Research Journal in Advanced Humanities

RJAH

https://doi.org/10.58256/zaxxt878

Open Access

Check for updates

RESEARCH ARTICLE **Section:** *Literature, Linguistics & Criticism*

The discursive construction of youth and government in Kenya's 2024 Finance Bill digital protests

Lillian Kemunto Omoke[1]*

[1]University of Embu, Kenya

*Correspondence: omoke.lilian@embuni.ac.ke

ABSTRACT

Kenya's 2024 Finance Bill protests marked a decisive shift in how political resistance is organized and expressed, with digitally mediated participation replacing traditional, centralized forms of mobilization. This study explores how youth-led social media discourse not only reflected but actively shaped the unfolding crisis. Discourse-Historical Approach and Connective Action Theory were used in the analysis of textual data from Twitter/X, Facebook, and TikTok collected during the months of May and June 2024 when there was heated online mobilization against the bill and the ultimate protest on 25 June, 2024. High-engagement posts were examined through qualitative discourse analysis. The analysis reveals a patterned use of language through which protesters constructed a sharp contrast between themselves and political elites. Political leadership was constructed as corrupt, detached, and failing; while citizens, particularly Gen Z, were positioned as corrective and morally grounded actors. This is achieved through a combination of nomination, predication, argumentation, and strategic modality. At the same time, slogans, metaphors, and lexical innovations generated a sense of collective identity. Intertextual references to historical, religious, and cultural narratives further anchor the protests within broader moral frameworks.

KEYWORDS: connective action, Digital protest discourse, discursive strategies, discourse historical approach, Kenya Finance Bill, Youth activism

Research Journal in Advanced Humanities

Volume 7, Issue 2, 2026

ISSN: 2708-5945 (Print)

ISSN: 2708-5953 (Online)

ARTICLE HISTORY

Submitted: 09 **March 2026**

Accepted: 03 **May 2026**

Published: 25 **June 2026**

HOW TO CITE

Omoke, L. K. (2026). The discursive construction of youth and government in Kenya's 2024 Finance Bill digital protests. *Research Journal in Advanced Humanities*, 7(2). https://doi.org/10.58256/zaxxt878

Published in Nairobi, Kenya by Royallite Global, an imprint of Royallite Publishers Limited

Introduction

Political resistance has always existed in many parts of the world as long as citizens have felt disenfranchised. Revolutions such as the American Revolution (1775-1783), Meiji Restoration in Japan (1868), Chinese Communist Revolution (1949), Kenya's Mau Mau Uprising, Ghana Independence Movement, Anti-Apartheid in South Africa among others should be considered as world phenomena (Hedstrom and Smith, 2021). These early revolutions were characterized by physical confrontations and organized through collective action. On the other hand, contemporary protest movements such as the Arab Spring, Black Lives Matter, End SARS, Hong Kong Protests, the Mahsa Amini Protests, *los indignados'* (the indignant ones) in 2011 and Kenya's 2024 Anti Finance Bill protests among others illustrate a significant shift where digital forms are used to mobilize the masses, and ultimately, stir the elite to act through what Bennett and Segerberg (2012) calls connective action. In Kenya, on June 20, 2024, thousands of Kenyan youth stormed the streets and Parliament protesting the proposed Finance Bill that sought to impose sweeping new taxes amid widespread economic hardship. While physical demonstrations dominated global headlines, the movement was deemed successful due to digital mobilization that had been going on for a sustained period. Hashtags such as *#RejectFinanceBill2024, #GenZRevolution, #RutoMustGo, and #OccupyParliament* dominated the social media space through what Blommaert (2005) calls entextualization where mobilization tools such as famous freedom songs, poems, proverbs and retweets were recontextualized. In these hashtags citizens from all parts of the country became conversant of the governance matters and they collectively identified as team that needed to fight for a common goal. This moment marked a turning point in Kenya's protest history where digitally mediated resistance against governance was spearheaded by the youth or Gen Z thus international attention.

Kenya's long tradition of civic resistance from anti-colonial revolts to the pro-democracy movement such as Saba Saba had unfolded through physical mobilization and elite-led political negotiation (Ngumo and Omoke, 2021) and through the spread of leaflets (wa Thiongo's 2016) locally known as *mwakenya* that were written in local languages during the anticolonial period and in English during reign of the first and second presidents of Kenya, Kenyatta and Moi.

The Finance Bill protests of 2024 introduced a new paradigm. The movement was decentralized and was described as 'leaderless' and 'tribeless'. These qualities emerged through shared online activities, collective emotional responses, and widespread public anger. This evolution reflects broader global shifts in political participation. Leider (2019) and Khazraee and Novak (2018, for example, argue that digital activism has transformed civic engagement, and enables new forms of horizontal, affect-driven mobilization that challenge state authority without relying on traditional political leadership. When formal voice is limited, social media provides alternative platforms for articulating dissent, performing identity, and negotiating collective meaning (Balan and Dumitrica 2022; Walker 2020). Recent protest movements worldwide, including Kenya's 2024 youth-led resistance, exhibit key features of digital activism while operating within complex postcolonial conditions shaped by surveillance, state repression, and digital inequality.

This article, therefore, investigates the role of social media discourse in shaping, sustaining, and amplifying the 2024 Finance Bill protests in Kenya. It asks: *How did the youth construct Kenya's 2024 Finance Bill crisis?*

Literature review

The organization of protests in digital contexts

Social media platforms have enabled new forms of mobilization that are decentralized, participatory and networked (Bennett and Segerbeg, 2012). Various scholars have exemplified this view:

> Kharzaee and Novak (2018) indicate that social media affordances enable participants to construct shared identities through the production and circulation of discourses. For example, the use of slogans, hashtags, and repeated linguistic patterns symbolically unify participants. Oyedemi (2020) considers discourse as a form of communication for social change. The fact that people can congregate in the digital space to articulate their grievances yields collective action.

Digital space affords protesters a chance to challenge dominant narratives and produce alternative forms of

knowledge that Primig (2024) calls counter-discursive spaces. He describes such movements as constituting conter-knowledge orders, where discourse redefines what counts as legitimate knowledge of authority. Liu and Opotow (2020) additionally shows the role of identify and emotion in shaping protest participation.

