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-election Newspaper Headlines in the Swahili Press

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Abstract

The current paper undertakes a discourse analysis of the front page newspaper headlines of two Tanzanian Swahili weekly newspapers, Mzalendo (Patriot) and Mwanahalisi (Unfeigned child) during the 2010 pre-election period with a view to showing how the press headline discourse in different ways constructs social identities and how these in turn act to influence readers' voting decisions. The data used comes from ten issues of the two newspapers. The analysis is informed by the Faircloughian three-dimensional framework incorporating: text, discursive practice, and social practice. The main finding is that the writers of both newspaper headlines used alike discursive methods such as selection of particular lexical items and syntactic manipulation with the intent of simultaneously vilifying the contestant viewed by the newspaper as the opponent while at the same time endorsing the one it was supporting. It is recommended that the public understands the strategies for them to make informed decisions.

Introduction

Newspaper headlines are among the first things that readers glue their eyes to when they want to buy newspapers. Incidentally all news reports in newspapers have headlines. It follows therefore that due to their strategic nature, newspaper headline crafting needs special skills, and it is the editorial team that makes sure that their readers get mostly what they want them to get. This is a kind of audience alignment, and it is important because they represent what the editors believe should represent the image, position and aim of the newspaper in each specific headline. As such newspaper headlines, and especially the front pages ones, are written by special writers.

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Reah (1998:13) for example, informs that newspaper headline writing is rarely done by news report writers:

> The headline will rarely, if ever, be written by the reporter who wrote the news story. It should, in theory, encapsulate the story in a minimum number of words, attract the reader to the story and, if it appears on the front page, attract the reader to the paper.

Newspaper headlines have been variously categorized and analyzed by scholars on the basis of different criteria. Some have categorized them as *localizing headlines*, *quotation headlines*, *summarizing headlines* and *relevance optimizers* depending on their structure, content and/or function (c.f. Dor, 2003:695-696; Van Dijk, 1988:53). Lindermann (1990) has argued that some headlines provide their readers with complex riddles which neither summarise nor relate to the news reports. As such there are various views regarding newspaper headlines classification. Nevertheless, the current paper does not delve into the definitions debate so much; instead it looks directly into how Tanzanian Swahili press used headlines in reporting the 2010 pre-election campaign news. It is possibly Ifantidou (2009:97) who overrides almost all the views by many other scholars, arguing that headlines serve only one function of attention getting in order to mainly persuade readers, but not to inform them.

We would like to contextualize our current study by drawing the attention of our readers to the fact that everywhere in the world news reporting in the press is a continuation of public debate of topical matters in a given society. Newspaper news features, and particularly headlines, take the debates even further by trying as much as possible to advocate what the owner mostly wants readers to view as logical and truthful from their own sociopolitical standing and affiliation. In this regard Reah (1998:28) argues further that:

> Headlines have a persuasive function when they are designed to attract the attention of the reader and interest him/her in reading the story (or in the case of front page headlines) in buying the newspaper, but they can also be written to influence the opinion of the reader.

7KH UROH RI PHGLD GLVFRXVH LQ KDSLJHRSOHV RSLQLRQ DQG WKLQN
relation to elections cannot be overemphasized. It goes without saying that people cannot spend most of their time searching for news everywhere where events occur; instead the media do it for them. However, what may

After independence, and more recently, a multitude of print media has been in circulation. The United Republic of Tanzania (2012) lists 704 newspapers and magazines in Tanzania, but before 1992 there were only about 108 of them. Some of these are newspapers and magazines. However, most of them are intra-organisational and are therefore not accessible to the wider society. The actual number of newspapers in Tanzania seems to be unknown. A statement by the Government confirms this uncertainty when it says:

> The Newspapers Registrar has registered over 350 publications including magazines, periodicals and newsletters. But less than 15 percent of the registered FRPH RW 8LW HG 5HSE OLF RI Tanzania accessed on 11 December, 2014).

