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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN ZIMBABWE WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO 2008 AND 2013 ELECTION PERIODS

BY

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To God Almighty for his abundant grace and to my husband Pianos and children, Tinotenda, Tikudzeishe and Tanaka for their unwavering support and encouragement.

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ABSTRACT

Elections are a key aspect in all communities and in Zimbabwe they are held after every 5 years. Election discourse is paramount in society and as elections are held, several persuasive elements and occasions come into play as contesting candidates try to garner votes. Election discourse is realised in the aspiring candidates' speeches. Linguistic manipulation is an influential instrument in politics and as such presidential candidates' electioneering discourse is infested with persuasive linguistic elements. Therefore, this study analysed the generic structure of hard news and editorials as well as political manifestos. The nature of linguistic devices invoked for the enactment of political goals and objectives by Zimbabwean newspaper reports in English and Shona were analysed. The study looked at how presidential candidates express themselves to the electorate through language as well. The study demonstrated how newspaper reporters make linguistic choices to express similar content from contending politicians during election time.

The study took a qualitative research methodology. Tools used to collect data were interviews and document analysis. Ten newspaper reporters were interviewed for their extensive knowledge of media situations. The newspaper articles which were based on political manifestos by two of the contending political parties, the MDC and ZANU PF were analysed. Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis were used as theories of analysis.

Findings from the study revealed the existence of certain linguistic devices that are used in the art of persuasion, as candidates campaign for political posts. Characteristic linguistic devices were observed in journalists' reports. These devices include modals, verbs, pronouns, metaphors, repetition, anaphora as well as the use of "us and them" in both the speeches and news reports in English and Shona. The analysis showed a discrepancy between state and independent media as far as news representation of election events is concerned. It is recommended in this study that, there must be a balance in the presentation of politics in newspapers even if there is personal bias in

linguistic choice on the part of individual journalists. A transition model into electioneering reporting came up. The proposed model looks into issues of cohesion in news reports. The study has contributed further insights into the nature, features and functions of political discourse.

DECLARATION ON PLAGIARISM

I, Mugomba Moreen, student number 201614248 hereby declare that I am fully aware of the University of Fort Hare's policy on plagiarism and I have taken every precaution to comply with the regulations.

Signature…………………………………   Date 20/12/2020

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis entitled "CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN ZIMBABWE WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO 2008 AND 2013 ELECTIONS" is my original work and has not been submitted to any other institution of higher learning for the award of any qualification or degree and that all sources I have used have been acknowledged in the text and list of references.

Signature.................................   Date 20/12/2020

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KEY TERMS

Generic Structure

Discourse

Discourse Analysis

Electioneering

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Using Critical Discourse Analysis, this study sought to investigate how language is used or manipulated by politicians and the media during election campaigns in Zimbabwe. In this chapter, the rationale and overview of the study is explained. This is in line with Baron's (2010) assertion that, the first chapter should be the overview of the whole study. Baron (2010) notes that the introduction should provide readers with a brief summary of literature and research related to the problem being investigated, and should lead up to the statement of the problem. Therefore, this section presents the preliminary content or synopsis of the thesis and as such prepares the reader on what to expect in the study. The details are provided in the forthcoming chapters. The chapter begins by presenting the context within which this study was conducted in order to present the reader with the background that informed the study. This is followed by the problem statement, where the researcher discusses the issues or challenges the study sought to address. This is followed by the research aims and objectives of the study where the researcher provides the main procedures that help in answering the research questions that guide this study. Then, the research questions that provide a clear focus of this study are presented. The theoretical framework used in this study, that is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics then follow. A brief methodology that is used in this study is discussed as well. Finally, the definition of key terms is presented**.**

1.1 Background of the study

The primary objective of this section is to provide a brief overview of the research. In this section, I outline the historical developments in the literature that informed the current study. This will be achieved by briefly highlighting the main developments of the research topic and identifying the main gaps that need to be addressed. Specifically, this section is written as a summary of the interpretation of previous research and what this study aims to accomplish. The background to this study and the path that this study takes is mainly informed by the literature review. Specifically, the section explains what is known

about the broad topic, identifies the gaps or missing links that need to be addressed, and explains the significance of addressing those links and finally justifying the rationale for the study.

Studies on the description of language as a means of power and social control have been conducted (Sutopo 2009; Gerstle & Nai 2019; Khajavi & Rasti 2020). In the political discourse, Ademilokun (2015) declares that certain use of linguistic means, may help politicians to accomplish their own political aims, which are to shape people's thoughts and to convince them to act as they desire. In this way, the ideological workings of language help politicians exercise power. Many scholars who have researched about political discourse have observed that politicians manipulate the language by using certain strategies like positive self-representation, others' negative representation, persuasion and so on. Janoschka (2010) holds that one of the main realisations of the political discourse can be seen in election campaigns. Carreon and Svetanant (2017) are of the view that political speeches function in various ways and these functions are reflected partly in the language used in conveying these speeches, hence the current study focuses on the manner the presidential candidates use language in order to campaign for maximum votes. Specifically, the study focuses on the language used by presidential candidates in Zimbabwe, the media in reporting elections and the manifestos for the 2 political parties, ZANU PF and MDC.

The role of the media in election campaign has long been researched and it was observed that more positive and enthusiastic-based campaigns increase media attention, but so do campaigns based on personal attacks and fear appeals (Gerstle & Nai 2019). Therefore, in the current study, the role played by the media is significant; especially the way they use language to cover the election campaigns. Important in the current study is the role played by manifestos during the campaign period. According to Eder, Jenny and Muller (2016), manifestos can provide a compendium of valid party positions, establish supremacy over all other policy positions that may be attributed to the party and thereby streamline the party's campaign and be used as campaign tools to directly inform voters.

As already mentioned above, it is worth noting that the current study relies on the three variables that play a key role during election campaign.

Informed by the above-mentioned previous studies, the current study is a discourse analysis of political communication in election campaigns in Zimbabwe. Elections, as a social practice under political discourse are a common phenomenon in democratic countries and candidates campaign and de-campaign each other in the run-up to the Election Day, using various linguistic forms of campaign (Jakaza 2013). In this regard, Zimbabwean elections are no exception. Elections have been widely studied in Zimbabwe by, among many, Media Monitoring Project of Zimbabwe (2000), Waldahl (2004), Chiroro (2006), Chuma (2008) to mention a few. However, Raftopoulos and Mlambo (2008), Waldahl (2004), Hammar, Raftopoulos and Jensen (2003) have conducted political studies based on the political history of Zimbabwean elections as well as the election results. On the other hand, Munoriyarwa (2020) conducted a study on a critical analysis of the Sunday Mail's and The Telegraph's representation of Zimbabwean's 2008 electoral violence. Since the focus of the above studies have been on the political history of Zimbabwean elections, election results, and electoral violence, however, to the best knowledge of the researcher, no study has been conducted in Zimbabwe that focused on the use of language by presidential candidates, media and party manifestos. Therefore, this study is significant since it is bound to contribute to clarification of the linguistic and rhetorical modes through which politicians try to win the public's attention and ultimately their vote and support.

1.2 The history of Zimbabwean elections

As an important aspect of democracy in Zimbabwe, elections are held regularly, and as Hove (2013) has noted, elections have been a very visible feature of post-independence politics in Zimbabwe and have been conducted whenever they were due; that is in 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2013. Presidential elections have been held in 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2013.Parliamentary elections have been done in 1980,1985,1990,1995, 2000, 2005, 2008 and 2013. There has been the introduction of

senate elections that have been held in 2005, 2008 and 2013 and voting on the Referendum conducted in 2000 and 2013. Elections in Zimbabwe in the 21st century came against an array of activities, including the forceful occupation of white owned farms that took place from 1999, the introduction of National Youth Service in 2003, as well as Operation Murambatsvina that took place in 2004. The variety of authoritative activities just mentioned marked an era of independent press where coverage of events differed depending on the political inclinations of the newspapers.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012) argues that the basic assumption is that elections are an arena in which national issues are specified, opened up to rationale debate, and that political actors then have an opportunity to sell their ideas and policies to voters. Elections thus happen in different scenarios. The 2008 elections were not a one-day event. They could be looked at in the context of a process of several months beginning with the Southern Africa Development Committee (SADC) mediated process in 2007 which was initiated after the beating, arrest and torture of civic leaders on 11 March 2007. Growing concern in the SADC led to an Extra Ordinary SADC heads of state summit in Tanzania in March 2007 in which the then South African President Thabo Mbeki was given the position to facilitate discussion between ZANU PF and MDC (Solidarity Peace Trust 2008). The 2008 elections were held against a period of spiralling economic crisis and continued degeneration of the political situation. The 2008 elections had a run-off after the ZANU-PF defeat in the March elections. These 2008 elections showed ZANU-PF supremacy within the political domain. SADC had declared them free and fair, the African Union did as well but MDC parties and the Western world contested them.

On the other hand, the 2013 elections came against a background of the Government of National Unity (GNU), made up of ZANU PF, then MDC Tsvangirai and MDC Ncube as opposition. The GNU had given hope to the people and had stabilised the economy from its inception. The 2013 elections came after five years of a SADC facilitated Global Political agreement (GPA) that was put in place under the guidance of the then South African president Thabo Mbeki after a contested presidential run-off election in June

2008**.** The controversial land reform programme that took place from 1999 had broken down relations between state and big business. Chuma (2008: 4) provides details on this by saying, "given the centrality of agriculture as the mainstay of the Zimbabwean economy, the effects of the farm occupations were not confined to individual farmers, but to the manufacturing and financial services industries, where capital was predominant.

The 2013 elections were conducted in July soon after the new constitution had just sailed into law. The new constitution had a mixed electoral system and several new features that were being applied for the first time. The elections came at a time when the GNU had failed to reconstitute the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust and the boards of Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, resulting in continued political interference with the editorial independence of the state controlled Zimpapers. The Minister of Information at the time, Jonathan Moyo, had passed a Broadcasting Services Act in 2001, the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) in 2002 and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) in March 2002. The lack of political will to institute media reforms, following commitment in the GPA in 2008 and the subsequent roadmap in 2011, limited media freedom, diversity and access to relevant information on elections. At this point, there was an emergence of the independent press, therefore, the coverage of events became diversified as well. This became a controversial era in the history of politics in Zimbabwe and therefore an interesting area for linguistic study. This is because the elections were held during a controversial period, where two political parties with different interests and ideologies had been working together in running the affairs of the country under the GNU. This amplified the researcher's need to assess how the candidates campaigned and presented their standpoints, which were radically different though they had been ironically operating as a unified body in the GNU. Political authors in Zimbabwe and on Zimbabwean elections like Bratton (2014), Raftopoulos (2013), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012) have always argued that ZANU PF has always violated the electoral law both before and after the electoral process. Zimbabwean elections since 2000 have been a contest between ZANU PF and MDC, providing an arena for resolving their issues and ideologies.

1.3 Problem statement

As already mentioned above, election campaign is a contested terrain where candidates use various strategies to attack their opponents and to persuade voters to support them. This exercise is sometimes characterised by violence. During election campaigns, politicians and journalists address the public through the use of speech and written articles respectively. In doing so they use certain linguistics structures, which help them to convey the message to the electorate. These linguistic structures are chosen purposely to convince, influence and change the way people think. In Zimbabwe, for example, the election campaign is often accompanied by disputes and tensions as political parties jostle for power. Some parties are sometimes accused of using harsh language to intimidate voters and to make threats. At the heart of this problem is the concept of language. Hence, the idea is to problematise language used in election campaigns in Zimbabwe, by both politicians and journalists, in their newspaper articles and manifestos, assessing how language conceptualises the identity and perception of reality by the speaker or writer. The idea is to find out how journalists and political candidates reconstruct election discourse through language and what impact this has on the electorate. Journalists assert their objectivity in writing through the inverted pyramid structure and the study thus assesses if the notions of neutrality, facticity and inverted pyramid structure are key components of objectivity in news reporting. The study clarifies how claims about neutrality and textual organisation might be invested linguistically, by reference to systematically observable features of the textual organisation structures used in hard news and editorials. Whilst we know the language used by politicians that perpetuate violence in Zimbabwe, very little is known about the clarification of the linguistic and rhetorical modes through which politicians try to win the public's attention during election campaigns. It is the aim of the current study to present a critical discourse analysis of the ways in which the two selected political parties presented themselves to the electorate through language use in order to capture their audience's attention in the two selected election campaign periods.

1.4 Research aim and objectives

The study discussed electioneering discourse in Zimbabwe, analysing the speeches by the two presidential candidates, news reports from English and Shona newspapers as well as party manifestos. The study explores how journalistic attitudes or opinions are expressed with regards to different meanings in different newspaper articles. The study analyses the ways in which political candidates appeal to the electorate through the use of language.

1.4.1 Research Questions

In discussing electioneering discourse in Zimbabwe, the study is guided by the following research questions:

- How do politicians use language in their election campaigns?
- What influences the language that is used by politicians in their manifestos?
- Which linguistic structures and tools do journalists use when reporting on elections?
- How does the utilisation of these linguistic structures and tools influence the representation of 2008 and 2013 elections in Zimbabwe?
- What views do reporters have on reporting on elections?

1.4.2 Objectives

The study utilised the Critical Discourse analysis theory to:

- Explore the ways in which politicians use language during election campaigns and the influence they get from their party's manifestos.
- Identify and explain the aspects of language that journalists use when reporting on elections.
- Discover and explore how the utilisation of these linguistic structures and tools influence the representation of 2008 and 2013 elections in Zimbabwe.
- Explore the views that reporters have on reporting on elections.

1.5 Theories

The study was informed by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Critical Discourse Analysis has various "strands" (Fairclough 2005). The theory analyses the ideological dimension of language. The theory explores the role of discourse structures in constituting social equality or inequality. As asserted by Chilton (2005), CDA has tended to draw on linguistics of a certain type where Halliday's (1994) Systemic Functional Grammar has supposedly provided the tool-kit for deconstructing the socially constructed machinery of power. Critical Discourse Analysis analyses language texts whether spoken or written; discourse practices that include processes of text production, distribution and consumption; and discursive events such as instances of socio-political practice (Fairclough 1995). Wodak (2001) asserts that Critical Discourse Analysis' interest resides in identifying how the linguistic forms are used in exploitation and manipulation. CDA broadly examines how language is utilized and manipulated in representation of issues, for example in mainstream news (Wodak 2011). CDA examines how the use of language can marginalise and ignore other voices in news representations (Hackett 2006). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) define CDA as the analysis of linguistic and semiotic aspects of social problems. They view political and social processes as having a partly linguistic discursive character. It should be noted that political parties have hidden agendas behind their statements and dual contexts can be derived from their statements. Certainly, the aim is to go beyond textual analysis to uncover hidden meanings and messages as well as possible interpretation, be it social or political, inherent in a linguistic expression, and its consequence on the hearers. CDA has been useful in this study as a theory rooted in political commitment and applying language practices to uncover the meanings contained in political speeches.

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is concerned with the linguistic resources by which the writer or speaker can express their attitudes, get involved in proposition and the assessment of meanings. SFL views language as a complex adaptive semiotic for making meaning and this adaptive system is elastic, constantly reshaping and extending itself (Halliday 199). To Montes, Barboza and Olascoaga (2014), SFL provides an excellent

means to discover and analyse texts as well as identify linguistic characteristics of texts. SFL looks at the discourse that speakers produce and the contexts of production of these texts since language is sensitive to its context of situation. SFL explores how language is used in social contexts to achieve particular goals. The SFL theory was used in this study as an apt tool to provide a comparative analysis of the electioneering discourse in Zimbabwean news reports from selected English and Shona newspapers as well as political manifestos. The theory has been relevant for this study since it has explanatory potential due to its ability to provide a broad framework in which news articles and manifestos can be explored in terms of both their interpersonal styles as well as their textual organisation (White 1998). A detailed theoretical framework is discussed in chapter 3.

1.6 Research design and methods

The study used a qualitative research methodology, encompassing the Discourse Analytic approach. This is because the analysis of newspapers and manifestos is part of discourse and through discourse analytic approaches the candidates' ideologies, campaign behaviours and actions are demonstrated. Discourse Analysis has been used to analyse a variety of data such as newspaper reports and media interviews (Potter & Reicher 1987) and accounts of journalists and politicians during a political controversy (Potter & Edwards 1996). Discourse analytic approaches, therefore, reveal the meaningfulness of text and talk. Such analytic approaches go beyond the pure examination of words and images that constitute a text but concern themselves too with both the form of the texts and their use in social contexts.

1.6.1 Sampling Techniques

The sampling method used in this study is non-probability sampling. Martin and White (2005) posit that non-probability sampling is one which is suitable for qualitative research. The study used purposive sampling which falls under non-probability sampling. Patton (1990: 33) says that purposive sampling is a strategy in which particular settings, persons or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that

cannot be obtained from another source. For these purposes the researcher purposively selected articles and manifestos that were relevant to the demands of the research questions. The selected newspapers are mainstream in the country and news articles from January to March of each respective election year. The 2008 election re-run was deliberately not covered in the study because the discourse used was similar to that of the first round of the elections. Initially a total of 30 articles had been selected but these were streamlined to 7 following the themes under study and these were subjected to a Critical Discourse Analysis. The 2013 manifestos from both MDC and ZANU-PF were used in the study.

1.6.2 Data Collection

Data was collected from Zimbabwean newspaper articles, from a corpus of 7 purposively selected samples of newspaper articles that covered selected thematic issues on the rundown to 2008 and 2013 elections. The selected newspaper articles provided a multi-dimensional and multi-perspective approach to discourse analysis. Part of the data for the study was collected from the manifestos of the presidential candidates for 2013 elections.

1.6.3 Data Analysis

A Discourse Analytic Approach was used. Data from newspaper articles and manifestos of the two presidential candidates was analysed using van Dijk, Fairclough and Wodak's analysis frames of CDA along the thematic lines of land, indigenisation and job creation. Shona newspaper articles were translated to English for ease of reference.

1.6.4 Definition of terms

Discourse Analysis - This is the study of continuous stretches of language longer than a single sentence (Crystal 1992). Wetherell, Taylor & Yates (2001) and Schimtt (2013) allude to Discourse Analysis as a set of methods and theories for investigating language in use and language in social contexts.

Discourse - Discourse has been defined as a complex study of human activities (Chilton & Schafner 2002), which covers a broad range of subject matters including electioneering campaigns

Electioneering -The discourse of electioneering in this context refers to the right by citizens to express freedom of opinion and expression without interference (Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948). It is all about democracy as elections determine the future of a country. In this study, the discourse is limited to the notions of land, indigenisation and job creation which were the topical issues of the campaign periods.

1.7 Significance of the study

This study focused on election discourse in Zimbabwe analysing topical issues of land, indigenisation and job creation between the contesting parties. This rapidly developing linguistic field of discourse analysis provides extensive possibilities for quality scholarly research in both English and Shona languages. Information from the study is likely to provide insights on language use in electioneering which has a pedagogic relevance and can be used to teach speech writing, registers and public speaking among others. It is an attempt to add to the minimal existing literature on the use of language in political campaigns by politicians and journalists in Zimbabwe. An examination of linguistic manipulations in political discourse is of significance to the academia and the society in general.

The study adds to the existing literature on the use of language in political campaigns by politicians by giving an insight into the impact of ideological inclinations of media houses on their reports, focusing on how politicians try to convince people to vote for them. The media is cast 'in-between' two political giants, ZANU PF and MDC contesting to rule the country. In using a vernacular paper, *Kwayedza*, the researcher gives a cross-linguistic analysis of election reportage in Zimbabwe.

Since the study focuses on the reconstruction of text revealing discourse analytic approaches in which news has been represented, it is significant as an academic effort as it depicts subjectivity and objectivity in newspaper reports and this might be an eye opener to journalists and other media personnel on how best to present their information to the public. Application of Critical Discourse Analysis to electioneering as a discourse domain would lead to extensions and elaborations of the theories. Results of this study are of interest to discourse analysts and media researchers.

1.8 Chapter layout

Chapter 1 covered the usual project plan contents like background to the study, focusing on the statement of the problem, research questions and significance of the study, limitations and definition of key terms in a bid to give a preview of the whole analysis of the issue under investigation. The focus of the study is to analyse the linguistic presentation of 2008 and 2013 elections in Zimbabwe as presented by Zimbabwean newspapers as well as in the party manifestos, using Critical Discourse Analysis as the theoretical framework.

Chapter 2 reviews literature related to the study of language and electioneering and explores the nature of linguistic devices invoked by journalists and politicians to communicate political representation in Zimbabwe. The chapter locates the thesis within the context of related work couched in the terms of other political and linguistic approaches.

In Chapter 3, the focus is on SFL and CDA which form the conceptual and analytical framework used in this study. This chapter reviews theories used in exploring the linguistic devices invoked by journalists and politicians to communicate election discourse in Zimbabwe. The review is done using the theoretical lenses of CDA and SFL:

Chapter 4 outlines the research methodology used in the study with a focus on the linguistic analysis of electioneering discourse during the 2008 and 2013 Zimbabwean elections, newspapers articles manifestos and conducting interviews.

Chapter 5 is the analysis of data from the speeches of politicians, manifestos newspaper articles by journalists and interviews with journalists.

Chapter 6 discusses the findings of the study on manifestos by politicians, newspaper articles and interviews.

Chapter 7 presents the conclusions of the study and discusses recommendations and future research.

1.9 Conclusion

Chapter 1 covered usual project plan contents like background to study¸ research questions, theories, research design and methodology, limitations and definition of key terms. Chapter 2 will cover review of literature relevant to the study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

Chapter 1 covered the problem and its context and these included background to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study, limitations and definition of key terms. These were discussed in a bid to give a preview of the whole analysis of the issue under investigation. The focus of the study as alluded to before is to give a discourse analysis of linguistic utterances by politicians and journalists during the rundown to 2008 and 2013 elections in Zimbabwe. The study analysed articles by journalists as presented by Zimbabwean newspapers as well as in the party manifestos, using Critical Discourse Analysis as the theoretical framework. This chapter reviews literature related to the study of language and electioneering and explores the nature of linguistic devices invoked by journalists and politicians to communicate political representation in Zimbabwe. The chapter locates the thesis within the context of related work couched in the terms of other political and linguistic approaches, reviewing literature relevant to the study.

A number of researches have been conducted on CDA focusing on text analysis. Bill Grabe (1997) explored CDA and reading instruction. He analysed written discourse looking at text organisation. Another researcher, Huckin (1997) says that CDA is context sensitive democratic approach, focusing on social issues. He goes on to say that the primary activity in CDA is to analyse the texts. In his analysis of the 'Nevada Officials Arrest 700 at Test-Site Gulf Protest', he looked at genre, framing, foregrounding, omission, presupposition amongst others. His conclusion was that CDA offers several benefits which are that it engages students to become better readers, uses context to help them look at a bigger picture and be able to analyse the texts and bring out a hidden meaning. Teachers too are able to use a variety of texts and show how they have significance on reading comprehension (Huckin 1997).

To the current researcher's knowledge there is no research that has been done on the analysis of political discourse during Zimbabwe's 2008 and 2013 elections hence this research which will help teachers and learners to be able to get a glimpse of analysed political discourse.

2.1 Electioneering ideologies

In any political environment with party politics, electioneering will take place. Howarth (2000) notes that the election system is an important instrument to empower society as it enables members in society to periodically express their choice of leaders arguably on the basis of presented priorities in their election manifestos. Bartle and Griffith (2001: 2) assert that general elections are widely thought in most democratic nations to closely approximate the "voice of the people" and the source of political legitimacy in democratic societies. Political parties communicate their intentions, priorities and competence to voters who in turn communicate their overall judgments of the parties through the ballot box. The various ways in which political parties communicate with voters where the media deals with parties and presents information to the electorate are therefore of potentially great importance in democratic politics.

Salih (2003) says that elections are always acrimonious affairs, even in the world's most developed democracies, they are usually followed by recriminations and accusations of vote rigging, vote buying and gerrymandering. Those who dare enter the game of electoral politics know that it is in the nature of government to use their incumbency to tilt the balance of power in their favour. Moyo (1992), Makumbe and Campagnon (2000), Sachikonye (2003) and Sachikonye (2011), note that the post-independence electoral system in Zimbabwe reflected an orientation towards a one party state hegemony. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, in a World Press Freedom Day statement in 1997, said that there is "No democratic society that can exist without a free, independent and pluralistic press. This is true both for the country that is holding elections and other countries, as they are often informed on this democratic process through the media". However, this study analysed how language was used in election campaigns, not on

rigging and results as mostly studied. This research would help the voters to realise how they are being manipulated by politicians to vote for them and to be able to understand the language that they use.

Part of the voting patterns in Zimbabwe is for one town/city to vote for a party¸ the next town for another party and so on. Urban areas prefer to vote for opposition parties perceived to be democratic. Rural areas especially in Shona dominated geographical locations have since 1980 voted for ZANU-PF. The Ndebele dominated places have consistently opted for opposition after ZAPU was swallowed by ZANU-PF in 1987.

It is important to have a definition of ideology and relate it to language and electioneering. van Dijk (1998) defines ideology as representations of who we are, what we stand for, what our values are, and what our relationships are with other groups, in particular our enemies or opponents. Fowler (1991: 66) observes that representation always comes from a specific ideological point of view. He says that "anything that is said or written about the world is articulated from a particular ideological position, language is not a clear window but a refracting, structuring medium". Fowler (1991) further asserts that the standard media aims to be descriptive but the major belief is that all news is biased.

The word "ideology" was first introduced at the end of the 18th century to relate to a set of ideas and beliefs (van Dijk 2005) Ideology can be defined in different contexts. In contemporary times, ideology is seen as a compendium of "socio-cultural values, such as equality, justice, truth or efficiency" (van Dijk 1995: 248). Social institutions and groups therefore make a choice out of these values and put them in order of priority (van Dijk 1995, 2005). In political terms, ideology refers to a set of conventions and opinions of a political system (Freeden 1996; van Dijk 2005). In discourse analysis, ideology is defined as "significations or constructions of reality which are built into various dimensions of the forms or meanings of discursive practices and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (Fairclough 1992: 87). Ideology, within the confines of discourse justifies access and control of resources by the dominant

group. The group with a dominant ideology is in the ascendant, thereby "neutralising alternative and oppositional views" (Koide 2012 :12) and the dominated groups accepts these dominant ideologies as natural. This form of ideological dominance in the words of Gramsci (1971) is called "hegemony" (van Dijk 2005; Koide 2012). Ideology within the framework of discourse is an indispensable tool for the dominant group to maintain supremacy of opinion over its counterparts and to position "one group's view of the world as being dominant over another" (Post 2009: 21).

According to Fairclough (1995: 25), the linguistic choices that are made in texts can carry ideological meaning. Language is a material form of ideology and is infested by ideology (Fairclough 2001). Therefore, discourse is seen as a field of both ideological processes and linguistic ones. Journalists make choices among the models they use when coding events in language and such choices are ideologically significant. Newspapers end up developing and propagating various ideologies in relation to electioneering since it is a commonly talked about issue, as well as an issue of national importance. These ideologies may be in favour of or against the electioneering campaigns of different parties, depending on the orientation of the newspapers. Trew (2018) notes the transformation of material from news-agents and other sources into news reports and the transformations a story undergoes from one report to another over a period of time. Such transformations are affected by the writer's ideology.

Fowler (1987: 68) regards language as a social practice, which endeavours to maintain social and institutional relations through the continuous articulation of ideology. As such, Hall (1991) notes that news is the end product of a complex process, which begins with a systematic sorting and selection of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories, therefore it is a creation of journalistic processes. The media selects events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness so news is not simply what happens, but that, which can be regarded as newsworthy. To Fowler (1991), many parts of newspapers which seem not to be quotation of official voices, but rather written articles for which the editor seems to take responsibility, are tinged with an

official ideology because they are written in the formal authoritative style. Ideologies are often subtly inserted into news stories in nuanced ways. Scholars analyse how words, images and sound contained in news stories are used to achieve specific ends, namely to advance the perspective of rich and powerful players. According to Fairclough (1995**:** 43), language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology. Much of the information of a text is not explicitly expressed, it is left implicit. Word clauses and other textual expressions may imply concepts or propositions which may be inferred on the basis of background knowledge. This feature of discourse and communication has important ideological dimensions. The analysis of the "unsaid" is sometimes more revealing than the study of what is actually expressed in the text.

Language connects with ideology via providing vocabulary for its key terms and labels, as well as through channelling ideology in discourse on the whole. Kuhi and Mojood (2014) carried out a cross linguistic study to explore the effect of cultural factors and generic conventions on the use and distribution of meta-discourse within a single genre, using 60 newspaper editorials in English and Persian. The results indicated that genre conventions had a determining role in the writer's choice of some meta-discourse resources that contributed to some similarities in the use and distribution of meta-discourse resources in English and Persian data. In addition, some differences were found between two sets of editorials, which were attributed to cultural or linguistic backgrounds of both groups of editorialists. Such differences can be attributed to the author's beliefs, social values and culture.

Sachikonye (2011) asserts that the ideological framework of the political context in Zimbabwe is one of subscription to the one party state concept by ZANU PF and key state institutions, particularly those that deal with security and information as well as propaganda. The State media is controlled by and provided most space to one particular party, and ensures that national history and values are interpreted from a particular party perspective. The polarisation in Zimbabwean society is best depicted in the press, either pro-government or anti-government. Sometimes objectivity is sacrificed on the altar of

expediency in order to be true to their own chosen position, "therefore if you buy newspapers from one divide, you will get half the story" (MMPZ 2002: 187).

Waldahl (2004) admits that there tends to be a hostile relationship between government controlled media and private media, stemming from ideological differences. Although the media are supposed to advance principles of press freedom, diversity and pluralism, and should work together, there is no tolerance for each other's views. This is because of the different ideological orientations of the newspaper owners, which orients their reporters along their own lines of thinking. Gurevitch, Bennett, Curran & Woollacott (1982: 18) say that the content of the media and the meanings carried by their messages are "primarily determined by the economic base of the organisation in which they are produced, therefore ownership has strong bearing on content".

However, the selection of quotations does not have to be objective, because reporters may report only those bits and pieces of a speech, which they deem significant and which serve their ideological aims (van Dijk 1988:56; Caldas-Coulthard 1994: 298-303). Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 307) and Fairclough (1995: 54) observe that the representation of speech is always mediated and interpreted in one way or other. Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 307) note that "No speech representation is objective or simply neutral…Sayings are transformed through the perspective of a teller, who is an agent in a discursive practice". According to Kress (1983: 135), the use of quotation marks is one of the most significant forms of ideological evaluation of information that is, presenting things as being more or less close to the ideological position of the paper. The notion of ideology suggests distortion and manipulation of the truth in pursuit of specific interests (Fairclough 1995: 46). The media play an important part in the production of ideology (Jalbert 1983: 282). This ideological nature of the media, according to Corner (1983: 279-280), reflect on the construction of news texts and thus determines their contents largely. Many sources state that the media produce and reproduce power and in doing so maintain relations of domination and subordination. It is believed that social, political and economic factors have an effect on how the world is represented in the media. For example, van Dijk (1988:

83) and Fairclough (1989: 51) observe that the media promote the power of dominant groups in society. Jalbert (1983: 282) and Fowler (1987: 68) aver that the production of news is connected with economic and political interests.

Semiosis refers to the process of signification in language and includes a variety of social practices that go beyond the linguistic "text" to include social and political activities, relations, objects and instruments, spatial and temporal contexts (Fairclough 1997; Wodak & Meyer 2009). An example of semiotic structures can be given as that of the Kenya elections in 2013. Apart from the verbal and textual discourses, unique symbolic features of paralinguistic nature defined political campaigns in Kenya during 2013 elections. Symbols such as party colours and flags, party dress codes and branded outfits including clothes, caps, buses and even helicopters were all part of the wider political discourse. Initially, various parties had distinct colours that identified and set them off from the rest of the competitors. For instance, the distinctive colours for the main parties included orange for the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), red for Uhuru Kenyatta's The National Alliance (TNA) Party and yellow for William Ruto's United Republic Party (URP). All these elements constructed a particular identity of the political parties and their ideologies (Michira 2015). In the Zimbabwean context, the MDC used the red colour on their party regalia as well as the open palm while their ZANU-PF counterparts used the clenched fist and the colours of the national flag.

Hall (1991) notes that news is the end product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selection of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories. The media selects events for reporting according to a complex set of criteria of newsworthiness. This entails that news is not simply what happens, but rather that which can be regarded and presented as newsworthy. News values are not simply features of selection but representation, so the distinction between selection and transformation ceases to be absolute. An item can only be selected if it can be seen in a certain light of representation and so selection involves an ideological act of interpretation. Newspapers are full of reports of statements, claims, promises and judgements which are

voiced by prominent people. Therefore, they contain a lot of discourse in prestigious and official public style. The influence of imbalance in accessed voices goes beyond the mere presentation of what would have taken place.

2.2 Use or manipulation of language during elections

Language plays a crucial role in our social and cognitive development and in shaping and expressing our identities (Bayram 2010). "The language we use both reflects and shapes the kind of world we create around us" (Strauss & Feiz 2014: 1). This implies that most forms of public language use are saturated with an ideology reflecting the worldview of the speaker or writer (Simpson 1993). It is important to give a background to discourse, discourse analysis and political discourse before looking into manipulation of language by politicians as this manipulation happens in a social context.

Discourse is socially constructive as well as socially conditioned, it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people (Wodak 2009: 37). The study of discourse is said to deal with both the properties of text and talk and context. (van Dijk 1997:3). Context is defined as another characteristic feature of the social situation or the communicative event that systematically influence text and talk. A text is made up of words and sentences whose importance is its meaning. These meanings are coded in words and sentences. A text is considered therefore as both a product and as a process.

As alluded to by Fetzer and Lauerbach (2007), in mediatised mass democracies, political discourse in the media is the only way in which people ever encounter politics. This study focuses on newspaper reporting, especially focusing on hard news and editorials as well as political manifestos, therefore it investigates the connections between media, language and the world. Language is tailored with a particular audience in mind (Scannell 1991). Bell (1991) points out that the audience is usually the most important factor in choice of language style. Martin (2004) is of the view that the relationship between language and community is a central concern of what Gee (1991) calls social linguistics, which sees

language as both a tool for action and scaffolding of human affiliation with cultures and social groups and institution. The study therefore, looks critically into the way language that was used to represent 2008 and 2013 elections in Zimbabwe.

van Dijk (1997), Brown and Yule (1983), Stubbs (1983), and Fasold et al (1990) offer publications on language as discourse with English being their reference, thus this study has an advantage in its reference to the Shona component that Western writers do place specific focus on. That gap in knowledge is essential to fill in order to give the world a picture of what goes on in news elsewhere. Zimbabwe's case is an important one in world news. It is worth noting that political leaders construct their discourses strategically in the best way possible in order to fulfill the end goal of appealing to the voters. van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach talks about one such strategy - the ideological polarisation between 'Us 'and 'Them' where the speaker emphasises 'our good' and 'their bad', simultaneously de-emphasising 'our bad 'and 'their good' (van Dijk 2006). Political discourses hold a great importance in the field of Critical Discourse Analysis. A speaker often has to establish multiple identities among various socio-economic groups and to do this they use language as a medium to build these identities.

Chilton (2004: 14) argues that there is a crucial though unclear relationship between politics and discourse that is perceptible at almost every level of public life. Discourse analysis is the analysis of language in use, therefore, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purpose or function which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs. It refers to the linguistic analysis of naturally connected spoken or written discourse. Discourse analysis attempts to study the organisation of language above the sentence and clause, and therefore to study larger linguistic units such as conversational exchange or written texts as well. It is concerned with language in use in social contexts and in particular with interaction or dialogue between speakers. Therefore, the study of any aspect of language use in social contexts, for example, political campaigns, is the study of discourse (Brown & Yule 1983; Stubbs

1983; Fasold et al 1990). Despite the fact that in a campaign rally the audience will not answer back, properties of discourse would still be in operation.

On the other hand, manipulation is a crucial concept in political discourse. Political actors, be they individuals or groups, frequently have the intention of manipulating reality through making very careful choices in their use of language in order to achieve political goals and for obtaining political effect. The focus here is on painting a positive picture of the issues being addressed in the minds of their interlocutors and "hide(ing) the negative within particular formulations" (Wilson 2001: 400). Therefore, political campaigns are dynamic struggles between candidates to define the information and context of voters. They communicate the promises of the candidate, that is, financial, emotional, functional and psychological thereby creating voter relationships with the candidate. Kaid (1999) states that the linguistic characteristics of the political manifesto presented by the candidates allow them to communicate to voters the superiority of their attributes over those of the opponents, and by so doing, they are able to garner votes.

Language can be used to take control of those with whom there is a conflict of interest, a process known as "language manipulation" (Rudyk 2007). Manipulation is defined as "a communicative and interactional practice, in which a manipulator exercises control over other people, usually against their will or against their best interests" (van Dijk 2006: 360-361). In language manipulation, the power inequality relationship is established through the construction of a dominant ideology for which language is the fundamental medium (Post 2009). Language itself has no power assigned to it, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term.

The art of effective language utilisation, by which politicians gain their intended political advantage, is of essence in the world of politics. This entails that "the connection between language and politics is strong as political action itself is carried out through language" (Bello 2013: 86).