Framing and the discursive construction of political reality

Framing plays a critical role in shaping how protest discourse constructs and communicates political meaning. Frames, according to Entman (1993), are structures that influence how audiences understand and respond to events. Strategic linguistic choices that foreground certain actions and diminish others are usually emphasized. Protest discourse often relies on evaluative language metaphor and narrative structures to construct particular representations of political actors and events. Wong (2017) observes that protest contexts can construct social actor as aggressive or threatening through linguistic patterns. Van De Velde (2024) on his part, argues that slogans condense complex political ideas into concise, memorable expressions that can easily be circulated and reproduced such as memes and slogans. In another perspective, Liu and Chen (2021) show that protest slogans function as markers of pragmatic identity. Through repeated use, slogans become symbolic representations of collective goals and ideological positions.

The participatory nature of social media platforms allows multiple participants to construct and circulate frames (Leong, 2024) unlike traditional media environments where framing is controlled by institutional gatekeepers through agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Through language, protesters are able to frame issues, mobilize support and sustain engagement over time.

The multimodal nature of social media communication

Meaning can be created through complex semiotic interactions (Van Leeuwen, 2007). Social media communication adopts the semiotic forms and, hence, it is multimodal since it integrates linguistic visual and symbolic resources in the construction of meaning. Digital platforms enable users to combine text, images, hashtags, emojis, and other semiotic resources into unified communicative acts (Sindoni, 2023). This multimodal composition, as Rykova et al (2020) observe, enhances significantly the expressive and persuasive potential of political discourse. Ahaotu and Oshamo (2023) demonstrate how social media posts related to #BlackLivesMatter movement combined text and visual elements to construct protest narratives and thus mobilize public engagement. In a study of cartoons in Arabic language media, Hussein (2019) illustrates how visual satire operates alongside lexical elements to provide layered political meanings. He focused on traditional media to demonstrate the relevance of multimodal analysis for understanding how political critique is communicated through the interaction of visual and linguistic signs.

Multimodality also enables the compression of complex political messages into highly sharable forms such as memes, videos and slogan based posts (Seizov, 2014), Wagener, (2021; 2024). They facilitate rapid circulation and reinterpretation across digital networks. Hence, social media environments create dynamic communication spaces where meaning is continuously reshaped through user interaction and multimodal remixing (KhosvaviNik and Unger, 2016).

The multimodal nature of social media is thus central to understanding contemporary protest discourse. Activists are able to construct persuasive messages that, using linguistic and visual means, enhance potential for mobilization and collective action.

The Discourse of resistance

A central dimension in the discourse of resistance foregrounds the role of identity and affect in shaping protest meanings and political biases. Drawing on poststructuralist and intersectional frameworks, Liu and Opotow (2020) conceptualize resistance as a discursive and affective practice in which identities are not fixed but dynamically negotiated across angles such as gender, class, and sexuality. This perspective aligns with Butler (2006) where the labels of oppressor / resistor binaries are that destabilized binary, and instead situates resistance within fluid, overlapping identity formations.

Khazraee and Novak (2018) demonstrate how social media affordances facilitate the co-construction of protest narratives through participatory practices such as photo biographical storytelling. Individual experiences are aggregated into collective frames of grievance and solidarity. Likewise, Ashwini et al. (2025) show that

resistance discourse in digital environments is multimodal and linguistically hybrid, characterized by code-switching, hashtags, and visual semiotics that enhance virality and mobilization. These practices are not merely communicative but performative. They enact resistance through visibility and repetition. However, digital resistance is also shaped by platform logics, including algorithmic filtering, which constrains the circulation of dissenting voices (Bonini & Emiliano, 2024). Maiwong (2026) supports this view in his argument that digital activism as a sociolinguistic project, where linguistic resources particularly vernacular codes become tools for asserting agency and contesting hegemonic representations. The tools serve as mobilization agents towards solidarity and combined action.

Lamb (2013) challenges the notion of resistance as oppositional to power, arguing instead that power and resistance are coexist across multiple social levels and textual sites. This necessitates a multi-layered analytical approach that attends to representation, intertextuality, and historical context. Within this framework, specific linguistic strategies emerge as central to resistance discourse. Al Zidjaly (2017) illustrates how memes function as "reasonably hostile" lament narratives, enabling dissent while maintaining social face through ambiguity, humor, and cultural resonance. Additionally, Hansson, Page, and Fuoli (2022) further identify systematic strategies of blame attribution in online protest discourse, where protesters delegitimize authorities through negative evaluations of competence, integrity, and morality.

This body of work underscores that the discourse of resistance is a site of ongoing negotiation, where linguistic choices mediate the tension between confrontation and constraint, visibility and risk. Existing scholarship has examined the multimodal and participatory nature of digital protest communication. Its influence on politics and social spheres has also been extensively explored. However, limited attention has been paid to the systematic linguistic construction of resistance through discursive strategies in social media. In particular, few studies have applied the Discourse-Historical Approach to analyze how protest language on social media platforms constructs political actors and justifies youth resistance in digitally mediated protest contexts. This study addresses this gap by examining the discursive construction of the 2024 Kenya's Finance Bill rejection by the youth. This study gives the youth agency and does not privilege the elite and the producers of the media. It departs from the view that mass media has power and asserts that the users of mass media (in this case the youth as political actors) have power, too.

Theory

Discourse- Historical Approach and Connective Action theory

This study aligns to CDA practitioners that research in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) must be multitheoretical and multimethodical, critical and self-reflective (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). They further emphasize that the theory as well as the methodology are eclectic; that is theories and methods are integrated which are helpful in understanding and explaining the object under investigation. This study, therefore, employs the tenets of the Discourse Historical Approach and Connected Action Theory to identify, describe and analyze the discursive practices inherent in the discourse of the Genz protestors. The theory of ideology (Van Dijk 1998.) is further employed as an interpretative framework within DHA. Specifically, since this work deals with domination and resistance, ideology theory will be used to uncover inequality, domination and oppression. As Van Dijk indicates, group internal solidarity and inter group resistance needs to be investigated. While the interests of a dominant group are to conceal; their power abuse, dissidents and opponents may be interested in uncovering and exposing domination and inequality.