What this statement means is that less than 53 registered newspapers come out in Tanzania, which sounds realistic. This figure notwithstanding, newspapers which seriously come off the presses are even less than 20. We have opted for *Mzalendo* and *Mwanahalisi* which were two big newspapers representing two sides of the 2010 pre-election pageant in the Swahili press. *Mzalendo* represented party press, while *Mwanahalisi* represented independent press. In the following paragraphs we are presenting the two camps: party press and independent press.

Party Press

According to Høyer (2005:76) party press refers to a newspaper that is owned, staffed and directed by a political party or by political party affiliations. Shija (1990: 4) argues also that the objective of party[1] papers is to publish and publicize the goals and aspirations of the party. This view was also confirmed by Joseph Damas, a Mzale GRV VE -editor, in an interview held in his office in October 2010:

> As a Party newspaper, we work to safeguard foremost the interests of the Party. Even opposition parties have their papers although they do not want to declare them in the open, but we know them. So we are guided by the policies of *Chama cha Mapunduzi*.

In Tanzania, Chama cha Mapinduzi owns at least three newspapers, namely *Uhuru* (Independence/freedom), *Mzalendo* (Patriot) and *Burudani* (Recreation). So in addition to reporting news, they also serve to popularize the Party which owns it.

Independent Press

As the name suggests, independent press can be understood as privately owned newspapers and magazines which cover political affairs but which are not aligned either with government or with opposition parties (Chimombo, 1996:27). For convenience purposes, in our current paper, independent press is used to refer to all press that is not owned or related to the government or the ruling party, particularly in terms of its ownership. While there are many newspapers in Tanzania which fall under this category, we will use *Mwanahalisi* as its case at hand.

It is no wonder that behind the independent press there can be political figures, or people who are not political *per se*, but who have a stake in the political arena. Leaving this truism aside, our interest in this paper is to analyze the ways in which these two newspapers use language in their headlines in their attempts to influence the 2010 pre-election political process as part of the democratization process. This is the constitutive role of the media discourse.

One important thing to note about independent media, let alone independent press, is their assumed independence from government influence. Moore and Parker (2001:96) for example, elaborate this independence by contending that:

> The good side is that the media are independent of the government, thus making it very difficult for government officials to dictate exactly what get printed or broadcast. The bad side is that the media, as busLHVVHVKDYHWRGRZKDWHYHULWWDNHVWRPDNHDSURILW

We additionally provide a brief sketch of the political context of Tanzania Mainland (or otherwise understood as Tanganyika) with particular interest in the period starting from 1992. As with many other colonized nations in the world, Tanzania was colonized after the Berlin conference which placed it under German colonialism (1884-1919). After World War I, that is, after 1919 it became a protectorate under the British rule. This went on up to 1961 when it became independent.

During and sometime after independence, Tanganyika followed a multi-party political system. This however, did not last very long as the 1965 Interim Constitution which became effective in 1967 made a declaration that Tanzania was going single-party. Along with this new political orientation,

the Constitution also ruled out that all political matters in the country would be carried out through the Party.[2] Since then, the Government and the ruling party have been inseparable, and for many years the phrase *Chama Kushika Hatamu* (Supremacy of the Party) was the order of the day. Even then, the situation did not last for ever. In early 1990s Tanzania had to join the band of multiparty political states imposed by the donor community, including the World Bank and the IMF. This culminated the political single-partyism which had been enjoyed by the ruling party. Along with party pluralism came freedom of the media.

Following the change to multiparty system, many political parties emerged, some of which have remained unknown to many Tanzanians to date. Each party, regardless of its internal strengths and weaknesses, has just one goal of governing the nation. For example in the 2010 general elections 18 political parties signed the Electoral Code of Conduct as an official registration of their participation in the election process. However, by the time of campaigning, only seven of them did actually participate. In addition, many Tanzanians know only about four or five of these parties better. As a general overview, press coverage during the campaigns indicates that three parties took the lead in the process. These are *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (the ruling party), *Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo* (CHADEMA) and the Civic United Front (CUF).

