadcasts (Lynch, 2023). Odinga and Ruto were the frontline 2022 presidential candidates who commanded large crowds at their campaign rallies and had the financial muscle to sustain a rigorous, tight campaign schedule. These candidates were also strong speakers and skilled coalition builders.

In the run-up to the 2022 presidential election in Kenya, Raila Odinga and William Ruto used a variety of political framing strategies to shape their political messages. These framing strategies include positive substantive framing, offensive substantive frames (a type of positive frames), negative substantive framing, and defensive frames (a type of negative frames). Politicians adopt positive framing when they promise voters to correct inadequacies in their opponents' policies, assure them that reforms will be effective, and focus on their strengths. Politicians use negative framing when they point out the dangers in their opponents' policies while staying silent about the advantages of their own campaigns, and when they counter opponents' attacks on their message framing.

Several framing strategy studies have been conducted globally. Ricker (2006) studied framing strategies used by Federalists and Anti-Federalists during the ratification of the US Constitution in 1787/1788. Hanggli and Kriesi (2008) examined the impact of political framing in Swiss direct-democratic elections. Abdulla (2022) studied the framing strategies Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton used to construct their speeches' message frames, while Sahly et al. (2019) examined the framing strategies Trump and Clinton used on Facebook and Twitter (currently X).

However, framing research in Africa remains insufficient. Where framing strategy studies have been conducted, they seem to focus on only a few framing strategies and construct a limited number of message frames. For example, Tawiah (2025), while studying 2024 framing by a presidential candidate in Ghana, focused on substantive framing strategies in constructing economic and education message frames on Facebook, Instagram, and X (formerly Twitter).

Although Adebesi (2026) examined political framing studies on political parties in Nigeria and found the use of negative and substantive positive message-framing strategies in constructing political message frames, the variety of political message frames examined was still limited. Adebesi examined reformist message frames constructed through a substantive framing strategy and divisive identity message frames constructed through a negative framing strategy.

In the rest of Africa, political framing studies in Kenya remain insufficient. Ochieng (2022) examined media framing of devolution in Kenya, revealing the use of episodic frames (media frames focusing on a particular incident), thematic frames (substantive frames), and positive and negative frames. However, the studies focused on stories in the Daily Nation and The Standard, not political speeches by political actors. Therefore, this study fills this gap by examining the framing strategies used to construct message frames. It examines framing strategies in the 2022 presidential campaign speeches of Raila Odinga and William Ruto.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Political message framing strategies, often designed to match voters' predispositions, are strategic decisions about which aspect of an issue to emphasise and which to ignore. These framing strategies include positive message framing, offensive message framing, negative message framing, defensive message framing, and process message framing.

Positive message framing is a type of framing in which politicians promise to correct inadequacies in their opponents' policies and seek to assure voters that reforms will be effective. Offensive strategic framing is another type of positive framing in which politicians focus on issues in which they have an advantage (Riker, 2006). Riker (1996) added that politicians are said to employ an offensive framing strategy when all politicians on both sides of a political contest focus on a common set of issues that are highly salient to the public (Sides, 2006).

Negative message framing involves politicians pointing out the dangers in their opponents' policies while remaining silent on the advantages of their own campaigns. Defensive message framing is a type of framing used by politicians when their opponents' framing is successful or when they anticipate that their opponents' frames will be successful (Hänggli & Kriesi, 2008).

Politicians are said to use process message framing when they focus on the political process and on political actors or the contest (examples include strategic frames devoid of issues, horse race frames, conflict frames, and personalised frames). As they frame their messages, politicians may focus on process message framing or thematic message framing (the substantive content of the debate, policy debates, or the broader context of an issue). As observed in studies of the impact of political framing on the media in Swiss direct democratic elections, politicians can focus on the process or the substantive content of the debate (Hänggli & Kriesi, 2008). Hänggli and Kriesi added that political actors, having decided whether to focus on the process or the substantive content of the debate, also have to choose whether to adopt one or a combination of these strategies: positive message framing, negative message framing, a combination of both positive and negative message framing, offensive message framing (a type of positive frame), and defensive message framing (a type of negative frame). These observations by Hänggli and Kriesi support the findings of this research, as it was found that both Odinga and Ruto employed both process message framing and thematic message framing. However, unlike Kenya's 2022 presidential election, where process frames known as personality message frames were employed, the Swiss campaign used no personality message frames because the campaigns focused on asylum law rather than on persons contesting for elective office, as in Kenya.