Following the principle of triangulation, 'which implies taking a whole range of empirical observations, theories from various disciplines and methods, as well as background information, into account' (Reisigl and Wodak, 2016, P. 26), a social theory, Connected Action Theory, was included in the analysis and interpretation of the data. The aim of this theoretical triangulation is to strengthen analysis and come up with reliable interpretations. Developed by Bennett and Segerberg (2012), Connective Action Theory explains how digital media have transformed collective action by enabling more personalized, flexible, and networked forms of participation. They observe that connective action through digital platforms facilitates participation without the need for centralized control. Social media enable individuals to contribute to protest movements by sharing content, using hashtags, and circulating narratives that resonate with their personal experiences. In this sense, participation becomes individualized yet connected, as diverse actors gather around shared issues without

necessarily subscribing to a centralized ideological framework. As Bennett & Segerberg (2012) argue, digital technologies lower the thresholds for engagement, allowing large-scale mobilization to emerge through self-organizing networks as opposed to formal institutions that rely on collective action.

Method

This study adopted a mixed-methods approach combining quantitative engagement metrics and qualitative discourse analysis to examine digital protest communication during Kenya's 2024 Finance Bill protests. Quantitative data were derived from observable platform analytics, including likes, shares, comments, reposts (retweets), and clicks, which function as indicators of audience reach, interaction intensity, and message amplification. These metrics were used descriptively to identify high-engagement posts and patterns of digital circulation.

A convenience sampling strategy was employed to select relevant data. Protest-related posts and comment threads were sampled based on their accessibility, visibility, and relevance on social media platforms at the time of data collection. Priority was given to posts with high engagement and clear thematic alignment with the Finance Bill protests. This approach allows for rapid data collection within dynamic digital environments.

The data was collected from Twitter/X, TikTok, and Facebook during the peak period of the protests (May 15th – June, 30th 2024), when the bill was read until it was passed by the Kenya's National Assembly and The Senate. Widely circulating protest hashtags such as *#RejectFinanceBill2024, #OccupyParliament, #OccupyStateHouse, and #RutoMustGo* were used. Following a platform-narrowing strategy, Twitter/X constituted the primary analytical corpus, as it functioned as the main site for slogan formation, hashtag coordination, and metaphorical framing. TikTok and Facebook were used for cross-platform triangulation, providing illustrative multimodal exemplars of how dominant metaphors were re-performed, embodied, and recontextualised through visual satire, parody, and protest performance. From an initial corpus of approximately 3,000 items, a purposive sample of 215 artefacts was selected for close analysis, comprising 150 Twitter/X posts, 25 TikTok videos, and 40 Facebook posts and comment threads.

Qualitative analysis was conducted through content analysis of user-generated posts and comment threads. A purposive subset of the sampled texts was further selected based on thematic richness and discursive relevance. The analysis was iterative. Initially, open coding was applied to identify recurring semantic patterns such as expressions of resistance, delegitimization of political authority, calls for collective action, and affective positioning. These were subsequently organized into broader analytical categories informed by DHA and related CDA frameworks and located within the historical context using Connective Action Theory tenets.

Multimodal elements such as videos, photos etc were excluded as the analysis was restricted to textual data and linguistic content. This was to allow for a focused examination of language use and discursive strategies.

Results and Discussion

The analysis shows that digital discourse during Kenya's 2024 Finance Bill protests constructs political crisis through systematic linguistic strategies that redefine authority, assign moral responsibility, and legitimize protest action. Through DHA, the findings indicate that protest communication is structured through nomination, predication, argumentation (topoi), intensification, and intertextuality (Reisigl & Wodak in Wodak & Meyer, 2016). The linguistic artefacts form an interconnected discursive network (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012) in which lexical choices, grammatical structures, and metaphorical mappings produce narratives of political failure and democratic resistance. While DHA accounts for the linguistic construction of protest discourse, connective action theory explains how these patterns circulate and cohere within decentralized digital network.

The analysis identifies several key discursive patterns that structure the protest discourse as discussed below:

Nomination strategies

Nomination is the linguistic processes through which social actors, institutions, and events are named and categorized within discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). It plays a central role in constructing social identities and ideological positions because naming influences how audiences interpret political authority and legitimacy. The protest discourse analyzed in this study demonstrates a systematic naming of political actors and institutions,

whereby protesters linguistically reconstruct the meaning of political leadership, governance, and citizenship. The protestors, in a very striking manner, used direct and personalized addressing of the president as illustrated in the statement:

> "*Mr. President, I want to advise you that if you don't listen to the voters, you might have to listen to the returning officer in 2027.*"

This utterance performs several nomination functions simultaneously. First, the address form "Mr. President" reduces the symbolic distance typically associated with the presidency. Rather than invoking honorific titles commonly used in Kenya while addressing the head of state such as "Your Excellency," the speaker adopts a horizontal form of address, thereby repositioning the president within an ordinary communicative interaction between citizens and public officials. This lexical choice is discursive normalization of authority, where hierarchical relationships between leaders and citizens are revoked through language and become more conversational (Fairclough, 2013).

The phrase "returning officer in 2027" introduces an alternative focus of political authority. Instead of emphasizing the power of the presidency, the discourse foregrounds the electoral process as the ultimate mechanism of accountability. It comes out as a threat to the president that he was losing support and in the said period, 2027, the returning officer will declare him as a loser in the elections. In Kenya's electoral process, a returning officer is charged with the responsibility of announcing official election results. The choice of this term acts as a delegitimizing nomination strategy, where presidential authority is framed as conditional and determined by the power of Gen Z. It shifts political power from the executive office to the electoral system through the people. It is also an invocation to the Kenya's constitution 'sovereign power belongs to the people'. Lexical innovations are used to reinterpret political institutions. The phrase budgeted *corruption* in *The legislators cannot oversight this government; they enable budgeted corruption* represents lexical innovation. The term "budgeted" is a financial management term, while "corruption" belongs to the moral domain of illegitimate actions. The expression constructs corruption as structurally embedded within governance processes as opposed to isolated acts of misconduct. This lexical fusion transforms corruption from an individual moral failure into a systemic characteristic of political institutions. The nominal item 'corruption' is constructed as s systematic execution by the legislators, who should protect citizens from the vice.

This type of nomination aligns with findings from political discourse studies showing that protest movements frequently employ creative lexical constructions (Ofoegbu and Usar, 2018) or lexical innovation (Kartemina, 2018) to reframe political problems in ways that challenge official narratives. Naming corruption as "budgeted," by protesters suggests that finance policy functions as a mechanism of resource extraction for the benefit of the political elite.

