



THE GLOBAL CENTRE FOR POLICY AND STRATEGY  
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## GLOCEPS Webinar Series

**Theme: Institutionalizing the Raila Odinga Legacy:  
Constitutionalism, Democratic Reform, and the  
Realization of African Union Agenda 2063**

**Week 10 : Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2026 | Time: 9:00am - 12:00pm**

**Meeting ID: 811 4936 0102 | Passcode: 583430**

**Article 1: *From Resource Curse to Social Democratic Dividend: Financing Universal Social Policy in the AfCFTA Era Using an Odinga Framework* ~ *Dennis Wangombe Ngumi***

**Article 2: *The Sound of Leadership: A Case Study of Raila Odinga's Sonic Signature* ~ *Dr. Obura Elizabeth, PhD. & Barrack Ogada***



**Amb. Solomon K. Maina, MBS**  
**Chair**



**Brig. (Rtd.) W.A.C. Boinett, MGH, CBS**  
**Vote of Thanks**



**Dennis Wangombe Ngumi**  
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**Barrack Ogada**  
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**Dr. Obura Elizabeth, PhD.**  
**Author**



**Dr. Evans Onyango, PhD.**  
**Discussant**



**Dr. Susan Mwangi, PhD.**  
**Discussant**



**Dr. Alfred Makotsi, PhD.**  
**Discussant**



**Dr. Julian Rowa, PhD.**  
**Discussant**



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## GLOCEPS Webinar Series

### Abstract

#### **From Resource Curse to Social Democratic Dividend: Financing Universal Social Policy in the AfCFTA Era Using an Odinga Framework**

*Dennis Wangombe Ngumi*

Africa's expanding reserves of critical minerals and its emergent role in global green-energy transitions constitute a pivotal moment for reimagining the continent's political economy of development. This paper interrogates the conditions under which such resource endowments might be redirected from historically extractive, externally determined accumulation regimes toward the construction of a social democratic developmental settlement rooted in universal social policy. Anchoring the analysis in Raila Odinga's intellectual and political contributions, the study reconstructs his social democratic orientation as a coherent resource-governance paradigm and situates it within broader debates on distributive justice, state capacity, and developmentalism under AfCFTA integration. In so doing, it elucidates how an Odinga-inspired framework could convert mineral wealth into human capability expansion consistent with Agenda 2063 and the SDGs. The paper undertakes a critical examination of the ideological, generational, institutional, and political constraints that have impeded mineral-rich African states from deploying resource rents as stable, long-horizon financing for universal healthcare, equitable education, and robust social protection. Leveraging comparative case studies and elite informant interviews, it reveals how fragmented ideological repertoires, youth-elder asymmetries in political agency, and the dominance of short-term fiscal logics collectively circumscribe policy imagination and entrench path-dependence within extractivist governance architectures. Building on this diagnostic foundation, the paper advances a theoretically grounded and politically feasible "Odinga Framework." This framework comprises three interlinked institutional mechanisms: (1) a strengthened AfCFTA regime on critical minerals and green industrialisation that centres continental value retention and governance harmonisation; (2) reconfigured PIDA financing modalities that explicitly integrate social policy objectives into infrastructure planning; and (3) ring-fenced sovereign wealth instruments engineered to deliver counter-cyclical, intergenerationally equitable financing of universal social entitlements. By embedding universalism within the structural governance of resource wealth, the paper argues that Africa can forge a new social democratic dividend capable of underpinning democratic renewal and developmental transformation.

**Keywords:** Odinga Framework; Sovereign Wealth Funds; AfCFTA; PIDA; Infrastructure Financing; Fiscal Sovereignty; Universal Social Policy



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### Abstract

#### **The Sound of Leadership: A Case Study of Raila Odinga's Sonic Signature**

*Dr. Obura Elizabeth, PhD. & Barrack Ogada*

The political rally is usually seen as a visual spectacle. However, for Raila Odinga, the rally is primarily auditory, and his longevity and authority in the political arena are built through his mastery of the “auditory archive” that defines his distinct soundscape in politics. This study’s main goal is to investigate Raila Odinga’s “sonic signature” in Kenya’s political scene. The objectives are to analyze the vocal timbre and cadence of Odinga’s speech patterns as markers of authority, examine the role of African orature in fostering physiological solidarity among voters, and assess the role of non-lexical chants and musical curation in dominating the acoustic space in Kenyan politics. The study draws on sound studies, African orature, and multimodal discourse analysis. It uses qualitative sonic ethnography to analyze data from digital auditory archives covering the 2013, 2017, and 2022 election cycles. The paper concludes that Odinga’s leadership is characterized by his mastery of the rally’s acoustic space, creating an emotional and rhythmic connection with voters. His sonic performance, where rhythm and tone are relied upon, exemplifies how African leaders use their sonic archives to foster political development through synchronized acoustics, sustaining the African griot tradition.

**Keywords:** African Griot Tradition; African leadership; African Orature; Auditory Archive; Raila Odinga; Sonic Signature.