Politicians may adopt positive framing strategies when they want to promise voters they will correct inadequacies in their opponents' policies and assure them that reforms will be effective. Politicians may employ negative framing strategies when they point out the danger in their opponents' policies while remaining silent on the advantages of their own policies. Negative framing can also be used to prompt the uninvolved to consider the choices, to encourage the serious but uninvolved to vote against the risks of competitors' proposals or programmes, and to move the undecided. Riker (1996), in his study of the Federalist versus Anti-Federalist during ratification of the US Constitution in 1787/1788, observed that political actors on both sides used negative frames because voters often try to avoid risks.

Riker added that they often use frames that point out dangers in their competitors' programmes or proposals. Riker further observed that political actors sometimes use framing that includes both negative and positive elements, such as when pro-reform actors try to shift the position of a group that defends the status quo. Politicians often use positive and negative framing to expose the status quo's inadequacies, propose corrections, and argue that the proposed changes will be effective (Riker, 1996). Riker (1996) also argued that status quo

members always frame reforms negatively, portraying them as dangerous, futile, and perverse. According to him, status quo (SQ) members include members of the public, civil servants, and the private sector who defend the status quo.

According to the Swiss study mentioned earlier, politicians use defensive framing strategies (a type of negative frame) in response to opponents' successful frames or in anticipation of opponents' use of successful frames (Hänggli & Kriesi, 2008). Hänggli and Kriesi (2008) observed that politicians often develop counterframes when their opponents' framing is successful. Hänggli and Kriesi added that politicians can choose one or several substantive frames (frames focusing on political issues) that steer media and public attention to their own cause and away from their opponents' cause. Although the Swiss context differed from this study's context, similar framing strategies emerged. Therefore, the observations about framing strategies in the Swiss studies support this study's findings.

In addition to defensive frames, politicians also use offensive frames. Riker (1996) argued that politicians may choose offensive strategies by focusing on the issues they have an advantage in; by ignoring an issue that the other side has an advantage in; and by seeking, together with their opponents, new and advantageous issues to focus on because their opponents and they do not have an advantage over any issue. Sides (2006), in his study of how House and Senate candidates in the 1998 election in the US chose their campaign issues, added that when politicians choose to focus, together with their opponents, on a common set of issues which are highly salient to the public–they are said to be using a type of offensive strategy. This observation supports the study's findings because it found that both Odinga and Ruto employed offensive and defensive framing strategies in similar ways.

Trump and Clinton have employed several of these framing strategies in recent years, as observed in studies by Abdulla (2022) and Sahly et al. (2019). Abdulla (2022) studied the framing strategies Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton used to construct their speeches' message frames and found that they employed positive and negative message frames. Although this study informed this research, it was limited in the number of framing strategies examined, as it focused only on positive and negative frames. Abdulla did not examine a variety of process frames that were examined in this study. Similarly, Sahly et al. (2019) examined framing strategies used by Trump and Clinton on Facebook and Twitter (currently X). They found that they used conflict frames, negative emotional frames, and positive emotional frames, leaving out most of the framing strategies examined in this study.

Apart from the Swiss study and US studies reviewed earlier, other framing strategy literature from Africa was reviewed. It was observed that these studies seem to focus only on a few framing strategies for constructing a limited number of message frames. For example, Tawiah (2025), while studying 2024 framing by a presidential candidate in Ghana, focused on substantive framing strategies in constructing economic and education message frames on Facebook, Instagram, and X (formerly Twitter). Therefore, this study informs this research only insofar as substantive framing strategies are used to construct economic and education message frames.

Political framing studies on political parties in Nigeria conducted by Adebesi (2026) reveal the use of negative and substantive positive message framing strategies in constructing political message frames. However, the study was limited in the variety of political message frames that were examined. Adebesi examined reformist message frames constructed through substantive framing strategy and divisive identity message frames constructed through negative framing strategy. This study informed this study only insofar as it used substantive framing strategy to construct a reformist message frame. A variety of other framing strategies have not been examined by Adebesi (2026).

Several other studies in Kenya use the framing label. Still, after closer observation, they do not fall under framing strategy research because of the theories and analytical methodologies that were employed. For example, Ndiinee's (2026) research entitled "Framing Political Persuasion: Discourse Analysis of Peter Obi's 2022 Presidential Campaign Messages on YouTube" appears to be framing research. However, he employed Entman's strand of framing theory as a guiding framework, along with Fairclough and van Dijk's analytical models, to examine the persuasive frames and discursive strategies Peter Obi used to influence voters.