Nomination strategies construct the identity of the protest movement. *We are leaderless. We are tribeless. We are faceless* was widely circulated. The repeated use of the first-person plural pronoun "we" establishes a collective identity among participants while simultaneously contrasting citizens with political elites. Such pronoun structures are understood as mechanisms of in-group construction, whereby speakers symbolically align themselves with a broader community of shared interests (van Dijk, 2011). This effectively creates an outgroup consisting of the members of the legislature and the president. An ideological square (Van Dijk, 2011) naturally arises. This pattern also aligns with connective action dynamics as expressed by Bennett and Segerberg (2012) where digital platforms facilitate the formation of fluid collective identities through shared discursive expressions. This allows individuals to participate without centralized leadership or predefined group affiliations. However, the idea that such a movement is 'leaderless' raises fundamental concerns as to why hashtags from certain bloggers drew more attention than others.

Code mixing was prevalent. An example is *Gen Z ndio dawa yao (directly translated as Genz is their medicine* to symbolize that the youth are to teach the political class a lesson.

The phrase introduces the identity category "Gen Z" as a political actor. Although originally a demographic label referring to a generational cohort, the term is recontextualised within protest discourse to represent a collective political force. Through repeated use across digital platforms, "Gen Z" becomes a symbolic designation for youth led political resistance. The lexical item *dawa* (medicine) maps the political

system to the domain of health. It is considered sick and must undergo a medical procedure. This metaphorical framing makes youth activism appear as the remedy to restore the health of the political system. The use of Swahili and English reflects the socio-linguistic practices in Kenya and reflects how a connective audience aligns due to the language use.

Other nominations define the relationship between citizens and political institutions. For instance, the statement *X space is our parliament* designates the institutional role of parliamentary deliberation to a digital communication platform. Through this linguistic transformation, social media is constructed as an alternative site of democratic participation and this aligns with Bennet & Segerberg (2012) view that technology platforms take the role of established political organizations. The youth are designating themselves as legislators. The lexical substitution of "parliament" for an online discussion space demonstrates that the political space has been relocated to the digital platform. This nomination reflects broader transformations in political communication. As digital technologies enable citizens to participate directly in public debate, traditional boundaries between institutional and informal political discourse become increasingly blurred. Within the protest discourse analyzed here, the renaming of social media spaces as parliamentary forums illustrates how language constructs new conceptualizations of political participation. It means that even people can create their own institutions and make important legislative decisions. This seems to delegitimize parliament by claiming that it has failed in meeting its obligation. The *Us* Vs *Them* ideological construction comes out clearly. In the expression, '*He forgot the hustlers, the church, and the youths who hoisted him*', the noun phrase "*the hustlers*" has ideological significance within Kenyan political discourse. During the 2022 General elections presidential campaigns, the concept of the "hustler" was used widely to represent ordinary citizens struggling within the informal economy. Invoking this category within protest discourse serves to remind audiences of the rhetorical promises associated with the campaign narrative. The term, therefore, seems to construct political leadership as failing to fulfil the expectations it promised so consistently.

Predication strategies

Predication strategies operate through the use of evaluative adjectives, either positive or negative, in the predicate components of discourse to assign specific qualities to social actors, objects, or phenomena (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Predication, therefore, shapes the moral and ideological interpretation of political events because it determines how actors are evaluated. In the protest corpus analyzed in this study, predication strategies systematically construct a polarization between political elites and protesters: leaders are represented as corrupt, incompetent, or morally compromised. Citizens and youth activists position themselves as agents of moral correction and democratic renewal. Here, the youth foreground their own strengths, and also foreground what they can be described as the ills of the elite groups.

The phrase *budgeted corruption* appears again where the modifier "budgeted" attributes a quality to that corruption. It constricts corruption embedded within institutions of policy making such as parliament.
Negative evaluative predicates such as *under siege* as used in the expression *Ruto is a man under siege* introduces a metaphorical description of the president's political situation. This expression forms part of a broader metaphorical system in which politics is conceptualised as warfare (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The metaphor relates the situation to military coup indicating the power of a well- coordinated and connected public through digital options. This constructs the protest as a confrontation between the government and the citizens. The youthful citizens that have traditionally been constructed as victims are, in this case, given agency and considered victors.

War metaphors are a common feature of political discourse because they provide a cognitively accessible framework through which complex political conflicts can be understood (Charteris-Black, 2018). "under siege," is used to imply that political authority is being actively challenged by a mobilized opposition. The metaphor also claims legitimacy by portraying protesters as defenders of a worthy cause instead of positioning them as aggressors.

Political leadership is constructed as a failure through the language of betrayal and abandonment. Once more, look at this example:

He forgot the hustlers, the church, and the youths who hoisted him.

The verb *forgot* functions as a moral predicate that implies neglect and betrayal. This predication constructs political failure as a breach of contract between leaders and citizens. The verb suggests that political legitimacy was originally grounded in the support of specific social groups such as 'the hustlers', the church and the youths whose expectations had been disregarded.

Elite political actors are constructed in various ways. In the expression *You strut into government corridors with so much chutzpah and hubris* the nouns "chutzpah" and "hubris" function as evaluative predicates that attribute arrogance and excessive pride to political leadership. *Chutzpah* is described as extreme self- confidence and collocates with words like 'apply', 'gather', 'exhibit' implies arrogance. *Hubris*, within classical rhetoric, is often associated with the moral failing of leaders who become detached from the needs of their people. Thus, the political elite are constructed as detached from reality.

Other statements attribute systemic corruption to political institutions:

The legislators cannot oversight this government; they enable budgeted corruption.

In this example, the verb "enable" functions as a relational predicate linking legislators with corruption. The phrase suggests that corruption is, unfortunately, actively facilitated by political institutions. Legislative oversight has been changed into a mechanism that protects corrupt practices. The #*OccupyParliament* was a statement to signify total loss of faith in the institution charged with sound law making.

While political elites are consistently predicated through negative moral evaluations, protesters themselves are often characterized through positive or transformative predicates. Consider the expression:

Gen Z ndio dawa yao

The noun *dawa*, meaning "medicine" conceptualizes youth activism as a remedy for political dysfunction.

We are leaderless. We are tribeless. We are faceless.

The adjectives *leaderless*, *tribeless*, and *faceless* further define this identity by emphasizing the decentralized and non-ethnic character of the movement. Through this nomination strategy, protesters appear to reject conventional political hierarchies and ethnic affiliations that often structure Kenyan electoral politics that bear a collective character.