2.3 Manifestos

Manifestos are particularly important documents as they present an outlook and view of the politicians.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* describes a manifesto as a written or spoken "public declaration...proclamation...explanation, or justification of policy issued by a head of state, government, or political party or candidate, or any other individual or body of individuals of public relevance, [such] as a school or movement in the Arts"**.** McDonald (2001) asserts that parties usually issue a manifesto in which they outline the policies that they advocate for and it is in these election manifestos that ideological goals and aims are formulated. A manifesto is an open public statement of the party's ideas and proposed policies and a concrete embodiment of the party's construction of itself, its relation to other agents and its interaction with the context as a whole. Manifestos therefore, arm politicians with all party information, to provide to the people as and when necessary. They are couched in persuasive diction and force the voter to be informed in his or her decision based on the party's position on the issues and vision that the party holds. They convince the voter on what decisions to make despite voter tendencies or compulsion from other pressures. Eder et al (2016) and (Budge 1987: 18) note that even though people do not read manifestos much, they (manifestos) "nevertheless do constitute the major indirect influence on what parties are seen standing for". Though they are documents intended for public consumption, and extensively covered by the media, very few of the electorate read manifestos (Cooke, Kavanagh & Brack 2000: 1). Manifestos define and set the tone of the campaign. In this regard, Wardhaugh (2011: 113) argues that language speakers will adjust their language to accommodate the needs and expectations of their audiences, and the same happens with political candidates.

Parties then fight elections rallying behind a manifesto, laying down policy priorities and positions, and a team of leaders committed to them. A manifesto can guide sophisticated voters, who through reading it can select the party closest to their ideal policy package. A manifesto guides the media in reporting as it provides information about how parties

see the world and provide a blueprint for policy change. For a manifesto to be recognised as such, it must contain a declaration of the intentions of the individual or group producing the manifesto. The manifesto is representative of the party in general, whatever its internal disputes, with the content often discussed and influenced by the wider membership. Laver & Garry (2000: 620) note that manifestos are "strategic documents written by politically sophisticated party elites with many different objectives in mind". Any party's main goal is to be elected into office and as a result, manifestos are written by party elites with additional electoral-strategic considerations in mind. Budge, Tanenbaum & Bara (1999), Cooke, Kavanagh & Brack (2000), Fairclough (2001), McDonald (2001), Pearce (2004), Mendes & Budge (2004), Charteris-Black (2006), Aman (2009), Edwards (2012, Elischer (2012), Chaney (2013), and Eureka & Crosthwaite (2018) have made significant contributions on studies about manifestos.

McDonald, Mendes & Budge (2004), and Eureka & Crosthwaite (2018) define manifestos as open extensive declarations of individual ideologies for campaigns, comprising small texts in terms of word count but with massive implications for voters' perception of the candidates' political leanings. A manifesto is both an open, public statement of the party's ideas and proposed policies, and a concrete embodiment of the party's construction of itself, its relations to other agents, and "their best known document to the electorate" (Cooke 2000: 1). Through their "textual emphasis", manifestos often "set the tone and themes of campaign discussion" (Budge et al 1999: 2), and after the election they are used as a reference point by the party, its political opponents, and the media to confirm the extent to which election promises have been fulfilled, or to claim that they have been broken. If elected, a party or parties in a power-sharing government will claim to have a mandate for the implementation of its policies and ideology on the basis that the electorate voted for its manifesto. Manifestos have attracted the attention of politically-oriented discourse analysts, (Pearce 2004; Charteris-Black 2006; Aman 2009), as no other document has this degree of power and influence.

Journalists will cross-question politicians during and after election campaigns on the statements made in these documents. Pressure groups and opposition politicians will refer to pledges made and promises broken in the government's manifesto (Cooke et al 2000). Manifestos define the areas and boundaries of their party's electoral debate and are a source of policy and ideological record for the public, politicians and journalists alike. Election manifestos are important in setting the tone of the campaign and defining the battleground on which the fight will be won or lost. At independence in 1980 manifestos came into use for the first time to Zimbabwean blacks who had never before voted in their lives. So many promises were made by all parties. Blacks were excited at the prospect of new jobs¸ responsibilities¸ accountability¸ scholarships¸ businesses and an endless list of possibilities. Part of present thesis is to present details of manifestos in Zimbabwean election campaigns.

We can distinguish, at least, three functions that a manifesto can serve, that is it provides a compendium of valid party positions, establishes supremacy over all other policy positions that may be attributed to the party and thereby streamlining the party's campaign, and used as a campaign tool to directly inform voters (Eder et al 2016)

Publishing a manifesto in each election is a time-honoured activity that parties are widely expected to undertake. The presentation of the manifesto to the public is a symbolic act that often signals the beginning of the campaign's hot phase. They constitute primary and official statements on parties' priorities. Klingemann et al (2006) argue that the manifesto is unique in being the only authoritative party policy statement approved by an official convention or congress. Party members then have to conform to the common party line, preserving the party's brand name. The language used in these manifestos will be analysed in chapter 5.

2.4 The role of media in covering election campaigns

Free media is a prerequisite for open political discussion as the media is placed in critical spotlight in an election campaign (Waldahl 2004). Gurevitch & Blumer (1990) allude to

the political importance of the media. The media themselves function as political actors and plot their own political courses. Media that are open to different political ideologies allow all sides to present their views and defend people's right to express their political opinions and strengthen society's democratic foundation. However, media that exclude or condemn particular political views undermine the position of democracy in people's perceptions (Gurevitch & Blumer 1990). The media articulates, organises and expresses the views and priorities of the politicians to the voters. By commenting extensively and favourably on different political parties' initiatives, the media serves as loyal channels for particular parties and politicians. Thorough and balanced information from the media as well as advice on how the political system operates enhances people's opportunity to express their political rights.

Although it plays an informational role, the media in Zimbabwe is visibly divided among ownership lines. The State media pushes forward the government propaganda while independent media pushes independent candidates' propaganda. The focus of this study is on the assessment of how the media present election issues. Are the articles balanced, impartial and fair? Are there any discrepancies in the way they report on the same election events? Such are the questions that the study attempts to answer.

The Zimbabwean constitution promotes freedom of the media and expression, however, this is hampered by interference and the implementation of strict media laws. In its 2008 report, Reporters without Borders ranked the Zimbabwean media as 151st out of 173 countries with strict media laws. Understanding a news report means that readers are able to construct a model in their minds of the events the news report is about. van Dijk (2008) argues that journalists themselves have a model of each news event and they will generally write their reports in such a way that readers form a model that is at least similar to their own model of such an event.

Framing is the way in which issues or problems can be understood. The media does not only reflect reality but they recreate and reshape it through signifying practices and

representation (Ndlela 2005: 2). In January 1981, the government set up the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) as part of its new media policy, intended to serve as an authority to oversee the transition of the media from white minority control to Zimbabwean society as a whole and to regulate the media. ZMMT was a vehicle not just for changing staff and editorial policy of the papers but to set in the management and operations of the public media from white minority control to serving the interests of the broad section of Zimbabwe society as well. The government emphasised that the media should be free, non-partisan, and mass-orientated and serve the national interests. Such interventions would mean that Zimbabwe would be free from State structures as had been before. However, the ZMMT ended up as a non-entity and the government directly controlled editorial policies at Zimpapers.

McNair (2003: 14) argues that knowing that modern political contests are largely mediated experiences, "an understanding of the contemporary political process is inconceivable without an analysis of the media". Sandbrook (1996) argues that the media constitute bellwethers of democracy therefore their coverage of elections which themselves are a feature of democracy can help strengthen or weaken democracy participation.

Democracy is popular because it means the people make the important decisions through elections that are free and fair, and the government respects those decisions (Ross 2004). Article 21 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression without interference, including the right to seek, and impart information and ideas through any media. Therefore, through professional journalists, the media informs citizens of the issues of their choices so they can decide for themselves for whom to vote.

IMPACS notes that for many people, an election is a crucial decision about the future. If the election goes well, the country can continue towards democracy and peace. But if the election goes badly, it can undermine democracy and turn the country back towards conflict. In this modern age therefore, the media is one of the most powerful influences

on how an election runs inside the country, and how it is perceived from outside. However, it is important to note that elections are a great challenge for the media, as journalists need to know the election rules. They must report fairly on all candidates, parties and issues, thus being the voice of the voters. This means that the media must be reliable and have opportunities to form independent and diverse views.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) contend that the role of the media in any policy is clearly manifested during the period of electioneering or campaigning mainly due to the media's political socialisation of the electorate. The media's behaviour is intimately connected with how people's political environment is perceived, how their agenda of public issues is shaped and how they cast their votes (Lang & Lang 1991; King 1997; Walgrave & Van Aelst 2006). Generally, voters do not have direct access to political candidates so they rely on the media to understand the personalities of the candidates as well as the issues associated with them.

Singh (2012: 27) notes that the media can unconsciously contribute to conflict. Such passive incitement to violence most frequently occurs when journalists have poor professional skills, when the media culture is underdeveloped. Under such circumstances, journalists can inflame grievances and promote stereotypes through the manner in which they report, even though their intentions are not necessarily malicious. What is important to note is that the coverage goes through some 'digestion' process (Jakaza 2013). The interest from a discourse linguistic perspective is on wanting to examine how the different newspapers, with varied ideological slants digest electioneering discourse. Through the analysis of newspaper reports in Shona and English, the study compares the different reporting stances and cultural values depicted in different newspapers (Thomson, Fukui & White 2008; Thomson & White (2008).

2.4.1 Polarisation of the media in Zimbabwe

Repression and democratisation will always clash and two irreconcilable sides would emerge. Polarisation always occurs where there are extremes in socio-political behaviour.

Media polarisation is a conflict situation which has many players trying to influence the outcome. A polarised media does not mirror what is happening and this confuses the readers. Journalists are not operating as political activists and receiving gratification for being biased in reporting political stories. Gerber, Karlan & Bergan (2009) revealed in their study that a voter's opinions and preferences are affected by the type of news they read.

Hetherington (2009: 429) cited in Nyaungwa and Garman (2019) notes that "polarisation suggests that people come to perceive that their views of right and wrong and good and bad are diametrically opposed to those of their opponents, making it difficult to understand the worldview that makes those preferences possible". In Zimbabwe, polarisation is influenced mainly by the country's prevailing political environment as the media are aligned with the prominent political parties whose supporters become their readership.

2.4.2 Broadcasting policy in Zimbabwe

It is necessary to outline the broadcasting policy in Zimbabwe. Broadcasting approaches might be affected by a similar range of regulations, prohibitions and censorship found in newspaper production. Reporters without Borders (2008), Chiumbu et al (2009) and Chari (2013) discuss the broadcasting policy in Zimbabwe.

According to Chiumbu et al (2009), the local press is dominated by pro-government newspapers published by the Zimbabwe Newspapers Group (Zimpapers). The company is majority-owned by the government, which holds 51.09 per cent of the shares, with Old Mutual, one of the biggest financial institutions in the country, holding 23.80 per cent and the remaining 25.11 per cent is owned by private companies. Zimpapers publishes the dailies that include *The Herald*, with a circulation of 40 000, and *The Chronicle*, 22 300. The remaining private press is largely confined to three weeklies, *The Financial Gazette* (9000), *The Standard* (15 000) and *The Zimbabwe Independent* (22 000). The Zimbabwe Independent and The Standard are published by ZimInd Publishers (Pvt.) Ltd, which is majority owned by Trevor Ncube, who at one time owned the South African based *Mail &*

Guardian. *Newsday* and *Southern Eye* are other dailies produced by ZimInd. Another private paper is the *Daily News*.

Chari (2013) notes that at independence in 1980, Zimbabwe inherited a relatively diversified media terrain including the blossoming of the private press during the political and economic transitions dominated by the white capital. The period between 1980 and 1990 saw the rapid growth of the privately owned media. Chari (2013) further notes that the government acquired the Rhodesia Printing and Publishing Company from the South African based Argus newspaper group making it the major shareholder in the Zimpapers. Zimpapers was owned by the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust (ZMMT) which owned the Zim-Inter Africa News Agency (ZIANA), Zimbabwe Information Service (ZIS) and the Community Newspapers Group (CNG) as well.

In Zimbabwe, independent newspapers critical of the government, including the *Financial Gazette*, *Daily News* and *The Standard* emerged in the 1990s when there was a decline in popularity of the government. The independent press competed with the more dominant state media, the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC). The emergence of this new media, along with civic groups and opposition parties, successfully changed government policy from a one-party state to a multi-party system.

Although private press was common and still exists, since the 2002 Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) was passed, which replaced LOMA from 40 years earlier, a number of outlets were shut down by the government, including The Daily News in the same year. As a result, many press organisations have been set up in both neighbouring and Western countries by exiled Zimbabweans, using the Internet, for example, The Mail and Guardian in South Africa, *New Zimbabwe.com¸ Nehanda.com, Bulawayo News 24* and *Inkundla.com*. The Mail and Guardian in South Africa is an old paper established by people of European descent in South Africa long ago. Trevor Ncube bought it from these white South Africans and South African blacks bought it back from Ncube after Julius Malema's Economic Freedom Fighters claimed and insisted that

papers in South Africa could not be owned by foreigners especially Zimbabweans. However, because the internet is currently unrestricted, many Zimbabweans are allowed to access online news sites set up by exiled journalists. Reporters Without Borders (2008) claims that the media in Zimbabwe involves surveillance, threats, imprisonment, censorship, blackmail, abuse of power and denial of justice, all brought to keep firm control over the news. Opposition views are often skewed, scantly covered or not mentioned in the state media, which has criticised demonstrations and strikes against the government. Until July 2009, a Zambian newspaper, The Post, was the only foreign newspaper allowed to work in the country, along with the Associated Press, Agence France-Presse, Al Jazeera and SABC news agencies. In the 1970s, criticism was levelled at Rhodesia's Official Secrets Act, which made it a crime to publish articles related to "classified information" and the Law and Order Maintenance Act (LOMA), which allowed the state to impose exceptionally heavy sentences on those who violated the ban.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS: SYSTEMIC FUNCTIONAL LINGUISTICS AND CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on literature review related to the study where the main focus was on language used in electioneering. The focus was mainly on the use and manipulation of language during elections, a review of literature on manifestos and the role of the media in covering election campaigns. This chapter reviews theories used in exploring the linguistic devices invoked by journalists and politicians to communicate election discourse in Zimbabwe. The review is done using the theoretical lenses of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) by Halliday (1985, 1994), Martin (1992) and Matthiessen (1995); and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theories by Fairclough (1995, 1998, 2001, 2003), Wodak (1996, 2001), van Dijk (1998), and Wodak & Meyer (2001). These theories are relevant for the study because both of them focus on text analysis. They further analyse themes and language in context. It is important that both theories form part of the study because there are areas where they differ. SFL looks at issues of foregrounding, coherence and cohesive references while CDA goes on to look at language in social contexts and power relations. A review of these theories will shed light on their application and relevance in election discourse in Zimbabwe.

3.1 Justification of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis

Most studies on discourse analysis and CDA refer to Halliday's work, especially to SFL, therefore, an understanding of this theory to linguistic analysis is required to understand CDA. The study adopts Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as one of the study's theoretical frameworks to investigate how speakers position themselves inter-subjectively, with respect to other speakers in a text, that is, how information is presented in selected newspapers and manifestos. Stubbs (1996: 1) opines that:

> whenever speakers or writers say anything, they encode their point of view towards it. The expression of such speakers' attitudes is pervasive in all uses of language. All sentences encode such a point of view ... and the description of the markers of

such points of view and their meanings should therefore be a central topic for linguistics.

The SFL framework provides the researcher with principles and devices on how to conduct a linguistic inquiry on the use of language in a particular context.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on the other hand highlights how participants construe their worlds and how they reflexively seek to change aspects of such worlds and reconstruct them. Thus, CDA has been used in the study to show the importance of socio-cultural context, values, attitudes and power in the writing process. Historically, some newspapers have had a particular editorial bent, leaning in one political direction or another. They might have a strong affiliation with a particular political party or a set of political ideals. Widdowson (1998) argues that subscribers of CDA have adopted SFL to uncover bias and ideological representations contained within texts so that is why the two theories were used together in this study.

The analysis of newspaper texts and manifestos, especially those with common themes of land, indigenisation and job creation, points us towards interesting dimensions of language use. It is therefore necessary to explore the linguistic means by which a text's authorial voice is constructed since the modern news report has distinctive textual characteristics which equip it to naturalise ideologically informed judgements about social significance and the moral order (White 1998). Such are the features that the study critically analysed through Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis.

The functional orientation is seen from the aspects of language as functional, getting things done, conveying information and establishing social relations. SFL's functional view of choices in language as indexes of social meanings and assumptions intersects with the goal of CDA to understand how socio-political or socio-cultural ideologies are intertwined with language and discourse. With its attention on selection, categorisation and ordering of meaning in text, SFL has provided an important theoretical background

and specific analytic tools for critical discourse analysis to study discursive operations in text, which bear ideological significance. Furthermore, both approaches see language as a medium that serves to construe experiences, perceptions, and consciousness (Li 2011).

3.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Systemic Functional Linguistics was developed by Halliday in 1976 after being inspired by Malinowski and Firth (Langendoen 1968). It was further developed by Hasan & Halliday (1976), Martin (1992) and Matthiessen (1995). SFL places importance on language function than on language structure. It is concerned with the linguistic resources by which the writer or speaker can express their attitudes, get involved in proposition and the assessment of meanings. SFL views language as a complex adaptive semiotic for making meaning. This adaptive system is elastic, constantly reshaping and extending itself. To Montes et al (2014), SFL provides an excellent means to discover and analyse texts as well as identify linguistic characteristics of texts. Downing (2001) expresses a similar notion augmenting that the aim of SFL is to provide the syntactic, semantic and textual information necessary to enable the hearer to analyse, not merely isolated sentences, but any naturally occurring text into several different types of structure.

SFL looks at the discourse people produce and the contexts of production of these texts since language is sensitive to its context of situation (Montgomery 2006). According to Eggins (2004), systemic functional approach to language helps us to analyse and explain how meanings are made in everyday linguistic interactions. SFL explores how language is used in social contexts to achieve particular goals (Almurashi 2016), analysing language in terms of four strata, that is context, semantics, lexicogrammar and phonology. Context is integral to the overall process of making meaning. Halliday Matthiessen (2004) talk of context of culture, known as genres, and context of situation, known as register as well. Discourse semantics has three metafunctions, which are the textual, interpersonal and ideational. Lexicogrammar includes both grammar and vocabulary in one stratum and represents the view of language in both lexis and grammar. Phonology refers to the sound system, the writing system and the wording system.

The approach is a descriptive and partially interpretive framework, wherein language is viewed as a meaning-making resource, deriving its roots from the view of the relation between language and society, proposed by Malinowski (1923). Malinowski defined meaning, with reference to the given culture. White (1998) then realised that while attempting to translate the written texts of the Melanesian islanders, Malinowski realised that without knowledge of the cultural context and situation, meaningful translation was impossible. Such a Malinowskian view has eventually led to the meaning-as-function in context premises which is generally recognized as the foundation of the SFL approach. SFL tries to provide a clear relationship between functions and grammatical systems basing on Halliday's (1973: 6) belief that "language is as it is because of its function in social structures". SFL tries to understand the quality of texts, why a text means what it does and why it is valued as it is (Halliday 1994). Therefore, the present study has assessed the context of situation in electioneering and its relationship to the language produced.

Halliday (1994) in Eggins (2004: 2) argues that, "the aim of SFL has been to construct a grammar for purposes of text analysis, one that would make it possible to say sensible and useful things about any text…in modern English". Thus in media discourse the theory has been used to say sensible and useful things by Iedema, Feez & White (1994) and White (2002) among others. This particular study employed the theory to say sensible and useful issues about newspaper and manifesto discourse particularly in Zimbabwean election discourse.

Two aspects of function in context and multifunctionality of language are essential aspects of SFL. O'Donnell (2011) discusses the two important kinds of relations in language description, which are syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations. Syntagmatic relations are concerned about how a sentence can be composed of a sequence of words, each serving a distinct grammatical function, while the paradigmatic relations are concerned with how different words could be substituted for each of the words of the

sentence. Chandler (2011) then notes that such terms bring in the notions of chain and choice. These two axes have equivalents in Systemic Functional Grammar in chain and choice, a system is a set of paradigmatic choices, a structure is a syntagmatic phenomenon, a chain of elements, in which each element is the result of some paradigmatic choice (Viscido 2015).

Systemic functional grammar focuses on the paradigm, setting out the choices available in a particular language context and describing possible syntagms that could be produced (O'Donnell 2011). The set of choices in a particular linguistic context is called a system, while the set of systems together for a particular linguistic level are called a system network. A systemic network describes the set of options available to the language user at this level, both in terms of the choices available as well as the structural consequences of these choices. Therefore, a systemic approach allows one to focus on meaningful choices in language with the assumption being that meaning implies choice (Matthiessen & Halliday 1997).

SFL assigns three social functions to languages, which are the interpersonal, the ideational, and the textual (Eggins 2004). These three functions of grammar can help uncover what experiences, perceptions, and consciousness are embodied through language, how information is structured and presented, and how meanings about various interactions are expressed. White (1998) notes that textual resources act to organise the flow of interpersonal and ideational meanings as they unfold in a text. The text becomes the written communicative exchanges in the form of newspaper articles. These articles convey ideational, textual and interpersonal meanings through the contextual values of field, that is, the nature of the social action enacted; tenor, that is, the social nature of interpersonal relationships; and mode, that is the role played by language in mobilising these meanings (Halliday 1978; Halliday & Hassan 1985; Martin 1992; White 1998).

The context of situation is modelled in three important strands, which are field, tenor and mode. Field refers to the subject matter of discussion at any situation, answering

questions such as what is going on in the text, what are people doing? Tenor refers to the relationships of main characters and roles of people in social status, that is, who is taking part, their status and roles. Mode concerns the idea of channel of communication, the symbolic organisation of a text and in this instance, it is the written mode (Eggins 2004).

3.2.1 Interpersonal Meta-function

Interpersonal meta-function refers to language's function in establishing and maintaining interpersonal relationship, that is, how language is used to interact with other people (White 1998). It can be used to reflect the speaker's point of view or to influence others' attitudes and behaviours. Since the interpersonal demonstrates how social relationships are enacted in language, people are its main concern. It allows members of a speech community to participate in communicative acts with other people, taking on roles and expressing the understanding, feelings, attitude and judgements. These are meanings, which locate the interlocutors in a social order. The major grammatical system of this function is mood and modality analysis (Matthiessen & Halliday 1997; White1998; Eggins 2004).

Racher (2017) notes that the mood system is located on the stratum of lexicogrammar, at the level of clause rank. It is a resource for realizing exchanges in the development of dialogue (Teruya et al 2007: 866). As a consequence, the primary speech functions can be mapped onto the mood type choices typically found in the mood systems of languages and their various realisations. Statements are prototypically realised by means of declarative clauses, questions by means of interrogative clauses, and commands by means of imperative clauses, whereas offers do not generally correspond to a specific choice in the system of mood type, but may be realised in various ways. Racher (2017) discusses the mood element in English as distinct from other languages and he quotes Caffarel, Martin & Matthiessen's (2004) and Thai's (2004) description of the French and Vietnamese languages respectively.

Halliday & Matthiessen (2014) note that the mood element is the most distinctive aspect of the grammatical system of mood. The mood component has two elements and these are:

> i) The subject which is the typical nominal group and provides "something by reference to which the proposition can be affirmed or denied, that is the entity in respect of which the assertion is claimed to have validity.
>
> ii) The finite which is part of the verbal group. It limits the clause in relation to the context of speech event by means of primary tense which relates to the clause at the time of speaking and modality which refers to the speaker's judgement regarding the likelihood that a proposition is true or regarding the desirability of a proposal. Polarity refers to the choice between positive and negative, and is related to the mood element through realisation in the positive and negative forms of the finite operators in English.

3.2.2 Ideational meta-function

The ideational meta-function focuses on how language is used to organise, understand and express people's own perceptions of the world and their own consciousness. (Halliday 1994; White 1998). These are meanings which construe an external reality.

The ideational focuses on how language is used to construe experiental meaning, i.e... what's going on, who's doing what to whom, where, when, why and how, and the logical relation of one going on to another (Martin & White 2005: 7).

This meta-function explains how people use language to describe doings and happenings. According to Tshotsho (2006), this meta-function consists of the experiential and the logical, with the resources of transitivity and lexis involved in representing experience, conveying both new information and elements that are unfamiliar to the listener. The logical meta-function is involved in the matter of building connectedness between the meanings of clauses. Such connectedness is realised in those resources in the grammar which are involved in two different sets of relationships, those to do with the interdependency between clauses and those to do with the logico-semantic relationship

between clauses brought about by expansion (Halliday 1994). The experiential meaning has to do with the way words in sentences are associated with issues and events in the world (Hassan 1989) and its grammatical system is transitivity.

Under the experiential analysis, transitivity is a system of functional grammar that describes the way that people use language to represent patterns of experience (Eggins 2004). Ong'onda (2016) cites Beard (2000: 30) saying transitivity involves looking at the language used to describe what happens, who the participants are, both those who do something and those affected by what is done, and what the circumstances are. Transitivity analysis is concerned with syntactic variations in language use and the propositional meanings and functions of the variations, offering insights into the writer's perceptions of actions, events, and situations, giving a picture of how linguistic structures of a text construct specific ideologies. From a social perspective, Fairclough (1992) points out that transitivity analysis offers insights into the social, cultural, and ideological factors that may influence how a process is signified linguistically in a particular text.

Transitivity in the systemic functional sense is concerned with construing the world of experience, that is, physical or mental, into a manageable set of process types (Halliday & Matthiessen 2004). These process types, depending on the world of experience, may be material e.g. *move*, verbal e.g. *tell*, mental e.g. *think*, relational e.g. *be*, or behavioural e.g. laugh. Language enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality to make sense of what goes on around them and inside them. The term process, as Halliday used it, corresponds roughly to the concept of a verb in traditional grammar and processes are the words we use to the represent the "goings-on" e.g. running, saying, thinking, smiling, feeling, building, and so on, of which our world consists. Halliday & Matthiessen (2004) further note that though processes are very much contextualised, they are associated with the participants in the process, that is, those doing, saying, or sensing something, or having something said or done to them, and the circumstances associated with the process, for instance, the context or environment in which something is done, said, or sensed. There are the participants, human or non-human who are participating in these

processes. Then the circumstances in which the processes occur and the where, when and how they took place.

3.2.3 Textual meta-function

The textual meta-function focuses on how information is packed and distributed in text, making use of language to relate to what is said and written in the real world. It refers to how language is used to express judgements and attitudes. This meta-function deals with language choices in the text that leads us to determine the type of genre found in the texts. These are meanings by which these interpersonal and ideational meanings are organised in the unfolding text. The major grammatical functions are themes, information and reference. Downing (2015) cites Halliday (1970) saying it is only because we can select the desired form of the message that we can use language effectively, both to represent an experience and to interact with those around us.

O'Çhi (2007) quoting Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 3) consider a text in SFL as the product of ongoing selection in a very large network of systems. According to Halliday & Hassan (1976), a text is regarded as a semantic unit of meaning which has clauses that are contextual properties that hang together. The unified whole is formed through texture (Hassan & Halliday 1976; Halliday & Hassan 1985). Texture involves the interaction of two components which are coherence and cohesion. Coherence is the text's relationship to its extra-textual context, that is, the social and cultural context of its occurrence, and cohesion is the way in which the elements within a text bind together as a unified whole. Eggins (2004) then argues that the interaction of these two dimensions result in a piece of language which is using linguistic resources in a meaningful way within a situational and cultural context. Therefore, a text is best regarded as a semantic unit, a unit not of form but of meaning (Hassan & Halliday 1976).

In news reports, issues of the constitution of texts are fundamental. Halliday & Hassan (1985) and White (1998) discuss the two parameters of textuality, which are textual structure and textual cohesion. Textual structure concerns itself with constituent parts of

a text and how they fit together to form a textual whole while cohesion concerns itself with properties of sentences by which they are felt to cohere into a semantic unit. The sense of cohesion obtaining within a text derives from the operation of ties which bind elements across sentence boundaries (Halliday & Hassan 1985). These ties are of semantic nature and have a mutually determining relationship. The interpretation of one element relies on the interpretation of another.

Eggins (2004) suggests that texture of texts involves both the text's relation to its external context and internal cohesion. Eggins (2004) further suggests that there are three main types of cohesion, which are cohesive reference, lexical cohesion, and conjunction cohesion.

Figure 3.1: Meta-functions of SFL (Adapted from Halliday 1994)
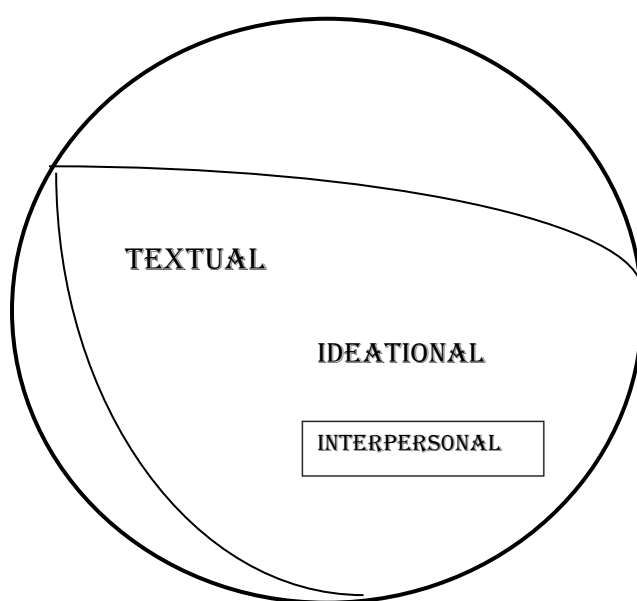
3.3 Critical Discourse Analysis

The study focused on the manipulation of language by politicians in the 2008 and 2013 elections as well as how pro and anti-government newspapers used their organisational powers to disseminate and apply ideology and viewpoints in the same election periods. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used in this instance as one of the theories to

interrogate the language that was used by politicians towards the 2008 and 2013 elections in Zimbabwe. (Fairclough 1995: 747) notes that being critical in CDA involves "making visible the interconnectedness of things" rather than simply "criticising". CDA is a branch of linguistics that seeks to understand how and why certain texts affect readers and hearers. Thus CDA has been used in the study to show the importance of socio-cultural context, values, attitude and power. Historically some newspapers have had a particular editorial bent, leaning in one political direction or another. They might have a strong affiliation with a particular political party or a set of political ideals. Widdowson (1998) argues that supporters of CDA have adopted SFL to uncover bias and ideological representations contained within texts.

Using this theory, the researcher analysed the ideological dimension of election discourse in Zimbabwe based on Okulska & Cap's (2010: 227) view that CDA "offers an ideological examination of political communication, involving an examination of how attempts are made to forge connections between message source and recipients in terms of identities, and in particular, national identities". Political parties have hidden agendas behind their simple statements and dual statements or contexts can be derived from the stated statement. In the study, Critical Discourse Analysis is greatly important in exploring the role of discourse structures in constructing social inequality.

The analysis of newspaper texts and manifestos, especially those with common themes of land, indigenisation and job creation, points us towards interesting dimensions of language use. It is therefore necessary to explore the linguistic means by which a text's authorial voice is constructed since the modern news report has distinctive textual characteristics which equip it to naturalise ideologically informed judgements about social significance and the moral order (White 1998). Such are the features that the study critically analysed through Critical Discourse Analysis.

Critical Discourse Analysis is not a homogenous theory or conceptual framework. It is a broad spectrum of several approaches associated with scholars such as Robert Fowler, Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak who view language as a form of social practice. CDA seeks to show how ideological presuppositions are hidden underneath the surface structures of language choices in text (Machin & Mayr 2012). It encompasses different approaches which engage in the social analysis of discourse, and these approaches differ in theory, methodology and the type of research issues to which they tend to give prominence (Fairclough & Wodak 1997). Liu & Guo (2016) argue that the rise of CDA has its roots in Critical Linguistics, which was coined by Fowler and Kress in 1979, in which they adopted Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics as the fundamental theoretical framework. Theoretically, CDA has drawn on the social theories of Althusser (1984), Gramsci (1975), Foucalt (1980) and Bourdieu (1984) to analyse the workings of power through language and discourse.

The theory was preferred in this instance as it sought to unpack linguistic persuasive strategies, concealed meanings and ideologies in newspaper reports in Zimbabwean elections. van Dijk (2004: 11) opines that "it is eminently here that different and opposed groups, power, struggle and interests are at stake. In order to be able to compete, political groups need to be ideologically conscious and organized. Thus, CDA theory views language as a social practice (Fairclough & Wodak 1997) and the context of usage has to be considered in the analysis of discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis has been used in the study because of its heavy emphasis on contextual knowledge and it allows for use of texts, which have substantial contextual knowledge, for example, texts dealing with current topics in public discourse.

It is important to note that different CDA theorists agree that CDA is primarily concerned with language use as a socially constructed practice. The theory seeks to explain the complex relationships between the structure of texts and their social functions, maintain differential power relations and structures including most prominently those developed by Fairclough (1985) as well as Hart & Lukes (2009).

3.3.1 Defining CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a highly context-sensitive, democratic approach which takes an ethical stance on social issues with the aim of improving society (Huckin in Miller 2007). CDA is an approach to language use that aims to explore and expose the roles that discourse plays in reproducing or resisting social inequalities (Richardson 2006). It is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. CDA also focuses on sentence and word level analysis The practice of critique in CDA involves the need to situate the data within a social context. Accordingly, CDA refers to factors such as culture, society and ideology in determining the meaning and consequences of discourse (Fairclough & Wodak 1997). Critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (van Dijk 2011: 466).

This study has used Critical Discourse Analysis to identify and decode some of the often unconscious and unstated ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and interests encoded in newspaper texts and manifestos. CDA embraces a variety of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse, which may differ in theory, methodology, and research focus (Wodak & Meyer 2001). An important goal of CDA is to reveal the way in which language of a text positions readers to view and evaluate social and political reality in particular ways. Through the analysis of grammar, CDA aims to uncover the hidden ideologies that can influence a hearer's view of the world. The "critical" aspect of CDA makes it different from other branches of Discourse Analysis (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000; Darweesh & Muzhir 2016). Within its critical paradigm, CDA also reveals underlying ideologies such as inequality, power asymmetry or struggle and social change, brought about by language (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000; Darweesh & Muzhir 2016). The theory is interested in uncovering ways in which social structures of inequality are produced in and through language (Lin 2014). Thus, CDA has been used in this study to examine the relationship between language, ideology and power.

Blommaert & Bulcaen (2000) assert that the purpose of CDA is to analyse opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language". Weiss & Wodak (2003: 14) clarify that "language is not powerful on its own" but "gains power by the use powerful people make of it". This explains why CDA researchers often choose to analyse the language of those in positions of power (Weiss & Wodak 2003: 14). Therefore, CDA studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take a partially linguistic form. The critical approach is distinctive in its view of the relationship between language and society, as well as the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed. Critical discourse analysis, in Gee's (2004: 32-33) view is "an approach to language analysis that considers texts as parts of specific social practices that have political implications about issues of status, solidarity, and of distribution of social goods and power". "CDA examines how texts represent and construct reality within a specific ideological system through implicit messages based on what is said and left unsaid" (Heros 2009: 173).

Wodak & Meyer (2001: 2) state that the main aim of CDA is to investigate critically, social inequality, as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimised and so on by language use. This is done within certain cultures as Fetzer & Lauerbach (2007) assert that the goal of CDA is to describe the coding and interpretation conventions of a culture in certain discursive domains. The object of critical discourse analysis is to uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the worlds of our written text (McGregor 2010: 4). It aims at systematically exploring often opaque relationships between discursive practices, texts, and events and wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes. McGregor (2010: 3) argues that Critical Discourse Analysis tries to unite and determine the relationship between three levels of analysis, which are:

- The actual text.
- The discursive practices.
- The larger social context that bears upon the text and the discursive practices.

It should be noted that mind control and manipulation are two important concepts in CDA that are achieved through political discourse. Wodak (2001) asserts that CDA's interests reside in identifying how the linguistic forms are used in exploitation and manipulation. In this regard, focus is on how the newspaper reporters' and politicians' ideological inclinations impact on their presentation of the same events. It remains a fact that CDA follows a different and critical approach to problems, since it endeavours to reveal power relations that are frequently constructed and hidden and then to derive results which are also of practical relevance.

Contextually based control derives from the fact that people understand and represent not only text and talk, but also the whole communicative situation. Thus, CDA typically studies how context features, such as how the properties of language users of powerful groups, influence the ways members of dominated groups define the communicative situation in "preferred context models" (van Dijk 1997; Grad & Martin Rojo 2008). CDA also focuses on how discourse structures influence mental representations. At the global level of discourse, topics may influence what people see as the most important information of text and talk, and thus correspond to the top levels of their mental models. For example, expressing such a topic in a headline in news may powerfully influence how an event is defined in terms of a "preferred" mental model e.g. when crime committed by minorities is typically topicalised and headlined in the press (van Dijk 1997).

McGregor (2010: 2) argues that Critical Discourse Analysis challenges us to move from seeing language as abstract to seeing our words as having meaning in a particular historical, social and political condition. Hence, Critical Discourse Analysis studies real and often extended instances of social interaction which take place partially in linguistic form (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 448). Critical discourse analysis can be seen as aiming to critically investigate issues of related texts. It aims to help the analyst understand the social problems that are mediated by mainstream ideology and power relationships, all perpetuated by the use of written texts in our daily and professional lives.

According to van Dijk (2006: 259), the theory and practice of CDA focuses on the structures of text and talk, namely power enactment and discourse production as well as the socio-cognitive interface between dominance and production. CDA looks to "establish connections between properties of texts, features of discourse practice, that is, text production, consumption and distribution, and wider socio-cultural practice" (Fairclough 1995: 87). The purpose is to analyse "opaque" as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 448). Its other purpose is not to provide definite answers, but to expand our personal horizons and make us realise our own shortcomings and make unacknowledged agendas or motivations as well as that of others. It is a resource for people who are trying to cope with the alienating and disabling effects of changes imposed upon them. This theory is about critically analysing spoken or written texts in the form of interactions, discussions, conversations or communications of topics under study. More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways in which discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society (van Dijk 1988). Thus CDA explores the relation between language, cognition and culture in Zimbabwean election reporting.