In the 2010 pre-election campaign in Mainland, Tanzania concentrated on the three popular political parties mentioned above, while in the Isles of Zanzibar only CCM and CUF dominated. Why this is so is possibly explainable by the fact that these parties have more followers in the country and have been more aggressive in the campaign process.

It is actually the corrupt practices endemic in Tanzania which earned CHADEMA its fame. The popularity of the party came about after two of its parliamentarians relentlessly unveiled horrendous corruption and embezzlement scandals; one over a gold mine in the name of Buzwagi and the other over scavenging of the External Payments Arrears (EPA), pronounced as [épa] account held at the central Bank of Tanzania (BoT). It is possibly the unveiling of the latter scandal which earned the CHADEMA contestant, Dr. Wilbroad Slaa, even more fame, meanwhile defaming the incumbent government along with its political party, *Chama cha Mapunduzi*.

As we have already explained above, the press is a continuation of public debates, what these newspapers presented and discussed were also among the topical issues which were also common in Tanzania. While the newspapers reported on what was going on regarding the sociopolitical situation of the day, their orientations and coverage were also different. The differences were in regard to angles, depth, coverage, sociopolitical interests represented by the press.

Choice of *Mwanahalisi* and *Mzalendo* Newspapers

Our choice of the two newspapers is based on the angle from which the discourse of newspapers presented two opposing sides of the campaign discourse. The two newspapers represent contradicting ideological sects, each constituting a side to the campaign; Mzalendo pro-CCM while Mwanahalisi pro-opposition. It was apparent from the news that Mwanahalisi subscribed to the opposition parties while Mzalendo subscribed to the ruling party. These are the ideological angles deduced from reading the newspapers. It will be shown from the texts how this was apparent.

Another reason is the fact that they are both weeklies. This allows each to have week-long coverage, and because of this relative length of time, they are reasonably comparable. Thirdly, being Kiswahili papers, most people had access to the news presented. This would be different if one of them had been an English one. In other words, they both provided equal accessibility to the readership. Besides, there were further specific reasons for choosing each of the paper. Going through the *Mwanahalisi* website (http://www.mwanahalisi.co.tz/about: accessed on January 12, 2011), we ZHUHPRYHGEWKHSDSHUWRing principles which include the following:

> 0ZDDDOLVLPWEHDZDWFKGRJDDOWDG visor and messenger for its communities. Mwana Halisi readers deserve a fair, accurate, full and balanced account of the news. Mwana Halisi expects its editorial staff to remain free of conflict and operate with integrity in pursuit of truth, accuracy and fairness.

In addition, the newspaper itself has gained a lot of fame in the country. At one time both the paper and its editor faced a number of threats due to their strong criticism of the incumbent government in reporting news. The editor was at one time attacked and wounded with acid thrown into his face, which is generally attributed to his stand against corrupt practices which he reports in the newspaper. Likewise, on 13 October 2008 the newspaper was banned

for three months for having published a story on plans to oust President -DNDD□LNZHWHDGHIRUHWKDWRHOZDDKDOLVLVHZVURRP□ DGWKHHGLWRUVUHV6HHGHHDVZHUHraided by the police. All these added to the fame of the newspaper.

What has been abhorred by the Government, which the paper is accused of, is mostly to do with pervasive corruption, embezzlement, and other related DFWVZKLFKWKHRYHUPHWFDOOVWDULVKJLWVLPDJHLWKHHHVRIWKH□ public. It was Mwanahalisi which took the lead in unearthing the popular EPA scam, and it is one of the topics which heightened its popularity in the country. As such it can be reasonably argued that it was actually this kind of reporting which made the paper popular. It is interesting to note that the paper which started only in May 2006 with a circulation of only 7000 had by 2008 increased its circulation to 60,000 (Onyango, 2008).