Although these adjectives might appear negative in isolation, within the protest discourse they function as positive identity markers. The term "leaderless" suggests decentralized organization, implying that the movement cannot easily be co-opted or controlled by political elites. The adjective *tribeless* emphasizes unity across ethnic divisions, while faceless highlights the anonymity and collective nature of digital activism but who are highly connected and share an identity. The *tribeless* label is particularly significant within the Kenyan political context as electoral competition has historically been shaped by ethnic alliances, and political mobilization has often relied on ethnic identification grievances (Omoke, Mberia &Jjuuko, 2017; Ngumo & Omoke, 2021). The rejection of ethnic affiliation, protesters attempted to transcend these divisions and construct an identity based on generational solidarity and shared political struggles.

These predications therefore construct the protest movement as a form of horizontal democratic participation as opposed to the traditional hierarchical organization described by Oslon in Kermani, 2025. This is in line with Connective Action views that people connect directly via technology, reducing the need for organizational resources or leadership (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). This resonates with Lee and Wang (2022) who observe that contemporary digital protest movements often reject formal leadership structures in favour of decentralized networks.

These strategies also contribute to the emotional intensity of the protest. This statement *Ruto is crying for help* attributes vulnerability and desperation to political leadership. The verb *crying* implies distress and emotional breakdown. This predication serves to weaken the authority of the president by portraying him as overwhelmed by political pressure.

The statement, *The filthy swamp has marooned him* combines moral evaluation with metaphorical imagery. The adjective filthy introduces a strong negative moral judgement, while the noun *"swamp"* evokes imagery associated with corruption and stagnation. The verb "marooned" suggests confinement within this

environment. These lexical elements construct a narrative in which political leadership is trapped within a corrupt system that it cannot control. Representing leadership as corrupt or incompetent and protesters justifies the protesters and legitimizes the resistance and challenges the authority of political institutions.

"We would rather die on our feet than live on our knees" attributes courage and dignity to protest participants. The contrast between "standing" and "kneeling" functions metaphorically to represent resistance and submission respectively. Within this mapping, protest is constructed as a moral obligation or civic duty. The rhetorical structure of the statement relies on antithetical parallelism, where two contrasting clauses are presented in identical syntactic structures. Such parallelism enhances the persuasive power of the statement and contributes to its circulation as a protest slogan.

Transitivity and modality patterns

Within systemic functional linguistics, transitivity analysis examines how processes, participants, and circumstances are organized within clauses in order to represent events and relationships (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). In Critical Discourse Analysis, transitivity patterns are important because they reveal how discourse attributes agency, blame, and responsibility for social outcomes (Fairclough, 2013; van Dijk, 2006).
Political elites are predominantly represented through material processes, which depict them as agents performing actions that affect citizens' welfare. On the other hand, protest participants are presented through relational processes, which construct identities and moral positions.
Material processes appear prominently in statements such as:

The legislators cannot oversight this government; they enable budgeted corruption.
They are reducing expenditure on essential services.
Tell me why you are dishing out money while reducing expenditure on essential services.

The verbs *enable, dishing out* and *reducing* are material processes that link legislators with the undesired outcomes such as corruption, wastage of public funds and reducing expenditure on services such as healthcare, education, and social welfare that are important to public. The verbs attribute agency directly to political leadership, and therefore intensify the negative evaluation of the government.

While political elites are represented primarily through material processes, protest participants are often represented through relational processes that assign attributes and identities. For example:

Gen Z ni dawa.
We are leaderless.
We are not going to have any dialogue with William Ruto, he is part of the problem.

The relational verb *ni* (*is*) establishes an identity relation between "Gen Z" and *dawa* (medicine). Instead of describing an action performed by protesters, the clause constructs a symbolic identity: The verb *are* links the subject *we* with the attribute "leaderless. The clause, therefore, defines the organizational structure of the protest movement.

This distribution of transitivity patterns produces a broader narrative structure in which political elites perform harmful actions while protesters embody moral transformation. They appear to legitimize the resistance.

Other clauses represent mental processes. Consider these utterances:

No citizen trusts you;
I want to advise you.

The verbs *trusts* and *advise* represents mental process that attribute cognitive evaluation to citizens. They construct the ordinary citizens as communicators with political authority. They assign legitimacy to the citizens and reverse the roles where ordinary citizens are the ones who have foresight on governance.

Modality refers to linguistic resources used to express degrees of obligation, possibility, or certainty (Fairclough, 2015). In political discourse, modal expressions are particularly significant because they reveal how speakers position themselves in relation to the propositions they express. Modal verbs, adverbs, and evaluative expressions indicate whether statements are presented as factual claims, predictions, obligations, or moral judgements.

They play a crucial role in constructing political judgement and articulating demands for accountability. Deontic modality is used where modal verbs express moral obligation or normative expectations.

Change Kenya Kwanza leadership in government. *Fire corrupt cabinet secretaries.'*
Review salaries for MPs. *Create more opportunities for the youth.*
Abolish funding First lady and Second Lady *Reduce wastage in government*

These sentences function as directive constructions that express moral obligation. The imperative form of verbs such as 'Change', 'Create', Abolish' position the Gen Z as authority that can issue ethical guidance, and in some cases, ultimatums to political leadership.

Leaders must listen to the people.; You might have to listen to the returning officer in 2027

The modal verb *must* expresses is a high value term that expresses deontic modality signifying obligation. It frames political responsiveness as a moral requirement; not a choice. *Might have to* combines a degree of uncertainty and expresses obligation. It functions rhetorically as a warning about potential electoral consequences.

Epistemic modality appears in *Ruto will fall soon* where the modal *will* express strong certainty regarding a future event. Although the statement refers to a prediction, its rhetorical function is to present political downfall as inevitable.

Modality is used there to articulate moral expectations for leadership, express predictions about future political developments, and frame protest demands as legitimate and necessary responses to governance failures.

Argumentation strategies

Argumentation strategies are examined through the concept of topoi, which are used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). Topoi function as implicit warrants that allow speakers to justify political claims, criticism, or demands. Political discourse typically relies on these culturally recognizable reasoning structures that audiences can easily infer. Argumentation as a persuasion enterprise focusing on the 'systematic challenging or justification of validity claims, such as truth and normative rightness', the first relating to knowledge and degrees of certainty, the second to practical norms or ethical and moral standards (Reisigl & Wodak 2016, p. 27). Thus, validity in argumentation is both logical, and ethical. Argumentation analysis is functional (it looks at claim, argument/premise, conclusion rule (Amossy, 2018).