3.3.2 Approaches to CDA

Since CDA is a multidisciplinary approach, it can be looked at from different viewpoints. With its continued expansion as a discipline, several approaches have become key through application and development. These approaches are derived from eclectic theoretical backgrounds with specific methodologies adapted to suit the particular features of the social order under investigation (Wodak 2004). van Dijk (1988), Fairclough (1995) and Wodak (1996) take different positions on what constitutes CDA, in suggesting what discourse, analysis and critique are. Fairclough takes sociology, social semiotics and SFL as his foundations, Wodak places the discourses into historical context including society and politics and van Dijk places particular emphasis on text linguistics and cognitive linguistics (Liu & Guo 2016: 2). The following section outlines several key CDA approaches that are now in common use.

3.3.2.1 van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive theory

van Dijk (1988) attempts to demonstrate the relationship between the three levels of news text production which is structure, production and comprehension and their relation with the wider social context. Such relations take place at two levels, microstructure and macrostructure. Microstructure analysis focuses on the semantics between propositions, syntactic, lexical and other rhetorical elements, such as, quotations, direct and indirect reporting. Macrostructure refers to the thematic structure. Thematic structure defines the overall coherence or semantic unity of discourse (van Dijk 1988). Therefore, discourse is regarded as a communicative event.

According to van Dijk (2006: 252), CDA is primarily interested in and motivated by the endeavour to understand pressing social issues. Wodak (2009: 7) argue that CDA emphasises the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in and transmitting knowledge in organising social institutions. The model is able to deal with the ideology laden issues since a socio-cognitive approach is able to explain how ideologies monitor practices of social actors in the society. van Dijk's model is based on the interconnection among cognition, discourse and society.

van Dijk integrates cognitive theories with linguistic and social theories and his socio-cognitive theory of Critical Discourse Studies proposes a three-layer model of the interrelationships among discourse, cognition and society (van Dijk 2009).

Figure 3.2: Discourse – Cognition – Society Triangle
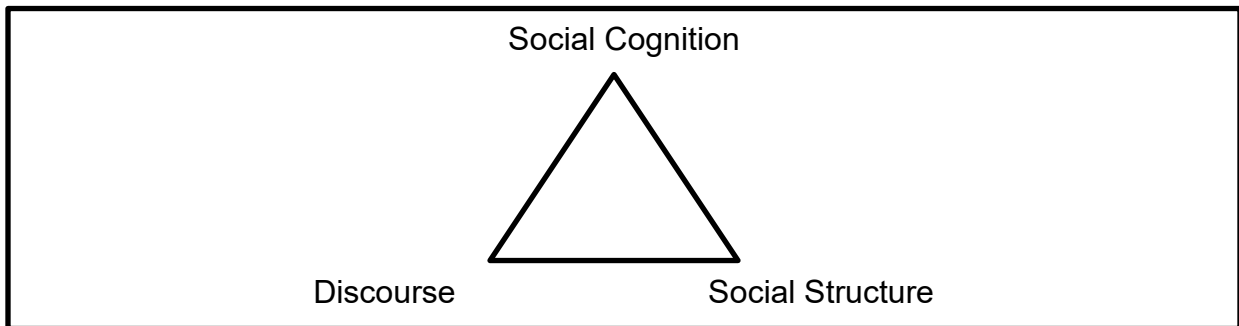
Adapted from van Dijk 1995

van Dijk (1995: 18) defines social cognition as "the system of mental representations and processes of group members. To him, ideologies are…the overall, abstract, mental systems that organised…socially shared attitudes". Therefore, ideologies indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members in their interpretation of discourse. van Dijk talks of the "Us versus Them" dimensions in which the speakers of one group present themselves positively, reneging those of the other group. van Dijk (1995) uses cognitive schema theory, e.g. context models, as the middle layer to mediate between structures of language and discourse, e.g. lexical choices, rhetorical strategies, at the micro-level and structures of society at the macro-level, e.g. gender, ethnic, sexual categories. To van Dijk, the micro-macro distinction is only an up and top-down linkage of discourse and interaction with societal structures (van Dijk 2009: 83).

van Dijk (2006: 120-121) departs from the Marxist perspective and defines ideology as the "foundational beliefs that underlie the shared social representations of specific kinds of social groups that form the basis of discourse and other social practices". van Dijk (1995: 31) asserts that ideology functions as a medium through which to define, enact, and sustain relationships of power "and is expressed in various structures of text and talk". In this regard, van Dijk (1998: 103) conceptualises an "ideological square" in the manifestation of exclusionary discourse, involving "positive self-presentation and negative other presentation" van Dijk explains the construal of global meanings and topics

in news discourse through the semantic macrostructure headline and lead. He lists in detail the dominant discursive operations engaged in the production of ideologically biased news reports at the micro-level of the text. van Dijk also provides ethnographic insight into news values applied in the editorial selection of worthy news events and actors. While the news media has undergone extensive changes as a result of digitalisation, van Dijk's 1988 framework continues to provide a thorough description of the discursive practices of the news media from a CDA perspective.

This study adopts van Dijk's (2005) political discourse analysis framework in analysing language and ideology, using the overall strategies of the ideological square:

- ☐Emphasize *Our* good things
- ☐Emphasize *Their* bad things
- ☐De-emphasize *Our* bad things
- ☐De-emphasize *Their* good things

The focus then is on positive self-representation and negative self-representation in order to have a deep understanding of the different texts under study. van Dijk (2005) polarises actors into in and out groups and how the former project their positive side but downplay their negative side.

3.3.2.2 Wodak's Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)

Wodak (1996) notes that critical means not taking things for granted, opening up complexity, challenging reductionism, dogmatism and dichotomies, being self-reflective in research, and through these processes, making opaque structures of power relations and ideologies manifest. Wodak's approach focuses on critiquing the naturalisation and masking of ideologies in everyday language and discourse. Wodak & Ludwig (1999) also claim that where there are no power relations or where there are no connections between values and norms, discourse will not exist. There is emphasis on historical contexts of discourse in explaining and interpreting process. Her studies place emphasis on racial discrimination and political discourses (Wodak & Ludwig 1999).

As its name indicates, the emphasis within this framework is on the historical and socio-political features of context in analysing a discourse. The term "historical" serves a pivotal role in her CDA framework (Alhumaidi 2013). The Discourse Historical Approach has three notable features which are, identifying topics and texts of a specific discourse, investigating discursive strategies and examining linguistic means as types and the specific context dependent on linguistic realisations as tokens. In it, it is believed that language manifests social processes and interaction and constitutes these processes as well (Wodak & Ludwig 1999). The DHA, thus has these notable features. First, discourse involves power and ideologies. Second, discourse is always historical, it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before (Wodak & Ludwig 1999:12). This is similar to Fairclough's notion of intertextuality. The third notion is of interpretation where people perceive different information differently, because of their different background knowledge. Wodak & Ludwig (1999) therefore, assert that the right interpretation does not exist, a hermeneutic approach is necessary.

In the words of Wodak, CDA "studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take linguistic form partially. The critical approach therefore is distinctive in its view of the relationship between language and society as well as the relationship between analysis and the practices analysed" (Wodak 1995: 173). Wodak's model of CDA amalgamates information regarding the historical sources and socio-political circumstances in which the discourse is produced. It also investigates the factors that induce changes in some discourse genres diachronically (Wodak 2000 in Rashidi & Souzandehfar 2010: 58).

3.3.2.3 Fairclough's Dialectical-Relational Approach

Fairclough (1995) pioneered CDA and recommends a critical, relational analysis of discourse in the context of neoliberal economics, since the character of the economic system affects all aspects of social life. Faircough developed CDA partly as a response

to Habermas' warnings that communication is easily distorted and thus public debate can be harmed because clear information is not freely available. Rather, unusual for social theorists, both Fairclough and Habermas concern themselves with the capacity for advertising, marketing and promotional discourses to 'colonise' many domains of contemporary social life (Fairclough 1993: 139). Fairclough's broad objective in his work in CDA is to develop ways of analysing language which addresses its involvement in the working of contemporary capitalist societies. Fairclough (1989: 40) is of the view that through analysing language, its ultimate purpose is to raise people's consciousness towards exploitative social relations. Focus on capitalism/capitalist societies is because capitalism is the dominant economic system internationally and that the character of the economic system defects all aspects of social life.

Fairclough (1992, 1998) views language use as a social practice, involving various social activities, directions and changes, such as cultural, economic, ideological and political ones. Fairclough (2010) also views power as main figure in language use making analysis of power a significant element of language processing. Power relations, therefore, do not just become class relations, but also ethnic and cultural relations. Therefore, Fairclough concludes that ideology and power are significant themes for CDA in language study. Fairclough's micro-level of analysis as the first dimension of his framework considers discourse as text which analyses the linguistic features of texts (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000; Alhumaidi 2013; Bazargani 2015). This level of analysis involves vocabulary selection and patterning, that is, metaphor, wording; grammar, for instance, intransitivity, transitivity, passivization, modality; cohesion, for instance, conjunction, clauses; and "text structure (Blommaert & Bulcaen 2000: 448)

Chouliaraki & Fairclough (2010: 10) note that CDA "is not just analysis of discourse…, it is part of some form of systematic trans-disciplinary analysis of relations between discourse and other elements of the social process". To Fairclough, CDA is analysis of dialectical relations between discourse and other objects, elements or moments, as well as analysis of the internal relations. Dialectical relations are relations between objects

which are different from one another but not fully separate in the sense that one excludes the other. In this instance, dialectical relations are between discourse and power. Therefore, Fairclough sees language and discourse as social practice, suggesting that critical analysts should commit not just to analysing the texts, nor the processes of production and interpretation but to analysing the relationship between texts, processes and their social conditions (Zhang 2014).

It is relational in the sense that its primary focus is not on entities or individuals but on social relations. Social relations are very complex and they are also layered in the sense that they include relations between relations. Relations can include relations of communication between people who talk, write and in other ways communicate with each other; they can also be relations between concrete communicative events such as conversations or newspaper articles and more abstract and enduring complex discursive objects like languages, discourses and genres.

CDA sees "language as a social practice" (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258) and considers the context of language use to be crucial. Fairclough distinguishes three steps along with the three dimensions of discourse which are discourse as text, discursive practice and social practice. Corresponding to these are description stage, interpretation stage and explanation stage. Zhang (2014) notes that as for news discourse, texts refer to the news reports we read in newspapers, the words on the page, the interaction that involves the production and consumption of news reports and contexts refer to the background of the events reported, both situational and social reality. He argues that when dealing with CDA the first stage is to describe the formal and structural characteristics of the text while, to interpret the connections between text and interaction follows and social context comes as a last step (Fairclough 1989: 260). The text stage deals with linguistic features of news reports, properties of vocabulary, grammar and analysis structures. Interpretation concerns the relationship between text and interaction, dealing with intertextual phenomena of news production from the perspective of news sources and speech reporting. Social interaction, which is explanation, is concerned with the relationship

between interaction and social context. This stage unmasks the hidden ideology and its relationship with language use.

3.4 How to do CDA

CDA primarily focuses on text analysis and to do this, it points to those features from the texts that appear interesting and critical (Tshotsho 2006). Several tools can be used in text analysis using CDA and these include genre, framing, foregrounding and presupposition among others. It is thus important for a reader to be able to understand and recognise the genre of a text. Huckin (2004) argues that genre knowledge enables the analyst to detect and interpret deviation in a text allowing the analyst to see why certain statements appear and the purposes they serve. Although news articles are meant to be objective and neutral, some reporters insert an occasional loaded word to slant the report. Therefore, writers know how to manipulate a genre to produce special effects.

Framing is another part of text interpretation in CDA. It refers to how the context of a text is present and shows the angle that the writer is taking and it can be done through narratives, storytelling, us and them and visuals among other ways. Close to framing is foregrounding, which is emphasising certain concepts and de-emphasising others (Huckin 2004; Tshotsho 2006). An example of foregrounding would be having the topic sentence at the beginning of the paragraph. Information that follows that topic sentence will be backgrounded. In relation to foregrounding is topicalisation. This refers to what the sentence is all about. The writer chooses what to put in a topic position. Therefore, the topic sentence is important and it is carried over to the next sentence reinforcing the importance of the text. This brings in the element of the passive and active voices where in one sentence participants can be agents while in others they are recipients. Since newspaper articles follow the top–down approach sentences occurring early are foregrounded while those occurring later are backgrounded.

Another way of doing CDA is through manipulation. Manipulation in CDA can be noticed through presupposition, which is using language in a way that appears to take certain

ideas for granted. It is common in public discourse and other persuasive speech and is manipulative because it is difficult to challenge. The same words in a text can have connotations or special meanings derived from the frequent use of a word in a particular context (Huckin in Tshotsho 2006). Depending on the socio-cultural knowledge and background, some statements presuppose and assert further information.

Insinuations are comments that are slyly suggestive and like presupposition, they are difficult for readers to challenge. They have double meanings, therefore the speaker/writer can always take the meaning as understood by the reader and /listener and background the real meaning and intention. Other ways of doing CDA as asserted by van Dijk (2005) include authority, hyperbole and metaphors. People in different ideologies cite or quote authorities to support their cases, be they the church, media, scholars or international organisations among many. Hyperbole or exaggeration is also used. People exaggerate in describing their positive characteristics and their negative ones. Metaphors can be used for exaggeration as they are more persuasive. All these strategies signify rhetorics, semantics, argumentation, style or political strategy. There is also the use of antithetical pronomination through the use of pronouns.

3.5 CDA Common elements

Despite their divergent views, all critical discourse analysts try to explore the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power relations within social structures. Wodak, van Dyk and Fairclough coincidentally pointed out that the critical perspective in CDA just implied doing discourse analysis with an attitude and that attitude was not merely to criticise but virtually a dialectical view of the relationship between language, power and ideology. Wodak & Meyer (2001) say that CDA is not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach. CDA emphasises the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constructing and transmitting knowledge, in organising social institutions or in exercising power (Graham 2002; Lemke 2002; Martin

& Wodak 2003). Power and ideology are concepts central to CDA as it often analyses the language of those in power. Ideologies, as commonly described are a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values.

Wodak & Meyer (2001) sum CDA by defining it as being fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance discrimination, power and control as manifested in language. In other words, CDA aims at critically investigating social inequality as expressed, constituted and legitimised by language use. Thus, Habermas (1967: 259) notes that, "language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimise relations of organised power".

CDA acknowledges that texts are produced and read in real-world context, therefore, it is context sensitive. It is also an integrated form of analysis since it unites the text, the discursive practices that create and interpret the text, and the social context. It also shows how all these are interrelated. Texts that are chosen must have real life consequences. It also assumes that people's notions of reality are constructed through interaction with others and through using language. The primary activity of CDA is the close analysis of written or oral texts that are culturally influential to a society. The meaning of a text derives from how those words are used in a particular social context. What unites these seemingly diverse efforts in CDA inquiry is CDA's central concern with different forms of social inequality and domination and subordination that are being reproduced through language and discourse, and its commitment to working towards effecting change and improvement of such situations.

Similarly, to Fairclough's approach towards CDA, in van Dijk's model, discourse and society are the major dimensions. What differentiates these two frameworks is the mediation between discourse and society. The mediation is cognition according to van Dijk, but Fairclough sees mediation as discourse practice.

3.6 CDA Criticism

CDA as a methodology has been criticised. It is very similar to earlier stylistic analyses that took place in the area of literary criticism. Widdowson (1995) argues that many of the concepts and analytical models of CDA are vague. Many elements of CDA have been criticised as being subjective not objective and CDA analysts are accused of taking sides. Schegloff (1997) says that CDA has been criticized for not always providing sufficiently detailed and systematic analysis of the texts that it examines. Its users are not thorough in the claims they make though it has an important agenda of social significance. Cameron (2001) says its major weakness is on reliance just on the analyst's interpretation of texts hence we run the risk of making overtly subjective or sweeping claims.

Also, other CDA critics agree that texts are arbitrarily selected, they are limited in length leading to concerns over representativeness of the texts selected. There are limitations and difficulties in drawing any conclusions (Stubbs 1997; Wetherell 1998; Verschueren 2001). Wodak & Meyer (2001: 12) summarise the criticisms on CDA as follows:

- The political stance is taken explicitly by the researchers.
- CDA often uses a very large theoretical framework that does not fit the data.
- CDA uses a broad context to interpret texts.
- CDA is a hermeneutic approach to text analysis (uses interpretation)

CDA is a political form of discourse analysis. It espouses an agenda of change hence the theory is not consistent (Billig 2002). This means that it has different standpoints and Breeze (2011) supports this saying it is not easy to define politics, power, ideology, critical discourse and analysis. Maposa (2015) studied CDA in African contexts and noted that it is a discourse study with an attitude, with multiple positionings, trying to fit different fields and studies. Therefore, CDAs problems are real life problems, serious problems that threaten the lives and well many.

However, Swirimon & Zilli (2017) argue that although CDA, just like any other approach, has received harsh criticism, conducting it with some thorough procedures can help increase the ability to describe texts and to bring out the ideologies concealed. CDA has previously been criticised for selecting and using only a small number of texts, leading to concerns of representativeness of the texts selected, and thus susceptibility to the researcher's bias in selecting texts for analysis.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed theoretical notions that can be used in the analysis of political discourse in electioneering. Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis were used as theories that informed this study. SFL focuses on text and CDA has to do with social inequality and subordination as reproduced through language and discourse. Chapter 4 will deal with research methodology.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the research methodology used in the study with a focus on the linguistic analysis of electioneering discourse during the 2008 and 2013 Zimbabwean elections. The discourses that were analysed were drawn from newspaper articles, party manifestos and through interviews. It should be noted that the intention was not to politicize the study but to find out and assess how politicians and journalists make linguistic choices that have an impact on election news reporting and manifestos. It was therefore of paramount importance to come up with a research methodology that best suit the study of electioneering in Zimbabwe in order to generate new knowledge. In this chapter, focus is on the research design, research methods, data collection and data analysis methods and ethical considerations

4.1 Scope of the Research

Language is a powerful tool in election discourse to both politicians and journalists. Language helps journalists and politicians in the presentation of news and manifestos to the electorate. The study covers interesting epochs in the Zimbabwean political history which are the 2008 and 2013 elections. The 2008 elections came when the country was in economic, social and political turmoil, while the 2013 elections were conducted in an environment after the Government of National Unity (GNU), a coalition of ZANU PF, MDC T and MDC M. It has to be noted that the 2013 elections took place when the country had not fully effected the political reforms that could have led to the smooth running of the elections. Although the reforms were not yet effected there are some notable changes that had occurred in the country in the areas of the economy, social and politics. At this time the country was slowly moving from its political quagmire to more stability and this had brought hope to Zimbabwean citizens. However, it is important to note that it was the first time in the history of Zimbabwe to have a government that included a coalition of three different parties. These three political parties obviously had different philosophies and ideologies and directions of leading the country. The interest of the study is in

analysing language that is used in presenting election discourse in newspapers by journalists, and the discourse used in party manifestos. These discourses are analysed using SFL and CDA as theoretical frameworks.

Central questions in this study are; how do politicians use language in their election campaigns? What influences the language that is used by politicians in their manifestos? Which linguistic structures and tools do journalists use when reporting on elections? How did the utilization of these linguistic structures and tools influence the representation of 2008 and 2013 elections in Zimbabwe? What views do reporters have on reporting on elections? This study used selected newspaper articles, manifestos and interviews with research participants. By virtue of analysis of newspapers and manifestos as historical records, this study has become in part desk review of literature and content analysis of documents. The newspapers and manifestos were accessed from pro and opposition party newspaper houses.

4.2 Data Sources

The data was sourced from The Herald, The Sunday Mail, The Standard, The Daily news and Kwayedza. Zimpapers (1980) houses The Herald, The Chronicle, H-Metro, The Sunday Mail, The Sunday News and The Manica Post. It also has Kwayedza and Umthunywa as indigenous newspapers. Zimpapers is the oldest newspaper publisher (https:/www.herald.co.zw/abt-zimpapers, Eribo & Jong-Ebot 1997). The Standard falls under the Alpha Media Holdings which is one of the three largest media companies in Zimbabwe. It is owned by Trevor Ncube and is published weekly under ZimInd publishers where Masiyiwa has a stake. Finally, the Daily News belongs to the Associated Newspapers of Zimbabwe stable. It originated in 1998 and was banned in 2003 and became operational again in 2010. Its motto is telling it like it is. In terms of circulation, The Herald has 6,000,000 readers; The Sunday Mail 104,608; and The Standard 787,447. Data was also sourced from the manifestos of ZANU PF and MDCfor the period 2013.

4.3 Research Design

A research design addresses the planning of scientific inquiry. Babbie & Mouton (2001) define a research design as a blueprint of how one intends to conduct the research, focusing on the end-product, that is, what kind of study is being planned and what kind of results are aimed at. Design also focuses on the logic of the research, that is, what kind of evidence is required to address the research properly. Following on ideas by Babbie & Mouton (2001), Kothari (2004) defines a research design as the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure. It is the overall plan according to which the respondents of a proposed study are selected, as well as the means of data collection or generation. It is the specific procedures involved in the research process, data collection and data analysis. The study used a qualitative research design.

4.3.1 Qualitative Research

The study adopted a qualitative approach involving the analysis of newspaper articles on elections and manifestos of the ZANU PF and the MDC during the 2008 and 2013 elections. Kothari (2004) asserts that qualitative approach to research is concerned with the subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behaviour. Maxwell (2012) argues that qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena, that is to say, it aims to help us to understand the social world in which we live and why things are the way they are. It is concerned with the social aspects of our world. The study used a qualitative approach in document analysis to analyse articles published in the government-controlled newspapers as well as private owned Zimbabwean newspapers. This has been a qualitative study where instead of using statistics, words were analysed to describe the electioneering phenomenon under study.

Qualitative research is concerned with developing explanations of social phenomena. It aims to help researchers to understand the social world in which they live and why things are the way they are. It is concerned with the social aspects of our world (Punch 1998). Qualitative research was chosen in this context as it provides rich, context bound and

naturalistic information (Bullock, Little & Millham 1992; Creswell 1994; Creswell 2014). Through qualitative research design, this study has focused on how journalists report on the same election events but from different perspectives, basing on their personal or newspaper ideological inclinations. As indicated by Borg & Gall (1989), the main purpose in qualitative research is to compile a body of knowledge that is unique to an individual case or specific context.

Through qualitative study, the researcher was able to study political discourse and communities in their natural settings. Cohen (2014: 337) adds that qualitative data analysis involves "making sense of data in terms of the participants' definitions of the situations, noting patterns, themes, categories and regularities". Qualitative research attempts to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of meaning people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln 2011). It has been used in this regard to linguistically analyse election discourses in Zimbabwe. Qualitative research approaches value cultural differences and participants' voices as well as researchers' inter-subjectivity, which aligns to the focus of this study. This is in line with the theoretical notions of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis.

In using the qualitative research design, I intended to construct an understanding of reality as entailing ever-changing and evolving process, noting patterns in the themes constructed. This is in line with Myers (2019) notion that qualitative research is designed to help researchers understand people and the social and cultural contexts in which they live. Qualitative data in this study was derived from newspaper articles and manifestos as well as interviews with newspaper journalists.

4.3.2 Case Study

According to Thomas (2016), case study helps in observing, collecting data analysing and presenting the findings. The major aim of employing case study is to create detailed understanding of a particular topic. Denzin & Lincoln (2008) stated that case studies are a more common way of doing qualitative enquiry. They maintained that case study is not

a methodological choice, but a choice of what is to be studied. Case study method helps the researcher to carefully examine phenomena within the natural situation of a study. It could be used mostly when much information is not known about a study and could equally provide more detailed information to what is already known about a previous study (Labare & Scimeca 2016). The benefit of using a case study is that it simplifies complex concepts. The examination of the data is usually done within the place in which the activity is taking place, where the researcher is able to interview or observe the subject within a particular environment (Yin 1994). Usually a case study decides to examine in detail a particular geographical area or a specific number of individuals as the subjects of study. The focus of a case is usually on the intensive study of a single unit (Nock, Micheal & Photos 2007). Case study allowed the researcher to have in-depth exploration of complex events within their natural environment. Therefore, exploratory type of case study was used. This is a single case because it refers to only election discourse in Zimbabwe during the 2008 and 2013 elections. The researcher was interested in getting detailed information on the language used by politicians when they campaign for elections and also the language used by journalists when they report on elections with the aim of making voters aware of how they are manipulated to vote for certain candidates.

4.3.3 Discourse Analytic Approach

The study used a discourse analytic approach where grammar, intertextuality and context are necessary. These were discussed in detail in chapter 2. Discourse analysis is the study of naturally occurring language in any social context and is one of the numerous approaches to qualitative research. These provide an exhaustive analysis of the text through which even the intentions and influences of the author can be seen. Through the use of Discourse Analytic Approach, language use in election discourse can be evaluated as it is used by journalists and politicians and an assessment of how it affects the recipients of the newspaper articles and manifestos can be done. Widdowson (2004) says that discourse affects both what a producer meant and what a text means to the receiver. The study encompassed the Discourse Analytic Approach, as analysis of newspapers and manifestos is part of discourse and through discourse analytic approaches, the

candidates' ideologies, campaign behaviours and actions as well as manifestos are shown.

4.4. Research Instruments

Research instruments are tools a researcher uses to gather data relevant to the research being conducted. A questionnaire is a tool¸ so is an interview or mere participation in an activity of a group of people being researched on. These tools make it easier¸ faster and convenient to obtain data especially when a researcher cannot be everywhere to obtain the data. Document analysis and interviews are tools which were used in this research.

4.4.1 Document Analysis

Document analysis was used in the study, and the documents that were analysed were newspaper articles covering elections and manifestos of the two political parties that were contesting elections.

Document Analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents (Bowen 2009). Documents such as newspapers are tangible materials in which facts or ideas have been recorded. Documents can reveal a great deal about the people or organization that produced them and the social context in which they emerged, thus the use of SFL and CDA to support the contextual notion of the documents. Documents are social facts (Coffey 1997) that are recorded without the researcher's intervention and shared as well as used in socially organised ways. As it is an evaluation of already collected information, it is less time consuming as it requires data selection more than data collection and the documents, though they might contain inadequate information, are usually available, for as long as that event would have occurred. Documents are problematic when misplaced or out of print.

The study analysed, the newspaper articles from different media houses and manifestos published by the MDC and ZANU PF parties in the 2008 and 2013 elections. In methodological terms a discourse analytical approach is used in trying to make explicit

the ways in which political ideology is embedded and propagated through discourse (Chilton & Schafner 2002). The limitation here is that not every detail of the newspaper articles and manifestos is considered, except how they relate to their readers linguistically in relation to electoral issues.

4.4.2 Interviews

Cohen, Manion & Morrison (2011), and Zohrabi (2013) define an interview as an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest. It sees the centrality of human interaction for knowledge production and emphasises the social situatedness of research data. Creswell (2014) says a qualitative interview occurs when researchers ask one or more participants or general, open ended questions and record their answers. The interview becomes a social encounter not merely a data collection exercise. In this study interviews have been used to probe journalists into how they regard journalistic as well as their other professional situations.

The researcher used structured interviews as they provide uniform information which assures the comparability of data (Kothari 2004). Open ended questions were used as they provided detailed information since the research participants were able to express themselves freely. The interviewer read questions to the respondents who comprised of newspaper journalists and recorded their responses. The one on one interview sessions were audio-recorded and notes from the interviews were taken and filled in on the interview protocol. Creswell (2014: 227) notes that an interview protocol is a form designed by the researcher that contains instructions for the process of the interview, the questions to be asked and space to take notes of responses from the interviewee. Although the researcher asked a pre-determined set of questions, using the same wording and order as specified in the interview guide to allow uniformity and easy coding of responses (Kumar 2019), it should be noted that additional questions came up during the interview sessions. The questions that came during the interview process were triggered by responses that were given by the research participants. Interviews were held

in order to generate a faithful account of the construction of editorial genres (Mugumya 2013).

The researcher had to take note of the non-verbal elements of the interview, considering facial and bodily expression by the interviewee. A good rapport was also maintained by the interviewer through dress code and body language. A good rapport also required the interviewer to "communicate very clearly and positively the purpose, likely duration, nature and conduct and contents of the interview, to give the respondent the opportunity to ask questions" (Cohen et al 2011:42.

4.4.3 Interview Data Transcription

Transcribing interview data poses quite a number of challenges as there is potential loss of data, distortion and reduction of complexity. Kvale (1996: 211) notes that the prefix "/trans/ indicates a change of state or form; transcription is selective transformation". Therefore, the transcript can become an opaque screen between the researcher and the original live interview session. For reliability, the researcher had to record what was being said, in what tone and inflection of voice, assessing the non-verbal elements and the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. It should be noted that audio recorded interview data is selective and filters out important contextual factors, neglecting the visual and non- verbal aspects of the interview.

4.5. Data collection

Newspaper articles and one on one interviews with journalists were used as data collection tools. Baxter & Jack (2008) opined that using appropriate various data sources in a particular study assists the researcher in having detailed understanding of the research being investigated and allows for validity, transferability and reliability of the study.

4.5.1 Population

The population for this study are all articles in the selected newspapers that reported on 2008 and 2013 elections, from January to March 2008 and January to July 2013 as well as all manifestos from the contesting political parties as well as journalists from the media houses under study. Chiromo (2006) defines population as all individuals, units, objects and events that will be considered in the research project. Therefore, news stories reporting on elections from January to March 2008 as well as Jan to July 2013 were selected. It should be noted that the 2008 elections had two rounds. The first peaceful round was completed in March 2008 (ZPP 2008; Masunungure 2011) and the second leg of the presidential election rerun from April to June 2008 (Makumbe 2009; Sachikonye 2011; Masunungure 2011) Newspapers and manifestos were chosen because they are easy to obtain and they are relatively cheaper as compared to other forms of media.

4.5.2 Sample

Cohen et al (2011) notes that every element of research should not be arbitrary but planned and deliberate. The criterion of planning must be fitness for purpose. In this regard, careful thought was given to the unit of analysis as several stories were picked on a certain theme from the given themes and positioning of the stories was considered also.

Sampling is the process of selecting a few elements from a bigger group, which is the sampling population. A sample becomes the basis for estimating or predicting the prevalence of an unknown piece of information, situation or outcome regarding the bigger group. A sample is a subgroup of the population the researcher is interested in (Kumar 2019). Cohen et al (2011) and White (2005) identify two sampling procedures which are probability and non-probability sampling. The study uses non-probability sampling where each article was purposefully selected. The researcher deliberately selected a particular section of the population to include in the sample.

White (1998) notes that English news coverage studies necessarily raise questions about the number of individual texts required to support reliable and plausible generalisations. He further states that even though Biber & Finegan (1988) were not concerned with news reporting but more generally with styles of stance across language, they nevertheless reached conclusions about news reporting based on a database of forty-four news texts that comprised of twenty-seven editorials and seventeen media reviews (White 1998: 297). On the other hand, White's (1998) study analysed twenty–two texts supported by a less formal analysis of many hundreds of more news items.

Journalism operates with its own conventional or common-sense textual category range (Bell 1991), such as hard news, human interest features, analysis and comment among others. As such due diligence was taken in the selection of categories to be included in the sample, which are in this instance, hard news, editorials and manifestos.

Basing on Kothari (2004), non-probability sampling was used where the researcher deliberately and purposefully selected newspaper articles for the study. Data for this study was obtained from hard news and editorial commentaries from five newspapers; *The Herald, The Daily News, The Sunday Mail and The Standard* as well as *Kwayedza* during the period January to April 2018*.* This research involved a study on similar issues that are covered with different words and therefore purposive sampling fits best since there are different cultural contexts also (Krippendorf 2004; Patton 1990). Purposive sampling is a strategy in which particular settings, persons or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from another source (Patton 2002). In order to build a satisfactory sample, in purposive sampling researchers handpick the cases to be included in the sample based on their own judgment as to the suitability of those cases. Patton (1990) argues that the standard used in choosing participants is based on whether they are information rich or not.

The researcher intentionally selected newspapers and manifestos to examine the electioneering phenomenon in Zimbabwe. Newspapers were initially grouped into pro and

anti-government and from those, two newspapers were chosen per category. The initial data collected was very large. 125 stories and 9 manifestos were collected relating to both election periods under study. It should be noted that *Kwayedza* did not have many stories on political issues during the period under study, probably because it appeals more to the social nature of its readers providing stories that relate to their day to day lives. There were four presidential candidates in 2008 and five in 2013. The researcher decided to sample further, picking stories that had to do with land, indigenisation and job creation. On manifestos, the choice was on the two biggest and well known political parties in Zimbabwe which were selected through purposive sampling. The final sample was seven news articles and two manifestos and these were subjected to van Dijk (2000) ideological framework and SFLs mood and modality analysis.

Kwayedza was chosen because it is one of the most widely read local paper which is written in the indigenous Shona language. The manifestos were chosen by virtue of them being presented by leaders of the biggest contesting political parties in Zimbabwe. The point was to gather in depth information from those who had it. In this instance, the articles were selected on the basis of how representative they were in terms of the themes under discussion. A comparative analysis of newspapers and manifestos in terms of how they represented elections during the given period, in relation to how they wanted readers to perceive the parties and their actions was also done in the study.

Texts classified as news are expected to display certain stylistic features, present information as facts, and carry the highest level of perceived credibility and objectivity, resulting in greater potential ideological control of the readership (van Dijk 1995). Data was not sourced from a single section of the newspaper but from newspapers written in English and those written in Shona because English and Shona are part of the dominant languages in Zimbabwe. Each sample element was selected for a purpose, usually because of the unique position of the sample elements, in this case depending on how representative the articles were in relation to the thematic issues raised. The researcher went through enormous amounts of printed newspapers to identify key themes and trends

in election reporting. A thorough search from the collated newspaper articles from the libraries at Zimpapers, AMH and ANZ was done, with the assistance of Librarians. It should be noted that the libraries were accessible to the public at all times. Although the information could be accessed online, the researcher preferred to access the hardcopies. This is because the information regarding 2008 elections could hardly be found online because information technology in Zimbabwe during that time was not yet advanced. Also, visiting the libraries in person allowed easy access to the journalists.

The researcher visited different media houses to search for the newspaper articles. Preference was given to articles on similar events across all newspapers. Articles were selected on the basis of how illustrative they were of systemic analysis of the elections. *Kwayedza* was used as a Shona paper to provide a comparative analysis of evaluative techniques used in writing across cultures and its articles were translated to English. The researcher also interviewed newspaper journalists for extensive knowledge of media situations. For the interview the researcher visited different media houses and conducted interviews at the premises.

Journalists that were interviewed were from The Sunday Mail, The Herald, The Standard, The Daily News and Kwayedza. Cohen (2000) describes interviews as a means of accessing what a person knows. On the other hand, Lofland & Lofland (1984) say that an interview is a list of questions that the interviewer wants to explore during the interview. During the interview, the interviewer can modify questions focusing attention on areas of interest.

All the interviews were recorded with the interviewees' permission. In recording data, the researcher used written notes and a tape recorder. Patton (1990) is of the view that a tape recorder is indispensable in the collection of data, whilst Lincoln & Guba (1985) feel that written notes are better because of the possibility of a technical failure. Recording has an advantage of capturing more faithfully than hurriedly written notes, and this can allow the interviewer to focus on the interview.

It is important for the researcher to use contacts that can help to remove barriers. Since the researcher asked the participants to grant access to their lives, it was also important to provide respondents with a straightforward description of the goals of the research (Lofland & Lofland 1984).

4.6 Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of systematically searching and arranging materials accumulated in the study in order to come up with findings. Bogdan & Biklen (2007) define qualitative data analyses as working with the data, organising them, breaking them into manageable units, coding them, synthesising them and searching for patterns. It is rich in quotation, description and narration. Qualitative researchers also support their interpretations by "weaving quotes from the analysed texts and literature about the contexts of these texts into their conclusions, by constructing parallelisms, by engaging in triangulations, and by elaborating on any metaphors they can identify" (Krippendorff 2004: 88).

The study takes a discourse analytical approach, seeking to make explicit the ways in which political ideology is embedded in and propagated through discourse (Chilton & Schaffner 2002). SFL and CDA were used to analyse data using language as the central focus of analytical enquiry. In approaching analysis, the study also recognised the unique features of the genre of news discourse. It observed the hierarchical relevance, structure of news texts and how the structuring of information leads to the assignment of topics (van Dijk 1988). Structural sequencing in news reports plays a role in expressing the most salient information in the higher up structures of the texts, that is the headline and lead, while concealing or mitigating the importance of information in the lower structural levels of the texts (van Dijk 1988:178).

In writing, writers transport readers of ordinary experiences to a setting that they can almost feel (Creswell 2014). Therefore, a discourse analytic approach was used. The

vernacular newspaper articles were translated to English first thus Halliday's SFL was used concurrently with CDA to analyse the linguistic structures in news representation. The data was hand analysed as the researcher wanted to be close to the data and had a hands on feel to it. Although such an approach was labour intensive, it proved worthwhile. The researcher was assisted by two research assistants whom she trained on the expected   systems. Interview data was transcribed, recorded, categorized and coded establishing themes (Cohen et al 2011). Collected data was organized using research questions, hence the theories were used.

For the qualitative analysis at the micro-level, the researcher read through each script to identify the frequency of the use of van Dijk's discursive devices by the two political parties and in the newspaper articles. These enabled the researcher to identify and assess most frequently used strategies and classify them accordingly, relying on SFL and CDAs frameworks. Sentences were classified into categories, for example those of self-glorification, criticism, promises and commands among others. This was based on the idea that a political discourse often aims to connect the audience through a shared identity and as such local sentiments by politicians were considered.

Manifestos were considered as a whole and focus was on the way they relate to the reader through the language used by the politicians in the manifestos themselves as well as the key electoral issues addressed by the politicians.