There seems to be little framing strategy research that has been carried out in Kenya. Ochieng (2022) studied media framing of devolution in Kenya and found episodic frames (media frames focusing on particular incidents), thematic frames (substantive frames), and positive and negative frames. However, the studies examined stories in the Daily Nation and The Standard, not political speeches by political actors. Therefore, this study fills this gap by examining the framing strategies used to construct message frames. It also examines framing strategies in the 2022 presidential campaign speeches of Raila Odinga and William Ruto.

METHODOLOGY

This study is guided by Gamson and Modigliani's, (1989) framing theory. According to Gamson and Modigliani (1989), political message frames are strategic interpretations designed to influence how audiences understand issues, often categorised by their focus on public interest. Gamson and Modigliani's strand of framing theory also proposed a method of data analysis known as "interpretive packages. The packages are composed of five framing devices: metaphors, words, rhetorical exemplars (i.e., historical examples from which lessons are drawn), catchphrases, depictions, visual images (e.g., icons) and three reasoning devices are (1) roots (i.e., a causal analysis), (2) consequences (i.e., a particular type of effect), and (3) appeals to principle (i.e., a set of moral claims). This study used these interpretive packages to analyse political message frames.

The population of this study was the 2022 campaign speeches of Raila Odinga and William Ruto that were broadcast by either Citizen Television, NTV, or KTN between January 2021 and 9th August 2022. According to Wimmer and Dominick (2011), a population is the entire group of subjects or objects about which the researcher seeks to ascertain specific information. The study purposively selected 3 televised political campaign speeches for each presidential candidate from January 2021 to August 9, 2022. The speeches were selected because they captured a variety of political framing strategies and were delivered in regions where the two presidential candidates concentrated their campaigns; these were considered battleground counties, so the candidates were more focused on their framing strategies.

The speeches also revealed various framing strategies that presidential candidates use to construct political message frames to persuade voters. Specific sample size recommendations from the literature were not an option for selecting the speeches because most of the sample size recommendations are from approaches such as Case Study, Narrative Inquiry, Ethnography, Phenomenology, and Grounded Theory (Aldiabat and Navenec, 2018)– approaches that do not fit well with discourse constructionist approaches such as framing (for example, this study) and critical discourse analysis. From the researcher's judgement, 3 speeches were sufficient for this study.

The researcher downloaded recordings of televised speeches from YouTube and saved them on the laptop, Google Drive, and an external hard drive. The researcher then transcribed the speeches by first listening to each speech and writing down its text. Finally, the researcher identified and categorised message frames in the speeches, guided by Gamson and Modigliani's (1989) interpretive packages.

Ethical Considerations

The study was approved by the Laikipia University Institutional Ethics Review Committee and the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). After obtaining a permit from NACOSTI, the researcher sought information on NTV, KTN, and Citizen TV's policies on using their footage for research purposes. The researcher learned that one can use and acknowledge the source of the footage but must not include screenshots. However, the researcher found that the media houses did not have complete, unedited speeches. For complete, unedited speeches that the media houses did not have, the researcher downloaded them from online YouTube platforms such as Kenya Digital News, Kenya News Media, Hotseat TV, and Facebook and acknowledged their use.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Raila Odinga and William Ruto's Choice of Political Framing Strategies

Objective 2 in this study was to examine the strategies that were employed by Raila Odinga and William Ruto in the construction of their campaign message frames. The study found that several framing strategies, namely: Substantive positive message framing, substantive negative message framing or a combination of both, offensive message framing (a type of substantive positive message framing), and defensive framing (a form of substantive negative framing); and types of process

frames (strategic rhetorical features, and personality frames) were employed by the two presidential candidates. All these framing strategies fall into two broad categories: substantive and process framing strategies.

Odinga's Choice of Substantive Positive Framing Strategies

Politicians adopt positive framing strategies when they promise voters to correct inadequacies in their opponents' policies and assure them that reforms will be effective, and when they use offensive frames to highlight the strengths of their policies or attributes. The study found that Odinga used positive framing strategies extensively.

Odinga used positive framing strategies to address the inadequacies of previous regimes' policies when he promised in his speech at Bughungu Stadium in Kakamega (Citizen TV, 2021) to create employment, build industries, bring down the cost of living, and start a fund for the youth. He said he would empower *jua kali* traders (informal market traders), *bodaboda* (motorcycle operators), and micro- and medium enterprises. He added that he was going to bring about programme knowns Recognition of Prior Learning where people with experience but have no certificate will be awarded certificates based on their experience, that he was make sure health facilities are equipped with enough facilities, medicines and staffed; that he was going to put everyone in an health insurance; that he was going to assist Kenya shillings 6,000 every month to low-income families; that he was going to make devolution succeed by ensuring that there are enough money to build hospitals and roads; andthat he was going to fight for freedom so that every Kenyan can be free from liars, thieves, and corruption.