The protest discourse this study demonstrates a range of topoi that unanimously construct the Finance Bill protests as a legitimate response to perceived political failure. The participants articulate arguments that portray government policy as unjust, corrupt, and disconnected from citizens. Dominant argumentative patterns including the topos of democratic accountability, the topos of injustice, and the topos of corruption, have been identified.-

The topos of democratic accountability asserts that political leaders are answerable to citizens and may be removed from power if they fail to respond to public concerns is evident. This reasoning is illustrated in the statement:

Mr President, I want to advise you that if you don't listen to the voters, you might have to listen to the returning officer in 2027.

The argument can be reconstructed as follows:

- Premise**:** Political leaders derive their authority from voters.
- Premise: Leaders who ignore voters risk losing their support.
- Conclusion: Leaders who fail to listen to citizens may lose power during elections.

This argument frames electoral democracy as the ultimate mechanism of accountability and emphasizes the institutional processes through which citizens can exercise political power. The use of the conditional structure ("if you don't listen… you might have to listen…") implies that electoral defeat as a logical consequence of political neglect.

The topos of injustice is another argumentative strategy which links government policy decisions to moral judgement about fairness and social responsibility. This topos appears in statements that highlight perceived contradictions between government actions and citizens' welfare.

For example:
Tell me why you are dishing out money while reducing expenditure on essential services.
The reasoning underlying this statement can be reconstructed as follows:

- Premise: Governments have a responsibility to prioritize essential public services.
- Premise: Reducing funding for essential services harms citizens.
- Conclusion: The government's actions are unjust.

The topos of corruption, which portrays political institutions as benefiting from practices that undermine public welfare, is also prevalent. This argument pattern appears in statements such as:

> "The legislators cannot oversight this government; they enable budgeted corruption."

Here the argument can be reconstructed as follows:

- Premise**:** Legislative oversight should prevent corruption.
- Premise: Legislators are enabling corruption.
- Conclusion: The oversight system is failing.

Such arguments resonate strongly within protest discourse because they frame political leadership as illegitimate and ineffective. Within the logic of the topos of corruption, the protest is justified as a response to abuse of power. This serves to construct the protest as legitimate.

The patterns also emphasize that political leaders are charged with moral responsibilities but they have failed. Consider the statement:

> *Yet he had only one job: to lift millions of Kenyans from disease, hopelessness, and poverty.*

The reasoning here is:

- Premise: Political leaders are responsible for improving citizens' welfare.
- Premise*:* Citizens are experiencing poverty and hardship.
- Conclusion: Leadership has failed to fulfil its responsibilities.

Intensification and mitigation strategies
These refer to linguistic devices that amplify or soften evaluative statements in discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). These strategies operate through lexical choices, syntactic repetition, modal verbs, rhetorical questions, and metaphorical language. This study established that intensification was dominant as opposed to mitigation, and this heightened the emotional salience of political grievances and reinforced the urgency of political demands. In this study, data demonstrate a strong preference for intensification strategies**,** reflecting the emotionally charged nature of digital protest communication that would form the connective action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). Participants frequently employ strong evaluative language to emphasize perceived political failure. For example, the nouns *chutzpah* and *hubris* are evaluative intensifiers that portray political leadership as arrogant and detached from public concerns. Similarly, expressions such as *"filthy swamp"* intensify moral condemnation by combining metaphorical imagery with strong negative adjectives.

Syntactic parallelism**,** where similar grammatical structures are repeated to emphasize a point. The slogan *We are leaderless, We are tribeless, We are faceless* illustrates this pattern clearly. Each clause follows

the structure *subject + copular verb + adjective*, creating a memorable statement that reinforces the collective identity of the protest movement leading to connective action. Parallel constructions such as this often circulate widely across digital platforms because they are easily reproduced through entextualization process (Blommaert, 2005) and adapted by participants.

Rhetorical imperatives also function as intensification devices. For instance:

> For example, *Tell me why you are dishing out money while reducing expenditure on essential services* rhetorically accuses the government of gross failure. It intensifies the argumentative force as the speaker invites the audience to infer the conclusion themselves. This serves to persuade the protesters that the fiscal policy decision lacks any reasonable justification, thus, creation cohesion and setting the stage for the connective action.
>
> Metaphorical expressions also reinforce the emotional angle of the protests. The widely circulated statement *We would rather die on our feet than live on our knees* relies on the metaphorical opposition between *standing* and *kneeling* to represent resistance and rejection. Even though the two lexical terms carry opposite connotations, they serve the same function of intensifying the resistance. This served to mobilize the citizens to participate in the moral and dignified duty.

While intensification dominates the discourse, mitigation strategies occasionally appear, particularly when criticism is framed as advisory rather than confrontational. For example:

> *I want to advise you. You might have to listen to the returning officer. I have told you. If you have ears, you have heard.*

These utterances function as mitigating devices that soften the directness of criticism by presenting it as guidance rather than accusation.

The fact that intensification strategies occur more frequently than the mitigating strategies is discursive as it shows that the citizens were agitated and did not consider the government as a friend.

Intertextuality and intertextual analysis

Intertextuality refers to the ways in which discourse incorporates or references other texts, narratives, historical events, or cultural symbols in order to construct meaning (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). Intertextuality according to Fairclough (1992) refers to the condition whereby all communicative events draw on earlier events, and one cannot avoid using words and phrases that others have used before. This concept has different references such as cultural memory (Assman, 2011), dialogism (Bakhtin, 1981) and socio-cognitive models (Van Dijk, 2008). In decontextualization, an element is taken out of a specific context; if the respective element is then inserted into a new context, we witness the process of recontextualization.

These references function as discursive resources that allow speakers to interpret current events through previously established narratives. Intertextuality means that texts are linked to other texts, both in the past and in the present. Such connections are established in different ways: through explicit reference to a topic or main actor; through references to the same events; by allusions or evocations; by the transfer of main arguments from one text to the next, and so on.

From the data being examined, there is an extensive use of intertextual references drawn from religious, historical and cultural events. These references support the interpretation of the political protests by constructing them as legitimate.