Table 4.1: CDA CODING (Majda, 2008; van Dijk, 2004) with own modifications

Ideological square	Persuasive strategy
- Positive self-presentation - Negative other-presentation - Polarisation - Nominalisation - Number game	- Socialisation - Emphasis - Personalisation - Unrealistic image of events - Saving the country - Authority
Lexicalisation	**Rhetoric**
- Disclaimer - Modality	- Hyperbole/Anaphora - Metaphor - Moral statement - Narration - Naming
Linguistic Devices	
- Headlines/Leads - Quotation - Pronouns - Verb forms - Discourse opening/closure -Predication -Pressuposition	

Figure 4.1: SFL CODING

A diagram showing nested circles labelled Semantics, Lexicogrammar, and Phonology with arrows pointing to boxes labelled Lexicogrammar, context (of situation), Situation, Content Form, and Expression. Labels on the right show "Content plane" and "Expression plane" separated by a dotted line.
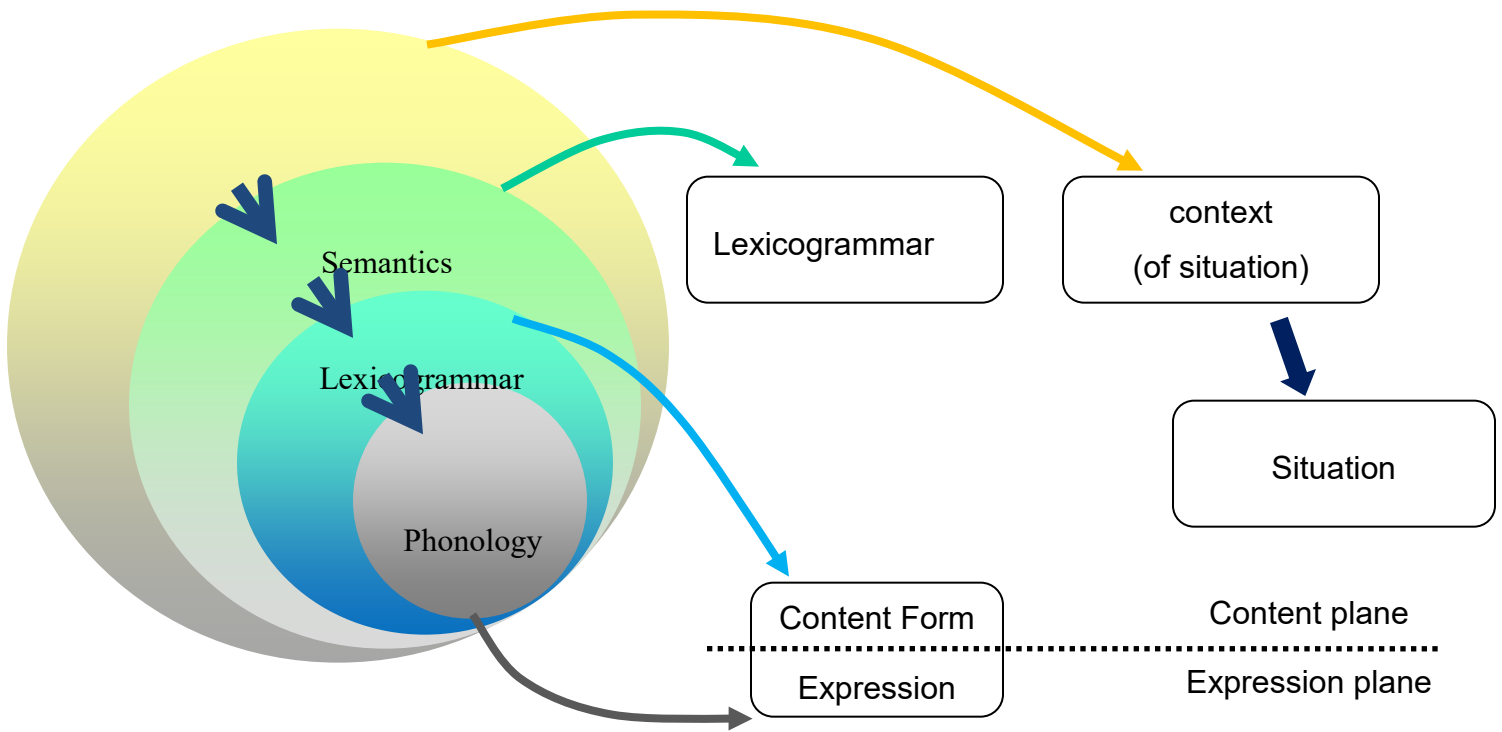
Adapted from Taverniers (2011,43)

The SFL stratification has been adapted from Hjelmslev by Halliday (1961) but has my own modifications

4.7 Ethical Considerations

Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of Fort Hare. All research must be governed by a code of ethics. This is especially true of research involving humans. The guiding principle in this study was that the research must do no harm, there was an informed consent of the respondents, and the researcher protected the dignity and wellbeing of the participants. The respondents were told the real academic purpose of the study and confidentiality of research data was maintained. The researcher ensured a cordial relationship with the respondents. All the books, articles, papers used were well referenced to avoid plagiarism. The researcher assured the research participants that their identity was to be strictly kept anonymous.

4.8 Conclusion

Chapter 4 has focused on the methods used in collection, selection and analysis of data. Therefore, research design, methodology, research instruments, data collection, data analysis, sampling and generalisability issues were discussed. Chapter 5 focuses on the analysis of data.

CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the analyses with the aim of verifying the objectives of the study as presented in Chapter 1. Chapter 4 provided information on the research design, data collection procedures, sampling techniques, and sample size and data analysis methods. This chapter brings out the connection between language, power and authority. Politicians are people with power and they manipulate the electorate and control their audiences' minds through language. Therefore, the way politicians present their information during rallies or public gatherings allow them to create a particular image to the voters. Their secret and hidden intentions are brought out through an analysis of their language use. Using Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough & Wodak 1997; Eggins 2004) as well as Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1994; Eggins 2004) discussed in Chapter 3, this chapter critically analyses and assesses the use of linguistic devices in election discourse in Zimbabwe, through an analysis of selected manifestos from political parties, newspaper articles and how journalists view their reporting on elections. As mentioned in the literature review section, both theories share the view that, language, as a social practice, is a central element in social life and consequently language is studied in relation to the social context in which it occurs.

The results are presented after a qualitative analysis of party manifestos, interview sessions with journalists and newspaper texts. In the analysis, the main focus of the study was on finding out how politicians linguistically present their ideas to people and how political ideologies and identities are created by both the journalists and politicians. Focus was also on how different newspapers report on the same issues during pre-election periods. In this regard, special focus was given to linguistic devices such as verbs, pronouns, metaphors, repetition, anaphora, and hyperbole, the use of "us" and "them" among others. Such grammatical features have practical implications for CDA and SFL.? The analysis was done based on the following research questions as stipulated in Chapter 1:

1. How do politicians use language in their election campaigns?
2. What influences the language that is used by politicians in their manifestos?
3. Which linguistic structures and tools do journalists use when reporting on elections?
4. How did the utilisation of these linguistic structures and tools influence the representation of 2008 and 2013 elections in Zimbabwe?
5. What views do reporters have on reporting on elections?

5.1 Language Use in Elections

This section addresses the following research questions of the study which are:

1. How do politicians use language in their election campaigns?
2. What influences the language that is used by politicians in their manifestos?

The questions are based mainly on language use in political discourse. In this section, I started by analysing one politician's speeches, then the newspaper articles written by journalists.

5.1.1 Section A: Analysis of politician's speeches

Addressing crowds by politicians is probably one activity that all of them feel they are paid for. Politicians talk hours on end, getting long opportunities to air their views¸ strategies and intentions to listening audiences. Therefore, political speeches are rich resources for analysis of language for political purposes. A close analysis of politicians' speeches reveals how SFL and CDA apply to language study situations. 2008 and 2013 have been two key years in Zimbabwean election history, turbulent year 2008 and year 2013 for major constitutional arrangements. Looking at political language over those two years is an invaluable exercise.

5.1.1.1 An overview

Political figures present their manifestos at every election period and this analysis was done based on the written manifestos presented by ZANU PF and MDC presidential

candidates on the 2013 elections, with the intention of examining the discourse created in the political speeches of the two presidential contenders and how they constructed a reality for their audiences. This section looked at how the two presidential candidates, Robert Mugabe (ZANU PF) and Morgan Tsvangirai (MDC) persuaded their audiences to support their political opinions and ideologies through the way they present those speeches via language use. The manifestos are attached in the appendix section. It should be noted that the speeches were about each party's manifesto and the themes in the speeches are different because each party has its own ideology that guided it. The analysis was done focusing on verbs, pronouns, metaphors, repetition, hyperbole and positive as well as negative representation of the other that is the "us" and "them" conceptualisation.

5.1.1.2 Verb forms in speeches by politicians

A verb is described by Hornby (2000) as a word or group of words that expresses an action, an event or a state. Practically speaking it can be said to be a doing word. Focus of this analysis was on the modal verbs as well the past and future tense of verbs. The verb expresses act, occurrence, and mode of being. It is inflicted for tense, mood and aspect. It can be auxiliary or link element. From the selected speeches, verbs have been used in their modal form, present form, past form as well as the present continuous tenses all signifying different levels of manipulation. Such deceit is rampant in election discourse as the verbs convince and persuade the listeners into accepting claims of what has been done. The speech from the candidate of the sitting government has many verbs and this signifies that it is a party of action not promises. Verbs help give a flashback of the past. The following verbs have been used in the speeches:

> 1) This people's manifesto of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front for the 2013 harmonized elections **comes** against the background of the **enduring** and unforgettable fact that it is ZANU PF which **liberated** Zimbabwe-Mugabe.

*2) Internationally, we have **brought** the country out of isolation, even though our political opponents seem hell-bent on **driving** Zimbabwe away from the family of nations-Tsvangirai.*

*3)…an MDC government can **gallop** this nation to a higher pedestal of stability and progress-Tsvangirai.*

come: arrive¸ are sure, reality¸ are deserved¸ are a heritage.
liberated: freed¸ released¸ give independence¸ (implication: be grateful).
brought: placed out¸ presented¸ introduced¸ (improved).
driving: moving out¸ shuttling out¸ excluding¸ reversing gains.
gallop: move it quickly¸ accelerate¸ (easy¸ effortless activity¸ an A B C).

The verbs above and others in the texts are used to convince the electorate of the worthiness of the political aspirants as they are evaluative of the actions and work that they have done and can do. There is an element of identification and belonging with the ordinary people and together they will triumph. Excerpt (1) is an appeal to the people's emotions and has propaganda language. The candidate, Robert Mugabe derives strength from the heroic past manifested by the liberation struggle and he reminds people, through usage of verbs, of the liberation struggle and the fact that the bullet won the country. Excerpts (2) and (3) glorify Tsvangirai's party showing what they have done for the country as well as what they can do, that is, take the country to greater heights. It can be noted from the verb forms that Mugabe uses the past achievements to lure the electorate, while Tsvangirai looks into the future.

Modal verbs

Modal verbs are a complex phenomenon of English grammar. They are deployed in manifestos to indicate a sense of intention, promise, obligation and necessity in a conscious and strategic attempt to persuade the electorate (Nartey & Yankson 2014: 21). Modals come in a variety of forms ranging from, *can, could, may, might, must, ought to,*

shall, should and *will*, among others. Modal verbs are used to convey the addressor's attitudes and judgments. They appeal to the senses of the listener as they are more easily identified and understood.

(a) Will –predicting the future

In the following excerpts, the modal auxiliary *'will'* was used.

4) *We are faced with an election without reference and against a leopard that has remained faithful to its spots, but our faith in God and our collective desire for real transformation **will** make us triumph over the setbacks, which are temporary* –Tsvangirai.

5) *History **will** record that the MDC saved this country from the precipice. The country has broken down and the MDC are the saviors, the MDC transition **will** be historical turnaround that has made a mark* –Tsvangirai.

6) *In response to widespread concerns and expectations that ordinary people should be the primary beneficiaries of the policy of indigenization and economic empowerment, the next ZANU PF government **will** put in place robust measures to ensure an even more transparent, accountable, tangible and measurable implementation matrix in the national interest….* Mugabe

In political speeches, the modal auxiliary verb **will**, is indicative of political willingness and commitment, personal conviction, appeal and possibility of events, promises, pledges and persuasion as well as manipulation and obligation in political activities and events. In using the modal verb **will,** the candidates are able to exhibit the plans they have for the state. **Will** refers to epistemic meanings and raises hope among the electorate as there is focus into the future**. Will** is used to reinforce the commitment of the different parties to transform the state of affairs in Zimbabwe in the event of their election into administration. In all instances the modal is used with a verb, as in "**will make**", "**will record**", "**will put**",

and **"will create"** to show the level of action that the parties are committed to thus reinforcing a sense of responsibility and allegiance to the state.

Morgan Tsvangirai uses the modal verb **will** many times and this might be a sign that he is playing on the words to conceal the truth from the public. There are so many promises and hopes into the future yet in Mugabe's speech there is less uncertainty and vagueness from the politician who exudes much confidence in what he says and does. Mugabe is more confident as someone who has been in government since 1980. Both politicians use **will** to look into the future, reveal master plans for the people and the state and reflect responsibly on ways of transforming the country. The use of **will** strengthens the sense of certainty and commitment to problems and the electorate is assured of the commitments of the politicians and their different parties to the future of the country.

(b) Can/Could–conviction and possibility

Can/could are other auxiliary verbs **that** are used in the Zimbabwean electoral speeches as shown in the following excerpts:

> 7) We have a proud record and if we **could** afford all that positive change shackled with an insincere and dishonest partner, an MDC government **can** gallop this nation to a higher pedestal of stability and progress-Tsvangirai.

> 8) We must vote as team ZANU PF regardless of our divergent political affiliations because ZANU PF is your party which **can** guarantee you a secure future as the country's liberator-Mugabe.

The modals **can** and **could** are used to demonstrate conviction and possibility. In most instances **could** is used as the past tense of **can**. Excerpt (7) reveals annoyance on the part of the politician and his party, that if they had not been deterred by a dishonest partner they coulhave taken the country to greater heights. By using **could**, Tsvangirai shows that the other party (ZANU PF) is incompetent, thereby depicting his party's ability in comparison to the other party. **Can/could** refer to possibilities and chances which could

have been taken by the MDC party to transform the country. It is worth noting that ZANU PF candidate uses **can/could** only once, a sign of confidence and conviction and there are no possibilities. ZANU PF however, is cautious and aware that not all promises in the past have been fulfilled therefore, it is best to promise less now.

(**c) Must**

Another modal auxiliary verb that is used in the speeches, though in a limited manner is **must** as reflected in the following excerpts:

> *(9) We **must** vote as Team ZANU PF regardless of our divergent political affiliations because ZANU PF is your party which can guarantee you a secure future as the country's liberator - Mugabe.*

> *10) As we campaign for our party, and when and after we vote, each and every one of us **must** draw inspiration from the eternal words bequeathed to us by our beloved late vice president John Landa Nkomo-Mugabe.*

Must involves the element of necessity, stressing the argument and certainty of his statement that voting for the ruling party is necessary and it appears as if the solution proposed by the politician of voting for ZANU PF is the only one. **Must** as a modal verb show the seriousness within which the people must vote and they **must** be logical enough to vote for the ruling party as implied in excerpt 9. Both politicians thus encouraged that people **must** vote for their party.

5.1.1.3 Pronouns

A pronoun is a word that easily stands in the place and function of a noun. It is a substitute for a noun or a noun equivalent. It takes noun constructions and refers to persons and objects named or understood. Beard (2000) observes that pronoun reference is always important in putting across a piece of political persuasion as pronominal reference has a direct link with cognitive manipulation. It creates a link between the speaker and listener in a speech and by using pronouns, politicians keep track of their participants and assume that the persons they are referring to are known. Pronouns are used for responsibility

sharing as in the use of **you**, **our**, **us** and also in showing unity. The pronouns are thus generally used for persuading voters.

(a) Our

The pronoun our is used in the following excerpts:

> *11) Today we showcase that we are not only a party of excellence but also a party of substance as demonstrated by **our** policies -Tsvangirai.*

> *12) ZANUPF is the party of **our** collective national aspirations - Mugabe.*

Through the use of **our**, the solidarity between the party and the people as well as their collective mission to change the state of affairs in the country is shown. The possessive pronoun **our,** brings together the candidate and the electorate. The sharing through the use of "our" reveals the common belief of the leader and his people. The speaker appeals to the emotional element of the people by addressing himself as part of them. **Our,** is used to claim ownership, where Zimbabweans are converging on the one important idea of putting the people's collective interests at the fulcrum of national politics. Through the collective possessive pronoun **our**, the politician identifies with the people and shows that his party's policies are better than the other party's. As a politician, when one has the masses behind him and when his party has the masses behind them, they become more confident. The pronominal choice **our,** bridges the gap between the politician and the electorate and this brings them together in a sense of common destiny.

(b)Your/you

In the political manifestos, **your** has been used in the following excerpts:

> *13) But we believe in the people of Zimbabwe and **your** collective wisdom -* Tsvangirai.

> *14) We know **you**, the people of Zimbabwe, will do the right thing for **yourselves**, **your** children and the future of this country -* Tsvangirai.

In the above excerpts, the politician moves to the singular **you**/**your**, where he is no longer identifying with the party, but however, gives ownership of that party to the people, therefore giving the impression that the party belongs to them not him, so would all ideas he would be expressing, the belief is that they are expressed by the people not himself as a politician.

(c) I and we

The pronoun **I** is used in the manifestos to create an image on the politician, be it negative or positive. It appears in the following excerpts:

*15) We are also showing, through this mammoth crowd that **I** see here, that we have the people of Zimbabwe solidly behind us and behind our collective mission -* Tsvangirai.

Both politicians rarely use the first person pronoun **I** throughout their speeches but in this instance, the opposition leader, Tsvangirai uses "**I**" as a direct self-reference to himself as an individual and is not inclusive of the audience. The candidate of the ruling party presents himself as the embodiment of the will of the people. He is the voice of the people, one who has come to bring prosperity to Zimbabwe and Africa as a whole. He becomes a group on his own and represents himself as an entity. Therefore, "**I**" is used at a personal level to show authority and personal responsibility as well as involvement, accountability and commitment by the concerned politicians.

Through the use of "**I**", the politician appears responsible, positive and someone with principles and morale. There is a level of intimacy here, where he excludes other members of his party and gives what he sees, and a personal opinion. The use of the pronoun "**I**" makes the speech subjective, as it helps in bringing sympathy and compassion on the speaker and allows the politician to give his own personal opinions. The politician gives a sense of here and now thus creating a relationship with the audience as he relates with them and together they become an entity.

In excerpt 15, Tsvangirai is impressed with the gathering that is present. It shows this might have been unanticipated and comes as a surprise. The politician shifts from surprise to a raw demonstration of power, bringing in an element of supremacy and power. The personal pronoun **I** is used as a declarative construction to convey his sense of appreciation. There is also a projection of the relationship between the politician and the electorate through the use of **I** and **We.** Through the combination of both **I** and **We**, the politician encourages the electorate to identify with the collective responsibility of maintaining their achievements. There is also a sense of personal responsibility and commitment from the politician. In this instance the appreciation comes from both the party and the candidate in showing the massive support they enjoy from the masses. **I**, allows the politician's perspective to come out, highlighting his accomplishments and qualities. Therefore, the politician's authority becomes paramount.

WE

The pronoun "**We**" is also used in the manifestos and is found in the following excerpts:

> *16) **We** are showing, through our manifesto that **we** launch today as **we** officially commence our campaign, that indeed, **we** have a plan to govern this country -* Tsvangirai*.*
>
> *17) It is a legacy that **we** all own as Zimbabweans -* Mugabe*.*

"**We**" functions as a subject, suggesting a strong sense of collective responsibility. It is used to refer to both the party and the nation. We as a pronoun refers to the establishment, for example ZANU PF or MDC as an establishment, a party on its own. Through the use of **We**, the good characteristics of the politicians are shown as there is affiliation with the other citizens, a sense of oneness and unity between the politician and the people at large. It is a pronoun used to manipulate the mind, referring to the candidate and his officials and conveying a sense of collective responsibility and hard work, implying the support of the people. The use of **we**, shows that people are manipulated to fulfil their obligations as a nation, to be prepared to face the hardships together. The pronominal choice brings out the element of responsibility sharing and joint effort in the political

struggles that **we** are together in the election process and it is ideologically positioned to show that the speaker and the electorate have the same views.

 "**We**" therefore shows collective responsibility and collaboration between the electorate and the politicians. The pronoun **We** is used by both politicians in their speeches to show that they are a collective entity, a group with the same ideologies relating to the identity of the political leaders who are responding to the masses. It is a way of sharing responsibility, a precaution that is taken sometimes when decisions are tricky and difficult and the speaker does not want to be held accountable.

The two groups, that is the leaders and the masses are not separated but are united for a common goal. It shows a collective identity and represents the unity that the leaders of the parties have. The pronoun reference **we** is therefore used to shorten the distance between the speaker and the audience, regardless of age or status. It conveys the image of one political party as a team, a shared responsibility where all others are involved in a group identity.

5.1.1.4 Metaphors
A   metaphor is:

> the attributor of a quality to something which it is not literally applicable, for example, an icy stare. For critical language study, metaphors are important because they are ideologically loaded and can be powerful rhetorical devices, particularly when their metaphorical nature is not immediately obvious (Talbot Atkinson & Atkinson 2003: 20).

From the above quotation, a metaphor is a word or phrase used to describe something else in a way that is different from its normal use, in order to show that the two things have the same qualities and to make the description more powerful. Both speakers use metaphorical language, a language that cannot be taken literally but is used as a method for saying an option that is other than the ordinary way.

Several metaphors are applied by the two presidential candidates in their election campaign to draw the electorate to their ideological inclinations, among them metaphors of time, journey, religion and food. Through usage of the metaphor as a figure of speech comprehension and interpretation of the discourse by politicians is enhanced and the speeches are placed in context. The metaphors in these speeches are used to convey difficult and heavier issues which may not be easy to convey in simple language and in such instances the electorate has to infer meanings from the text. In political discourse, metaphors are deliberately deployed to enhance the persuasive effect of the text by providing vivid and striking images which enhance the communicative meaning of the discourse. Therefore, metaphors project the ideology of the speaker and others in the negative or positive sense, show persuasion, negotiation as well as other aspects of power relations.

 (a) Metaphor of time
 The following metaphorical connotations on time are found in the speeches:

> 18) **Today** is a historic **day** in the MDC family and the democratic movement at large as we collectively embark on this **last mile** towards real change and the total transformation of our lives - Tsvangirai.

> 19) Our **four-year** stint in the inclusive government has been adventurous as it has been life changing for the people of Zimbabwe –Tsvangirai.

The metaphors, **today**, **day**, **last mile**, **and future generations** go beyond the ordinary meaning of time on the clock to represent vast periods of time hence projecting the ideologies of the politicians and their parties. Through time metaphor, the MDC leader advocates Zimbabwe's rebirth. There is need for a new economic model which cements the necessity of the speaker and his party hence their presence is fortified. In excerpt (19) the politician shows that within the four-year stint that they had together with ZANU PF in trying to revamp the country, there were life changing experiences, for example the

introduction of the United States dollar, job creation, and increased donor funding. These allude to their successes as a party. However, from the view of the opposition, the other party, ZANU PF is still living in the past and has no signs or hopes to move into the future.

(b) Animal metaphor

The politicians bring out some salient issues through the animal metaphor and below are examples:

> *20) We are faced with an election without reforms and against **a leopard that has remained faithful to its spots,** but our faith in God and our collective desire for real transformation will make us triumph over the setbacks, which are temporary.*

This metaphor shows the unchanging nature of the sitting government. It is descriptive of the current situation in Zimbabwe. The allegation here by the MDC leader is that ZANU PF does not want, neither does it accept change. "It is faithful to its spots".

(c) Religious/Historical metaphor

The following metaphors signify religious or historical events:

> *21) **God does not wish** the people of Zimbabwe to remain in a permanent state of suffering. **Our faith and our unshakeable belief in liberty** will drive us to usher in a new era for our country -Tsvangirai.*

> *22) The essence of ZANU PF's ideology is to economically empower the indigenous people of Zimbabwe by enabling them to fully own their country's **God given natural resources** - Mugabe.*

The politicians are religiously sensitive and bring in religious metaphors to compel the electorate to vote for them since most Zimbabweans are religious and share a religious conviction. The reference to God by the MDC leader brings in the religious concept in the need for a new government in Zimbabwe. The politician identifies with God even though he might not be a believer, in order to garner support and votes from the electorate.

Zimbabwe, being a peaceful country that does not believe in wars, is strongly linked to Christianity. Religious sensibilities are very important in the discourse of the politicians as they are directly an appeal to the electorate. Religion is exploited by the politicians to project their ideologies and present a positive image amongst them.

Through the metaphor of religion, the element of unity and collectiveness has been brought out. The politician identifies himself with the other Zimbabweans through the use of the lexical item *'fellow'* and it shows that he is one of them, there is an element of belonging. Even though the politician might not be a believer, he identifies with God in order to garner votes. If the electorate votes for the opposition, life will change and such is the conviction from the opposition. This is seen in the metaphor *"our faith in God and our collective desire for real transformation will make us triumph over the setbacks"*. There is need to change the country's history from being a stagnant nation to being a productive one. From this metaphor there is collectiveness and unity, focus on what the people see ahead, one goal and one vision.

d) Journey metaphor

The journey metaphor is used to show transition, hope for a progress and change in the country as well as progressive transformation:

> *23) As the people of Zimbabwe,* ***we have walked a long and torturous journey****, but we can* ***now clearly see our destination that is within reach*** *– a new Zimbabwe and a new beginning* -Tsvangirai.

> *24) Unhindered by our partners who have perfected the art of lies and dishonesty, we are the people's hope and we will not fail this nation and future generations. We are poised for a break with the past and together* ***we will zoom into a new horizon of happiness*** *and* ***comfort*** -Tsvangirai.

The journey metaphors are used by the MDC leader Tsvangirai to evoke certain feelings in the people, such as, the existing government's incompetence and its failure to bring

change. It is considered a temporary setback although evoking the feeling of patriotism in the people that their collective desire will bring victory. Through journey metaphors, Tsvangirai brings out his party's success, how the party has indirectly turned around the economic situation of the country. Therefore, the politician glorifies the successes of the party to which he belongs. The metaphors are also used to boost confidence in the electorate. This marks the end of a journey to the politician, a moment where they can now see the horizon and all are optimistic of a new beginning in a new Zimbabwe. In excerpt (24) there is focus on what they see ahead, a new Zimbabwe. He is encouraging them to keep going with one goal and one vision of transforming Zimbabwe. He appeals to the emotions of the people and talks of hope, prosperity and happiness in the country.

(e) Metaphors of food

The opposition leader, Tsvangirai, uses metaphors of food in his speech and below are some of the excerpts:

> 25) *It is easy in the current stability and in the middle of a **breakfast with eggs and bread t**o forget that as recently as 2008; we were stampeding for **wild fruits in stone-age** competition with fellow human beings and wild animals. Life was harsh and brutal, the guiding principle being the primitive **survival of the fittest**. It is easy to forget that **bread** was being imported from South Africa and our **shelves** were empty, our hospitals without medicines and our schools without textbooks and teachers. It now seems like long ago when we had hordes of worthless currency and when we were all every poor billionaires.*

From such a background, Tsvangirai is able to glorify his party's successes through the Government Work Programme and Education Transition Fund that they were able to carry out for the benefit of the country. The politician takes the electorate down memory lane and recalled the events of the period before the GNU and narrated the life changing experiences that occurred after that, refreshing their minds on how life has been. He refers to the history of the state before the Government of National Unity. This is done to discredit the opponent, ZANU PF.

(f) Metaphor of sickness

Metaphors of sickness are also used to bring out salient issues in the speeches:

> *26) We demonstrated our ART governance. We went into great **detail to tackle the ills** of this nation after 33 years of bad governance, corruption, primitive accumulation by the elite, lies and deception* -Tsvangirai.

The opposition politician is able to convince the electorate of the poor condition that the country is now in and that his party can change things for the better. The use of this metaphor is pointing out to the bad decisions taken by those in power and the challenges besetting Zimbabwe.

5.1.1.5 Repetition

Repetition can be defined as "multiple instances of an idea or word, and the greater the number of repetitions the more we notice it (Reynolds 1995: 185). It is a way in which the speaker may present social actors to achieve ideological goals. Repetition thus has a direct link with cognitive manipulation and is another means of emphasising the actions of the actors in a context. Repetition appears in the following excerpts:

> 27) *Today, **we** showcase that **we** are not only a **party** of excellence, but also a **party** of substance as demonstrated by our policies* -Tsvangirai.

Repetition in this instance emphasises collective responsibility and heightens the emotion in the discourse and builds the discourse to a climax. **We**, is used several times in the sentence to refer to members of the party, those at the helm and the followers. They are confident and are of good character and they believe that, they together can resuscitate the country that has been destroyed by the machinations of the existing regime. The politician is greatly worried and unease with the current state of affairs in his country. Politicians repeat words several times so that their ideas will be better understood by the audience:

28) ***And yes, we pledge service*** *and sacrifice.*

We pledge selfless service *to the people of Zimbabwe,* ***and yes****, our record speaks for itself.* ***And yes****, we have a bankable plan once we are elected into office*
-Tsvangirai

Repetition of phrases in this manner creates a rhythmic and climactic effect and generates an emotional audience response, which consequently makes an utterance more persuasive. Step by step the politician distinguishes himself and the other party members from them, appearing as the people's savior and a democrat. Through repetition there is an emphasis of the party's promises to the people. People are made to believe and persuaded to do something through emphasis that the opposition is willing to make sacrifices and turn around the lives of the citizens. The continued repetition of **"yes, we pledge"** heightens the emotions in the audience, building the discourse to a climax.

5.1.1.6 Anaphora

Politicians manipulate the masses also through the use of anaphora. Anaphora is a form of repetition when the same word or phrase begins a sentence or phrase (Anderson & Holcomb 2005). The term anaphora is used to designate any linguistic element that precedes it. This referential can be within the same clause, in sequential clauses or over greater distances. Anaphora involves reference to any element that has already been established in the discourse. The anaphoric element may be an exact repetition, it may be a synonym or paraphrase, it may be a personal pronoun substituted for a prior noun phrase, it may be an epithet, or it may be a form of do or do it substituted for a prior predicate (Enos 1996: 10).

29) ***This people's*** *manifesto…it was* ***this people's*** *resort.*

30) ***That legacy*** *permanently connects past, present and future generations of the nation with one another.* ***It is a legacy*** *that we all own as Zimbabweans* - Mugabe

There is repetition and emphasis on the issue of legacy by the ZANU PF leader which is the basis showing how the ruling party liberated the country and how it set the base for Zimbabwe's principles as a country.

5.1.1.7 Hyperbole

A further linguistic style employed by politicians in their manifestos is the use of hyperbole. The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2000) defines hyperbole as a way of speaking that makes something sound better than it really is, some form of exaggeration.

> 31) **God does not wish** the people of Zimbabwe **to remain in a permanent state of** suffering.
>
> 32) …an MDC government can **gallop** this nation to a **higher pedestal of stability and progress**
>
> 33) We are also showing, through **this mammoth** crowd that is seen here - Tsvangirai

Hyperbole has the descriptive power of capturing and vividly expressing some scenarios showing the ideological inclinations of the politicians. Most hyperbolic expressions are meant to entice the electorate into voting for the politicians and their parties and they are used to gain acceptance of the politicians by the electorate. In this speech the politician speaks as if he has spoken to God and God has told him that he does not want his people to suffer. He speaks as someone with intuitive knowledge. The sound of the term "*gallop*" makes it appear very easy for the opposition to make the turn around and take the country to a higher level. The speaker seems to be addressing the opposition and bragging about how much support they have garnered from the audience and this gives him and his party confidence. *Mammoth* can be considered a tool or a large quantity of people that have attended the gathering, hence the supporters have come in large numbers.

5.1.1.8 Us and them: Positive self-representation of "us" and negative other representation of "them".

Political aspirants present themselves and their parties in the best possible manner and other groups in the negative manner. This is done through the selection of a negative mental model with negative connotations in trying to capture ideological positions of the parties. The "us" and "them" is used to gain political advantage by one party over their opponents (Reisgl & Wodak 2005). Politicians are desperate to achieve their goal of winning votes hence they resort to attacking their opponents' character and ability, portraying them in the negative light. A political aspirant tends to present himself or herself and his or her group in the best possible ways and at the same time present other groups in negative terms. This is usually done by presenting the negative side of the other group. The use of us and them reflects different ideological views and ways by using such terms as. *our political cousins had run out of ideas.*

> *34) We have tried our best over the past four years, against serious resistance from our counterparts in government, to ensure that this country is prepared for a genuine, free, fair and credible election. Regrettably, what we have witnessed on the last few weeks is a concerted effort designed to rob the election of legitimacy before it has even begun* –Tsvangirai
>
> *35)We can see the horizon and I share your optimism, that this time we will close a sad chapter of despair, violence, unilateralism, bullying and barbarism and open a new one of hope, peace, prosperity and happiness* –Tsvangirai

The use of **we** and **our**, in excerpt (34) helps bring out the "**us**" and "**them**" comparison. There is some mild arrogance shown in the speech by the politician and his confidence as in the party of substance. The term substance literally refers to strength and dominance, therefore, their confidence as a party is exuded through their policies. They are indirectly contrasting themselves with the other party hence the "us and them" and they take themselves to be a better party as compared to the one that is governing at the moment.

In excerpt (34), the speaker alludes to the illegitimacy of elections before they are even held and also to the different views between the major contesting parties. The party in power is supposedly resistant to progress in a genuine, free, fair and credible election, hence the negative representation of the other party by the speaker from the opposition party. The opposition sees themselves as progressive and their counterparts in government as retrogressive.

Excerpt (35) shows the comparison and negative representations of the other is clearly brought out here as being barbaric and the politician and his party's new era will open a new chapter and close the sad one of suffering. In glorifying the successes of his party, Tsvangirai clearly brings a line both in beliefs and ideologies between the two parties:

> 36) *In short, we returned among the people a belief in a functioning and caring government when it was clear that our political cousins had run out of ideas -* Tsvangirai

In addressing their record in government, Tsvangirai regards his opponents as a difficult lot as compared to him and his party who care for the people:

> 37) *We could have been stubborn but because we care for the people, we agreed to work with our political opponents, knowing very well that it would not be an easy party dealing with an intransigent lot* -Tsvangirai

Such lexical terms in the speeches as **care for the people, agreed to work, intransigent lot,** are used to glorify his party and their successes at the expense of the other party.

> 38) *Internationally, we have brought the country out of isolation, even though our political counterparts seem hell bent on driving Zimbabwe away from the family of nations. The level of arrogance is shocking. The people of Zimbabwe have a*

chance in this election to resist attempts at driving this country into miserable isolation -Tsvangirai

This is an appeal to the people of Zimbabwe to vote for the opposition as well as show the negative side of the ruling party. The opposition portrays themselves as the saviours of the situation in the country. The projection is to make the audience reject the opponent and accept the speaker, thereby projecting his own ideology.

39) We have a proud record and if we could afford all that positive change shackled with an insincere and dishonest partner, an MDC government can gallop this nation to a higher pedestal of stability and progress -Tsvangirai

The comparison and contrast between the two parties is too glaring, **proud versus insincere and dishonest**. The implied meaning is that one party brings despair, violence and unilateralism and another brings hope, peace, prosperity and happiness. There is negative representation of one party and positive representation of another, showing that the two belong to different ideological positions. ZANU PF as a party, recognises and takes pride in what they have achieved but are cognisant of the existence of the MDC as an opposition party. Pronouns also help bring out the "us and them" separation. "Us" usually highlights the good qualities of the speaker, and "them" is used in negative contexts to make the opposition seem less suitable leaders as compared to those in office.

Through the use of "us" and "them", there is political self-glorification by the two opposing parties. The politicians from the two different political divides make the audience reject the opposing party and accept their party, by defacing the opponent through the use of linguistic items like **"***twin evils of regime change, yesterday's people***"**, which has negative expressive value.

5.1.1.9 Discourse opening/closure

This is one of the linguistic devices used in election reporting. Discourse opening can come in the form summarising or greeting. In the two speeches, the discourse opens differently. Tsvangirai opens his speech by acknowledging all people present. He greets and salutes all present and this provides a comforting and warm welcome.

> *40) Vice President of the MDC Hon Thokozani Khupe*
>
> *Members of the Standing Committee*
>
> *Our colleagues in the broader democratic movement*
>
> *Members of the Civic Society……Ladies and gentlemen*

Yet Mugabe gets straight to the business of the day:

> *41) This people's manifesto of the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) …*

In closing the ceremony Tsvangirai brings in God:

> *42) I Thank You. Let us remain faithful in the Lord. May God Bless You All, the people of Zimbabwe,*

Whereas, Mugabe ends with a slogan and his signature. This is done likely in order to prove authenticity of the speech:

> *43) Phambili le ZANUPF*
>
> *Phambili le Indigenisation*
>
> *Phambili le empowerment*
>
> *Phambili lokuwina amaelections*

.

Overall, Tsvangirai's speech mainly attacks the ZANUPF government while Mugabe's speech focuses on more salient issues of promises his party has for the people of

Zimbabwe. Tsvangirai greatly tries to convince the electorate of how good and reliable his party is and show their ability to run the country. The use of Ndebele by Mugabe in his closure is a sign of solidarity and acceptance of all ethnic groups in the country.

5.2 Section B: Language use by journalists

This section addresses the following research question:

What views do reporters have on reporting on elections?