Odinga also employed a substantive positive framing strategy: he promised to fight ignorance, disease and poverty; to bring about reconciliation; when he promised to constitute a government where there is no revenge; when he promised free education; when he promised to empower farmers by giving them farm implements, seeds, and fertilisers; and promised to build industries to create employment.

Odinga also used a positive substantive framing strategy, using offensive framing strategies (a type of positive framing strategy) to position himself and his political party as better than his competitors by focusing on issues where they have an advantage (Riker, 1996). For example, in his speech at Kasarani, Nairobi (NTV, 2022), he said:

> *…the voting in of our next deputy president, Madam Martha Wangari Karua, you will have a complete army to fight for you and our country. Martha is a freedom fighter. She has stood for the rights of Kenyans. She has paid a price for it. She has stood straight even at the time of great difficulties. This is something you will not find on the other side. There are neither fighters nor fighting spirit on the other side. There is no known fight to make Kenya a better place that has been led by the people on the other side. The fighters for a better Kenya are on this side. Wako hapo (they are in) Kasarani Leo (today).*

Similarly, Odinga used an offensive framing strategy (a type of positive framing) to position himself and his political team as better than his competitors by focusing on issues where they had an advantage (Riker, 1996). For example, in his campaign speech at Kinoru, Meru (Kenya Digital News, 2021), he said:

> *As Prime Minister, I also worked with a Meru man named Francis Muthaura Kibaki, and we developed a national development plan. We already have all the development plans. We have the blueprint for the development of Kenya– Vision 2030. We have the vision for eradicating poverty in our nation.*

Reasons Behind Odinga's Use of Substantive Negative Framing Strategies

There are several reasons why politicians employ negative framing strategies. First, politicians use negative framing when they point out the dangers in their opponents' policies while staying silent about the advantages of their own. Second, politicians use negative framing to prompt uninvolved people to consider their choices, encourage serious but uninvolved voters to vote against the risks of competitors' proposals or programmes, and move undecided voters.

This study reveals that Odinga employed a negative framing strategy by using defensive framing strategies (a type of negative frame) in response to opponents' successful frames or in anticipation of opponents' use of successful frames. For example, in a speech in Kasarani, Nairobi.

> *Dear Kenyans, people have asked us how we will give 6000 Kenyan Shillings to poor families. But that is the wrong question. The question we should be asking is how a few corrupt people got to be paid 800 billion Kenyan shillings every year from our budget|? How did the government afford this? How did these people cone us? If you can afford to pay 800 billion to these cone men, you can afford to pay 6 000 shillings to known Kenyans struggling with life. What these families need is a direct injection from government.*

These families need direct government funds to feed their children.

Though not outright apparent, Odinga employed a type of negative framing in his Kasarani speech. He seeks to make the serious but uninvolved vote against the risk of voting for the main political rival when he says,

> *My dear Kenyans, the questions we face today is "who has safe pair of hands to complete what we started on Sabasaba Day?", "whose hands will dismantle the hand of economy of corruption?", "whose hands are your family safe?", "when you looked at your children, who would you feel will really make sure that you have the ability to give them the best they deserve?", "who would you feel would ensure healing to the country no matter the election results?". "Is he the man who shook the hands of his bitter rival and brought national reconciliation and healing or the hands of the war monger who is a and a convicted thief?" "Which hand will you trust to deliver social protection for the poor?" The Auditor General tells us 800 billion Kenyan Shillings is stolen every year through corruption. 800 billion is twice the economy of two of our neighbours in the East Africa East Africa Community. "Who would you feel is best qualified to dismantle this cartel of corruption?*

Odinga's Choice of Process Frames

Framing strategies are categorised into process frames, including stylistic rhetorical features, horse race frames, conflict frames, and personality frames. This study found that stylistic rhetorical feature frames and personality frames featured prominently in Odinga's speeches.

First, Odinga employed rhetorical questions, a stylistic rhetorical feature that falls under the process framing strategy. This process framing strategy is evident in the immediately preceding negative framing strategy, where Odinga asks whose hands the audience is in.