Invoking historical narratives is one of the strategies observed. The assassination of Julius Caesar is invoked to convey the meaning of betrayal, introduced through a rhetorical question: "*Do you know who killed Julius Caesar? It was Brutus.*" This reference functions as an intertextual strategy that makes reference to historical analogy and cultural memory, whereby a widely recognized historical narrative is recontextualized to interpret present circumstances. The figure of Marcus Junius Brutus is used as a symbol for betrayal. This allowed the protests to be framed through an already culturally encoded narrative of betrayal. It makes it easy to construct the government actions as betrayal.

This analogy framed the political situation as part of a broader historical pattern in which leaders lose power when they become disconnected from the people they govern. The reference to Caesar's assassination makes the warning stronger as it invokes one of the most famous political betrayals in history.

Another significant form of intertextuality in the protest corpus involves references to religious narratives. For example, one comment states:

> "*May the God of heaven who removed Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar… hear the cries of the oppressed Kenyans*."

This statement can be interpreted as a move to express discontent. It draws on biblical narratives associated with the downfall of oppressive rulers. Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar ruled by oppressing the people thy led and so this reference situates the political conflict within religious discourse. Within this framework, the struggle between citizens and political leadership is interpreted as a controversy between justice and oppression.

Religious references are very common in Kenya. Biblical language frequently appears in political rhetoric, enabling speakers to frame contemporary events through moral narratives that resonate with many people. Protesters constructed the situation as one that needed divine intervention- unjust leadership will ultimately be held accountable.

Intertextuality in the protest corpus also includes references to literary works.

Consider:

The statement *"Noon was no longer the time to eat: noon was the hour to die"*, drawn from Bertolt Brecht's play *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, recontextualizes a moment of crisis into the present political situation. The use of "noon", from a routine temporal deitic marker, constructs the situation as urgent, and dramatizes the stakes of the political moment. In this way, the utterance *intensifies* the crisis and positions the present as a decisive turning point.

This intertextual move enables the audience to interpret contemporary events through a pre-existing narrative framework, thereby enhancing affective resonance and legitimizing dissent. As Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) suggests, such dialogic engagement with prior texts allows current discourse to be populated with historically sedimented voices, while Fairclough (2013) looks at this as a form of recontextualization that strategically mobilizes cultural resources to construct meaning and ideological positioning.

Intertextual references often appear repeatedly across multiple posts forming discursive chains (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). These chains emerge when particular phrases, metaphors, or narratives circulate widely within public discourse. In the protest corpus certain expressions such as *Gen Z ndio dawa, We are leaderless, tribeless, faceless, Kasongo must fall* appear repeatedly across different posts and platforms. The reiteration of these expressions are discursive chains in creating a shared interpretation of the political situation. These expressions serve to legitimate the protests.

Interdiscursivity signifies that discourses are linked to each other in various ways. This is because discourses are open and often hybrid; new subtopics can be created at many points (Wodak and Meyer, 2016; Wodak and Forchtner, 2018). A topic in climate change, for instance, can draw from topics in economics. In this discourse, religious, literary, historical and digital discourse are integrated using various intertextual devices. This strategy serves to intensify the claims of the protesters, and therefore legitimize the protest action and delegitimize the state.

Conclusion

The study attempted to answer the question *How did the youth construct Kenya's 2024 Finance Bill crisis?* It was established that linguistic artefacts were creatively crafted and shared across multiple social media platforms. Data from Twitter/ X, Facebook and Tiktok confirmed that these platforms were instrumental in mobilizing the protesters by appealing to their logical and emotional domains. This mobilization resulted in a strong connective audience that identified themselves as a unified force that led to a collaborative action.

Nomination, predication, argumentation, transitivity & modality and intertextual strategies were used through the digital media to create polarity between the political elite and he citizens. By assigning moral

qualities to the protesters and constructing the political elite as corrupt and failed. The citizens were given agency to express their dissatisfaction through recontextualization and intensification of discourse through social media. Blame was apportioned to the government or being responsible to unpleasant situations such as corruption, injustice and lack of accountability. Lexical innovation and use of strong modals have been used to construct give authority to the citizens to direct government actions.

These findings align with scholars such as Bennet and Segerberg (2012) that digital media platforms form a rich site for connective action and political mobilization. Analyzing protest discourse using Critical Discourse Analysis approaches uncovers hidden ideologies; in this study, the findings show that the state can lose its legitimacy while the non-state actors gain authority to act and change the course of action.

Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge the training which I received from the international team involved in the *Supporting Publishing and Advancing Academic Research in Kenya (SPARK)* project, funded by a British Academy International Writing Workshops 2023 grant (Ref: IWW23/100379).

References

Ahaotu, J. O., & Oshamo, O. A. (2023). A multimodal discourse analysis of selected social media posts on the# BlackLivesMatter protest. *Journal of Pragmatics and Discourse Analysis*, *2*(1), 25-35.

Al Zidjaly, N. (2017). Memes as reasonably hostile laments: A discourse analysis of political dissent in Oman. *Discourse & Society*, *28*(6), 573-594.

Amossy, R. (2018). Understanding political issues through argumentation analysis. In R. Wodak & B. Forchtner (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of language and politics*. Routledge.

Ashwini, D. Y., Vishwanatha, & Puneeth, R. P. (2025). Social media as a platform for resistance: examining the language of dissent in Indian society. *Frontiers in Communication*, *10*, 1648587.

Assmann, J. (2011). *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*. Cambridge University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (M. Holquist, Ed.; C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans. University of Texas Press.

Balan, Sergiu, and Delia Dumitrica. 2022. "Technologies of Last Resort: The Discursive Construction of Digital Activism in *Wired* and *Time* Magazine, 2010–2021." *New Media & Society* 26 (9): 5466–5485. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221135886.

Bennett, W. L. & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739–768. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2012.670661

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A critical Introduction*. UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bonini, T & Treré, E. (2024). Algorithms of Resistance: The Everyday Fight against Platform Power. *10.7551/mitpress/14329.001.0001*.

Butler, J. (2006). Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203824979

Balan, Sergiu, and Delia Dumitrica. 2022. "Technologies of Last Resort: The Discursive Construction of Digital Activism in *Wired* and *Time* Magazine, 2010–2021." *New Media & Society* 26 (9): 5466–5485. https://doi.org/10.1177/14614448221135886.

Charteris-Black, J. (2018). *Analysing Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51–58. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x

Fairclough, N. (1992b) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (2013). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2015). *Language and Power* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.

George, Joey F., and Dorothy E. Leidner. 2019. "From Clicktivism to Hacktivism: Understanding Digital Activism." *Information and Organization* 29 (3): 100249. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.infoandorg.2019.04.001.