In order to give a complete picture on linguistic device usage, newspaper journalists were also interviewed. Information had to be gathered from journalists as they are the ones who report news to the people. This section focuses on news reporters, hereby termed journalists. The researcher interviewed a total of 10 journalists from the newspaper houses under study, that is, *The Herald*, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Daily News,* The *Standard* and *Kwayedza*, focusing on how they perceive the analysis of election discourse in Zimbabwe. The number of journalists was kept to a minimum for ease of access of data as the use of many journalists would present repeated information that would have been difficult to analyse.

A journalist is one who gives news to the community and generally the term refers to both the reporter and the editor (Smith 2011). However, the term has been used in this study to refer to one who goes into the field to collect information on topical issues in the community and present it to that community and beyond. Although news givers are called journalists, the appropriate term should be "reporter" as in one who collects information. The journalist then presents the information that he would have gathered to the editor, who is a senior member in the newsroom. Depending on how the media house is run, there are different types of editors, ranging from desk editors to copy editors to assistant editors to news editors, all who report to the editor who has the overall run of the newsroom. The sole purpose of all these editors is to assist the company editor in the editing of the newspaper articles.

The researcher visited the journalists at their places of work to enhance the possibility of getting meaningful and rich responses. The journalists understood most of the questions from the interview guide and most of their responses were subjected to data analysis, with very little information discarded. Background information of these journalists was vital to find. Therefore, the respondents were required to highlight their ages, gender, level of education and work experience. In this regard, a demographic assessment of the respondents was made in order to give their background information. Information is presented as per what was gathered from the interviews and subsequently analysed.

5.2.1. Demographic Data

Age Ranges of Journalists

The basic question in this regard was; *How old are you? You can give an age range.*

The age ranges of the journalists are tabulated below:

Table 5.1: Age ranges of journalists

Age range	30-35	36-40	41-45	
Number of journalists	3	5	2	10
Total				10
% age	30%	50%	20%	100%

Source: Field

This information was essential as the assumption by the researcher was that age has an impact on the way the journalists write and present their articles due to experience at work and in life in general. It helped ascertain the reporting levels and prowess of the researcher as age is considered as synonymous with experience and in this regard the assumption is that all journalists interviewed were mature and experienced (Holt, Shehata, Strömbäck & Ljungberg 2013).

5.2.2 Experience of journalists

The journalists were asked the question:

How long have you been in service as a journalist? For how many years have you been working for this media house? Did you work anywhere else before? If yes, specify. If so, are the working conditions the same or different?

The table below provides a breakdown of the journalists' service.

Table 5.2: Period of service for journalists

Years in service	No. of journalists	Rating
0-5	1	Junior
6-10	1	Senior
11-15	2	Very senior
16-20	3	Long serving
21+	3	Long serving

Source: Field

From the table above it can be noted that the newspaper houses have a number of long serving members and this brings in a wealth of experience in the journalism fraternity. It is also important in shaping the study as experience contributes quite significantly to the quality of articles produced thus giving credibility to the research. The journalist has to offer serious editorial context when reporting and contextualising major news and experience comes with this. The experienced journalist is presumed to have better knowledge of the different genres in existence than the less experienced ones. Efficiency at work is sometimes influenced by the period one has been in service as well as the working conditions, whether they are conducive or not.

The independent media operates more as private companies and offer more lucrative packages than the state media. The fact that they are independent also insinuates higher risks of operations as sometimes they have to present events that would have been suppressed in the state media. The conditions of work in the private media are high risk as some of the news they present are dangerous and highly confidential especially

regarding the ZANU PF or state elite, something that state owned papers would try to conceal.

5.2.3 Qualifications of journalists

These categories were based on the questions:

> *What qualifications do you hold? Are you studying further? If so, elaborate on the course under study as well as any further academic interests?*

The journalists hold a varied range of qualifications, from those with a Diploma in journalism, a degree in journalism, an Honours degree and a Masters Degree. The graph below illustrates the findings.

Figure 5.1: Reporters' educational qualifications
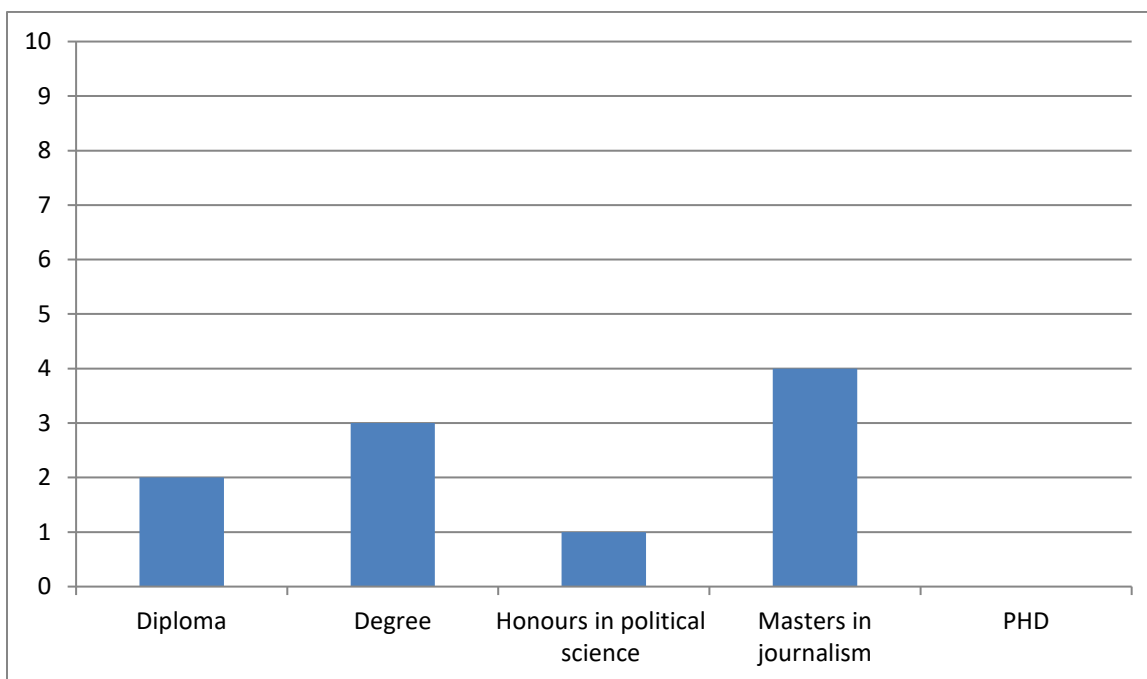
The journalists' educational qualifications are hugely impressive. Educational qualifications play a pivotal role in the presentation of election events by journalists as the journalists' level of education impacts on how they bring out events on elections in Zimbabwe and how objective they are in the presentation of the events as they occur.

5.2.4 Language use in election reporting

Journalists were asked on their language use in election reporting and in this regard the question below was asked:

Which language aspects guide your reporting on elections?

Journalists alluded to the notion that they are guided by the fact that the literacy rate in Zimbabwe is high therefore, they use English as the medium of dissemination of information. There are instances where they quote verbatim what would have been said during rallies. One of the journalists said:

….as journalists we use either epideictic or deliberative rhetoric. Epideictic is celebratory whereas deliberative involves choice and personal preferred action. A story has a nucleus and a body and the nucleus has the title and introduction of that story… this is where as a writer I am able to appeal to my readers.

As gathered from the reporters, the above response talks to the textual organisation of the article, bringing in issues of coherence, neutrality and how the journalists are involved in news creation and news dissemination. Journalists, as providers of news content analysis, news trends, political trends, as well as economic trends in Zimbabwe try not to be advocates of causes, in this case election information, but they have a responsibility to investigate and report on citizens' needs using proper language to the citizens. As they said during the interview sessions, their roles as journalists are to inform, educate and guide the society for the better, showing solutions and alternatives, standing between people and politicians and they do all this through language use.

Therefore, journalists have a social responsibility which they define as raising awareness of and about social problems in the society and this role is clearly articulated through their use of language as a communicative purpose. It is also worth noting that journalists provide readers with accounts of the parts of the world which they most often do not directly experience themselves. The readers then have to trust the second hand information provided by the journalists as the assumption would be that the journalist has

gathered enough content as part of his roles and responsibilities. The journalist provides a truthful discourse and command legitimacy to the reader. This then addresses the issue of how they present and report on elections in Zimbabwe, highlighting issues of objectivity and truthfulness in news reporting.

Contextual coherence is important in linguistic presentation of news on elections. Context allows the newspaper article to cohere both with itself and context of situation. Dontcheva-Novratilova (2011) defines coherence as the link between sentences, paragraphs and logic in the text and journalists are expected to produce this in a standard article. For the texts to cohere, paragraphs should be well organised and discourse markers properly used. Once the article is disjointed, the reader will not find it appealing:

> *We make sure that the text that we produce is well linked and well connected through use of articles (definite and indefinite), pronouns, and verbs among other language structures .*

In using language, journalists strive to be intelligible and clear to all their potential readers, answering the 5Ws and 1H, if they have the answers. They therefore must include everything and make sure that their article is balanced and does not lose its value so that it makes sense and appeals to the reader. One of the journalists said:

> *At the most fundamental level a good story contains answers to the 5Ws and 1H questions and these relate to Who, What, When, Why and How questions that help define the basic content of a news story. Writing a story is like giving birth to a baby, it's painful not to find it in the next paper. The story can be in the next paper if it follows the dictates of the media houses and generally follows protocol.*

Another important element to consider in the way journalists present election discourse with regards to the language aspects used in election reporting is the Inverted Pyramid Structure. In this regard, the question:

Are you familiar with the inverted pyramid structure?

was asked and most of the interviewees showed that indeed they were familiar with the inverted pyramid structure and were also aware of the traditional generic structure of hard news. This then enables the journalist to understand the structure of other news such as editorials. All the journalist participants were aware of the inverted pyramid structure and were in support of its continued use in the hard news story:

> *Of course, I am familiar with the inverted pyramid structure. You don't start an article with the subject; the subject is not a story. People have no time to read 500 words. In 25 words give us the introduction, basically the 5Ws and 1H. The inverted pyramid structure remains the cardinal point. The idea is to interest the reader and give them small time to read.*

The inverted pyramid structure is an arrangement by which the most important information comes first. The news story progresses from more important through less and less important information. The most important and relevant information is supposed to be put first. Journalists convey messages to readers in a few words as much as possible. From the knowledge gathered, most newspaper houses have a template that they use in their news that conforms to the inverted pyramid structure.

One of the journalist participants in the study noted that although they acknowledge the existence of the inverted pyramid structure in hard news reporting on elections, features take a laid back approach which may start by providing background to the issue under coverage. In feature articles journalists do not follow the inverted pyramid structure but the champagne glass structure where description starts by giving a broad background on the issue at hand.

Journalists were also asked on how they structure their news titles such that its title captures the reader's attention. To this, journalists responded stating the way in which they structure their headlines in the articles that they write and said:

*We check and cross check the headlines and leads to make sure they appeal to the reader. Using lexical substitutions, some reporters' work can easily be changed. For example, **leader** can be changed to **head**, **group of people** to **crowd**….*

The title is thus very important as a linguistic perspective and the journalists have to craft it in a very persuasive manner.

5.2.5 Communicative purpose

Questions were also asked pertaining to the communicative aspect of language in news reporting. The questions asked were as follows:

Is language use important in newspaper reports? How do you ensure that language used in election reporting is relevant to ensuring communicative goals? How do you meet the linguistic needs of diversified groups of people in your news reporting?

The argument brought about by the interviewed journalists was that the whole idea in news presentation is to communicate and in light of this people should not struggle in their interpretation of facts:

Simplicity is the ultimate sophistication…reporters have a duty to be responsible and not to inflame tensions. The reporter's choice of words should not cause alarm… language should be neutral, fair, balanced and independent allowing the reader to comprehend the writer's intended message

In election news reporting, discourse and media are inseparable. There is discourse of inclusion in the media circles. The journalist writes what he wants people to get, in a way that brings out what he wants them to know and understand, therefore a reporter's competence is judged by his language use. In trying to meet the linguistic needs of the wide array of readers, the interviewees noted that hard news is for the ordinary person, where straight forward and simple language is used. Language for the sophisticated is

used in the opinion section and in all other sections. From one independent journalist the argument was that:

> *We are an English newspaper but there are 16 official languages in the constitution… Sometimes we use verbatim quotes from people of diverse ethnic backgrounds and we translate into English.*

The use of verbatim quotes brings in the aspects of quotations, bringing in other voices in the story where the reporter sometimes distances him/herself from events in that story. Such efforts show how the print media industry attempts to cater for all groups in their readership. There is need for friendly politics and responsible reporting where opponents are simply opponents and not enemies.

Some of the state newspapers publish in the local language. This is important in meeting the linguistic needs of a varied group of people:

> *As Zimpapers we have publications in Shona and Isindebele over and above the domineering English language. Story packaging is important and it arouses interest in the reader. Thus in election reporting saying the right words is the clincher. It separates the brilliant from the ordinary reporter.*

Such opening lines as **Head of State and Government, Commander in Chief** from state papers, **fragile leader, octagenarian** from independent papers have great impact on the reader. Such representation brings out the epistemological positioning of the paper. Thus language used in election reporting should meet the basic ethical standards of journalist:

> *Election time is sensitive and any slip up can cause panic or conflict and therefore language used should be responsible language.*

The interviewees revealed that within the varying house styles, they have to follow the constitution and shareholder interests. The main shareholders to one interviwee are the government of Zimbabwe and the Ministry of Media and Information:

> *We have a code of what we should do, the steps to follow and in each media house there are dos and don'ts.*

The newspapers have followers on a daily basis and these in turn define how reporters write, in trying to appeal to that audience. The editorial policy extends to the use of adjectives, euphemisms and idioms. Adjectives are words that describe nouns and from their usage subjectivity issues come into play. Euphemisms are literary devices used to present and hide rather harsh and offensive situations and scenarios. Thus editors replace words which may prove offensive before the articles are released to the outside world for consumption.

Therefore, journalists are impacted on by policies within their companies and by stakeholders who promise to give them stories. Sometimes they have to provide financial incentives to those who provide information, which is a costly exercise in the current economic condition.

5.2.6 Genre knowledge

The issue of genres pertaining to the structure of news was also discussed with the journalists. Such would help understand whether the journalists are aware of the election genre as a part of their news reporting. The researcher asked the questions:

> *What genres of news reports are you familiar with? How different or similar are they? Which one do you focus on mostly on your news reports?*

'

The most common genres identified by journalists who were interviewed are hard news, feature stories especially for the weekend post, business, health, religion, sport, agriculture and rural reporting. The researcher was able to denote that the educational

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credentials of the journalists impact on their use of language in election reporting hence also affecting their knowledge of genres. Through these genres journalists can exploit newspaper language through headlines, news reports, feature articles and comments. The various genres mentioned by the journalists are in line with the view that news stories are constrained by other more general factors like the fact that they are a written discourse controlled by possible topics such as national politics, international politics, social life, violence and sports among others.

The general trend from the analysis was that most journalists are aware of the genres and they specialise in specific genres in their writing and use different language structures for different genres. It should be noted that in adding something that will make the story "nice", the journalists might lose focus and fail to be objective. Therefore, it is important that they try to maintain and retain their integrity and come up with objective texts.

It was discovered that journalist respondents who operate from provincial offices are not able to clearly denote and focus on specific genres as manpower at the provincial media stations is limited and they have to go over all the news that is happening in their provinces. They have to use a wide range of linguistic arrays as they switch from one genre to the other in writing. A journalist becomes a jack of all trades veering from political, social and sport news in his area.

5.2.7 Election reporting

In line with the working conditions is the question of roles and responsibilities of journalists. The question asked was:

> *What are your roles as a journalist?*

The purpose was to know their roles, the responsibilities that they have every day, as this would have an impact on how they report on elections.

As they gather news the reporters decide and consider what is going on, who is taking part and this enables them to decide on the way to present the story to the reader. However, the researcher noted that reporters can be classified into different categories from junior to chief reporters. Chief reporters assist junior reporters in presenting information in a language acceptable to the society. The chief reporters therefore have the role to write main stories and coordinate stories from other reporters, in a way that is appealing to the reader and would make him want to keep on reading. In line with this, the question asked was:

How *do you report on elections?*

And one contribution from an interviewee was that:

Election coverage is one of the key aspects in the duties of the media people. As the Sunday Mail and myself in particular we are guided by the House Policy of the Zimpapers group in election coverage…So when we cover elections our duty is to push the agenda of the government in place as there are separation of powers between the State and the ruling party. We are mandated to push the agenda of the ruling party at the same time we discredit at all cost those in opposition.

Therefore, in reporting on elections the journalists follow the policies of their media groups as a guideline to their reportage.

Rules on news reporting also play a significant part in election reporting as well as in the structure of news. They set guidelines within the print media companies which would have an impact on the presentation. This question was in line with the focus on the structure of the news in news reporting. The assumption being that set guidelines within the print media companies would have an impact on journalists and reporters' articles thus affecting the way they present hard news stories and editorialise others. From these views then, when reporting on elections journalists follow the editorial charter and they are guided by the principles of the media houses that they work for as guidelines.

Such formulations show that there are certain rules to be followed within organisations and that journalists function within certain house styles. The interviewees showed that they follow the editorial charter which determines the house styles to be adopted. It also sets the pace on the ideological issues. They revealed this when they were responding to the question:

> *Does your article writing show any ideological inclinations towards your paper's beliefs?*

Chari (2007) notes that although it plays an informational role, the media in Zimbabwe is visibly divided along ownership lines. The state media pushes forward the government propaganda while independent media pushes forward independent media's propaganda and this is common in election reporting where the independent press favours the opposition.

5.2.8 News collection methods

Also, in relation to news structure are data gathering methods which culminate also in the challenges journalists face as they collect information about elections from the different sources. The researcher also tried to ascertain the means by which journalists gather information for news presentation as this has an impact on how objective they become in presentation. The following questions were asked:

> *Let us consider the methods you use in election news reporting. In other words, how do you gather your information for news reporting? Are your methods of gathering newspaper reports objective? Are you guided by any theoretical frameworks in your news reporting? Are the rules on news reporting written down or codified in your organisation or they are just known? Explain further on the rules you follow?*

It was realised that the basic idea in gathering information for news reportage is to cultivate sources breaking into new grounds on a daily basis, though this is an energy sapping exercise that needs one to be well connected. The major idea is to be up-to-date

with what is happening. This is done if journalists always follow events. Journalists attend corporate functions, rallies, football matches among other functions to gather information. The police and government also provide information through their daily press releases. Another reliable source becomes the courts, both civil and criminal. Finally, information can be gathered from primary sources, that is, ordinary people but their information has to be authenticated.

Journalists have to verify the information that they gather for news presentation and to that end the following question was asked:

> *How do you verify that the information you receive during elections is correct?*

One of the journalists responded by saying:

> *We usually verify if the information is correct by questioning the person who has provided the information on whether the information is correct and how sure the person is on the authenticity of the information.*

As such, verification of information helps in providing responsible and usually objective coverage on elections.

5.2.9 How do you provide responsible coverage during elections?
Even though journalists are affected by several factors as they gather the data for presentation in the different papers including high mobile penetration, access to information and the editorial policies of different newspapers, they try as much as possible to provide responsible coverage during elections.

Journalists face a challenge of accessing information as they are still using traditional methods in a modern world. Journalists acknowledge and appreciate the official secrecy

act in their industry but it slackens their pace and affects the way they present their news to the people. The official act is one of the factors that affect news reporting:

> We do appreciate the official secrecy and confidential information acts in companies, but simple and basic information might not be accessed, especially in government institutions where bureaucracy runs the organizations. By the time, the journalists manage to get through the system, the news will be stale

To add on to the government policy, the editorial charter is also a barrier in news reporting. Therefore, in election reporting these factors prove to be a hindrance in the ways in which news is presented to the people, especially for state papers which have to follow the bureaucratic nature of their job. Independent papers can pay their way through and get information faster.

The media industry is a delicate one, affected by several factors, among them resources. They are not adequately resourced as media organisations and are therefore threatened by the coming in of new media technology, especially social media. The following was said:

> With high mobile penetration in Zimbabwe, the media industry is highly threatened as newspapers are not accessible in some areas within the country. The current status is that of the 15 million people who constitute the Zimbabwean population, 7 million are active on the phone thus posing a great threat to the print media industry."

Therefore, in gathering election news data, technology has greatly impacted on the hard newspaper. This has affected the presentation of material as stated by journalists responding to the question of consistency in news reporting. The internet era has brought great changes as well as competition within the media world and the emergence of social platforms like WhatsAapp has opened paths for citizen journalism. Therefore, the rush to break the news first before the social platforms bring it out has led to flouting of the textual organisation by the news writers. Due to time constraints, there is production of articles

with attractive headlines but unattractive stories. There is no longer enough time to check for structural demands of the articles before presentation to the reader. The rush to break the story first has led to errors in production. On a positive note, technology has allowed the news writer to gather stories from the "International World", stories which they have no physical access to, prohibited by time and financial constraints but which they can still present to the local citizen.

Despite all these challenges, responsible coverage is achieved. In response to the question:

How do you deal with ambiguity in reporting on elections?

One of the journalists noted that**:**

> *We make sure that our coverage, even if it is interpreted differently, will reach our larger audience with the same meaning. The problem is that people have developed an attitude that if a person supports the opposition nothing good comes out of them and vice versa.*

The journalists also responded to the question:

> *Do you have the knowledge and skills needed to conduct accurate election reporting and what are those skills?*

Ione of the journalists said that:

> *The journalists do attend workshops among them on editing courses for institute of Advanced Journalism and Zimbabwe Electoral Commission on electoral coverage spearheaded by ISA at ZIPAM.*

Thus through interaction with other reporters, responsible reporting appears to be the greatest benefit from these workshops where reporters are taught to report and edit on various issues without causing harm. The workshops, it was noted allow opportunities to understand the latest trends in the global media industry.

5.2.10 Editorial influence

To seek information on how the election stories written by the journalist ended in the street for consumption by the reader, the following question was asked:

> *Does your editor present your story to the people in the very same way that you would have written it? If there are any changes to the story, are you consulted?*

In response, the journalists noted that some editors change the story wholly to the extent that it loses its communicative purpose. The editors said they consider whether the reporters follow the ideological inclinations of the paper and whether the headline is correctly written to draw potential readers into buying. The journalist is not part of these considerations and sometimes the final product to the consumer will vary greatly with the original article by the journalist.

The editors have the final say on the article produced by the journalist. One journalist commented as follows:

> *The editor has the final say on the stories. The sub-editor has to read all the stories and provide newspaper headlines. Once I submit the story, the final product comes from the editor. Sometimes I am called in by the editor to verify one or two aspects*

The editor has some influence on the work of the journalists. Most journalists agreed that once the story is submitted it becomes the editors', who make significant changes aligned to the company's editorial policy. The agreement was that 90% of the time the story is presented as it is but basically the editor decides on the story. This editorial charter however proved to be a barrier in news reporting. Once the story goes to the editor, it passes through a lot of processes and the journalist has no say on the final output and is not consulted unless maybe to be reprimanded for certain inconsistencies.

5.2.11 Agenda setting

The basic idea in article writing is to communicate and share certain interests, in this case news, but the newspapers way of writing sets an agenda and frames readers to a certain way of thinking. Reporters tend to choose stories and set an agenda even in political stories. The questions asked to try and ascertain whether the journalists set an agenda include:

> *How do you contribute to the way people vote in your reporting? Do you think the way you write affects /influence the way people vote? Does your writing set an agenda in some way?*

This question brought divergent views from journalists. One of the interviewees noted that his academic credentials have led him to believe that his articles do not influence the way people vote:

> *As a Master of Science student, I am saying that theories refute that; Stewart Hall, David Mole… As an academic, I am an objective writer who knows the audience also has a voice. Obviously, there has to be a motive in a way to sway the people's opinion but ultimately the readers have to judge. We are in an era where the 'magic bullet' died a long time ago, and we are cognizant of that.*

One journalist alluded to the magic bullet theory which explains how mass audiences react to mass media. It has direct, immediate and powerful effect on its audiences. This is when the media manipulates what they say and the audience would believe it to be true. Werlich (1976) goes on to state that the news story makes it possible for the reader to form his own opinion of a matter without being affected by the reporter's own views.

To achieve the agenda setting goal, reporters call upon several linguistic and socio-linguistic resources. Most news writers direct readers towards certain political issues and this is done through the linguistic structures that they use. Thus, the whole subjectivity or objectivity issues in news reporting become a linguistic matter looking into how language is used to convey a message to the readership. Agenda setting is inevitable in journalism.

Agendas are not always negative. The editorial policy and the reporters own views set the guidelines for both writing and presentation of news.

Thus in setting an agenda, journalists provide the platform for politicians to present themselves to the people. Journalists then question them on their previous election promises and obviously this affects the people's attitude and where they place their mark when voting. For example, the 2008 violence during election time was captured very well. Such was the case with the 2013 outlandish election promises also and definitely this would have an effect on the voter.

Hall (1991) asserts that newspapers are full of promises which are voiced by prominent people. Newspapers are very powerful and as such they give politicians a platform to present their manifestos. Agenda setting is inevitable in journalism. Journalists do set an agenda, giving people what to think about.

In developed societies, media houses actually declare whom they are supporting. They have that freedom of expression. Ideally, Zimbabwe newsrooms should be moving towards openly declaring their support for certain candidates.

5.2.12 How do you structure your articles such that they have persuasive effect without being biased?

One journalist noted that:

> *Methods cannot be objective. The reporter is the one who has to be objective.*

The impression given here is that the reporter is responsible for authenticating his story and relies on balanced information. However, regarding media practice the headline and lead are typically not produced by the reporting journalist but by the editor. This is so because headlines and leads define the news reports and serve as marketing tools as they grab the attention of the reader. Editors do lexical substitutions in their writing as they try to appeal to the reader. In this case words like *leader* can be changed to *head*

and *modify* to *change*, among a few terms. Thus, editors check and cross check the headlines to make them appeal to the reader.

Although defining the term objectivity and subjectivity was an arduous task for reporters, basing on the type of media they work for, both sides admitted that there is no objectivity in news writing and gathering. And again, although fairness and balance are important in news reporting, those from the state media said:

> *We are driving the agenda of the government. We are motivated by the agenda set by the government. We can't divorce them.*

5.2.13 How do you deal with controversial issues of ambiguity and overgeneralisation in reporting on elections?

News production is part of a complex professional routine for the management of possible sources, the interaction among journalists and the possible formulations of reality (McNair 2003). Vasterman (1995) contends that news is not out there, journalists do not report news, but they produce news. They construct it, they construct facts, they construct statements and they construct a context in which these facts make sense.

It was noted that after stories have been presented to the editor, they undergo quite a lengthy process. Stories are presented as ideas during morning diary meetings or whenever they pop up. They are discussed in a news conference in order to assess their worthiness. They are investigated and written by the journalists. The journalist sends the story to his/her line editor, who then sends it to the news editor and then it is forwarded to the editor-in-chief. Depending on the type of story, some are sent to sub-editors for layout. These sub-editors read for typo errors and general corrections. Though Fairclough (1995) states that the reporter is considered knowledgeable, therefore has to decide what to and what not to include, as well as what to foreground and what to background, the final decision on the article that appears to the audience lies with the editor. One research participant said:

The reporters' access to the story ends upon submission and he sees it the next morning. The story is only visible to the mentioned gatekeepers, the sub-editor, editor-in-chief as well as the circulation manager and advertisement for planning purposes.

Most editors confirmed their definite influence on the final output. Stories can be wholesomely changed as there is a quality control measure to be followed. They acknowledged that the new graduates write incompetent stories. Their argument as editors was that universities and colleges that train media students produce half-baked graduates and as such their stories are revamped to the extent that the editor re-writes the story. Editors have a say in the final output, influencing mainly the copy output in terms of the ideological approach.

5.2.14 External influence
The response on the following questions were varied:

To what extent are you linked with the Ministry of Media and Information as well as the current Ministry of Cyber Networking in terms of news production? To what extent does your employer influence your final news output? Do you follow their ideological inclinations?

One interviewee noted that within the varying house styles, they have to follow the constitution and shareholder interests and the main shareholders to his company are the Government of Zimbabwe and the Ministry of Media and Information.

The employer has no influence as the journalists are guided by the editorial charter. The authority in the final output is the editor-in-chief and not necessarily management. Most in the management team are mere administrators with little knowledge of how news is produced. The interviewees noted that the editorial charter, the employer, whether state

or independent has no interference. Since the editor-in-chief handles everything, she/he decides and has veto power.

In light of this, the ideological inclinations of the reporters and editors do not affect their editorial positioning because, as stated before, they follow the editorial charter. Some narrated their own personal interests and ambitions in the political arena but were quick to note that they cannot espouse that in the paper as they have to be objective.

The link with the new Ministry of Cyber Networking is highly visible also as it has direct influence on the print media. One of the research participants said:

> With regards the Ministry of Cyber Networking, our relations come in the sense that since we operate digital platforms, the ministry is our automatic authority in that regard. They set through POTRAZ the standards with regards internet operations" The Ministry are the regulators of the news. Of course if I don't agree…I don't agree and I tell them. So even if reporters have to follow the editorial charter and laws gazzetted by the Ministry, there is need to develop it

Political influence is also considered under external influence. The following set of questions were asked to elicit responses on how newspaper articles are written with regards political power:

> Do you think politicians influence the way newspaper stories are written? How?

The general response was that politicians create policies and journalists follow these policies so they have an influence. Basing on this response, it could be ascertained that it is the politicians who make and create news and they make the journalists report news in their favour. The editorial policies are usually set by the owners of the newspapers, who have power and influence. State newspapers are aligned to state political ideologies while independent press becomes aligned to their owners' ideologies also.

The influence is there and is clearly seen, for example in the crafting of Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) which changed the modus operandi of journalists. Such would impact on how and what the journalist writes about. The respondents extended their views to the fact that people who have businesses and advertise their products in the newspapers also have an influence on the articles as they provide money for the newspaper companies through placing advertisements.

Thus media polarisation is evident. The media do not follow the dictates of the powerful corporate elite, business is withdrawn. Market consideration influences journalism as a practice, in terms of who gets the news and how do they get the news. One journalist said:

We should know where our bread is buttered

5.2.1.5 Writing style consistency

It has been noted from the data that, the way reporters present information varies depending on the type of reader, ideologies of the paper and the current scenario. Therefore, consistency in terms of writing style is a myth. The readers, both ordinary street readers and the special kind of readers have no idea of how news is written and presented. They are not experts. In dictating what should be written, the quality of the news product is compromised. And in accepting to follow the dictates of the reader, either the government of the day or the corporate world, the writer also compromises the news product by aligning themselves to a specific side ideologically. Thus the same event can be presented differently in different papers depending on who dictates the tune.

5.3 Section C: Language use in newspapers

Which linguistic structures and tools do journalists use when reporting on elections?

This section is devoted to the analysis of newspaper articles. The first section of this Chapter, Section A has demonstrated how Mugabe and Tsvangirai have manipulated language in their speeches, to create, maintain and enforce powerful political identities

and ideologies. This was achieved through the repeated use of pronouns, high level modal verbs such as *will* and *must* and lexical verbs which carry connotations of power and leadership. The identity that these politicians portray is found in selected newspaper reports, following themes on land, indigenisation and job creation. This section, together with part of the analysis attached to the Appendix section (see Appendix 1), focuses on the generic properties of news articles and SFL and CDA resources given in news reports and editorials, carrying out a linguistic comparison on news reports and editorials from state and independent newspapers.

The attention to economic growth has been at the centre of campaign strategies for both parties over time, since the country has been in a political quagmire that has seen many youths unemployed though highly educated. In this regard newspapers have also presented information related to such issues to the electorate in vast ways. Hard news and editorial articles have been analysed and verbs, pronouns, metaphors, hyperboles, us and them, repetition and discourse openings have been found to be recurrent in the articles. As said in the literature review section, Bakhtin (1981) states that the words of language are always half someone else's and when subjects use words, they formulate themselves and their thoughts from the point of view of others and from the point of view of their community. Thus the language choice in the media influences the way the readers perceive the message brought by the media (Le & Wang 2009).

 From the study, it was realised that, Zimbabwean editorials are more writer-responsible. They employ interpersonal meta-discourse resources, for example uncertainty markers and attitudinal markers to create bonds between themselves and readers.

5.3.1 Headlines and Leads

In the first newspaper article under study, **ZANU PFs empowerment policies a gimmick**, the headline has slippages of subjectivity and is and full of criticism of ZANU PF's policies through the inclusion of the linguistic term *"gimmick"*, which alludes to something of a joke, something artificial that cannot come to fruition. There are already

signs of lack of success. The headline "gimmick" is derogatory, a mockery of what ZANU PF policies are. The reporter thus distances himself from these empowerment issues.

The lead statement also has elements of subjectivity and personal voice of the journalists as there is reference to some analysts who see the policies as a *futile bid to win the hearts of the electorate*. The reporter distances himself from the lead by using the phrase *"…in what analysts say…".* This therefore, comes as information from other people, not the reporter.

The satellites directly connect and support the lead statement and the headline. In the article, **ZANU PF policies empowering**, the headline itself is subjective. The policies are said to be empowering hence can be attributed to a state paper. The headline and the opening statement link together and show the ideological inclination of the writer:

> *ZANU PF's indigenisation and economic empowerment policies are unrivalled as they serve to empower the majority...*

The article, **Counting the gains of the land reform**, has elements of faith and hope in the headline, that the land reform has been successful. There is a strong connection between the headline and the opening statement, and since this is a state paper, the negativity of the opposition is clearly brought out in the opening sentence.

> *When Zimbabwe embarked on a drive to reclaim its land around 1998 from the largely white commercial farmers, opponents of the empowerment programme who viewed white farmers as the only human species given to farming predicted the collapse of the agricultural sector.*

This editorial therefore shows the ability and success of the Zimbabwean people in utilising their birth right, their land.

The Kwayeda headline **Hapana achatadza kuvhota** (No one will fail to vote), is a clear articulation of policy regarding elections. The lead statement follows and expands on the

headline, giving the electorate assurance that they will vote contrary to some statements from the general populace that some will not be able to vote.

5.3.2 Quotations

Quotes are one of the linguistic features used in the articles. One of their functions is to warn the reader that these are not my words but someone else's. "The effect of this is to disdain the evaluation embodied in the highlighted terms, highlighting, attributing it to an alternative unspecified, but usually recoverable source" (Martin & Rose 2003: 47). There is consistent and continuous use of direct speech in the articles. This appears as follows:

"There is no evidence of gains", said economic consultant John Robertson, "If there were gains the country would not be importing food"

"It is because of such revolutionary policies by ZANU PF that we have managed to introduce such projects in this area."

"Since we started this chicken project we have seen our families" lives changing in a way that we never anticipated", said Mrs Sarah Hama who partners Ms Rhoda Kafambe in this project.

"There can never be another party that has people's interests like ZANU PF as evidenced by the indigenisation and empowerment drive that the party has embarked on"

"Dambudziko remagetsi iri riri kubvira ku South Africa uko ve Zesa vanotora moto tichizppamhidzira nemumwe watinowana kuno".

"Zvekare panoda kugadzirwa kwesimbi dzinofambisa moto, (turbines) kuKariba kuti tive nemoto muzhinji pakupamhidza mamwe masimbi myuna Zambezi pamwe nekuwedzera marasha kuHwange", vakadaro Cde Mugabe.

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The use of quotes indicates that the information has been presented as it has been said by the person who actually articulated the sentiments. There is no inclusion of the writer's points of view in that sentence. Through direct quotes the speaker distances himself from too much narration and uses the quotes to directly reveal the speaker's words hence making the articles objective. The writer tries as much as possible to present facts as they are hence the verbatim use of language. The use of quotes indicates that the information has been presented as it has been said by the original speaker, there is no inclusion of the writer's points of view in that sentence.

5.3.3 Pronouns

Pronouns are one of the grammatical features of texts which have relational values. They are used to substitute nouns and as the journalists communicate they shift from noun to pronominal values varying the linguistic structures used in the news reports. There is so much use of pronominals by the independent press. Once a subject has been given, it is later referred to in pronominal terms. The following pronominals were found in selected articles:

> *It must now extend to the rest of the economy so the politics of the country begins to ….*
>
> *It says "These sectors, and within them firms, should be indigenized and stabilized to ensure basic goods and services reach the people adequately, affordably"*

"**It**", refers to the empowerment policies and the second one refers to ZANU PF**.** The writer initially mentions the policies as well as the party by name then follows the story through

*"Mr Kashambe described ZANU PFs policies as the best form of empowerment"***.** In the subsequent sentences (Kashambe) is referred to as **he** and this brings in emphasis and attention to the reader. The movement from **Kashambe** to **he** shows influence and authority on the part of the one being talked about.

They *are working very hard and its now paying off.*

"**They**", as a pronoun refers to a lot of people and refers back to the previous statement which describes Seke community as "**we**".

> *Cde Mugabe vakataura mashoko aya apo vairatidzwa nhengo dzichange dzichimirira bato riri kutonga re ZANU PF musarudzo dziri kuitwa musi wa 29 Kurume pachikoro che St Nicholas Primary School kuMahusekwa.*
>
> (Cde Mugabe said these words when he was shown party members who will be representing ZANU PF in the coming 29 March elections at St Nicholas Primary School in Mahusekwa).
>
> *Vakati havasi kunzwisisa kuti sei chibage chakatengwa nehurumende kunyika dzinoti Zambia, Malawi ne South Africa chisati chasvika munyika asi chakabhadharwa kare.*
>
> (He said he did not understand why the maize bought from Zambia, Malawi and South Africa had not been delivered yet it had been paid for).

Initially there is full reference to the President but as the story progresses he is referred to as He. This brings in a rhythmic effect to the story.