Second, Odinga also employed metaphors, a stylistic rhetorical feature that falls under the process framing strategy. For example, in his speech at Bhugungu Stadium, Kakamega, referred to earlier, he said:

Kiswahili	**English Translation**
Na mimi nataka vijana wawe wanajeshi wa baba. Mko tayari vijana? Mko tayari? Kuwa wanajesh wa baba mpaka uwe na risasi. Bunduki ni kitambulisho. Risasi ni kura. Sawasawa?	And I want the youth to become father's soldiers. Are you ready youths? Are you ready? To be father's soldiers you should have bullets. A gun is Identity Card. Bullet is ballot. It is, okay?
Ili baba awe amri jeshi mkuu, anatoa amri anasema forward match, about turn, fire, fire. Vijana fire. Vijana fire, vijana fire, vijana fire, Vijana fire, vijana fire	In order for father to be commander in chief, he commands saying forward match, about turn, fire, fire. Youths fire, youths fire, youths fire, youths fire, youths fire.

Third, in his Kasarani speech, Odinga employed a personality message frame, a type of process frame, when he spoke in Kasarani. In the extract of his speech, he says

> *who would you feel would ensure healing to the country no matter the election results?" "Is he the man who shook the hands of his bitter rival and brought national reconciliation and healing or the hands of the war monger who is a deviant and a convicted thief?…The Auditor General tells us 800 billion Kenyan Shillings is stolen every year through corruption… Who would you feel is best qualified to dismantle this cartel of corruption?*

Ruto's Choice of Substantive Positive Framing Strategies

This study found that, like Odinga, Ruto employed substantive positive framing strategies. Ruto employed positive framing strategies to correct the inadequacies of previous regimes' policies when he promised in his speech at Shinyalu, Kakamega, Makutano in Meru County, and in Nyayo Stadium, Nairobi, Kenya, to put enough money in Agriculture, put 50 billion Kenyan shillings in ordinary people's businesses, put everyone in health insurance, allocate 100 billion Kenyan shillings in housing, and get rid of a system that helps the corrupt avoid being prosecuted. Ruto also promised to make sure that the criminal justice system is given not only constitutional independence but also financial independence, promise socioeconomic inclusion, create employment and a hustle fund, promise to have an accountable government, to protect the constitution, to build on President Uhuru's foundation, and promise to form an inclusive government.

Choice of Ruto's Substantive Negative Framing Strategies

Ruto employed Substantive Negative Framing Strategies in his speech in Shinyalu, Kakamega (The Hotseat TV, 2021) to point out the danger in the opponents' policies. In the extract of his speech below, he said:

Kiswahili	English Translation
Kenya hii kuna watu wako na madharau na kiburi. Wakiona biashara ya mtu mdogo wanasema sio biashara halali. Biashara ya mtu mdogo inaangaishwa na polisi. Biashara ya mtu mdogo inaangaishwa na KRA. Bisashara ya mtu mdogo inapigwa na jua na mvua. Biashara ya mtu mdogo hana vile ya kutafuta mkopo. Hawa watu wote wadodogo hawa hawajulikani kwa bengi, hawana security. Wakitaka kukopa pesa wanakopa kwa Fuliza, wakitaka kukopa pesa wanakopa kwa mashailloc. Ndiyo sababu hawa watu wengi leo wameorodesha kwa CRB kwa sababu ya madeni. Ni kweli ama si kweli? Mimi nikisema kwa hii mkutano, wale watu wako ndani ya CRB tayari kwa simu yao waweke mkono juu nione, sasa unaona vile dunia imeharibika. Sijui kama tunaelewana?	Here in Kenya, there are people who are look down upon others and who are arrogant. When they see business of ordinary people, they say that the business illegal. The business of a small person is interfered with by KRA. Small person's is exposed to the sun and rain. Small person's business has no way of accessing credit. All these small people are not known by banks, have no security. If they want to borrow money, they borrow from Fuliza, if they want to borrow money, they borrow from shaillocs. And that is the reason today many people have been listed by CRB (Credit Reference Bureau) because of debt. Is it true or not? If I ask the people I this meeting who CRB in their phones already to put up their hands, now you see.