As for *Mzalendo* (Patriot), this is the Sunday edition of *Uhuru (*Independence*)* *DGZDVWKHZDLDVODUJHVWVHOOLJSDSHUWLOWKHHEUHC* the multi-SDUWVWHP□FFRUGLJWR6WUHU□WKH□SDSHUV□ circulation was 100,000 since 1972. Damas (2010) asserts that at one time the circulation had gone up to 120,000 copies. However, by 2010 the circulation was between 10,000 and 12,000 but special issues may go even up to 20,000 copies.[3]

Theory

The study applies critical discourse analysis (CDA) theory as viewed by Fairclough (1995:131). Fairclough has viewed language use as social practice LWKHVHVHWKDWLWLVDPRGHRI□ and secondly is always a socially and historically situated mode of action in a dialectical relationship with other IDFHWVRIWKHVRFLDOLWVVRFLDOO\□ socially shaped, but it is also socially shaping, or *constitutive*□

In dealing with texts Fairclough (1995:133) proposes a three-dimensional framework arguing that each discursive event, written or spoken, is text, and it is therefore an instance of discourse practice and it is therefore a piece of social practice. Additionally, Phillips and Hardy (2002:3) have generally viewed discourse as an interrelated set of texts, and their specific practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that bring an object into being As such discourse analysts are interested in the relationship between text and what happens in the real word; what the newspaper headlines mean

and the contextual realities in the society and also how texts are used to construct and reconstruct and sustain realities.

This understanding helps our readers to see the possibility of taking a more critical look into the campaign language, considering even the aim of campaigning. In other words, as people read news features they should be aware of the various contextual circumstances circumventing the process of the production of the text itself.

In embarking on our data presentation and discussion, van Dijk (1998: 61-63) suggests a number of issues to look into when doing discourse analysis which complement the Faircloughian perspective fairly well: i) *examining context* historical, political and social background of a phenomenon and its participants ii) analyzing groups, power relations and conflicts involved iii) identifying positive and negative opinions about us versus them iv) making explicit the presupposed and the implied, and v) examining all formal structure lexical choice, syntactic structure in way that (de)emphasize polarized group opinions. Discussing the persuasive nature of presupposition, Sbisà (1999:507) argues that:

> Presupposition, so intended, is clearly suitable for transmitting a kind of contents which may be called ideological: assumptions, not necessarily conscious but liable to be brought to consciousness, about how our human world is and how it should be. For various reasons, such assumptions are often difficult to be certain about, even though they are not in general unverifiable. Since assertion and argumentation commit the speaker to giving evidence or reasons for what is asserted or argued for, it may be difficult, or uncomfortable, to assert or discuss this kind of assumptions explicitly.

Before we move ahead we would like to say at the outset that in doing CDA there are at least two levels of carrying out textual analysis which are available to the analyst. These are micro-textual analysis and macro-textual analysis (Richardson 2007:46). Due to the nature of our data, our option is the micro-textual analysis by which we look at issues of words, syntax, transitivity, tense, and modality.

Word or rather lexical choice, is an important unit of analysis for any text analysis because word choice plays a number of functions not only in newspaper headlines discourse but also in general language use in the

society. Richardson (2007:47) has this to say regarding the lexical level of analysis:

> Words convey the imprint of society and of value judgments in particular they convey connoted as well as denoted meaning. All types of words, but particularly nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs carry connoted in addition to denoted meaning.

At this level we also look at the naming practices in the headlines. This is also because naming of people in news headlines and media discourse in general also carries an important message. Richardson (2007:49) again makes an important explication regarding naming practices in the textual analysis:

> The way people are named in news discourse can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed. We all simultaneously possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics that would be used to describe us equally accurately but not with the same meaning. The manner in which social actors are named identifies not only the group(s) that they are associated with (or at least the groups that the speaker/writer wants them to be associated with) it can also signal the relationship between the namer and the named.