> *It is because of such revolutionary policies by ZANUPF that* **we** *have managed to introduce such projects in this area.*

"**We**" signifies unity, signifying with others, identification not with the people but with other big gurus in the party.

> *We also want the government to help* ***us*** *access loans from financial institutions because at the moment they are dilly-dallying.*

The Youth leader speaks as if he is detached from the ruling party yet he is one of them. This is a campaign strategy where he identifies with the masses in trying to access loans

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from the government. In political circles this is a way of glorification as he would appear to have convinced the government to provide access to finance yet practically he is part of those that are supposed to provide access to finance.

5.3.4 Naming

Political language use as in addressing one as CDE Ernest Chinyanga is probably to motivate the audience and show respect to that member of the market gardening through use of party language. Different names are alluded to in the different articles, Mr Kashambe, President Mugabe, Cde Mugabe, Didymus Mutasa, St Nicholas Primary School, Mahusekwa, South Africa and Malawi to mention a few. The names relate from people to places and they are all about belonging and identification with the party.

What the Seke community is doing is brought out through names. The reporter brings in issues of ideology through narratives by the beneficiaries, hiding from any slippages of subjectivity. The reporter thus has no direct link with the article as there is wide usage of open and closed inverted commas relating to the names and declaratives where he does not directly connect with the utterances.

5.3.5 Narration

In the story entitled "*ZANUPF policies empowering*", the reporter seems to be a neutral attacker of the landed gentry while supporting the President who seems to be side lined by his lieutenants. The use of the term "*despite*" shows where the reporter's allegiance lies, that is, in ZANU PF.

The land reform programme was touted as economic empowerment but has created the "landed gentry", despite President Robert Mugabe's call for "one man, one farm".
This report starts by giving the issue at hand then the source comes later in the sentence and this justifies the use of the inverted declarative sentence.

> *ZANU PFs indigenization and economic empowerment policies are unrivalled as they serve to empower the majority…*

Then Kashambe's name comes in later in the narration. The text offers positive inscriptions of ZANU PF as a party through the use of the linguistic term "empowering". There is an element in the report of how people have benefitted from the projects and such information is presented by the reporters in commentary form with the support of the exact words from the beneficiaries. Beneficiaries of the projects said their lives had changed when they started the programmes.

However, personal opinions also come in especially when the journalist narrates some of the situations happening in the country, for example when he talks about Zimbabwe having to import food. There is reference to the country as once having been the breadbasket of Southern Africa, which is subjective. The lead statement shows what has been done by ZANU PF but this is considered futile ahead of the elections. The reporter uses the middle voice of the analyst to bring out his point, hence subjectivity issues come on point. The reporter tends to narrate some events to distance himself from the political party as in the following example:

> *ZANU PF says it has already drawn up a strategy of entering or supporting entry into critical sectors and enterprises whose activities provide inputs to most citizens*

The same scenario is found in Kwayedza, and as the story progresses, the reporter's opinions are articulated:

> *Izvi zvave kureva kuti vashandirwi vose vanofanirwa pasi pemutemo kupa vashandi vavo mukana wokusaenda kumabasa musi uyu vachinovhota.*

As the story progresses issues of politics are discussed, about the defection of Dumiso Dabengwa and Simba Makoni and the reporter brings this out through narration:

Uyewo Cde Mugabe vakarasa pachena mashoko ari kufambiswa nevamwe vatauri kuti sangano re ZANU PF riri kupatsanurwa napakati....

It is also important to note that the social setting determines the language choice in narration by the reporters. It is worth noting that newspaper stories as forms of discourse are not simple narratives, but also perform some interpretive work. As journalists present news they look for disruptions to the norm as key building blocking. Independent press state facts as they are as one of the articles had the following words:

For the seventh consecutive year, Zimbabwe, once the bread basket of the country…

The independent press *brings* to light the current situation as it is, what is on paper in the state reports is not what is on the ground therefore, there is an element of reality versus fiction as the press present news reportage. The writer has concluded that though sometimes subjective and critical of the ruling party's policies, the independent press has precision and accuracy. They show and give dates, which are all elements of accuracy.

5.3.6 Modals

Modals are there to appeal to the senses of the listener because at the time of the speech they are more easily identified and understood. Verbs in this context are taken in the modal form to show levels of expression of certain elements in the newspaper articles. The following modal verbs were found in the selected articles:

*For the seventh consecutive year, Zimbabwe, once the breadbasket of the region **will** be importing food as the new breed of farmers have neither the skills nor the capital to embark on a successful agriculture.*

*If there were gains, the country **would** not be importing food.*

*Last year central bank chief governor Gideon Gono warned that a fine balance **should** be struck between the objectives of indigenization and the need to attract foreign investment.*

*Of particular concern to us, as monetary authorities, **would** be any attempts to forcibly push the envelope of indigenization into the delicate area of banking and finance"*

These modals indicate future events that are to occur. '**Will**', is a sign of something that comes into the future.

*There **can** never be another party that has people's interests like ZANUPF…*

There is an element of finality in the statement, no possibilities whatsoever leading again to self-glorification. Supported by indigenization and empowerment drives that it has introduced and through the use of the modal "**can**", there is clear sign that no other party will surpass ZANU PF in its deeds that are good to the citizenry.

*It **must** now extend to the rest of the economy so the politics of the country begins to address and rearrange the economic domain.*

Through the use of the impartial reporting verb "**says**" there is attribution to external voices and distancing of the reporter what is being reported. ZANU PF is the agent in this narration and there is attribution to part of the 5W s where the **who** is ZANUPF, and **what** are the black empowerment policies.

*What we need are irrigation facilities so that our projects **can** become viable.*
*It is clear that on March 29, the presidential candidate who **will** be seen or perceived by the majority of the people to have the rest of the best plan for a land–based economic revival **will** win the elections.*

5.3.7 Metaphors

Analysts note that since what critics have called the Indigenization + tsunami spread across the country in the 1990s, only a few individuals have managed to pull through the deals

A vivid image like the Tsunami enhances the communicative meaning of the discourse, projecting the ideology of the speaker and providing a striking image to the reader.

Time metaphor

*…under the Maworesa Seke community projects **recently**.*

The term recently is an indicator of time, something that has been done in the near past though no clear specification of time is given. This is to convince and persuade the reader of the active nature of ZANU PF who has recently visited Seke communal lands. However, such time metaphors might bring in elements of deceit in the ruling party as there is no clear or specific indication of time but generalisations that this has been recently done. There is reiteration that he hails from Seke, and as a Youth leader he is servicing his area of origin, a political milestone in election campaigns.

Metaphor of numbers

We have seen a lot of people benefiting from these developmental projects here.

There is no clear specification given, "**a lot of people**", as metaphor of numbers indicates how extensive the programme has gone, in terms of assisting the community.

Metaphor of religion and/or culture

*IBWO and AAG were fortunate when they went into a **marriage of convenience** under the Empowerment Corporation that culminated in Telecel Zimbabwe getting an operating licence*

*The pressure groups saw **no evil, hear no evil and spoke no evil** when Masiyiwa was fighting the courts*

5.3.8 Us and them

The saying by the Youth president that "*ZANU PF policies are unrivalled*", signifies an element of self-glorification. There is justification by the Youth president that the policies empower the majority. The Youth president has vision and is optimistic of the empowering policies of the party. There is self-glorification of "us" and decadence of "them" as the other party through the use of "us" and "them". The moment he says the party's policies are unrivalled then there is no competition from elsewhere, meaning the opposition practically does not exist.

There are competition-related issues in this article and whatever the other party tries to do will not match what ZANU PF is or has done regarding empowerment within the country. Thus the inverted declarative sentence clearly brings out the success of the party in a manner that gives no room to them.

> *Mr Kashambe described ZANU PFs pro-people policies **as the best form of empowerment***
> *There can never be another party that has people's interests like ZANU PF as evidenced by the indigenization and empowerment drive that the party has embarked on, he said.*

The ruling party sounds superior here, looking down upon the opposition. This is just an enhancement of what the reporter has said in the lead statement and is an emphasis of their party's superiority. The ruling party is blowing its own horns regarding its indigenisation programmes.

5.4 Analysis of ZANU PF and MDC manifestos

Manifestos of both the ZANU PF and the MDC were analysed since they are the guiding documents of the parties. The main objective of the manifestos is to guide the presidential candidates in their election campaigns.

The following are a brief analysis of both manifestos:

5.4.1 MDC Manifesto

The manifesto of the MDC reflects on their successes in the liberation struggle. They mention that they have experienced political and economic struggles and high unemployment rate. Their main aim is to work with people in order to build a better life for all. Their ideology is based on serving the people of Zimbabwe through an accountable and clean governance that is corrupt free. Their core values are freedom, equality and accountability amongst others.

They are guided by the following principles:
- Commitment to good governance
- Stabilizing the economy
- Improvement of social services
- Implement the new constitution
- Introduce access to land in order to improve food production
- Delivery of quality healthcare
- Provide good education for all
- Protecting all the citizens

They also provide a synopsis of their achievements which are:
- 4 years of economic growth
- Reduction of inflation
- Adoption of multi-currency
- Improved healthcare

- Expanded voting rights
- Restore citizenship

5.4.2 ZANU PF Manifesto

The manifesto of the ZANU PF focuses on economically empowering the indigenous people of Zimbabwe by allowing them access to natural resources, and create employment especially for the youth. Their main objectives are independence, unity, security, respect of liberation struggle values, freedom and democracy amongst others.

The manifesto is guided by the following principles:
- Improve economy by allowing people to participate in the stock exchange, provide employment and housing
- Unity through the policy of indigenisation
- Respect values of the liberation struggle
- Respect the elderly
- Improve health system
- Implement law without fear or favour

In their manifesto they also highlight barriers which can deter them from achieving their objectives. Some of them are poverty, unemployment, homelessness, lack of water and sanitation, corruption, sanctions amongst others.

They listed their achievements as follows:
- ZANU PF liberated Zimbabwe
- Indigenised land
- Defended Zimbabwe sovereignty
- Introduced multi-currency
- Built resilient healthcare infrastructure
- Defended national security
- Establish community empowerment trust and created youth fund

Looking at these two manifestos there are no glaring differences because their focus is on building Zimbabwe.

5.5 Conclusion

Leaders try to convince people to vote for them through the manipulation of language in addressing the electorate. Controlling the minds of the audience is a major strategy by politicians to reproduce hegemony. Journalists also take inclinations and persuade voters to think in a certain way. Linguistic structures such as modals, verbs, quotations and narration are used by politicians and journalists in a bid to persuade, manipulate and demonstrate political will and commitment, make promises as well as gain public support. Such linguistic elements also become ideological tools that have an impact on how the listener and reader respond to the speech or article. The analysis put particular emphasis on how people interact linguistically in the political arena and how the audience can be swayed towards a certain way of thinking by politicians and journalists' presentation of information. In trying to persuade the voters, presidential candidates are guided by the manifestos of their political parties which put emphasis on nation building and also on improving the economy and healthcare systems. Furthermore, there is also the media which has a very crucial role of reporting on elections. The media should be balanced and present issues and events as they are. Elements of free media and unbiased reportage where broadcasters are neutral, are expected in news reporting. This analysis has helped in bringing to light how political parties and newspaper reporters accomplish their agendas and manipulate the opinion of the people. The next chapter discusses the findings.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.0 Introduction

The study examined the election discourses that became popular during the rundown to the elections that took place in 2008 and 2013. The focus was on language that was used in the manifestos of the two political parties, ZANU PF and MDC, and that language which was used by journalists while reporting. The aim was to analyse the nature of linguistic repertoire that was used by newspaper reporters and politicians to enact political goals and objectives. The analysis and interpretation of manifestos and newspaper texts was guided by Systematic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as they pertain to language use.

This chapter therefore traces the discursive construction in political discourse by politicians, journalists, newspaper articles, and the findings on analysis of manifestos of both the MDC and the ZANU PF. In order to achieve this goal, in this chapter I delve into the meaning, importance and relevance of the findings of the study. The focus is on explaining and evaluating what was found, showing how it relates to the literature review, theoretical framework and research questions. The following sections discuss the findings of the study, which reflect on the language used by politicians when they campaign for votes.

6.1 Linguistic choices politicians use in their speeches during election campaign

The linguistic choices that politicians use during election campaign resonate around issues of mind control and manipulation, syntactic and lexical choices, persuasion, positive and negative representation and repetition, among others.

6.1.1 Mind control and manipulation

The choice of words by the electoral candidates in their campaign speeches is meant to convince the electorate to vote for them. The results of the study revealed that speeches by politicians were about inspiring and persuading the electorate hence manipulative and

propagandist techniques were used. The presidential candidates, in their speeches, and journalists under study, in their texts had the option or were under obligation to make linguistic choices and in this regard, the language that sought to persuade the voters was used. In the process, mind control and manipulation are the two conspicuous approaches that were used by the two politicians to gain confidence from the electorate. These two approaches are an endeavour to achieve hegemony by these politicians. Thus, manipulation and mind control have a relationship with cognition. In other words, from the hidden meanings by politicians and newspaper writers, comes the issue of manipulation. As explained in Chapter 2, it can be stated without doubt therefore that all election campaigns, at their core, are about mind control and manipulation, so this observation was also evident in 2008 and 2013 elections. The literature has revealed that the more manipulative a candidate is, means that more success awaits him regarding the elections (Hartvigsen 2007; Reynolds & Steenbergen 2006; Rowbottom 2012). This finding is in line with Tkachova (2017) who asserts that the presidential candidates, Mugabe and Tsvangirai, used persuasive language to get coveted votes. Thus, through their speeches, politicians aim at making the audience believe that their ideology, beliefs, and opinions are the best ones on offer.

Huckin (1997) who stated that in manipulation the speaker decides where the spotlight should be, also supports this finding. In this regard, politicians apply power as they channel action towards a desired outcome. Nadeem et al (2014) who posit that the relationship between language and power is clearly shown through the artistic use of language by politicians support this view also. The view of the relationship between language and power is also supported by CDA, which is the theoretical framework of this study. For example, van Dijk (2005) states that the CDA's emphasis is to unravel how the power exerted in discourse is used to control the minds and actions of others to serve the needs of the dominant groups, even if it works against the interests of others. He further points out that the socio-political power derived from the persuasive or coercive use of discourse, that is, text or speech, stems from the dominant group's control and dominance over financial resources, socio-economic outlets, socio-economic positions, data and

knowledge. Such hegemony reinforces or at least expands the influence of holders of hegemony over these sources. In the context of the current study, the two presidential candidates used language that reflected their power to manipulate the voters' understanding of what is happening, what is right and what is possible.

The finding on the first research question also supports Nadeem et al (2014) who stated that politicians use planned language in order to persuade and influence people. According to Nadeem et al (2014), through language, politicians have the ability to sustain and lengthen their hold to influential political positions. Therefore, the way in which they use language determines how they would appeal to the electorate. As already mentioned above, politicians manipulate the people and their minds and sometimes change the way the electorate think or view certain issues. From the speeches, it can be concluded that politicians refer to themselves, their addressees and their opponents through different language styles. This is done in a persuasive tone, to allow the electorate to prefer them to others. An analysis of the political discourses used by electoral candidates in their speeches reflected that politicians use verbs, modals, pronouns, metaphors, repetition, anaphora, hyperbole, "us and them" among other linguistic structures to persuade the audience to be on their side.

6.1.2 Syntactic and lexical choices

The results of the study further revealed a similar trend between politicians from both political parties, ZANU PF and MDC, concerning hiding meanings of intended messages using ambiguous statements and other hidden clauses. This finding reveals that meaning is apparent in the choice of vocabulary and both politicians use different, carefully chosen modal verbs, and syntactic choices, which give the speech a well-argued flavour of cause and effect relationships and logic in their campaign speeches to emphasise certain aspects of their message. This finding supports Claire (1997) who points out that in campaign strategies modals and careful choice of sentences are used by politicians to lure the electorate and persuade them into voting them into power by giving them promises and pledges. In similar vein, Ehineni (2014) notes that politicians often use

modals to reinforce their individual political ideologies, communicate their political ideas and elicit public support. In addition, Halliday & Matthiessen (2013: 30) declare that modal verbs express varying levels of modality, which include possibility, probability, obligation and certainty. In the current study, both leaders make use of the modals to give false promises to the voters of what they are capable of doing. However, according to Charteris-Black (2014: 122), these modals express a high level of commitment on the politician.

6.1.3 Persuasion

The findings of the study further revealed that the pronominal choices of the two presidential candidates used language in order to persuade their supporters. For example, the pronoun '*I*' is used to represent the President as a single individual not as part of the group. This finding is in line with Wodak (2009: 302) who observed that '*we*' is used in the sense of collective and responsibility sharing, referring mainly to the president and the party. Wodak (2009) further asserts that in political discourse, representation of the pronoun 'we' is a persuasive linguistic device, which helps invite identification and solidarity with the group, which however, simultaneously implies distancing from and marginalisation of others. The finding further supports Fetzer and Bull (2008: 201) who argued that politicians use self-referencing pronouns such as '*I*' and '*we*' in conjunction with cognitive verbs. According to the authors, the use of *'we'* referencing shows the leader's effectiveness to garner support from his constituents and that support would bring him to the highest office. In the current study, Tsvangirai used *'we'* frequently and by using '*we'*, he was expressing solidarity with the masses. Both candidates were trying in their speeches to impose upon the context for their strategic purposes. They spoke with authority, on behalf of all the masses and used relational values, which indicates unity and solidarity.

In a similar study, Chilton & Schaffner (1997: 217) observe that "one of the principal ways in which politicians position themselves and others in relation to their parties, their government, their potential electors, and their nation is the use of the pronoun". In

addition, Beard (2000) says that the first person form can have a range of reference from '*I*' plus the other, '*I*' plus a group, '*I*' plus the whole country or '*I*' plus the rest of humanity. Thus, Beard (2000) talks of the advantage of using the pronoun '*I*' as in placing the speaker above the shared responsibility of his colleagues. Based on the mentioned previous studies, it is clear that pronominal choices have the ability to change the effect that the speech has on the audience and politicians are aware of that. This finding also supports the theoretical framework of this study (CDA) where van Dijk (2005) emphasises that pronouns are commonly used to execute an ideological rhetorical strategy of positive self-representation and negative other representation. van Dijk further states that this is often carried out in conjunction with a strategy referred to as 'predication', often employed by politicians as it refers to the act of labelling specific social actors in particular ways in an effort to create a conceptualisation of said social actors.

6.1.4 Positive and negative representation

Politicians are able to positively identify themselves and negatively present their opponents, through linguistic structures like pronouns and verbs among others. Allen (2007: 2) specifically refers to the intentional use of pronouns by politicians in glorifying themselves and vilify the opposition. Fairclough (2003) notes that the identification of the enemy assists the speaker to create the context of the speech. In this regard, each presidential candidate, Mugabe and Tsvangirai, regarded each other as the enemy, hence easily manipulated the electorate by glorifying themselves and their political parties against the rivals using rhetorical devices such as the pronouns and verbs among others. As such, politicians use language to gain political and interactional advantage over their opponents (Obeng 1997). van Dijk (1998: 61) further recommends to extract an account of 'us' and 'them', to manifest the implied as well as the presupposed, and to look out for "formal structures that '(de)emphasise polarised group opinions', in order to make ideology surface".

The speaker from the opposition political party would reflect the past in negative terms and the future in positive light resulting in what de Gialdino (2010) calls a positive

representation of the speaker's image as well as the image of his party. There is identity description of the speakers and this is reflected through the negative description of the other. For example, in the current study, Tsvangirai presented the rival party, ZANU PF, negatively by using such terms as *"a leopard faithful to its spots"*. Through hyperbolic expressions such as hordes of *"worthless currency", "poor billionaires"*, he exaggerated the reality of the Zimbabwean situation. He described the long list of what his party had done and how they have tried to resolve problems caused by ZANU PF. His persuasive strategy stimulated hope amongst the electorate. There is the use of the personification technique in which the politicians handle themselves as individuals. Tsvangirai used technical register in trying to persuade people, using emotive language in his opening remarks and being polite. This finding supports van Dijk (1997: 103) who posits that, "transparent ideological positions can take the form of a biased representation or misrepresentation".

In a similar study, van Dijk (2004) declares that positive self-representation is a semantic-macro strategy used for the purpose of "face keeping" or impression management. He further states that negative other representation is another semantic micro strategy regarding in-groups and out-groups, that is, their division between good and bad, superior and inferior, us and them. In the current study, both presidents thus employed positive self-representation to glorify their party's ambitions. This finding supports Rozina & Karapetjana (2009) who argue that political figures try to control and penetrate into the minds of their audiences to reach their political goals, and usually to make the electorate vote for them.

6.1.5 Repetition

The results of the study further showed that politicians repeated words consequently in their campaigns. Repetition of the afore-mentioned words and phrases cited in Chapter 5 assisted in unifying the ideas in the manifesto. This finding concurs with Jones & Wareing (1999: 39) in Thomas, Wareing, Jones & Thornborrow (2004) who argue that, "repeating certain phrases contribute towards making the ideas contained in them seem

"common sense". This is also in line with Beard (2000: 39) who observed that in long speeches, repetition could be used to hold the speech together, but also to emphasise moral values. Thus, the repetition of information contributes to the dramatic effect and emphasises the main theme of the text.

6.1.6 Foregrounding

The results also revealed that both politicians emphasised certain concepts and de-emphasised others and such an approach resulted in the creation of good political rhetoric. Mugabe and Tsvangirai also related to different metaphors. Metaphors are an indispensable part of, not just political, but public discourse in general. They can change people's opinion, confirm our pre-existing view on some political issues, but they can also distort reality. As they were used in Tsvangirai's manifesto, the country is presented as ailing and not redeemable. The idea that foregrounded the MDC manifesto was that, the ZANU PF government has torn the country into shreds through their poor governance and only MDC leadership could bring the country to its feet again. This finding supports Charteris-Black (2004: 28) who states that a metaphor is "central to CDA since it is concerned with framing a coherent view of reality". The finding also concurs with Halliday (1985) who declared that metaphors also play an important role with regards to both the interpersonal and the ideational meta-function of language. In another similar study, Jakaza & Visser (2016) noted that metaphors as a linguistic aesthetic are used to vivify and often times overdramatise situations. Therefore, findings from the current study revealed that the use of metaphors in the political speeches and texts induced some specific understanding of how political activities throughout the election were conceptualised and expressed in denoting particular ideological stances.

Taiwo (2010) mentions another role of metaphors where he declares that metaphors play a central role in political discourse, which is mostly persuasive and rhetorical in nature. He further notes that in political discourse metaphors are deployed to enhance the persuasive effect of the text by providing clear and imaginative instances of the events under discussion. In this study, it was noted that metaphors bring out the relations

between the politicians and the audience and the politicians' ideologies are clearly brought out. Using metaphors in the speeches and texts, persuasion and negotiation as aspects of power relations are brought out. Since politics is a contestation of ideas, politicians adopt a sense of contest and competition in order to advance their ideological underpinnings through metaphors.

In the current study, metaphorical expressions that frequently recur in the studied speeches are animal, war, time, religious, death, journey, food and sickness. Images are also drawn either from daily life especially by the MDC who came up with examples like images of food, war, journey, or from contemporary images, events, and figures. The MDC addressed concerns about bread and butter issues referring to eggs and other foodstuffs while ZANU PF talked about the death of liberation war heroes referring to them as "wailing bones that lie in many places...". These images are purposively chosen so that they are creatively employed as vehicles for the transmission of the political messages with the ultimate goal of wooing the voters, a tactic referred to as emotive element. They situate the texts in the contexts that produced them and capture the socio-cultural, sociolinguistic and political experiences of the environment as purported by CDA which is a theoretical framework for this study. Thus, the comprehension and interpretation of events in politics is enhanced creatively through metaphoric language.

The use of the various types of metaphors as discussed in Chapter 5 makes the comparison more forceful, more vivid, and helps to drive home the political points and ideas that politicians are trying to communicate to the people. In political discourse, metaphor is not an empty device, but rather, it is deployed deliberately to enhance the persuasive effect of the texts by providing striking and vivid images, which enhance the communicative meaning of the discourse. This finding concurs with Chilton & Ilyin (1993) that metaphors are used to lubricate the friction of contact between individuals when seen from the interactive point of view and such is the case in the study. They further declare that with a metaphor, it is possible to avoid a direct reference to a face-threatening phenomenon and the accountability of the speaker is minimised. Perhaps, this is why

politicians often feel comfortable using metaphors to convey weightier subjects that may be difficult to express in plain language. With such metaphorical expressions, the electorate is left to make inferences from the knowledge the politician can assume to be shared. The electorate are to infer metaphorical entailments and the relevance of the expressions. Chilton & Schaffner (1997: 221-222**)** therefore, argue that:

> metaphors are not merely one-off 'rhetorical flourishes', but cognitive devices for forming and communicating conceptualisations of reality which may be in some way problematic. From the interactive perspective, metaphors enable speakers to avoid direct (face-threatening and over-revealing) references.

6.1.7 Findings on Manifestos

The findings on the analysis of manifestos are discussed in this section. The objectives of both manifestos are to improve the economy, fight corruption and to deliver quality healthcare and these are the main pillars in nation building. The results of the study based on the manifestos indicated that the ZANU PF goes on to claim that they were responsible for the liberation of Zimbabwe, which MDC did not claim. On the other hand, MDC expressed its willingness to serve the people of Zimbabwe and to fight corruption. This finding supports Laver & Garry (2000: 620) who pointed out that manifestos are 'strategic documents written by politically sophisticated party elites with many different objectives in mind'. This view is also emphasised by McDonald (2001) who asserts that parties usually issue a manifesto in which they outline the policies that they advocate for and it is in these election manifestos that ideological goals and aims are formulated.

The results further revealed that both manifestos point out their achievements, which are the introduction of multi-currency, improvement of healthcare systems by building infrastructure. As one of their main achievements, the ZANU PF states that they managed to liberate Zimbabwe alone. This finding concurs with Budge et al (1999: 2) that through their "textual emphasis", manifestos often "set what parties plan to achieve in their campaigns and after the election they are used as a reference point by the party, to confirm that election promises have been fulfilled.

6.2. The nature of language used by journalists in reporting political issues

The last question sought to unravel the language aspects that journalists use when reporting on elections.

6.2.1 Context

The study reflected on the linguistic structures and tools used by journalists to question the decisions and behaviours of the political elite. It also showed how editorialists used their language skills to convey what they think about the Zimbabwean situation in relation to elections, therefore, editorials were used as institutional voices to comment on the electoral situation in Zimbabwe. As already stated that election campaigns are about persuasion, the same also applies with the newspaper journalists. They tried to persuade the newspaper readers through language use to follow their ideological inclinations. This finding supports Christie (1993) who mentioned that language is an instrument of communication discourse. Language and context, then, are interrelated and context can be deduced from text. To this end, Beard (2000: 18) argues that language is a means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping a series of beliefs. Beard (2000) further states that it is not something, somehow different from the ideas it contains, but the way language is used says a great deal, about how the ideas have been shaped.

In this study, it is emphasised that the discourse used by journalists is fundamental as it manages to influence the public's thinking. The choice of words by journalists in their articles is to convince the electorate of the suitability of his or her choice of candidature. In this regard, van Dijk (2006) states that the dominant groups or those who hold political power seek to control the attitudes of people in such a way as to manipulate issues and how they should be framed and perceived.

Beard (2000: 2) notes that "looking at the language of politics as an occupation is important because it helps us to understand how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power". As

such, the way journalists report on elections also helps maintain power for some other candidates and it brings out their differing ideologies.

6.2.2 Sequencing

The results of the study revealed that sequencing is one of the strategies the journalists used. The strategies used manifested themselves in the decisions taken by the storywriters on how sequencing would be done in narrating an event and took into consideration the persuasive value of the information provided in the headlines. This finding concurs with Kramsch (1993) who avers that journalists are able to anchor the reader in the perspective of the narrator through markers of time. In the current study, as such, journalists from both independent and state newspapers deliberately came up with appealing headlines that would make the reader want to follow the story. The study noted that, there is a strong relationship between headlines and the lead, that is the opening statement. This is significant since each beginning prepares the reader for what is expected in the story. This is in line with Kramsch's (1993) findings that the writer foregrounds what she/he wants the readers to understand. Kramsch further points out that most headlines capture the attention of the reader and tempt him/her to carry on reading the story. This view is also in line with van Dijk (1988: 226) who avers that headlines are designed to form "the summary of the news story, which strategically serves as the expression of its macrostructure".

The findings also revealed that in the analysed newspaper texts it was realised and observed that there was a link between the headline and the lead statements exhibiting a relationship where each of the satellites elaborated in its own way. In this way, the satellites hang together and are related linguistically. During the interview sessions, the journalists noted that they considered Bednarek's elements of the news as they write. They noted elements such as conflict/difference/disruption, negativity, relevance, personalisation, timeliness, apparently new, simplicity, expectedness, unexpectedness and entertainment. In this regard, White (2001) is of the view that the headlines in newspapers differ from most written texts in that they are written not to be read carefully

or analytically but are a peculiar feature of news and, often, readers will read a story because of its headline.

The linguistic discourse by journalists revealed how they perceived events and how readers related to the issues brought out by the journalists. While the ruling party talked about land, indigenisation and empowerment, the opposition party had a different set of ideologies, which did not rest upon the monotonous, overemphasised terms of indigenisation, land and empowerment. The MDC as an opposition political party in its manifesto had a lot to offer the electorate including jobs, modernisation, democratisation and food.

The exploitation of headlines and sub-headlines as linguistic cues to reflect the context of the texts has been revealing in the study. The headlines of newspapers were mainly taken from the themes that appeared in the party manifestos. This resulted in issues being written about elections in the newspapers being understood by those who had some background knowledge of the political party that was being written about.

6.2.3 Framing

Framing is how the content of a text is presented, what perspective the writer is taking. The text must try to pull the details together into a unified whole (Huckin 1997). This means that each text must have cohesion. According to Palmer (1999), cohesion refers to the ties and connections, which exist within texts. On the other hand, cohesion, according to Hassan & Halliday (1976), refers to the way people relate or tie together bits of discourse. These ties and connections relate to grammatical devices, which have affected cohesion. Cohesion occurs where the interpretation of some element in the discourse is dependent on that of another. The one presupposes the other, in the sense that it cannot be affectively decoded except by recourse to it. The results of the current study revealed two ways in which cohesion was seen in the studied texts. It was through referencing and paragraph unity. Although the findings of this study only identified referencing and paragraph unity as cohesive devices, Halliday & Mathiessen (2004: 533)

argue that there are four ways by which cohesion is created in English, that is, by conjunction, reference, ellipsis and lexical organisation. This is in line with Eggins (2004) who declares that referencing refers to how the writer introduces the participants and then keeps track of them once they are in the text. Further, Martin & Rose (2003) state that one identifies the presuming referent in a text and then seeks to link all mentions of that participant. For example, Mr Kashambe in one newspaper article is introduced by full name as Mr *Munyaradzi Kashambe,* in the lead statement of the text, then in the next satellite as *Mr Kashambe* and eventually as *he*. Later, his name is brought out passively as his area of origin is mentioned and this is brought out as Mr Kashambe, who hails from Seke. Ron, Fromkin & Rodman (1993) and Scollon (1995) argue that referencing provides cohesion in written texts. All these are variations used to make a connection within a discourse.

As such, grammatical analysis of language use in the press may also reveal the perspective of the journalist or newspaper. The way in which a sentence is constructed expresses the semantic roles of participants in an event by word order, relational functions, that is, subject or object or the use of active or passive forms. Journalists use formal language, using formal words and more complex, more complete and more grammatically correct sentences. Journalists report a news event or what a commentator says. Journalists also give opinions in as much as the newspaper can also give an opinion through editorials, thus representing the different views and voices within.

6.2.4 Credibility

The results of the study also revealed that journalists used quotations in order to show credibility of their articles. As the texts unfold in both state and independent news articles studied, outside voices are also brought in by the journalists to generate and maintain objectivity. This finding concurs with Seghezzi (2007) who noted that quotations serve the purpose of being trustworthy in their own right, making the story livelier, enhancing credibility of the account, allowing for the interpretation of news events and allowing for the insertion of subjective interpretations and opinions.

This finding also supports Jakaza & Visser (2016) who are of the idea that a direct quotation points to the fact that these words belong to a source, which is usually then expected to dominate the story. They further state that direct quotations are used rhetorically to communicate the political and ideological orientation of each newspaper. In addition, Sabao (2013) notes that quotations draw attention to the words by the speaker. According to Sabao (2013), this style of writing is also meant to retain objectivity, which is the bottom line and major defining characteristic of a hard news article. Thus, quotations are very important in Zimbabwean news reporting cultures because they express the views of politicians without misrepresenting them.

6.2.5 Active and passive voice

The results of the study revealed that active and passive voice were used to persuade the voters. This finding is in line with Busa's (2013: 102) study as she indicated that, "the active voice is the preferred form because it allows the journalist to describe actions in a manner that is more direct and easier to understand, as it reflects the way people think and process information. Busa (2013) further indicates that passive voice is often preferred when an unknown or irrelevant performer performs the action. Therefore, one of the reasons in the dominant use of passive voice in news reports may be the need to address the audience easily and the lack of reliable information about the agent(s). However, Xie & Andrews (2013: 42) argue that the use of active and passive sentences makes it impossible to report the events in a neutral way because "such choices, which the language system both enables and forces us to make in every utterance, are precisely the points at which the operation of ideology can and does occur". Therefore, journalists have to make a choice among the active voice, passive voice or nominalised structures, because it is not possible to use them together in an utterance. In another similar study, Cotter (2012: 27) declared that journalists may not have reliable and concrete information about details of the event and the agent, probably due to the editor's "policy in safeguarding the clarity and expressive power of the standard language in general".

6.3 Conclusion

This chapter showed that politicians used a wide range of linguistic structures and tools during election campaign. Among their linguistic choices is mind control and manipulation. This linguistic choice helped the presidential candidates have some emotional control or deception to influence their audience. Other linguistic choices used were syntactic and lexical choices, persuasion, positive and negative representation, repetition and foregrounding. Concerning the findings related to manifestos, both presidential candidates used the linguistic structures of their party manifestos to outline policies and ideological goals. The chapter further revealed the nature of language used by journalists in reporting political issues during election campaign. Among the language aspects journalists used were context, sequencing, framing, credibility, active and passive voice. The following chapter focuses on conclusion, recommendations and future research.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

The aim of this study was to analyse the linguistic devices that were used by presidential candidates when they canvassed for elections and also how journalists reported on elections. The study was a discourse analysis of political communication in election campaigns, considering persuasive and rhetorical forces at play when communicating politically controversial stances. The study also focused on how politicians present information to the electorate being guided by their election manifestos. In the analysis of such linguistic structures and tools, the study used SFL as well as CDAas theoretical frameworks. The study followed a qualitative design, using interviews and document analysis as methods of collecting data. This chapter provides a summary of the findings obtained in the study, followed by the conclusion and recommendations. The chapter includes the aim of the study, review of the research problem, summary of findings, linguistic strategies used by politicians, language aspects used by journalists while reporting, recommendations and a proposed model for election reporting.

7.1 Aim of the study

The aim of the study sought to investigate how language is used or manipulated by politicians and the media during election campaigns in Zimbabwe. The study also aimed at analysing the use of language by politicians and journalists in the representation of election discourse in Zimbabwe. This language use enables the politicians to sustain and prolong their power and gain long term benefits in their political arena. The study therefore established the major highlights in election reporting through newspapers and political speeches.

Linguistic and discourse analysis approaches have been employed to describe and explain the communicative meaning of the campaign texts as tools for persuading and mobilising the electorate to vote for the candidates. The key elements within which the study is developed are political discourse and its representation in newspaper reporting.

CDA and SFL are the two theories that guided the analysis of data. While CDA considers context of the study, SFL analysis focuses more on the linguistic aspects thus the two theories complement each other. The study, as a discourse analysis involved a linguistic analysis of election speeches, manifestos and newspaper texts reporting on election events. The events are reported differently in the newspapers depending on the media outlet that the journalists subscribe to. The study followed a qualitative design, using interviews and document analysis as methods of collecting data. Journalists from the different media houses were interviewed and newspaper articles from both state and independent newspapers as well as presidential candidates' party manifestos were analysed.

Despite the greater limitation that the study focused on selected matters from 2008 and 2013 elections, the data collected can be used to improve election reporting in Zimbabwe especially regarding how journalists present information. This study has added to the limited available literature on election discourse in Zimbabwe.

7.2 Review of the Research Problem

This study was carried out in order to investigate linguistic devices used by presidential candidates when they persuade their supporters to vote for them. The study focused on political elections of 2008 and 2013, trying to ascertain how claims about neutrality and textual organisation might be invested linguistically, with regards to how politicians invest in language as they address the electorate during election periods. At the heart of this problem is the concept of language. Hence, the idea was to problematise language used in election campaigns in Zimbabwe, by both politicians and journalists, assessing how language conceptualises the identity and perception of reality by the speaker or writer.

7.3 Summary of the Study

This section presents a summary of findings from the study. Charteris-Black (2005: 1) states that "within all types of political system, from autocratic, through oligarchic to democratic; leaders have relied on their political ideologies to convince others of the

benefits that arise from their leadership". This study has been able to identify, describe and document how Zimbabwean politicians use language to persuade and woo the electorate, and thus establish the relationship between the use of language and the achievement of communicative goals. The way politicians talk and what they say often determine how effective or successful they are in persuading the electorate to support their candidacy. The researcher has also been able to assess how journalists convey information to the electorate, their language use and presentation of information on elections. In relation to manifestos, the study has shown that manifestos focus on improving the economy, fight corruption and to deliver quality healthcare and these are the main pillars in nation building. The main aim of the manifestos is also to convince the electorate to vote for the candidates. It was noted from the study that language allows political actors and the public to enter into communicative relations with one another.