In his Shinyalu speech, Ruto also employed a substantive negative framing strategy known as a defensive strategy in response to a possible competitor's criticism of his promise to put money into ordinary 'people's businesses'. In the extract of his speech below, he said:

Kiswahili	English Translation
...kama tumeweka pesa bilioni 100 kwa kampuni moja ya Kenya Airways, hiko makossa tukiweka bilioni 50 kwa biashara mtu ya kawaida: huyu mama mboga, bodaboda, mtu ya kiosk, mtu ya hapa chini, ili kila moja wetu wapate pesa ya serkali ya kuinu biashara yake tufukuze umaskini mashinani? Watu wa Shinyalu, tunaelewana?	…if we have put 100 billion in one company, Kenya Airways; is there any wrong if we put 50 billion in an ordinary person's business: this vegetable mother, motor cycle operator, kiosk person, a person down here, so that everyone of us get government money to empower their businesses so that we can get rid of poverty in the grassroot? People of Shinyalu, do we understand one another?

Similarly, in his Shinyalu speech, Ruto also employed a defensive strategy to counter opponents who might frame him and his allies as people who talk but have no track record. In the extract of his speech below, he said:

Kiswahili	English Translation
Watu wa Makutano, mimi nawauliza nyinyi, ni sisi ndio tuliunda serkali 2013? *si tuliungana, tukakata ukabila, tukakata chuki, tukakata mkawanyiko, tukaunda serkali? si tumjenga reli? si tumeunda barabara? si tumeunganisha sitima? Si tuliungana* 2017 *tukaunda serkali tena? Sasa watu sisi million nane tukaunda serkali tena* 2017. *Ni kweli ama si kweli? Sasa mimi nauliza nyinyi, sasa kuna mtu anatuambia, ata sisi watu million nane, tumeunda serkali mara mbili, tumepanga maeldeleo mingi kenya, eti sisi watu million nane tumekosa mtu wa kutuongoza mpaka wanaenda wanatuletea mtu wa kitendawili ati atuongoze, aaah, hiyo hapana, hapana, hapana.* No, no, no. *Hiyo ni madharau makabwa sana! Mimi nauliza nyinyi,* my friends, *tuambiane tu ukweli. Si sisi ni watu wazima na tuko na akili? Ati sisi tumejipanga mara mbili tumeshinda serkali, tummejenga reli, barabara, sitima na nini. ati saa hii mtu anatuambia tumekosa network, tumekosa akili, tumekosa mpango, mpaka wanaenda kukotesha, kukotesha mtu ya kitendawili, mtu wa kungoa reli, mtu ya kupanga vijana kutupa mawe, mtu wa kuvunja majama, ati akuje aongoze sisi? Aaah, hapana, hapana, hapana, happana, hapana, hapana, hapana. Hiyo ni madharau makubwa sana! Hiyo ni madharau makubwa sana! Mimi nataka niwaulize nyinyi watu wa Makutano, Siku ile Uhuru Kenyatta alikuwa anataka kiti ya rais alitafuta mwanaume wa kusimama nayeye, bwana kitendawili alisimama na yeye? Hawa wengine wa cerelac, Musalia na Gideon Moi walisimama nay eye? Si mimi nilisimama na Uhuru Kenyatta mpaka akawa rais? Sasa wanatuambia* all of a sudden *hatuna mpango? Si sisi tuko na mpango? Si sisi tuko na mpango? Si tumjipanga? Si tuko radha? Si chama ni hii ya kazi ni kazi? Si tumejipanga na kazi ni kazi? Si tumejipanga? Si tumejipanga na* bottom up? *Si tunasema mpango ni bottom up? Tumejipanga hatujajipanga? Na tutaunda serkali ujao? Kama tuliunda ya* 2013, *tukaunga ya* 2017, *nani aliwambia hatuna mpango ya kuunda hii ya* 2022.	People of Makutano, I am asking you, are we the ones who formed the government in 2013? Haven't we united, rejected tribalism, rejected hate, rejected divisions, formed the government? Haven't we built railway? Haven't we built roads? Haven't we connected electricity? Didn't we also come together in 2017 and form the government? Now, we eight million also formed the government in 2017. Is it true or not? Now I am asking you, now there is someone, that we eight million people, we formed the government twice, we have planned a lot of development in Kenya, that we eight million people do not have someone to lead us, aaah, that one, no, no, no. That is too much contempt! I am asking you, my friends, let us tell each other the truth. Aren't we grown up people who have brains? That we who have come together twice to win elections, who have built railway, roads, connected electricity and others, that now someone is telling us that we lack network, that we lack brains, we lack plans, to an extend that they have gone to hire Kitendawili (story man), a person who destroy railway, who lead youths to throw stones, who destroy parties, to come and lead us? Aah, no, no, no. That is a lot of contempt! I want to ask you people of Makutano, that time Uhuru Kenyatta was vying for presidency, he looks for a man to stand with him, Mr. Kitendawili stood with him? Those other Cerelac people, Musalia and Gideon Moi stood with him? Didn't I stand with Uhuru Kenyatta until he became the president? Now they are telling us all of a sudden that we don't have a plan? Don't we have a plan? Don't we have a plan? Aren't we ready? Aren't we ready? Aren't we alert? Isn't the party the party of work is work? Aren't we ready? Aren't we ready with bottom up? Are we ready or not ready? And we will form the next government? If we form in 2013, we formed in 2017, who told them we cannot form the 2022.