Similarly, syntax plays an important role in the way information is packed in a construction, and particularly at clause level. Reah (1998:77) for example has this to say in that regard:

> Syntax is an important factor in the way a text creates meaning. The way in which elements within a clause are ordered can give weighting to one or more aspects, and reduce, or remove, others. The relationship between elements has a fundamental role here.

Findings and Discussion

This part discusses both the headings and the stories themselves with a view to identifying textual features such as choice of words and phrases, syntactic arrangement as well as their contextual information which is important in understanding the text. We thereafter discuss these discursive decisions immediately thereafter.

As we have already said earlier, we are using a total of ten (10) headlines, five from Mwanahalisi and five from Mzalendo for advancing our

discussion. Again, all these headlines related to the pre-election campaigns in 2010 in Tanzania. The first five headlines are from Mwanahalisi:

Headline 1 Mwanahalisi (Issue No. 204, 1st September, 2010)

Kiwewe kitupu CCM
(CCM perturbed)

- Ni baada ya Marando kutaja vinara wa EPA
  (*It is after Marando exposed key EPA culprits)*
- Ataja Kikwete, Mkapa, Rostam na Lowasa
  (He implicates Kikwete, Mkapa, Rostam and Lowasa)

In this headline Mwanahalisi uses terms that indicate a negative condition for CCM. Being perturbed is not a sign of strength, and the reason for this FRQGLWLRQ LV DIWHU DQ HPHPEHUR(0LPSOLFDWHV QH(3FOSULWV namely Kikwete, Mkapa, Rostam and Lowasa.

The negative condition is attributed to CCM a group. The subheading has Marando and individual, as the actor of the verbal process. He mentions YLDUDZD(3ZKRDUHDPRQJWKHWRS0H[HFWLYHVZKHVHEHLJSDUWRI the top leadership tie CCM directly to the EPA scum. The editor does not distance himself from the claim or view that the named persons are the key FOSULWV LQ WKH VFDQGDOZKHUZHVHKZROGKDYHZULWWHQWKHVREDOHGNH FOSULWVRUWKHVSHFWVZKLVNLGRIDVHUWLRMDWWKDWWKHUHVRTHVWLR about these being the key culprits, which also says louder that CCM has its hands deep into the EPA scum. Mentioning these persons would not have been such a big deal at any other moment apart from this, the general elections. This news report has the presidential candidate as the first on the list, followed by Mkapa the ex-president who was likely to go around FDPSDLJLJIRU WKHRWKHUFOSULW2HFDVHHWKDW WKHWLPLJDGWKH context make this a very strong news report against CCM, which explains why CCM should be perturbed. Why would one feel highly disturbed by the mentioning of names if they do not in any way feel threatened by what the effect of the mentioning would be?

Headline 2 Mwanahalisi *(Issue No. 204 of 1-7 September, 2010)*

Waziri Masha aumbuka
(Minister Masha in disgrace)

Here the headline does not show us who or what disgraces the minister, who happens to be a CCM member, but it has this person as a victim of a negative condition. This being a leader, we are likely to say that it is CCM that is projected in a negative light. The Swahili expression *aumbuka* (in disgrace) implies that one becomes disgraced out of their undoing. It therefore presupposes that the minister did an act unbefitting to his position, leading to self-degradation. This is likely to be pointing towards the calibre of leaders populating CCM.

In understanding this headline, we need here to provide some contextual description of the parody of addressing Masha as *Waziri Masha*. As has been suggested earlier, in order to understand a text it is important to also take on board a description of the context as suggested by Van Dijk (1988:30):

> A full account of news discourse, then, requires both a description of textual structures of news and a description the production and reception processes of news discourse in communicative situations and socio-cultural contexts.

The person addressed as Masha in the headline was not a minister at the time when this newspaper was coming out. This is because the parliament had already been resolved, and he had been a minister by virtue of his parliamentary position. As such describing him as a minister, at the same time *aumbuka* (in disgrace) makes the contrast more prominent and pronounced as compared to if he were referred to just as Masha, which he was.