Both candidates, Mugabe and Tsvangirai used linguistic devices to convey the right messages that convinced their voters to vote for them. I argue that through the use of linguistic structures the politicians have been very persuasive in their political oratory. In relation to subjectivity and objectivity, it was noted that journalists strive to be as objective and as neutral as possible when reporting on elections. They try to refrain from the direct expression of ideology hence rely more on quotations. In this manner, their subjectivities become invisible.

The study focused on how, through language, newspaper reporters express political opinion as well as how presidential candidates express themselves to the electorate. An analysis in two languages, English and Shona was expected to provide a comparative linguistic analysis of election reportage in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 1 of this study discussed the background as well as placed the study in context. The study as a political discourse is among the many studies including those by Atkinson (1984), Chilton (1985, 1988), Blommaert & Bulcaen (1998), and Wodak & van Dijk (2000). van Dijk (2002) noted that a study on political discourse analysis focuses on coherence,

arguments, lexical style, disclaimers and many rhetorical features, that is, metaphors, hyperbolas and euphemisms, and this may show the unique character of such a discourse. Therefore, this study, through some of these unique features showed the unique character of election discourse in Zimbabwe.

It should be noted that the study was not political but analysed and evaluated political language use that revolves around issues of democracy in Zimbabwe where political parties campaign and talk to each other and their electorate. As discussed in this first chapter of the study, political actors co-construct, negotiate and contextualise politics and politicians use all possible means inherent in the contextual constraints and requirements of mass media to present their political agenda.

The chapter brought to light that although newspaper studies have been fairly carried out in different dimensions, political discourse (Mugumya 2013), parliamentary discourse (Jakaza 2013), in reporting controversial issues (Sabao 2013), it is still fairly virgin ground. This study departs from the rest as it appraises language use on topical issues during Zimbabwean election periods, providing extensive possibilities for quality scholarly research in both English and Shona.

Chapter 2 reviewed literature related to electioneering discourse relating to language in news reporting, inter-textuality, polarisation of the media in Zimbabwe, ideologies and solidarity in politics among others. The media has an important role in the production of hegemony, which van Dijk (1987) defines as ideologically framed and consensually based control thus the media are mediators of proffered meanings. Bhatia (1973) asserts that the language of newspapers as part of the media is a rich source of linguistic data that can be exploited by linguists since it has a wide variety of genres, such as headlines, news reports, feature articles and comments. In studying newspapers, readers of news reports need to understand its words, sentences or other structural properties, meaning that they have to know more about the specific organisation and functions of news reports in the press, including functions of headlines, leads, background information or

quotations. Siebert, Siebert, Peterson, Peterson & Schramm (1956) and Carpentier et al (2006) argue that the media are shaped by the social and political system in which they operate and that different systems of the press are linked to different systems of governance.

Political campaigns are dynamic struggles between candidates to define the information and context of the voters. They communicate the promises of the candidate, financial, functional and emotional thereby creating voter relationships with the candidate. Kaid (1999) states that the linguistic characteristics of the political speeches presented by the candidates allow them to communicate to voters the superiority of their attributes over their opponents. In political speeches, during election campaigns, ideas and ideologies need to be conveyed through language so that they are agreed upon by the receivers as well as by others who may read or hear parts of the speech afterwards in the media.

In chapter 3, the theoretical frameworks were discussed. The study adopted Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The SFL framework, provided the researcher with principles and devices on how to conduct a linguistic inquiry on the use of language in a particular context. CDA was used as a theory that highlights how participants construe their worlds and how they reflexively seek to change aspects of such worlds and reconstruct them. CDA also helped unpack linguistic persuasive strategies, concealed meanings and ideologies in newspaper reports and political manifestos in Zimbabwe.

Chapter 4 focused on the research methodology. The qualitative research methodology was employed in the study, encompassing the discourse analytic approach where the candidate's ideologies, campaign behaviours and actions as well as manifestos were shown. Qualitative methodology allowed the study to be conducted in a natural setting (Cresswell 2014; Cohen 2014). An analysis of newspaper articles and manifestos was done and this was supplemented by the interviews with the journalists from different

media houses. Purposive sampling was done as each sample element was chosen for a purpose. Data was analysed using SFL and CDA.

Chapter 5 presented an analysis of the results. It brought out the connection between language, power and authority through the use of language. This chapter critically analysed and assessed the use of linguistic devices in election discourse in Zimbabwe. The analysis was done on selected newspaper articles, focusing on how journalists presented election events to the public. Also interviews with journalists were conducted and manifestos were analysed.

7.4 Linguistic strategies used by politicians

Politicians strive more to be persuasive than to present facts in their speeches. Language therefore, has a role in producing, maintaining and transforming unequal power relations in society (Henderson 2005). Linguistic strategies have been used by Mugabe and Tsvangirai to persuade their audiences to vote for them. The two were the leading presidential candidates for the 2008 and 2013 presidential elections with Robert Mugabe representing ZANU PF and Morgan Tsvangirai representing the MDC.

This section looked at how the two presidential candidates, Robert Mugabe and Morgan Tsvangirai tried to get an audience to support their political opinions and ideologies through the way they presented those speeches through language use. The politicians used verbs, pronouns, metaphors, repetition, hyperbole and positive as well as negative representation of the other that is the "us" and "them".

From the selected speeches, verbs have been used in their modal form, present form, past tense as well as the present continuous tense all signifying different levels of crowd manipulation. The verbs are used to convince the electorate of the worthiness of the political aspirants as they are evaluative of the actions and work that they have done and can do. Modal verbs are deployed in speech to indicate a sense of intention, promise, obligation and necessity in a conscious and strategic attempt to persuade the electorate

(Nartey & Yankson 2014: 21). Modals come in a variety of forms ranging from can, could, may, might, must, ought to, shall, should and will, among others.

Both politicians also used pronouns. A pronoun is a substantive word that can be used instead of a noun or a noun phrase. A pronoun is neutral and all-inclusive; it refers to everyone. It creates a link between the speaker and listener in a speech and by using pronouns politicians keep track of their participants and assume that the persons they are referring to are known. They are used for responsibility sharing as in the use of you, our, us and also in showing unity. The pronouns are thus generally used for persuading the voters to vouch for a campaigner.

Several metaphors were applied by the two presidential candidates in their election campaign to draw the electorate to their ideological inclinations, among them metaphors of time, journey, religion and food. Through usage of the metaphor as a figure of speech, comprehension and interpretation of the discourse by politicians is enhanced and the speeches are placed in context. The metaphors in these speeches were used to convey difficult and heavier issues that may not be easy to convey in simple language and in such instances the electorate has to infer meanings from the text. It is important to note that in political discourse, metaphors are deliberately deployed to enhance the persuasive effect of the text by providing vivid and striking images which enhance the communicative meaning of the discourse. Therefore, metaphors project the ideology of the speaker and others in the negative or positive sense, show persuasion, negotiation as well as other aspects of power relations.

Both politicians used repetition. Repetition can be defined as "multiple instances of an idea or word, and the greater the number of repetitions the more we notice it (Reynolds 1995: 185). It is a way in which the speaker may present social actors to achieve ideological goals. Repetition has a direct link with cognitive manipulation and is another means of emphasising the actions of the actors in a context. Repetition in this instance

emphasises collective responsibility and heightens the emotion in the discourse and builds the discourse to a climax.

Politicians manipulate the masses through the use of anaphora. Anaphora is a form of repetition when the same word or phrase begins a sentence or phrase (Anderson & Holcomb 2005). The term anaphora is used to designate any linguistic element that precedes it. This referential can be within the same clause, in sequential clauses or over greater distances. Anaphora involves reference to any element that has already been established in the discourse. The anaphoric element may be an exact repetition, it may be a synonym or paraphrase, it may be a personal pronoun substituted for a prior noun phrase, it may be an epithet, or it may be a form of do substituted for a prior predicate (Enos 1996: 10).

Political aspirants present themselves and their parties in the best possible manner and other groups in the negative manner. This is done through the selection of a negative mental model with negative connotations in trying to capture ideological positions of the parties. The "us" and "them" is used to gain political advantage by one party over their opponents (Reisgl & Wodak 2005). Politicians are desperate to achieve their goal of winning votes hence they resort to attacking their opponents' character and ability, portraying them in the negative light. A political aspirant tends to present himself or herself and his or her group in the best possible ways and at the same time present other groups in negative terms. This is usually done by presenting the negative side of the other group.

7.5 Language aspects used by journalists while reporting

The study found out that journalists have a social responsibility role which they define as raising awareness of and about social problems in the society. This role is clearly articulated through their use of language as a communicative tool. It is also worth noting that journalists provide readers with accounts of the parts of the world which they most often do not directly experience themselves. The readers then have to trust the second

hand information provided by journalists as the assumption would be that the journalist has gathered enough content as part of his roles and responsibilities. The journalist provides what could be deemed a truthful discourse and command legitimacy to the reader.

The journalists' age, experience and period of service in their companies were recorded and it was noted that the newspaper houses have long serving members and this brings in a wealth of experience in the journalism fraternity. It was also important in shaping the study as experience contributes quite significantly to the quality of articles produced thus giving credibility to the research. The experienced journalist is presumed to have better knowledge of the different genres in existence than the less experienced ones. This information was essential as the assumption was that age has an impact on the way the journalists write and present their articles due to the maturity factor. It helped ascertain the reporting levels and prowess of the researcher as age is considered as synonymous with experience. The conditions of work in the private media are high risk as some of the news they present is dangerous and highly confidential especially regarding the ZANU PF or state elite, something that state owned papers would try to conceal.

Journalists, as providers of news content analysis, news trends, political trends, as well as economic trends in Zimbabwe try not to be advocates of causes in this case election information but they have a responsibility to investigate and report on citizens' needs using proper language to the citizens. Contextual coherence is important in linguistic presentation of news on elections. Context allows the newspaper article to be coherent both with itself and context of situation. In using language, journalists strive to be intelligible and clear to all their potential readers. They must include everything and make sure that their article is balanced and does not lose its value otherwise it will not be considered for publication.

As they gather news, the reporters decide and consider what is going on, who is taking part and this enables them to decide on the way to present the story to the reader. Such

formulations show that there are certain rules to be followed within organizations and that journalists function within certain house styles. The interviewees showed that they follow the editorial charter which determines the house styles to be adopted. Journalists have to verify the information that they gather for news presentation. Journalists focus more on how they present their headlines as they are the persuasive force in making the reader keep on with the story. Quotes, pronouns narration, modals metaphors are also some of the linguistic aspects that play a role in article writing.

From the perspective of newspapers, it can be noted that linguistic choices by journalists betray their ideological inclinations in terms of both content and context. The news reporters reporting on election events follow certain ideological inclinations depending on where they work or on their own personal beliefs, thus content and context. News reports and editorials utilise the same content and context but bring about different stories from that same content and context. Thus, Bhatia (2014) says that the purpose of news report is to bring the information to the reader as accurately and dispassionately as possible.

In Shona newspapers, most headlines are not ideologically inclined, they show simple statements without any inclinations on the part of the reporters, such as the "*Hakuna achafa nenzara*" (No one will die of hunger) headline. There are also instances where journalists introduce totally new information in the story that does not correlate with the headline, hence sub-satellites come up. It is important to note however, that local language papers are published weekly and also that they are regional papers and so fail to recognise all political events in the country as they mostly cover regional news.

7.6 Subjectivity and objectivity

The study noted that, to be objective, journalists must remove themselves from the stories they are writing and must not accept inducements. To maintain objectivity during election periods, reporters resort to using direct quotations.

7.7 Recommendations

From the study, it was observed that linguistic manipulation is an influential instrument in politics. There is a strong relationship between how language is constructed and its meaning as well as the communicative goals, in order to woo and persuade the electorate. It is recommended therefore that politicians use language that is favourable and acceptable by the audience so that the electorate makes informed choices that would help in building and democratising the society.

Furthermore, news reporters tend to be biased in their news reporting of the same issues depending on their ideological inclinations. Media houses could establish internal mechanisms to curb undue pressure on journalists as well as reinforce professionalism. It is recommended that journalists should be objective in their reporting in order to avoid being biased.

Kwayedza, a newspaper written in Shona language, has less information on election news, therefore, there is need for the reporters to dig out more on what would be happening during election periods and provide adequate information to the electorate rather than scratchy reporting.

There must be a balance in the representation of politics so that facts and figures, political outcomes and sound policies are reported rather than subjective and biased politics even if there is personal bias on the part of the journalist.

7.8 Proposed model on election reporting

A model involves the ideas, which assist people in having understanding or explaining relationship among ideas. It has the ability to combine theories, illustrate relationships, and describe behaviours. A model is a mental representation of an experience, that is, an event people witness, participate in, or read about (van Dijk 1995). I then propose the development of a Transition Model of electioneering reporting which is an economic model that looks into the future, looks at fresh brains that are inclusive and all-

encompassing and are able to move from the past to the present. An element of modernity is needed in election reporting in Zimbabwe.

A reporter needs to choose his or her words carefully to make the story clear and unbiased. In this regard grammatical and lexical cohesive devices interplay makes the newspaper report diverse, effective and coherent. It is critical to strengthen the accuracy of election reporting as well as having journalists who are well informed on electoral analysis. Through language use, the journalists should strive to provide fair, balanced and impartial coverage. In this model, I propose that news reporters have to bring out meaningful, coherent and interpretable text. Coherence and cohesion aid readers in the process of making sense of newspaper discourse.

Over and above the grammatical, lexical and morphological cohesive devices I add mood and naming to cohesion as semantic devices. Naming refers to people and objects in a story. By providing names and setting the mood of the text, social reality is created thus shaping the news text. The journalist therefore, reports and provides information to the reader through mood and naming as lexical cohesive devices. These can be evaluative and make open emotions to the reader. If journalists use naming and bring out the mood properly, these can bring out the emotional aspects both in the text and in the audience.

Cohesion embraces the means by which texts are linguistically connected (Carter 1998). Thus, relations among sentences and clauses are clearly brought out. Considering the fact that a text is a structured sequence of linguistic expressions, newspaper reporters should come up with unitary wholes of text that are interwoven both in structure and semantics. Cohesive devices are important in writing (Halliday, Matthiessen & Matthiessen 2014). These cohesive devices can be adapted in the language of newspapers since they are part of written language. Newspapers have the sole purpose of informing and these cohesive devices, if embodied properly, will perform the function accurately. To communicate effectively, there is need for coherence and a text lacking organisation lacks meaning.

Although newspaper articles share a common genre, Bhatia (2004) notes that they are different in one way or the other. Political news should be informative and interesting at the same time, therefore, there is need for explicitness and vibrancy. Pape, Featherstone & Featherstone (2005: 49) assert that "good newspaper language should be easily understood by the audience".

ZANU PF liberated the masses from the minority white rule, now the MDC wants to liberate the very same Zimbabweans from the "retrogressive" ZANU PF and its policies thus there is a transition from one party to the next. In 2013, the MDC alluded to ZANU PF and its leadership "*as a leopard that does not change its spots*". This was supported by the ZANU PF candidate's speech that legacy permanently connects the present, past and future generations with one another. There is rigidity and no room for change. As the journalists report on election events, registerial coherence is important. It is suggested in this study that they adopt a scenario where, they also focus on registerial coherence, considering the topic sentence, supporting sentences and concluding sentences in the paragraphs to their articles. Their reporting should represent the voice of the people through accuracy, impartiality and responsibility.

Journalists face challenges of objectivity and impartiality in their trade which is a greater test to their professionalism. They therefore should be able to follow rules, in order to inform the citizens of honest and transparent elections (Simiyu 2014). If they report freely and fairly, they allow the people to have a choice. Democracy and a free media have a relationship, they need each other. A free media will help keep the election honest and democratic. A democratically elected government will protect the media's freedom.

Even though they sometimes have to follow the standards that are imposed by the government or powerful interests, journalists should develop principles in news reporting. Zimbabwe has had monopoly control from the state in terms of the media seen through the stated Acts in Chapter 1. Reporting from the independent media has always been

under threat and the reporters have not been given leeway to give the electorate a voice. The issue of "he who pays the piper plays the tune", then comes into effect. Elements of professionalism and ethics come into play here and journalists should avoid self-censorship.

The transition model below can be used as a checklist for election reporting.

Figure 7.1: Transition model
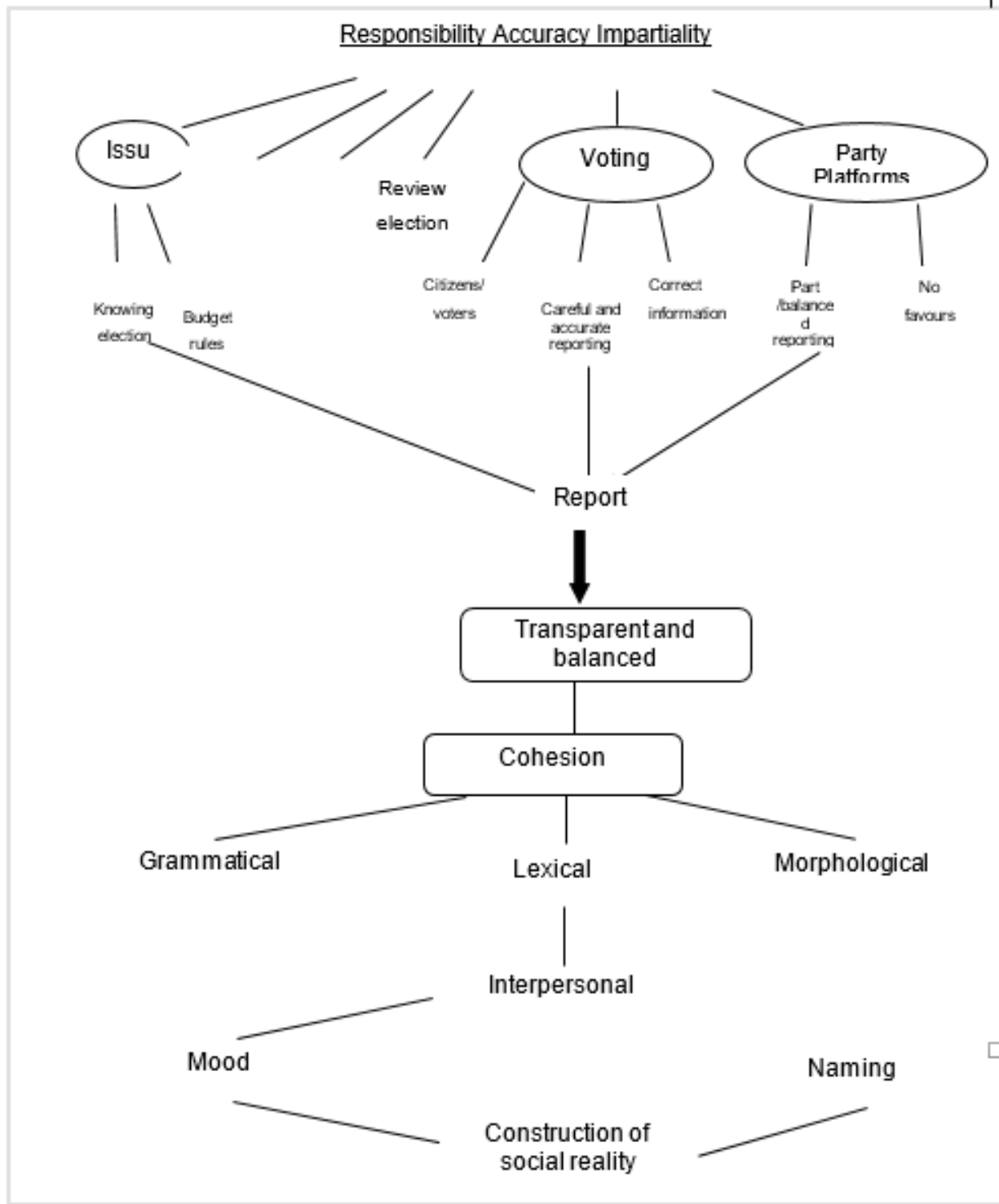
Accuracy

Journalists should get and provide the correct information to the electorate hence they need to check with the Electoral Commission on the goings on of a particular election period. Everything that is reported must be described accurately. Reporters should provide the exact names and titles of the political players, exact descriptions of places, people and things. They should be sure of the times, venues, dates as well as all details of the election poll. Candidates' utterances must be reported carefully and accurately to avoid emotional reactions from both the candidates and the voters. Journalists should provide citizens with all facts of the campaign. In this regard politicians' right of access should not limit or be detrimental to journalists' freedom of expression. Journalists must not merely be derivative and report on what has been reported elsewhere without checking facts as it might be false information (Simiyu 2014). Even if politicians use language which is not appropriate, it is not up to them to change their narrative.

Impartiality

A journalist's impartiality means not taking an active role in any election campaign, reporting events as they happen and being careful not to take sides or accept inducements or even small favours from candidates or their supporters, offering financial or other services from any party. Though being citizens too and with their own political opinions, they should be non-partisan in their reporting. Journalists should have fair balance, not to take sides on issues related to elections. To be balanced is to report accurately on both sides, thus looking for more than one opinion on a story. The balanced report also needs to be fair, giving emphasis to both sides. It is also necessary that the journalists make a follow up of election promises made by the candidates in the previous elections as well as whether these promises would have been fulfilled. Impartiality involves joining with other media and getting to understand how they run their newsrooms and as such ideas would be shared.

To achieve impartiality, a good correspondent would seek to produce a report that is balanced, that is, which includes both sides. The balanced report must also be fair.

Therefore, the journalists should not appear compromised or in favour of any candidates. Unnamed sources should not be used because there is need for authenticity and credibility.

Responsibility

Responsible journalism includes studying the election rules, the laws governing the election observation, both local and international and how they operate during the polls. The journalists also need to understand the voting system as in how the polls will be set and the expenses incurred from the elections.

There is need to be clear and explain to the electorate the rules governing the elections and how the journalists are going to do their job. The journalist should think about the citizen and their issues. If they find out about the citizens' concerns they can send them to the concerned political parties to be addressed. Journalists are obliged to report responsibly, protect their sources where necessary and use honest means to obtain news. Honest means are guided by internationally accepted professional and ethical standards. It is therefore important to select a taskforce and appoint journalists to different tasks and in that way, there will be efficiency in the job. Sources that will provide news should be clearly and readily available and the campaigns should be reviewed as the elections develop. There is also need to review self as journalists after the campaigns have ended. Journalists should take the initiative to know how the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission operates, so that they get to be fully aware of election rules.

Cohesion

Cohesive devices enhance coherence in newspaper discourse and enable the reader to make sense of the discourse. Cohesive devices used in an article play a greater role in newspaper discourse, thus comprehensible and interpretable use of language in newspaper articles is important. Even though the reader does not have enough background information they can still follow the article. There is need for objectivity and good language use on the part of both the journalists and the editorial team, in order to

benefit the reader no matter how ordinary the reader is. Language choices are the essence of newspaper discourse as they contribute to meaning interpretation by the reader.

Naming

Naming is a very useful device in promoting a particular response from an audience (Reah 2002: 59). Lexical replacement comes as the writer moves from the original name to pronoun to metaphorical name. The reader is taken through the article and flows with it. If writers name the agents in the articles correctly, relationships can be created and identities are brought out.

Agents can be named differently, for example:

Original name/Surname   Moreen

Pronoun   She

Mood

The observation made in this study is that the way we consume news is now different and changing. News expectations are changing therefore newspapers should shape their content to suit their audiences' agendas and mood plays a big part in this. Journalists should not bring in their emotions into the story. There is no need for empathy and humanity in their articles. The tone of an article enhances mood and is useful as it sensitises journalists in the art and craft of persuasion. Tone links with attitude and the writer's attitude and feelings can colour their ideas with different emotions thus setting the mood of the article. Therefore, word choices, use of phrases and several other linguistic device usages set the mood of the article (Fleming 2011; Malah 2016). The choice of words by the reporter is important and so is economy of words, that is, using only what is intended, not more, not less. Journalists should acquire both communicative and linguistic competence. Creativity on the part of the journalist enhances the mood and reduces boredom.

The use of language sets the mood of the text. Journalists who are careless in their use of words and spelling set a wrong mood for the text, therefore, messages should be modified and reshaped until they become meaningful. The journalists need to edit their work to create the correct mood for the text as well as the readers. Style is important in setting the mood of the text. The personal style of the reporter should be strong and creative in order to lure the reader into reading their articles.

Construction of social reality

Dontcheva–Navratilova (2011: 1) argue that although newspaper discourse is planned, prepared and well thought out, it does not allow negotiation of meaning between the sender and the recipient. Therefore, there is no construction of meaning. The proposed Transition model argues for the construction of social reality, where language used by the reporters allows for better understanding of what is being said. Even without one on one feedback, social interaction can be negotiated through language use. The linguistic structures used by journalists would then enable communication and cooperation between the two.

Progressive journalists should provide reports that are communicatively constructed bringing out reality in the information presented. Context plays a part so the journalist should have enough background information on his article. The report should have no bias, be leading and futuristic. The language of the news plays a major part in the construction of the social construction of reality (Coleman 2014). It assists in the creation of a set of public discourses through its selection of narratives and the language it employs to protect them.

A coherent paragraph should have sentences that relate clearly to the topic sentence. Each sentence should flow smoothly into the next without any hiccups. The journalists need to highlight the connections between old and new information, thus coming up with a clear structure of the article. There is need to prioritise their information and paragraphs

need to be balanced, not necessarily long or short. A long paragraph wonders from the main idea and a short paragraph might need to have its main idea developed further.

7.9 Suggestions for future research

I regard this work as an effective and useful contribution to scholarship in suggesting ways and strategies to study political discourse and electioneering in particular. The work fills a critical gap and poses a challenge to future efforts in electioneering discourse and language use. The persuasive strategies employed by the politicians to communicate their intentions have brought out a lot of creativity and innovativeness into the use of English and Shona as languages of politics in Zimbabwe. The study did not look at all the persuasive aspects of the speeches, that is, voice quality, pitch, speed, gestures, and visual aids among others. It also did not consider how frequent linguistic terms used in newspaper reports but limited itself to the use of the approach of discourse analysis to identify and describe linguistic features of English language usage in the presidential election campaign speeches and newspaper reports and the purposes that these modes of communication are made to serve. Further productive research in linguistic study and its roles in human society should continue. This might show the relevance and indispensability of language in the on-going process of globalisation in electioneering.

7.10 Conclusion

It is safe to conclude therefore, that language and politics are in a complex and dialectal relationship in which one needs the other. The dynamic nature of politics necessarily requires the dynamic nature of language to accommodate innovative expressions used by politicians (Opeibi 2004). The two concepts of politics and language are vital to the survival of human society, and as such the dynamic nature of politics necessarily requires the dynamic nature of language to accommodate innovative expressions used by politicians. Political leaders and journalists accomplish their agendas behind the scenes by manipulating language to convince people. In this study, their policies as political parties are different. One focuses on land, empowerment and indigenisation while the other focuses on job creation and rural transformation.

Political discourse and by extension election campaign discourse has been taken to be a linguistic and social event. Discourse is a social process and social practice meant to accomplish several communicative processes. Language, as the vehicle for thought expressions generates feelings which are exploited for political gains in electioneering campaigns. The study showed the existence of certain linguistic devices that are used in the art of persuasion, as candidates campaign for political posts. Such linguistic devices also exist when journalists report news to the people, who in turn are the electorate. These include pronouns, verbs, and metaphors among others.

The study has revealed the nature and features of language use in the field of politics, in a typical election campaign. It has shown that any piece of discourse has structure, meaning and can achieve purposeful social and personal goals. It has been able to establish the fact that political discourse is a purposeful and goal-directive activity embedded in human society and relevant for the survival and sustenance of viable democratic polity.

The study derived meaning from interpretations of text. The speeches and text were situated in a political context. Language choices were made in order to convey certain views to the electorate. The study has provided further insights into the nature, features and functions of political discourse. The conclusion is that politicians and journalists use linguistic strategies to convince audiences during election campaigns.

This chapter presented a summary of the whole study and highlighted the findings from the study. Recommendations were given and the researcher managed to come up with a model on election reporting that is progressive and would aid value to election reporting in Zimbabwe.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Analysis of newspaper articles

Text 1: Zanu PF's empowerment policies a gimmick-The Standard 9 March 2008

Headline

Zanu Pfs black empowerment policies a gimmick.

Lead

Zanu Pf has devoted a quarter of its manifesto to how it has successfully empowered citizens in what analysts say is a futile bid to win the hearts of the electorate ahead of the 29 March polls.

Satelite 1- Elaboration (explaining the lead)

The party says there is an opportunity to build on the gains of the empowerment achieved by the land reform.

Satelite 2-Further elaboration

It must now extend to the rest of the economy so the politics of the country begins to address and rearrange the economic domain.

Satelite 3- Contextualisation-explaining their intentions on empowerment

Zanu Pf says it has already drawn up a strategy of entering and /or supporting entry into the critical sectors and enterprises whose activities provide vital inputs to most citizens.

Satelite 4-Further elaboration (vision of the party)

It says "These sectors, and within them firms, should be indigenized and stabilized to ensure basic goods and services reach the people adequately, affordably.

Satelites 5, 6, 7- Attitudinal assessment

-Analysts dismiss the gains from the land reform as "lies."

 "There is no evidence of gains," said economic consultant John Robertson.

"If there were gains the country would not be importing food".

Economic consultant Dr Daniel Ndhlele agrees, "you don't empower people by making them hungry"

Satelite 8-narration

The land reform programme was touted as economic empowerment but has created the "landed gentry", where a few well connected chefs amassed multiple farms at the expense of the majority, despite President Robert Mugabe's call for "one man, one farm"

Satelite 9-narration

For the seventh consecutive year Zimbabwe, once the breadbasket of the region will be importing food as the new breed of farmers have neither the skills nor the capital to embark on successful agriculture

Text 2: ZANU PF policies empowering-The Herald 28 March 2013

Headline

ZANU PF's policies empowering.

Lead

ZANU PFs indigenization and economic empowerment policies are unrivalled as they serve to empower the majority, Zimbabwe Entrepreneurs Youth Action founding President Mr Munyaradzi Kashambe said.

Mr Kashambe described ZANU-PFs pro-people policies as the best form of empowerment

Satellite 1-contextualisation

He said this while touring some of the developmental projects he initiated in Seke under the Maworesa Seke Community projects recently.

Satellite 2-elaboration

"There can never be another party that has people's interests like ZANU PF as evidenced by the indigenisation and empowerment drive that the party has embarked on", he said.

Satellite 3-Further elaboration

"It is because of such revolutionary policies that we have managed to introduce such projects in this area. We have seen a lot of people benefiting from these developmental projects here. They are working on very hard and its now paying off".

Satellite 4-contextualisation-area of origin

Mr Kashambe, who hails from Seke called on Government to avail more resources for empowerment projects.

Satellite 5 -further elaboration

There are several projects that we introduced among them piggery, chickens, gardening and sewing but land is the greatest challenge. We also want the government to help us access loans from financial institutions because at the moment they are dilly-dallying".

Satellite 6-narration

He said they were in talks with contract grower companies to engage locals for more projects .

Text 3: Hapana achafa nenzara (No one will die of hunger) - **Kwayedza Kurume 7-Kurume 13 2008**

Headline

Hapana achafa nenzara.

Lead

Nyangwe zvazvo dzimwe nzvimbo munyika ino dzine nzara, mutungamiri wenyika Cde Robert Mugabe vakatsidza kuiti hapana achazofa nenzara sezvo paiswa hurongwa hwehurumende hwekuunza chibage kubva kunze.

Even though some areas in this country are faced with famine, the Head of state Cde Robert Mugabe vowed that no one will die of hunger since the government is planning on importing maize.

Satellite 1-Contextualisation

Cde Mugabe vakataura mashoko aya apo vairatidzwa nhengo dzichange dzichimirira bato riri kutonga re ZANU PF musarudzo dziri kuitwa musi wa 29 Kurume pachikoro che St Nicholas Primary School ku Mahusekwa

Cde Mugabe said these words when he was shown party members who will be representing ZANU PF in the coming 29 March elections at St Nicholas Primary School in Mahusekwa.

Satellite 2- Background information

Vakati havasi kunzwisisa kuti sei chibage chakatengwa nehurumende kunyika dzinoti Zambia, Malawi ne South Africa chisati chasvika munyika asi chakabhadharwa kare.

He said he did not understand why the maize bought from Zambia, Malawi and South Africa had not been delivered yet it had been paid for.

Satellite 3- Elaboration

"Hurumende", Cde Mugabe vakadaro, "yakatenga 500 000 tonnes dzechibage kunyika idzi icho chaiva chakatofanirwa kusvika munyika kare asi chichigere izvo zvazoita kuti hurumende ivambe komiti yekuunza chibage ichi".

"The government", Cde Mugabe said "bought 500 000 tonnes of maize from these countries and since the maize has not arrived a committee has been set up to look into the issue".

Satellite 4-Further elaboration

Cde Mugabe vakavimbisa kuti chibage chine uwandu hwe150 000t chichabva kuZambia,kuchizoti 250 000 t chichibva kuMalawi nemamwe matani anosvika 6000 achizobva ku South Africa.

Cde Mugabe promised that 150 000t of maize will be imported from Zambia,250 000 from Malawi and 6000 from South Africa.

Satellite 5-Further elaboration (Assurance)

"Hapana achafa nenzar munyika muno sezvochibage takatenga kare uyewo chaifanirwa kuve chakauya karemuno asi hachisati.Mukuedza kuti chibage ichi chisvike nekuchimbidza takambenge tafunga kutumidzira vana vemuno kunoita basa iri asi takambomira sezvo taive tisti tataurirana nehurumende idzi.

"No one will die of hunger in this country since we have already brought maize and we are waiting for it to arrive.In trying to have the maize quickly delivered ,we had

planned on sending our people to these countries but could not since we had not talked to these countries.

Satellite 6-Further elaboration-Plan of action

Kutaura kuno vaMutasa (Didymus) avo vanova gurukota rekudzivirirwa kwenyika ,ivhu nekugovewa kwazvo,ndivo varikutungamira chikwata chatakati chiende ku South Africa kunounza chibage ichi zvekuti chero nguva chiri kusvika munyika toguta",vakadar Cde Mugabe.

"Cde Mutasa (Didymus) the Minister of Finance is heading this team to South Africa to collect the maize and it will be arriving in the country and we will have something to feed on,"said Cde Mugabe.

Text 4 Hapana Achatadza Kuvhota (No One will fail to vote) Kwayedza 21-27 Kurume 2008

Headline

Hapana Achatadza Kuvhota

Satellite1

Mutungamiri wenyika, Cde Robert Mugabe vakati hapana munhu achatadza kuvhota kana akanyoresa, kusiyana nemashoko ekutyisidzira ari kutaurwa nevamwe vanhu.

The President ,Cde Robert Mugabe said no one will be denied the right vote as long as they are registered,contrary to waht other people have been saying.

Satellite 2 Narration and Contextualisation

Cde Mugabe vachitaura kurari yakaitwa kuGokwe Centre nechipiri chesvondo rino vakati munhu wese achakwanis akuvhota musi wa Kurume 30 uyewo kuitira kuti vanhu vasanetseke, musi uyu wakabva waitwa zororo

Speaking at a rally at Gokwe Centre on Tuesday this week, Cde Mugabe said everyone will vote on 30 March and the day has been declared a holiday.

Satellite 3-Narration (Reporter's opinion)

Izvi zvave kureva kuti vashandirwi vose vanofanirwa pasi pemutemo kupa vashandi vavo mukana wokusaenda kumabasa musi uyu vachinovhota.

This means all employers should give their employees time on this day to go and vote.

Satellite 4-Elaboration

Uyezve sezvo pari kutarisirwa mazakwatira evanhu vakawanda musi uyu nemutsetese yakareba yeavo vachavhota havafanirwe kutya sezvo pachange pane magwenya emagetsi ekujekesanzvimbo yese.

There will be adequate lighting systems since multitudes of people are expected so people should not fear.

Satellite 5-Further elaboration (Relates to other countries,trying to justify why there is no electricity in the country.The way it is said brings about the issue as a common continental problem)

Nekudzima dzima kurikugaroita magetsi mazuva ano munyika zhinji dziri kuchamhembe kweAfrica, Hurumende yakaona zvakakodzera, vakadaro Cde Mugabe,kuti pave nemajanerata ekuunza magetsi kwese kuri kuvhotwa pamwe nekuverengwa kwemavhoti acho.

Due to constant power cuts in most African countries, the government saw it necessary to provide generators on Election Day to allow for voting and counting of votes.

Satellite 6-Narration

Izvi zvabva zvanyaradza vamwe vatauri vange vachiti vanhu vacharambidzwa kuvhota kana kuchinge kwave nerima, kunyanya mumadhorobha.

This has silenced those who had contrary views regarding the voting session

Satellite 7, 8, 9 Narration

Zvakadaro, Cde Mugabe vakashora maitiro edzimwe nyika dzekunze dzichitungamirirwa ne Britain idzo dziri kuedza napose padzinogona kubvisa hurumende zvechikiribidi

Cde Mugabe condemned other countries actions, led by Britain in trying to oust the existing government

Cde Mugabe vakati mamwe makambani emuno achishanda nevavengi venyika vachitungamirirwa ne Britain vave kuedza dzimwe nzira dzekubvisa Hurumende nekukwidza mitengo yezvinhu.

Cde Mugabe said some companies are raising prices of goods and services in support of Britain to oust the government.

Izvi zviri kuitirwa kuti vanhu vavhote vakagumbuka vachifunga kuti hurumende ndiyo yaive iri kukonzera kukwira kwezvinhu uyewo kushupika kwavo

This is being done to anger the electorate thinking it is the government that is raising the prices of goods.