Halliday, M. A. K., & Matthiessen, C. (2014). Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar (4th ed.). Oxon: Routledge.Hansson, S., Page, R., & Fuoli, M. (2022). Discursive strategies of blaming: The language of judgment and political protest online. *Social Media+ Society*, *8*(4), 20563051221138753.

Hansson, S., R. Page and M. Fuoli. 2022. 'Discursive strategies of blaming: the language of judgement and political protest online', Social Media + Society 8 (4), 205630512211387.

Hedström, J., & Smith, J. (2021). Overcoming Political Exclusion: *Strategies for marginalized groups to successfully engage in political decision-making*. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance.

Hussein, I. (2019). Analyzing political cartoons in Arabic-language media after Trump's Jerusalem move: A multimodal discourse perspective. *International Journal of Cognitive and Language Sciences*, *13*(4), 451-465.

Katermina, V. V. (2018). Political semiotics: Lexical innovations in mass-media discourse. *Redefining Community in Intercultural Context*, *7*(1), 223-228.

Kermani, H. (2025). Connective action. *Elgar Encyclopedia of Political Communication*, 266-270.

Khazraee, E., & Novak, A. N. (2018). Digitally mediated protest: Social media affordances for collective identity

construction. *Social Media+ Society*, *4*(1), 2056305118765740.
KhosraviNik, M., & Unger, J. W. (2016). Critical discourse studies and social media: Power, resistance and critique in changing media ecologies. *Methods of critical discourse studies*, *3*, 205-233.
Lakoff, G., Johnson M. (1980). *Metaphors We Live by*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
Lamb, E. C. (2013). Power and resistance: New methods for analysis across genres in critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, *24*(3), 334-360.
Lee, T.K., & Wang, D. (Eds.). (2022). Translation and Social Media Communication in the Age of the Pandemic (1st ed.). Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003183907
Leong, A. D. (2024). Framing in the social media era: Socio-psychological mechanisms underlying online public opinion of cultured meat. *New Media & Society*, *26*(8), 4471-4489.
Liu, B., & Chen, M. (2021). Linguistic landscape: a study on the slogans of political demonstration from the perspective of pragmatic identity. *Sino-US English Teaching*, *18*(1), 8-12.
Liu, W., & Opotow, S. (2020). On protest, discourse, and the livable life: the role of identity and affect. *Current Opinion in Psychology*, *35*, 132-137.
Maiwong, E. D. (2026). Constructing Resistance: A Corpus-Assisted Critical Discourse Analysis of Vernacular Agency in Cameroon's Anglophone Digital Activism. *International Journal of Language and Literary Studies*, *8*(2), 88-95
McCombs, M. E., & Shaw, D. L. (1972). The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media. Public Opinion Quarterly, 36, 176-187.
Omoke, L. K., Mberia, H. K, and Jjuuko, M. (2020). "Ethnic Polarization in Kenya: Media Framing in Political Interviews." *Language. Text. Society* 7 (1). https://ltsj.online/2020-07-1-omoke-mberia-jjuuko
Ngumo, Mugambi C., and Omoke.K.L (2021). "Analysis of Kenya's newspaper headlines: The handshake and shifting political alliances." Language. Text. Society 8 (1). https://ltsj.online/2021-08-1-
Ofoegbu, C. O., & Usar, I. I. (2018). A morpho-semantic analysis of lexical creativity of political speech of Nigeria's Independence Anniversary 2015. *Journal of Linguistics, Language and Igbo Studies*, *2*(1), 112-131.
Oyedemi, T. D. (2020). Protest as communication for development and social change. In *Handbook of communication for development and social change* (pp. 615-632). Singapore: Springer Singapore.
Primig, F. (2024). Thinking different as an act of resistance: Reconceptualizing the German protests in the COVID-19 pandemic as an emergent counter-knowledge order. *Discourse & Society*, *35*(4), 481-498.
Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (2016). The discourse-historical approach (DHA). In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse studies*. SAGE Publications.
Rykova, O., Novikova, A., & Sorokina, Y. (2020). A View On Political Discourse In The Light Of Multimodality. In N. L. Amiryanovna (Ed.), Word, Utterance, Text: Cognitive, Pragmatic and Cultural Aspects, vol 86. European Proceedings of Social and Behavioural Sciences (pp. 1189-1198). European Publisher. https://doi.org/10.15405/epsbs.2020.08.137
Seizov, O. (2014). *Political communication online: structures, functions, and challenges*. Routledge.
Sindoni, M. G. (2023). *Multimodality and Translanguaging in Video Interactions*. Cambridge University Press.
Van De Velde, C. (2024). The power of slogans: using protest writings in social movement research. *Social Movement Studies*, *23*(5), 569-588.
Van Dijk, T. A. (1998). Critical Discourse Analysis. http://www.hum.uva.nl/teun/cda.htm .
Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). Discourse and Power. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-07299-3
Van Dijk, T. A. (2011). Discourse and ideology. *Discourse studies: A multidisciplinary introduction*, *2*, 379-407.
van Leeuwen, T. (2007). Introducing Social Semiotics. London and New York: Routledge, 2005. £16.99. 301 pp. (2007). *European Journal of Communication*, *22*(3), 389-390.
Wa Thiong'o, N. (2016). *Secure the Base: Making Africa Visible in the Globe*. New York: Seagull Books.
Walker, Edward T. 2020. "Voice, Platforms, and Public Life: The Rise of 'Alternative Voice Mechanisms' in Civic Engagement." *Labour & Industry* 30 (2): 174–184. https://doi.org/10.1080/10301763.2020.1772701.
Wodak, R.& Forchtner, B. (2018). *The Routledge Handbook of language and politics*. Routledge.

Wagener, A. (2021). The postdigital emergence of memes and GIFs: Meaning, discourse, and hypernarrative creativity. *Postdigital Science and Education*, *3*(3), 831-850.

Wagener, A. (2024). Memes, emotional engagement. *Online virality: Spread and influence*, *9*(101), 9783111311371-006

Wodak, R. Meyer, M. (2016) *Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory and methodology[a]*. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse studies*. SAGE Publications.

Wong, M. L. Y. (2017). Analying aggression of social actors in political protests: combining corpus and cognitive approaches to discourse analysis. *Journal of aggression, conflict and peace research*, *9*(3), 178-194.