Headline 3 Mwanahalisi (*Issue No. 205: 8-14 September, 2010*)

> **Dk. Slaa atishia Kikwete**
> *(Dr. Slaa issues threats to Kikwete)*

Here we have a presidential candidate for CHADEMA, mentioned alongside his academic credentials as a PhD holder, performing an act that threatens the presidential candidate for CCM, whose academic credentials go unmentioned. One would argue that there is no way to prefix the name of a person who does not have a doctoral qualification, but the CCM contestant is known to have been awarded a number of honorary doctorates by then, which some media use to prefix his name.

In this headline Kikwete is positioned as the receiver of some act of scaring. The choice of the word *atishia* (Slaa issues threats) instead of *amtisha* (Slaa WKUHDWHQV.LNZHWHRROHDYHVDDDVDFWDWWKHOHYHORIVWKUH not a description of the intended effects the perlocution. It is not easy to tell at this level what Kikwete felt upon hearing the threats, but one notes that it is normally a more powerful entity that is capable of issuing threats. Even when less powerful entities take it upon themselves to issue threats, whether or not the intended audience gets affected in line with the expectations of the issuers of the threats, they are only seen as ones trying to position themselves as more powerful and therefore capable of inflicting pain to their intended audience.

This syntactic strategy of presenting Dr Slaa as an agentive subject strategically positions him in a more powerful position at the same time positioning Kikwete in a defeated position. However, the headline does not confirm whether or not Kikwete was actually threatened, thus realizing the perlocutionary effect of the threatening. This ambivalent position of the verb choice is likely to be assumed by some readers that Kikwete was actually threatened, which is not actually said in the headline.

Headline 4 Mwanahalisi (***Issue No. 206, 1-7 October, 2010***)

Malipo ya Salma utata
(Salma's payment questionable)
- TAKUKURU mshauri wa CCM
  (PCCB CCM's advisor)

In this context Salma refers to the first lady, Salma Kikwete. She, being the wife of the CCM national chairperson and presidential candidate, any negative reference to her is also negative reference to CCM along with its presidential candidate. The dark cloud hanging over the financial transaction associated with her is likely to deal a devastating blow on the integrity of the party and presidential candidate she is associated with. In the subheading CCM is brought into disrepute again, this time being in collusion with the Tanzania Prevention and Combating Corruption Bureau (PCCB). Crying foul and linking the two entities in this dubious financial deal, with the PCCB working as a partner instead of the watchdog it is supposed to be, Mwanahalisi is likely to be promoting the view that CCM is in an unholy league with the state machinery, and that they are unlikely to be unstoppable in their exploits.

This sounds like an indirect appeal to the public against voting CCM to power. Associating the PCCB with an advisory role to the first lady who misuses public funds has the potential of suggesting that the CCM presidential aspirant colludes with government organs in misusing public funds. This sounds like an appeal to voters to be cautious of not only the aspirant, but also his family and his watchdog machinery.

Headline 5: Mwanahalisi ***(Issue No. 212, 27 October, 2010)***

> **Wizi wa kura wanukia**
> *(Vote rigging nearing)*
> - Muafaka Maalim Seif kuongoza Zanzibar.
> *(Political accord Maalim Seif to lead Zanzibar)*
> - Dr. Slaa aongoza kura za maoni
> *(Dr Slaa leads in opinion poll)*
> - Ni kwa wasomaji wa magazeti na mitandao
> *(It is among newspaper and internet readers)*

There being mainly two major competitors in the presidential race – CCM and CHADEMA in the 2010 general elections, and Mwanahalisi newspaper being more or less biased towards the opposition against CCM, it is plausible to claim that the material process of *vote rigging* is attributed to CCM. As such CCM is projected negatively here as one seeking an unfair advantage to re-election by vote rigging. The first subheading is the political accord reached in the Isles that the opposition will lead Zanzibar after the general elections – therefore CCM will not be in power there. In the second subheading the CHADEMA candidate leads in opinion poll as the one most likely to become president. Since the public has not been involved in any poll, the paper makes it clear who got involved in the poll. To recast the view that this is a view held by the majority of Tanzanians who are against CCM power, both in Zanzibar and Tanzania, is to dispirit those currently wishing to vote for CCM candidates.