Ruto's Choice of Process Frames

The study found that, in his Makutano, Meru speech, Ruto employed process-framing strategies that include stylistic rhetorical features like rhetorical questions and catchphrases alongside personality frames.

First, Ruto used rhetorical questions extensively, a process-framing device that falls under stylistic rhetorical features, to frame economic change as more important and urgent than constitutional change. For example, in his speech at Makutano, Meru County, Kenya Digital News (2021), he said:

Kiswahili	**English Translation**
Ndio mimi nimekuja hapa kuwauliza nyinyi watu wa Meru *mnakubaliana na wale wanasema tuongeze vyeo na mamlaka ya viongozi ama mnasema tupadilishe uchumi ya hawa vijana wetu wapate hajira? Mnataka tubadishie katiba ama uchumi? Mnasema tubadilishe katiba ama uchumi? Mnataka tubadilishe uchumi, siyo? Ndio tupanga kwanza hajira ya hawa vijana. Na tupange biashara ya hawa watu wadogo? Tuwaokoe kutoka Fuliza? Tuwaokoe kwa mashylocks? Tuwaondoe mamilioni ya wakenya walio katika* CRB? *Ili waweze kufanya biashara? Na tuzaidie wakulima watuzalishie chakula ya kutosha?*	That is why I have come here to ask you people of Meru; do you agree with those who saying we increase positions and powers of leaders or we change the economy of those youths by providing them jobs? Do you want us to change the constitution or economy? You want us to change the economy, isn't it? So that we can plan for employment of those youths. And plan businesses of those small people? To liberate them from fuliza? To liberate them from Shylock? To remove many Kenyans from CRB? So that they can do business? And we help farmers to produce food for sufficient food for us?

Second, Ruto used catchphrases, a process-framing strategy that falls under stylistic rhetorical features, as a mobilising call for the audience to back Kenya Kwanza policies. For example, in his speech in Shinyalu, Kakamega, referred to earlier, he said:,

Kiswahili	**English Translation**
Nikisema Kenya Kwanza tunasema nini? Kazi ni kazi. Kenya Kwanza, Kenya Kwanza. Nikisema kazi ni kazi tunasema pesa mfukoni. Kazi ni kazi. Kazi nikazi. Mbona hapo kwa pesa mfukoni sauti hiko juu. Kila mtu (laughter interrupts), *kila mtu anataka kitu kwa mfuko*?	When I say Kenya Kwanza, what do we say? Any work is work. Kenya Kwanza, Kenya Kwanza. If I say any work is work, we say money in pocket. *Kazi ni Kazi*. Why when we say money in the pocket, everyone voice goes up? Everyone wants something in the pocket.

Third, in the Makutano speech, the study found that Ruto employed a process-frame strategy known as a personality frame to portray himself as unsuitable to be elected president. In the extract of his speech, he said:

Kiswahili	English Translation
Si sisi ni watu wazima na tuko na akili? Ati sisi tumejipanga mara mbili tumeshinda serkali, tummejenga reli, barabara, sitima na nini. ati saa hii mtu anatuambia tumekosa network, tumekosa akili, tumekosa mpango, mpaka wanaenda kukotesha, kukotesha mtu ya kitendawili, mtu wa kungoa reli, mtu ya kupanga vijana kutupa mawe, mtu wa kuvunja majama, ati akuje aongoze sisi? Aaah, hapana, hapana, hapana, happana, hapana, hapana, hapana. Hiyo ni madharau makubwa sana! Hiyo ni madharau makubwa sana! Mimi nataka niwaulize nyinyi watu wa Makutano, Siku ile Uhuru Kenyatta alikuwa anataka kiti ya rais alitafuta mwanaume wa kusimama nayeye, bwana kitendawili alisimama na yeye? Hawa wengine wa cerelac, Musalia na Gideon Moi walisimama nay eye? Si mimi nilisimama na Uhuru Kenyatta mpaka akawa rais? Sasa wanatuambia all of a sudden *hatuna mpango? Si sisi tuko na mpango? Si sisi tuko na mpango? Si tumjipanga? Si tuko radha? Si chama ni hii ya kazi ni kazi? Si tumejipanga na kazi ni kazi? Si tumejipanga? Si tumejipanga na* bottom up? *Si tunasema mpango ni bottom up? Tumejipanga hatujajipanga? Na tutaunda serkali ujao? Kama tuliunda ya* 2013, *tukaunga ya* 2017, *nani aliwambia hatuna mpango ya kuunda hii ya* 2022. *Si tuko na mpango hiyo? Hebu nione wale wanasema tumejipanga, tumejipanga, tumejipanga, tumejipanga. Ehe, bwana tafadhali, tafadhali, tuheshimiane. Ama namna gani? Hata governor wetu bwana Kiraitu, mimi namwambia please, mtuheshimu, tuko na hakili bwana. Waja kutuletea mtu wa kitendawili ati atuongoze.* No, *hapana hiyo, haiwezekani hiyo, hapana, hapana. Ama namna gani? Tunaelewana? Eeh, wachana na mambo ya Kitendawili. Kama ni kupanga seerkali kuja tupange na wewe. Ama ni aje watu wa* Meru. *Tunakubaliana? Tunakubaliana?*	Aren't we grown up people who have brains? That we who have come together twice to win elections, who have built railway, roads, connected electricity and others, that now someone is telling us that we lack network, that we lack brains, we lack plans, to an extend that they have gone to hire Kitendawili (story man), a person who destroy railway, who lead youths to throw stones, who destroy parties, to come and lead us? Aah, no, no, no. That is a lot of contempt! I want to ask you people of Makutano, that time Uhuru Kenyatta was vying for presidency, he looks for a man to stand with him, Mr. Kitendawili stood with him? Those other Cerelac people, Musalia and Gideon Moi stood with him? Didn't I stand with Uhuru Kenyatta until he became the president? Now they are telling us all of a sudden that we don't have a plan? Don't we have a plan? Don't we have a plan? Aren't we ready? Aren't we ready? Aren't we alert? Isn't the party the party of work is work? Aren't we ready? Aren't we ready with bottom up? Are we ready or not ready? And we will form the next government? If we form in 2013, we formed in 2017, who told them we cannot form the 2022. Do we have that plan? Let me see those who say we are ready, we are ready, we are ready, we are ready. Ehe, Mr., please, please, let us respect ourselves. Or what do you say? Even our Meru governor Mr. Kiraitu, I am telling you please, respect us, we have brains Mr. Don't bring us Kitendawili person (story man) to 'lead us. No, not that one, it is not possible to be that one, no, no. Or what do you say? Are we getting one another? Ee-e, leave Kitendawili (story man). If it is to form the government, come we form together. Isn't that way people of Meru. Have agreed? Have we agreed?

The study also found that Ruto, in his Nyayo Stadium, Nairobi, speech (NTV Kenya, 2022; KTN News Kenya, 2022), employed word deconstruction, a type of process frame that falls under stylistic rhetorical features, to frame his reign as a reign of hope, while framing his opponents' reign as a regime that will be characterised by hopelessness. He says, *"Nairobi mumesema ni kuzimia ama Kenya Kwanza?"* (Nairobi, are you saying it is kuzimia {hopeless} party or Kenya Kwanza). Here, Ruto deconstructs Azimio La Umoja Party by corrupting the Kiswahili word 'Azimio' to mean 'Kuzimia' (meaning to put out the lights to faint). In the deconstructed sense, Azimio means having no hope, while Kenya Kwanza, in the plain sense, suggests a party with policies that prioritise Kenyans' needs.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion: The study concluded that both Odinga and Ruto employ similar strategies in constructing their presidential campaign message frames. They both employ substantive positive frames, negative positive frames, and process frames. However, it was found that Ruto extensively employ a form of process frames known as rhetorical questions and catchphrases compared to Odinga. For example, Ruto extensively employed rhetorical frames and catchphrases in

Shinyalu, Kakamega, and Makutano, Meru, compared to Odinga. According to framing strategy literature, their aims in employing these strategies were similar and, at times, different.

Recommendations: This study recommends a comparative study to determine which substantive and process frames were used more during Kenya's 2022 general elections. The study also recommends studies to identify differences between the framing strategies used by presidential candidates and those of candidates contesting other elective positions.

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