Text 5 Majenareta achange ari panzvimbo dzekuvhotera(Generators will be availed at voting places) Kwayedza Kurume 28- Kubvumbi 3 2008

Lead

Zvichitevera kugarodzima-dzima kwemagetsi munyika,mutungamiriri wenyika Cde Robert Mugabe svondo rapfuura vaka vimbisa kuunzira vagari venzvimbo yeChitungwiza jenareta senzira yekuderedza iri dambudziko.

Satellite 1-Contextualisation

Vachitaura pamusangano wekusimbisa rutsigiro takatarisana nesarudzo dzemusi wa 29 Kurume uyo wakakokorodza gurumwandira ravanhu uye wakaitirwa munhandare ye Chibuku,Cde Mugabe vakati kugarodzima kwemagetsi kunokanganisa mafambiro ezvinhumudzimba pamwe nemumaindasitiri nokudaro kuunzwa kwegwenya guru iri kuchabatsira zvikuru.

Satellite 2,3-Elaboration

"Dambudziko remagetsi iri riri kubvira ku South Africa uko ve Zesa vanotora moto tichizppamhidzira nemumwe watinowana kuno".

"Zvekare panoda kugadzirwa kwesimbi dzinofambisa moto, (turbines) kuKariba kuti tive nemoto muzhinji pakupamhidza mamwe masimbi myuna Zambezi pamwe nekuwedzera marasha kuHwange" ,vakadaro Cde Mugabe.

Satellite 4-Narration

Vakati parizvino vakatenga majenareta makuru anokwanisa kushandiswa nedhorobha reKadoma,Mutare neKwekwe.

Satellite 5-Further elaboration

"Sakai imi vagari ve Chitungwiza mauya pano makabatana senhengo deze Zanu-PF iyo yakauya nehondo yechimurenga ..."

Parizvino majenareta aya arikumboshandiswa kunzvimbo dzekuvhotera (polling stations ,)achazounzwa kwamurimushure mekuvhota .Izvi handidi kutaura nekutinndiri kukambena bodo,hurongwa hwkagara hurip kuti vanhu ve Zimbabwe vabatsirwe",vakadaro Cde Mugabe.

Satellite 6,7 -Contextulisation

Cde Mugabe vakashoropodza vamwe vana muzvinabhizimisi vari kukwidzira vanhu mitengo pamwe nevemisika mitema ,vakati matanho ari kuzotorwa kuti tsika iyi isarambe ichienderera.

"Ini kuswera kwazuro ndakafumowana mupombi musina mvura apo vadzimai vangu vainge vabuda kunze kwenyika ."Vashandi vakange vatokumuka pabasa nokudaro

ndakatozo shandisa mvura yomumugodhi kwava kuzvikupaidza kunyange zvazvo ndainge ndajaira yeshawa",vakawedzera Cde Mugabe.

Satellite 8-narration

Vakataura zvakare nematambudziko ari kusanganika nawo munyika muno akadai seemakomba emumigwagwa, kudhura nekushikwa kwechikafu,vakati izvi zvese zviri kugadziriswa uye hurumende ichaunza chibage chakakwana mumyika kuti vanhu vasafe nenzara.

Text 6: March 29 is about controlling our wealth -The Sunday Mail 9 March 2008

Headline

March 29 is about controlling our wealth

Background information (contextualizing the land issue)

Land is once again proving to be the enduring issue of Zimbabwe's politics. Just as it inspired the liberation struggle over three decades ago, it is still the number one issue today.

Grounds for argument

It is clear that on March 29, the presidential candidate who will be seen or perceived by the majority of the people to have the rest of the best plan for a land –based economic revival will win the elections.

Argument 1

It will not be about governance, the Constitution or other extraneous issues. It will be about land, for land is the economy. This is one issue that has been drawing crowds to President Mugabe's rallies. He is seen and understood to be the defender of the land reclamation and redistribution programme that he has led over the past seven years.

Argument 2 (opposition opinions)

His rivals, the MDC's Morgan Tsvangirai and independent candidate Dr Simba Makoni, have had to acknowledge as much in their recent public utterances. Dr Makoni was at pains to assure voters at his two rallies that at White City Stadium in Bulawayo and the Zimbabwe Grounds in Harare that he would not return land to white farmers if he came to power.

Attitudinal Assessment

But both Dr Makoni and Mr Tsvangirai's previous utterances on the land issue and pronouncements in their manifestoes do not offer a firm assurance that they will defend the gains of the land revolution.

Not only are people keen to analyse the candidates in terms of defending their gains, they are also looking for concrete plans and programmes to make the land productive

Closure

Voters have a choice to pick the path they prefer…

Appendix 2: Research Instruments

Title of thesis: Critical Discourse Analysis of election campaigns in Zimbabwe with specific reference to 2008 and 2013 election periods.

My name is Moreen Mugomba. I am a student with the University of Fort Hare in South Africa. I am carrying out a study on election discourse in Zimbabwe, focusing on the 2008 and 2013 elections. The crux of the study is to analyse the generic structure of hard news and editorials in newspaper reporting as well as the linguistic resources used by journalists from different media houses in presenting political goals and objectives on electioneering in Zimbabwe. This is a purely linguistic study that has no political connotations as I intend to analyse how reporters from different media houses in the country present the same events that occurred during the electioneering period as candidates campaigned during the 2008/2013 elections. Data for the study will be collected from state and independent newspaper articles as well as interviewing reporters from the different newspapers. The interview data is hoped to consolidate textual analysis on how election discourse is presented within the Zimbabwean set-up. I promise to maintain confidentiality in all the information given. The information will be used for the sole purpose of this research only.

Interview Guide for Journalists

1. How old are you? You can give an age range.

2. How long have you been in service as a journalist?

3. What qualifications do you hold? Are you studying further? If so, elaborate on the course under study as well as any further academic interests.

4. What are your roles as a journalist?

5. For how many years have you been working for this media house? (ii)Did you work anywhere else before? (If yes, specify) (iii)If so, are the working conditions the same or different? (iv) In what way?

6. How do you define news?

7. How do you define news reporting?

8. What genres of news reports are you familiar with? How different or similar are they? Which one do you focus on mostly in your news reports?

9. Are the rules on news reporting written down or codified in your organization or they are just known? Explain further on the rules you follow.

10. Are you familiar with the inverted pyramid structure of hard news reporting? What factors, if any, affect your news reporting?

11. Let us consider the methods you use in news reporting. In other words, how do you gather your information for news reportage?

12. Are your methods of gathering newspaper reports objective? Are you guided by any theoretical frameworks in your news reporting?

13. Does your editor present your story to the people in the very same way that you would have written it? If there are any changes to the story, are you consulted?

14. Is language use important in newspaper reports? Explain.

15. How do you ensure that language used in election reporting is relevant to ensuring communicative goals?

16. How do you meet the linguistic needs of diversified groups of people in your news reporting?

17. Do you think the way you write affects /influences the way people vote? Does your writing set an agenda in some way?

Appendix 3: Newspaper articles

Zanu PF's black empowerment a gimmick

3A9B

BY OUR STAFF

ZANU PF has devoted a quarter of its manifesto to how it has successfully empowered citizens in what analysts say is a futile bid to win the hearts of the electorates ahead of the 29 March polls.

The party says there is an opportunity to build on the gains of the empowerment achieved by the land reform.

"It must now extend to the rest of the economy so the politics of the country begins to address and rearrange the economic domain," it said.

Zanu PF says it has already drawn up a strategy of entering and/or supporting entry into critical sectors and enterprises whose activities provide vital inputs to most citizens.

It says: "These sectors, and within them, firms, should be indigenised and stabilised to ensure basic goods and services reach the people adequately, affordably."

Analysts dismiss the gains from the land reform as "lies".

"There is no evidence of gains," said economic consultant John Robertson "If there were gains, the country would not be importing food."

Economic consultant Dr Daniel Ndlela agrees: "You don't empower people by making them hungry."

The land reform programme was touted as economic empowerment but has created the "landed gentry", where a few well-connected chefs amassed multiple farms at the expense of the majority, despite President Robert Mugabe's call for "one man, one farm".

For the seventh consecutive year, Zimbabwe, once the breadbasket of the region, will be importing food as the new breed of farmers have neither the skills nor the capital to embark on successful agriculture.

Analysts are wary of the government's intentions, particularly after it announced that it was pushing the indigenisation envelope across all sectors.

The Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Bill, now awaiting President Robert Mugabe's signature to become law, gives locals 51% shareholding in all foreign owned companies in Zimbabwe.

Last year central bank chief Gideon Gono warned that a fine balance should be struck between the objectives of indigenisation and the need to attract foreign investment.

"Of particular concern to us, as monetary authorities, would be any attempts to forcibly push the envelope of indigenisation into the delicate area of banking and finance," Gono said.

Paul Mangwana, Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Minister, had earlier said foreign banks unwilling to comply with indigenisation law "can pack and go".

Analysts note that since what critics have called the indigenisation "tsunami" spread across the country in the 1990s, only a few individuals have managed to push through deals.

At the peak of the crusade pressure groups, such as the Indigenous Business Women Organisation (IBWO) and the Affirmative Action Group (AAG) were formed to spread the gospel.

IBWO and AAG were fortunate when they went into a marriage of convenience under the Empowerment Corporation that culminated in Telecel Zimbabwe getting an operating licence.

Despite his vision to set up a mobile operator Strive Masiyiwa had to strive for five years in the courts to get an operating licence for Econet Wireless.

The pressure groups saw no evil, heard no evil and spoke no evil when Masiyiwa was fighting in the courts. Today, Econet has become a brand and has enjoyed blue chip status on the Zimbabwe Stock Exchange.

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Zanu-PF policies empowering

ZANU-PF's indigenisation and economic empowerment policies are unrivalled as they serve to empower the majority, Zimbabwe Entrepreurs Youth Action founding president Mr Munyaradzi Kashambe has said.

Mr Kashambe described Zanu-PF's pro-people policies as the best form of empowerment. He said this while touring some of the developmental projects he initiated in Seke under the Maworesa Seke Community projects recently.

"There can never be another party that has people's interests like Zanu-PF as evidenced by the indigenisation and empowerment drive that the party has embarked on," he said.

"It is because of such revolutionary policies by Zanu-PF that we have managed to introduce such projects in this area. We have seen a lot of people benefiting from these developmental projects here. They are working very hard and it's now paying off."

Mr Kashambe who hails from Seke called on Government to avail more resources for empowerment projects.

"There are several projects that we have introduced among them piggery, chickens, gardening and sewing but land is the greatest challenge. We also want Government to help us access loans from financial institutions because at the moment they are dilly-dallying."

He said they were in talks with contract grower companies to engage locals for more projects.

Beneficiaries of the projects said their lives had changed when they started the programmes.

"Since we started this chicken project we have seen our families' lives changing in a way that we never anticipated," said Mrs Sarah Hama who partners Ms Rodah Kafambe in the project.

"Now we can afford to pay school fees for our children. We can fend for the family and we are also able to meet some of our family requirements."

Cde Ernest Chinyanga, a member of the Chinyanga market gardening, described Zanu-PF policies as ideologically correct.

"We have managed to fend for our families because of the empowerment projects that have been availed to us. What we need are irrigation facilities so that our projects can become more viable," he said.

Cde Chinyange said they were supplying vegetables to Mbare and Chikwanha markets.

Hapana achafa nenzara

naBlackmore Mavura

NYANGWE zvazvo dzimwe nzvimbo munyika ino dziine nzara mutungamiriri wenyika Cde Robert Mugabe vakatsidza kuti hapana achazofa nenzara sezvo paine hurongwa hweHurumende hwekuunza chibage kubva kunze.

Cde Mugabe vakataura mashoko aya apo vairatidzwa nhengo dzichange dzichimirira bato riri kutonga reZanuPF musarudzo dziri kuitwa musi wa29 Kurume pachikoro cheSt Nicholas Primary School kuMahusekwa.

Vakati havasi kunzwisisa kuti sei chibage chakatengwa neHurumende kunyika dzinoti Zambia, Malawi neSouth Africa chisati chasvika munyika asi chakabhadharwa kare.

Hurumende, Cde Mugabe vakadaro, yakatenga 500 000 tonnes dzechibage kunyika idzi icho chaive chakatofanira kusvika munyika kare asi chichigere izvo zvazoita kuti Hurumende ivambe komiti yekuunza chibage ichi.

Cde Mugabe vakavimbisa kuti chibage chine uwandu hwe150 000t chichabva kuZambia kuchizoti 250 000t chichibva kuMalawi mamwe matani anosvika 6 000 achizobva kuSouth Africa.

"Hapana achafa nenzara munyika muno sezvo chibage takatenga kare uyewo chaifanirwa kuve chakauya kare muno asi hachisati. Mukuedza kuti chibage ichi chisvike nekuchimbidza takambenge tafunga kutumidzira vana vemuno kunoita basa iri asi takambomira sezvo taive tisati tataurirana neHurumende idzi.

"Kutaura kuno VaMutasa (Didymus), avo vanove gurukota rekudzivirirwa kwenyika, ivhu nekugovewa kwaro, ndivo vari kutungamira chikwata chatakati chiende kuSouth Africa kunounza chibage ichi zvekuti chero nguva chiri kusvika munyika toguta," vakadaro Cde Mugabe.

Cde Mugabe vakati kana chibage ichi chichinge chauya chichatanga kupihwa kumaruwa sezvo vaive vaona matambudziko ari kuunzwa nenzara kunzvimbo idzi.

"Kuno kumusha ndiko kunodiwa chibage nekuchimbidza sezvo vemumadhorobha vanokwanisa kuwana zvakaita sembatatisi, chingwa nezvimwewo asi vekumaruwa havana mukana uyu," Cde Mugabe vakadaro. Nekuda kwekupanduka kuri kuita dzimwe nhengo dzemusangano Cde Mugabe vakakurudzira madzishe nevakuru venharaunda kuti vadzidzise vana vemunharaunda gwara chairo remusangano.

Cde Mugabe vakati pavakadzoka munyika muno muna 1960 vachibva kuGhana chavakayemura kubatana pamwe nekushinga kwaive nevana vekuMahusekwa uko vakati kwakatangwawo misangano yakawanda kusanganisira National Democratic Party (NDP).

"Kuno ndiko kwataiuya tichiitira misangano tichitiza mumadhorobha uyewo vamwe vataiita navo anaGuzha vakatombosungwa asi havana kusiya musangano. Ndashamisika ndichinzwa kuti vana vevamwe vevakuru ava ndivo vave kutipikisa kuno, ko nhai ndicho chii ichi?

"Isu vakuru ngatidzidzisei vana vedu gwara chairo sekudzidza kwatakaita zvikonzero zvekuenda kuhondo kubva kuvakuru vedu kunyanya vanaMbuya Nehanda navanaMapondera avo vakatanga hondo nekuda kwekubirwa kwataive taitwa nhaka yedu... havana kuisa zvido zvavo pamberi kwete uyewo isu izvi ndizvo zvakaita kuti tiendewo kuhondo.

"Chave kundinetsa iye zvino ndechekuti vanhu vakawanda vari kuzvimirira vega vari kubva kuno uyewo vachibva mumusangano, ngazvigadziriswe izvi," vakadaro Cde Mugabe.

Cde Mugabe vakayambira kune vose vari kuzvimirira vega kuti vari kutobva vazvidzinga mubato sezvo uku kutyora mutemo kukuru kwazvo.

"Ko nhai veduwee, ndekupi kwamakambonzwa munhu achizviti ndiri wemusangano weZanuPF asi achikwikwidza nhengo inenge yasarudzwa nemusangano ...uku kuzvidzinga mupati chaiko."

Asi zvakadaro, Cde Mugabe vakadaro, ZanuPF ichakunda musarudzo dziri kutevera "zvine mutsindo zvekuti hapana achati bufu zvakare."

Cde Mugabe vakavimbisawo zvakare kuti Hurumende iri kushanda zvakasimba mukuedza kuti vashandi vayo vave vanowana cheuviri pakupera kwezuva.

Pamusangano mumwechete uyu Cde Mugabe vakapa rubatsiro rwemakombiyuta 160 kuzvikoro zviri mudunhu reMashonaland East pasi pechirongwa chavo chekugova midziyo iyi kuzvikoro.

Gavhuna weMashonaland East, Cde Ray Kaukonde, vakavimbisa Cde Mugabe kuti vagari vemudunhu ravo vacharwa vamire kuitira kuti bato reZanuPF rikunde musarudzo dziri kutevera.

National Commissar weZanuPF, Cde Elliot Manyika vakati chero zviite sei nyika ino haizo yakadzokera kuvachena sezvo kuita izvi kutengesa vakawanda vakarasikirwa nemitezo pamwe neupenyu vachirwira Zimbabwe.

Cde Grace Mugabe, pamwe nevakuru vebato reZanu PF vaisanganisira Cde Sydney Sekeramayi naCde Herbert Murerwa vaivewo pamusangano wakaendwa nevanhu vanopfuura 10 000 uyu.

SARUDZO 2008

'Hapana achatadza kuvhota

Akabir...

neMunyori weKwayedza

MUTUNGAMIRI wenyika, Cde Robert Mugabe vakati hapana munhu achatadza kuvhota kana akanyoresa, kusiyana nemashoko ekutyisidzira ari kutaurwa nevamwe vanhu.

Cde Mugabe vachitaura kurari yakaitwa kuGokwe Centre neChipiri chesvondo rino vakati munhu wose achakwanisa kuvhota musi waKurume 29 uyewo kuitira kuti vanhu vasametsefe, musi uyu vakabva vaitira zororo.

Izvi zvave kureva kuti vashandirwi vose vanofanirwa pasi pegutsemo kupa vashandi vavo makana vekusaenda kumabasa musi uyu vachinovhota.

Uyewo sezvo pari katarisirwa maskwatira evanhu vakawanda musi uyu nemitsetse yakareba yeavo vachavhota havafanirwe kutya sezvo pachange paine magwenya emagetsi ekujekesa nzvimbo dzose.

Nekudzimadzima kuri kugaroita magetsi mazuva ano munyika zhinji kuchambembe zvakakodzera, Hurumende yakanwe Cde Mugabe, kuti pave nemajenereta ekuona magetsi kwese kwekuvhotera pamwe nekuverengwa kwemavhoti acho.

Izvi zvakva zvanyaradza vamwe vatauri vange vachiti vanhu vacharambidzwa kuvhota kana kuchinge kwave nerima, kunyanya mumadhorobha.

Zvakadaro Cde Mugabe vakashora maitiro edzimwe nyika dzekunze dzichitungamirirwa neBritain idzo dziri kuedza nepose padzinogona kubvisa yemuno Hurumende nechikiribidi.

Cde Mugabe vakati mamwe makambani emuno achishanda nevavengi venyika vachitungamirirwa neBritain vavo kuedza dzimwe nzira dzekubvisa Hurumende nekukwidza mitengo yezvinhu.

Izvi zviri kuitirwa kuti vanhu vavhote vakagumbuka vachifunga kuti Hurumende ndiyo yaive iri kukonzera kukwira kwezvinhu uyewo kushupika kwavo.

Cde Mugabe vakati zviri kuvashamisa sei makambani aya ave kutanga kukwidza zvinhu izvi iye zvino iro suva rekuvhota rave pedyo kudai.

"Kukwidza kwavari kuita uku tinoziva chavari kuitira ndechekurwadzisa vanhu dakara musi wa29 kuti musavhotere Hurumende," vakadaro Cde Mug...

Uyewo kukwidzwa kuri kuitwa hu uku kuda kurwadzisa va veHurumende avo vachakwi mukuwedzerwa mari dzavanob neHurumende.

Asi zvakadaro, vakayamb Mugabe, vose vachange vachi zvinhu izvi nenzira dzitsiri vachange vachitamba zvakasi nemapurisa avo vakati vachasunu vari kutyora mutemo.

Cde Mugabe vakati vemakambani ari kukwidza zvin ndivo vachatanga kusungwa.

Uyewo Cde Mugabe vakarasa mashoko ari kufambiswa ce vatauri kuti sangano reZanuPF riri kupatsanurwa nepakati kwekubva kubato iri kwe nhengo.

Cde Mugabe vakati asingazive ndiye chete ZANUPF yaive ichipatu mushure mekunge aimbave rukota VaDumiso Dabengwa Simba Makoni vabva mubata.

Cde Mugabe muChimurenga chose pane vaiteta vosiya vamwe, asi va da vanosara vachitevedzera remusangano weruzhinji.

Kuti varungu vanzwisis vana vevhu vaive vakab vanhu vanofanirwa kunovhota musi waKukah vakawana vachivhotera Za kuti ihwine zvine mutsindo.

Cde Mugabe vaka zvakare kuti padami rekushaikwa kwemagetsi iro sa mudunhu rino rel Hurumende iri kutsvaga dzekurigadzirisa.

Cde Mugabe vakati Iye Hurumende iri muhurukuro ka yeNamibia kuedza ku kucherwa kwemarasha ayo batsira pakuwanikwa kwema

Mukuru wenyika vakati yeNamibia iri kuda Hurumende mari inoita US\$ lion yekuti kugadzirwa kwe kuwande kuHwange.

Izvi zvikaitika, zvichabate nyika yeNamibia iyowo in gana nedambudziko rekushaya magetsi sezvo yave kuwana muno nyore.

Vari ku...

neMunyori we...

...EMABHIZIMISI madiki nea Hurumende kuti ivawanisew...labasa avo sezvo vari kutadza...

Vakati vari kutadza kuny rekushaye mari dzekutengesa ...a pakuita kwavo basa.

Uyewo vakati vakaenda kum ...ezvikwereti vanotadza kugu...emabhanga vogumisira vanyi...

"Dambudziko guru rati ...derekushaya mari yekuitisa b...asa rakakakura asi uchishay...ange zvichidiwa.

"Sesu tinoita basa rekugadzi...tha yakakura yekugadzira z...me dzimba dzekudyira dzak...enhamo tsvuku kuwana ma...Ephraim Muvungani (33) v...roducts avo vanoitira basa ...entre kuChitungwiza.

...Danenter Tube & Allied ...

MUTUNGAMIRIRI wenyika Cde Robert Mugabe vachitaura pagungano revanhu vakange vauya kurari.

Motoka...
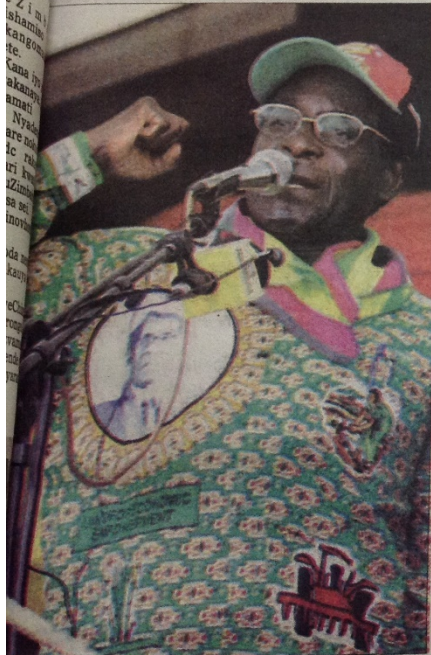
Majenareta achange ari panzvimbo dzekuvhotera

neMunyori weKwayedza

ZVICHITEVERA kugarodzima-dzima kwemagetsi munyika, mutungamiriri wenyika Cde Robert Mugabe svondo rapfuura vakavimbisa kuunzira vagari venzvimbo yeChitungwiza jenareta senzira yekuderedza iri dambudziko.

Vachitaura pamusangano wekusimbisa rutsigiro takatarisana nesarudzo dzemusi wa29 Kurume uyo wakakokorodza gurumwandira revanhu uye wakaitirwa munhandare yeChibuku, Cde Mugabe vakati kugarodzima kwemagetsi kunokanganisa mafambiro ezvinhu mudzimba pamwe nemumaindasitiri nokudaro kuunzwa kwegwenya guri iri kuchabatsira zvikuru.

"Dambudziko remagetsi iri riri kubvira kuSouth-Africa uko veZesa vanotora moto tichizopamhidzira nemumwe watinowana kuno.

"Zvekare panoda kugadzirwa kwesimbi dzinofambisa moto (turbines) kuKariba kuti tive nemoto muzhinji pakupamhidza mamwe masimbi muna Zambezi pamwe nekuwedzera marasha ekuHwange," vakadaro Cde Mugabe.

Vakati pari zvino vakatenga majenareta makuru anokwanisa kushandiswa nedhorodha reKadoma, Mutare neKwekwe.

"Saka imi vagari veChitungwiza mauya pano makabatana senhengo dzeZanu-PF iyo yakauya nehondo yeChimurenga. Tichakuunzirai majenareta makuru achabatsira vanhu kubvira kumaindasitiri pamwe nemudzimba," vakadaro Cde Mugabe.

Vakaenderera mberi vakati zvinovarwadza kuti vanhu vari kurasikirwa nemidziyo yavo inokosha pamwe nemichina yakadai semaredhiyo, materevhizheni nemafiriji izvo zvinogarotsva panguva dzinoenda magetsi.

"Parizvino majenareta aya ari kumbonoshandiswa kunzvimbo dzekuvhotera (polling stations) ... achazounzwa kwamuri mushure mekuvhota. Izvi handidi kutaura nekuti ndiri kukambena bodo, hurongwa hwakagara huripo kuti vanhu veZimbabwe vabatsirwe," vakadaro Cde Mugabe.

Cde Mugabe vakashoropodza vamwe vanamuzvinabhizimisi vari kukwidzira vanhu mitengo pamwewo nevemisika mitema, vakati matanho ari kuzotorwa kuti tsika iyi isarambe ichienderera mberi. "Ini kuswera kwazuro ndakafumowana mupombi musina mvura apo vadzimai vangu vainge vabuda kunze kwenyika. "Vashandi vakange vatokumuka pabasa nokudaro ndakatozoshandisa mvura yemumugodhi kwave kuzvikupaidza kunyange zvazvo ndainge ndajaira yeshawa," vakawedzera Cde Mugabe.

Vakati bazi reZimbabwe National Water Supply Authority (Zinwa) riri kusangana nedambudziko rekushaya mari yekutenga mishonga yekuchenesa mvura nokudaro izvi zvichagadziriswa nemapazi anoona nezvemari.

Vakataura zvekare nezvematambudziko ari kusanganikwa nawo munyika muno akadai seemakomba emumigwagwa, kudhura nekushaikwa kwezvifambiso zvakakwana nekushaikwa kwechikafu, vakati izvi zvese zviri kugadziriswa uye Hurumende ichaunza chibage chakakwana munyika muno kuti vanhu vasafe nenzara.

CDE ROBERT MUGABE

...arudzo dzekamiswa

Mutevedzeri wemukuru anoona nezvesarudzo (Deputy Chief Elections

Dzimwe nhengo dzichiripo dzaida kumirira kumatunhu aya dzinonzi dzakasunungukawo kuzomi-

COMMENT

March 29 is about controlling our wealth

7E9

LAND is once again proving to be the enduring issue of Zimbabwe's politics. Just as it inspired the liberation struggle over three decades ago, it is still the number one issue today.

It is clear that on March 29, the presidential candidate who will be seen or perceived by the majority of the people to have the best plan for a land-based economic revival will win the elections.

It will not be about governance, the Constitution or other extraneous issues. It will be about land, for land is the economy. This is one issue that has been drawing crowds to President Mugabe's rallies. He is seen and understood to be the defender of the land reclamation and redistribution programme that he has led over the past seven years.

His rivals, the MDC's Mr Morgan Tsvangirai and independent candidate Dr Simba Makoni, have had to acknowledge as much in their recent public utterances. Dr Makoni was at pains to assure voters at his two rallies at White City Stadium in Bulawayo and Zimbabwe Grounds in Harare that he would not return land to white farmers if he came to power.

But both Dr Makoni and Mr Tsvangirai's previous utterances on the land issue and pronouncements in their manifestos do not offer a firm assurance that they will defend the gains of the land revolution.

Not only are people keen to analyse the candidates in terms of defending the gains, they are also looking for concrete plans and programmes to make the land productive.

The three candidates claim they can make the farmers more productive. But only one candidate, President Mugabe, by virtue of being the incumbent president, has a programme running aimed at bringing productivity to the land.

Yesterday saw the launch of phase three of the Farm Mechanisation Programme. Also launched yesterday was phase one of the electric generator programme, phase one of the grinding mills programme for women and youth groups and phase one of the agricultural motorcycles programme.

These programmes being run by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe and the Ministry of Agricultural Engineering and Mechanisation are a confirmation that the ...

far as phase 10, which should be achieved around 2010, there is every reason to believe that it is only a matter of time before the land revolution starts bearing fruit.

In his message to voters, President Mugabe has not promised a quick turnaround. He has made it clear that the people will have to turn around the economy themselves after being empowered to work the land and the mines.

Premises to the contrary would be tantamount to misleading the people. It is a not going to be a stroll in the park.

The opposition candidates have made much of the Zanu-PF Government's inability to put all the land to good use. They have pointed to alleged multi-farm ownership and the existence of derelict land. Dr Makoni has specifically mentioned the failure by the Government to implement results of the land audit committees.

That, and the reluctance to implement maximum farm sizes, is the chink in the armour of Zanu-PF's land policies, which it will need to work on should it retain power.

But the opposition still remains short of ideas on how to make the new farmers more productive, which raises suspicion that they are banking on returning land to former white commercial farmers who were already highly mechanised and had the financial resources to farm.

In the next few weeks, the battle will be fought on the land issue. The other issues raised by the opposition such as electricity, water, sanitation and food availability are all symptoms of low productivity on the land. The foreign currency needed to offer these services is generated principally by agriculture and also by mining and tourism.

The Zanu-PF Government appears set to move ahead with more indigenisation programmes in mining and other sectors of the economy following the gazetting on Friday of the Indigenisation and Economic Empowerment Act. Zanu-PF is sending a clear message that its path to prosperity is through empowerment of the indigenous people of this country.

This is at variance with the approach the opposition is offering, which is silent on indigenous and empowerment programmes.

Voters have a choice to pick the path they prefer — quick fix solutions that keep the ...

2013 elections — The Zimbabwe voter's dilemma

> any would say the MDC resents change. Yes, but, at change? Maybe of the predominantly Zanu-PF licies that continued even er the advent of the GNU. e question then becomes: ich policies? The key u PF policies are nised on Land, sover- ty, indigenisation and owerment, so which of need to be reversed?

Zimbabweans have to vote wisely in the forthcoming elections. In this file photo, voters Mhofu Secondary School in Highfield, Harare, during the March 2008 harmonised election

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Appendix 4: Manifestos

ZANU PF Manifesto 2013

Reviewer's Report of **Moreen Mugomba**'s PhD Thesis Entitled: **CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN ZIMBABWE WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO 2008 AND 2013 ELECTION PERIODS**

February 2020

i   Adequate delimitation and conceptualisation of the field and subject of research

The student fairly succeeded in delimiting the field and subject of study. In Chapter one the student gives the introduction and rationale of the study as examining the generic structure of hard news and editorials and the nature of linguistic devices invoked for the enactment of political goals and objectives by Zimbabwean newspaper reports and political speeches in English and Shona. The other focus of the study is stated as exploring how Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) resources are utilized in news reporting of political discourse, in the discourse of electioneering campaigns in the 21st century Zimbabwe, focusing on the hard news and editorials from newspaper reports in English and Shona. The problem statement has been formulated in question style as 'Is the inverted pyramid structure dominant in the hard news reporting of Shona culture ,as well as English speaking African cultures, as it is in English journalism? Are the notions of neutrality, facticity and the inverted pyramid structure key components of objectivity in news reporting of Zimbabwean elections? However these questions seem not to be the main questions in the Research Questions section. The student seems to be asking some different questions. On top of that it is not whether the problem has been solved. Research questions in section 1.4 should be exploratory. The student should make sure that all research questions have been answered. The main concepts in the study are defined and delimited in Chapter Two. However, literature reviewed seems to be mainly 'old'. The student should try to look for more current literature. The student showed a clear understanding of the field of study and the theories being utilised though application of the theoretical tools in the analysis chapters is not that lucid.

ii   Adequate command of the relevant research method

The research methodology is given in Chapter One and Three of the study- where sampling, data analysis methods are stipulated. Reasons for using the research methods are well stated. The research paradigm, research design, data collection instruments and other research methods are fully explicated at length. Evidence of understanding the methodology is seen in how the student succinctly applied it in the analysis chapters. The student adequately understood and applied the relevant research method in their study.

iii   Familiarity with the relevant literature

The candidate makes reference to key authorities in appraisal-discourse analysis print media studies. The student proved to be well conversant with the theoretical strands, ideas and perspectives in the field of study. The student makes consultation of relevant literature from Zimbabwe and other countries in the region and beyond. The refereed works have been listed in the reference list. Familiarity with relevant literature is also exhibited when the candidate consulted or cited a number of works in their logical argumentation in data analysis chapters. However, as highlighted above the student should consult some more recent literature.

iv   Clear and systematic presentation of the material and logical exposition of the argument

The candidate first laid the basis for their study in the introduction chapter. The background, statement of the problem and research questions and objectives are presented in Chapter One and literature review in Chapter Two before delving into the presentation of the theories and methodology in Chapter Three and Four. Data presentation and analysis of the investigation into generic structure of hard news and editorials as well as election manifestos focusing on the linguistic devices invoked in the discourses is done in Chapter 5 and 6. Presentation of research findings and their interpretation is systematically presented under selected themes of inquiry. The presentation and argument can be easily followed.

v   Proper documentation and support of the results of independent research

The candidate fairly gives a proper documentation of previous research on generic news structure of hard news and editorials as well as election manifestos. The candidate dwelt a lot on the basic known discourse-linguistic devices realised in a news story or in political discourse instead of making a critical inquiry pitched at the level of a PhD. However, the voice of the researcher is heard in the writing. The opinion and position of the candidate is explicitly expressed.

vi   Acceptable linguistic and stylistic presentation

The candidate used proper academic discourse though they appear to be hesitant to come out clear that their study is also a political study. The presentation is good. The language used is also good. However, there are few mistakes in typing and expression which can be corrected without changing the thrust of the study. The candidate has to correct all the highlighted areas in the document. In the abstract, why not have the suggested model as the key finding of the study?

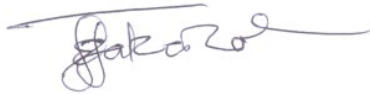**vii   The contribution made by the dissertation to knowledge in its field**

The thesis gives insight into the understanding of generic news structure of hard news and editorials as well as making an analysis of political parties' election manifestos. The study has contributed adding to the volume of research on the nature of hard news, editorials and election manifestos. Through utilising the Systematic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis theories, the student managed to systematically unearth some of the general discourse-linguistic devices utilised by journalists and politicians. The major contribution, however, comes from the proposed model on election reporting. The student still has to lucidly argue and linguistically support the basis for this model. The thesis can be edited and published as a whole or in parts.

viii Recommendation by the Reviewer

I have reviewed the student's dissertation and recommend that after attending to the major aspects raised the student can submit their dissertation for examination.

Report prepared by: Dr E Jakaza

Signature:

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN ZIMBABWE WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO 2008 AND 2013 ELECTION PERIODS 7 May

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EDITOR' REPORT

REPORT ON:

CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN ZIMBABWE WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO 2008 AND 2013 ELECTION PERIODS

BY

MUGOMBA MOREEN

EDITOR: **DUBE PRECIOUS**

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- **Adequate delimitation of the field and subject of research**

The field and subject of research have been sufficiently delimitated by the researcher, who has stayed within the parameters she has established through study objectives.

- **Adequate command of relevant research methods**
  The candidate reflected adequate command of research methodology in chapter 1 and chapter 4. The student adequately understood and applied the relevant research methods in her study. She provided detail on dependability and validity of the methods, citing sources.

- **Familiarity with relevant literature**
  A wide range of books, journals, newspapers, and texts have been consulted and used directly, indicating the candidate's familiarity with literature relevant to political discourse, CDA, and SFL. The researcher challenged and reinterpreted the views of authors in an attempt to bring her own voice in the literature review. The student demonstrated a thorough understanding of the theoretical strands, ideas, and perspectives in the field of study. She thoroughly criticised CDA/SFL and applied them in African contexts. She presented on the inverted pyramid structure and how it relates to news presentation.

- **Clear and systematic presentation of materials**
  Materials have been emphatically presented in a clear and systematic manner with constant referencing and revisits to essential themes in order to project fully requirements of the research. Chapter 1 covered the usual project plan contents like background to the study, focusing on the statement of the problem, research questions and significance of the study, limitations and definition of key terms in a bid to give a preview of the whole analysis of the issue under investigation. Chapter 2 reviews literature related to the study of language and electioneering and explores the nature of linguistic devices invoked by journalists and politicians to communicate political representation in Zimbabwe. Theories and methodology are covered in Chapter Three and Four. Presentation and analysis of data and

the investigation into generic structure of hard news and editorials as well as election manifestos focusing on the linguistic devices invoked in the discourse is done in Chapter 5 and 6. Research findings and their interpretation are systematically presented under selected themes of inquiry. These can easily be followed.

- **Proper documentation and support of results of independent research**
  Reference to relevant documents on research as well as support materials that cast research into relevant slots and boundaries has sufficiently been portrayed by candidate. Reference is made to research in various parts of the world.
- **Acceptable linguistic and stylistic presentation**

The thesis demonstrates a strong command of the English language and a formal presentation style of the project - after thorough correction of grammatical, spelling, and typographic errors, the research reads more smoothly.

- **Contribution of thesis to knowledge in its field**
  There is limited research on political discourse especially electioneering discourse in Zimbabwe and a research of this nature is a major contribution. The study has added to the body of knowledge about the nature of hard news, editorials, and election manifestos. The student was able to systematically exhume some of the general discourse-linguistic devices used by journalists and politicians by applying theories from Systematic Functional Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. – not forgetting the inspiration it will have on research in Zimbabwe and beyond.
- **Recommendation by the viewer**
  Without reservation, I recommend that Moreen Mugomba's research be included in the body of knowledge on Zimbabwean political discourse.

December 2021.