The following five headlines are from the Mzalendo weekly which is owned by the ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM).

Headline 6 Mzalendo ***(Issue No. 2045, August 8, 2010)***

> **Longolongo za Dk. Slaa ni batili**
> *(Dr Slaa's chitchats illicit)*

- Tume yasema wakati wa kampeni bado
  (Commission says campaign time not yet)
- Mikutano yake ni kinyume cha utaratibu
  (His rallies unlawful)
- Wananchi walalamika, CCM yamuonya
  (Public complain, CCM warns him)

Just as was the case with Mwanahalisi attributing negative conditions to CCM, Mzalendo likewise attributes negativity to CHADEMA and its presidential candidate □ U6ODDHUH1LVWHDGRIMLJWKHZRUG*mdai*□ (cODLPV□WKH□HGLWRU□FKRVH*kongo*□*FKLVFKDVV□ZKLFK□KDV□HJDWLH*□ connotation, portraying the sayer (Dr Slaa) as one who prattles and therefore ZDVWLJSHRSOHVWLPHZKLVZRUGZKLFKLVDERORTLDODGIDPRVDPRJ□ the youth, has the potential of making the voters refrain from voting for someone who talks nonsense. Who would want to vote to presidency a candidate who engages in foolish or inconsequential talk?

7KH□KHDGOLH□ZULWHU□SDVVHV□DDVVULJHYDODWLYH□UHPDUN□RU□6ODDV□ conduct as illegal. In the first subheading Dr Slaa is also portrayed negatively DVRHODEKLJEDPSDLJMEHIRUHWLPHDGWKDWWKLVLVRW0YLHZEW□ that of the body responsible for such campaigns □ the national electoral Commission. One wonders why, having used the Commission to warn against the un-WLPHOLHVVRI□U6ODDV□FDPSDLJLJWKH□SDSHU□VKROG□ continue to underline that the rallies were not procedural. It is important to note that a repeated negative portrayal, however trivial, is likely to linger in the readeUV□PLGVGLPLLVKLJWKHREMHFWVFUHGLELOLW1WKHHHVRIWKH□ reader. In the third subheading CCM receives a positive portrayal as one ZRUNLJWRMDIHJDUGWKHSEOLFMLWHUHVW□KHWKHSEOLFFRPSODLDJLVW□ Dr Slaa, CCM quickly comes in to warn him. In this heading (and subheadings) CHADEMA (through its presidential candidate) is portrayed negatively three times as one disrupting the electoral procedures, and CCM is portrayed positively as one volunteering to ameliorate the situation by issuing a warning. At performing the verbal process of warning, CCM is positioned as the more powerful entity, and consequently as the big brother warning a small misbehaving brother.

Headline 7 Mzalendo ***(Issue No. 2047, August 22, 2010)***

Dar yazizima
(Dar Chills)

- Ni katika uzinduzi kampeni za CCM
  (It was during launching of CCM campaigns)
- Utitiri wa watu wafurika Jangwani
  (Multitude flock Jangwani)
- Wagombea ubunge 13, udiwani 457 wapeta
  (13 parliamentary contestants, 457 counselor contestants go unchallenged)
- JK ajisikia vibaya jukwaani
  (JK feels ill on the platform)

This headline has the CCM campaign launching captivating the City of Dar es Salaam, which is a positive sign for a political party seeking re-election. The paper has *utitiri wa watu* (a multitude or horde of people) instead of *watu wengi* (many people) or any other expression. The word *wafurika* (which we translate as *flocking* but which we would also translate as *flooding* from the word *furika [v]* or *mafuriko [n]*) refers to flooding and floods, suggesting that the attendance overwhelmed the space. In addition to this choice of expressions, which serves to magnify the event and make the opposition reconsider their decision to run into the race, the third subheading mentions figures (13 parliamentarians and 457 counsellors who go unchallenged) to show that CCM is already winning before election day.

As is the norm for election discourse for one to promote their cause and mitigate or downplay any of their shortcomings, here Mzalendo has Jakaya Kikwete as feeling ill on the platform, instead of reporting what exactly happened. This event having received live television coverage, all spectators noted that the presidential candidate went gibberish before collapsing and being hurried away from the stage and the Jangwani grounds for treatment. For the TV audience and all those at the Jangwani grounds terming this VKRFNLJHYHWDVVLPSOHHOLJLOOZRGEHDPRFNHUBpro portional levels, but calling a spade a spade on this event would portray the presidential candidate as a sickly and dying person, which would make him a dispreferred candidate for the presidential office.

Headline 8 Mzalendo (***Issue No. 2050***, *September 12, 2010*)

CHADEMA yapata ufa
(CHADEMA grows a crack)

- Makundi yanayopingana yaibuka
  (Conflicting groups emerge)

- Yadaiwa yanatokana na ubaguzi
  ([they are] claimed to result from discrimination)
- [illegible]
  hadharani
  (Secret behind "adulteration" of opinion poll results now exposed)
- Sheikh Yahya na[illegible]
  (Sheikh Yahya also "takes on" Dr Slaa)

In this headline there is no explicit mention of CCM, and it is all a portrayal

One of these speakers belittles other candidates likening them to crushed stone. The use of former heads of state is meant to render the eulogy on Kikwete and damnation of the opposition credible. Portraying Kikwete as one caring for *all his people,* places him beyond partisan politics, serving the entire community regardless of party lines. On the other hand, likening other candidates to gravel suggests that they are too small to stand the fight, or that they are so fragmented in their personalities that they cannot make good leaders.

A unique strategy which Mzalendo uses here is ethos using the credibility of former presidents. Being an old party, CCM has the advantage of having all former presidents. Mzalendo makes use of what they say in support of their candidate. By having them talk, it is considered that the citizenry would trust them and take what they say as their roadmap.

Conclusion

In this article we have shown that both newspapers used more or less similar strategies in writing their headlines. A common feature of the headlines was to apply lexical choices and occasionally idioms, that disgrace, denigrate and slur the image of the political party, including its members, which the newspaper is not in support of. Similarly, both newspapers have used syntactic styles of passivisation, in which case they have hidden the agentive subjects, intentionally or because they were not sure who the agentive subject was, thus leaving readers in suspense. In some cases, passivisation was done in order to give prominence to the patient subject particularly when slur and mudslinging was involved.

Mzalendo had an additional advantage of attributing statements to retired presidents because they all belong to the party that it supported. The use of these retired presidents was meant to influence the portion of the citizenry that was in support of these former presidents. In other words, the newspapers used (assumed) credibility (ethos) to win support by the people.

While these strategies are commonly applied worldwide, it is for readers to be aware of them, and make informed decisions while knowing exactly what newspaper headlines are meant to achieve in due course. One way of doing it is by reading a variety of newspaper headlines, and be able to see different angles used by different newspapers in reporting similar issues. This approach has the potential of helping readers vote in people whom they

understand well rather than being swayed by lexical, syntactic and other kinds of manipulations employed by politicians.

Notes

1. Shija (1990) refers specifically to *Chama cha Mapinduzi* (Revolutionary 3DUW\ZDJDDVUOLJSDUW
2. This was the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) which later on transformed into CCM.
3. Personal Interview with Mr. Damas, one of the sub-editors of Mzalendo, October 2010.

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