Examination of Rhetorical Devices in President Kikwete's 2014 Constituent Assembly Inaugural Speech

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Abstract
Language has been an important tool for politicians to get their messages perceived the way they prefer. This paper analyzed a text of the constituent assembly inaugural speech by President Jakaya Kikwete. It sought to examine the ways he appealed to linguistic techniques to amplify on the challenges of a proposed three-government union structure proposed by the Constitutional Review Commission. By using Fraiclough's (1992) Text Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA), the study examined linguistic features of the speech amplifying on the two major challenges of the proposed three-government union structure. The data show that President Kikwete relied on choice of words, reference to comments made by famous individuals about the union structure as well as rhetorical question as he amplified on the two challenges of a proposed three-government union structure.

Key words: *critical discourse analysis, political discourse, persuasion, Constituent Assembly*

Introduction

The President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete on 6th April 2012 formed a Constitutional Review Commission, here-in-after (CRC), led by Justice Joseph Sinde Warioba. The CRC aimed at collecting opinion of the public on the review of the constitution. The commission completed the task in October 2013, where the draft constitution was handed to the President for further deliberations. One of the recommendations of the commission was for Tanzania to abandon a two-tier government union structure and adopt a three-tier government union structure. Having received the draft of the proposed constitution, President Kikwete called for a Constituent Assembly to discuss and deliberate on the opinions presented in the proposed constitution draft. The Constituent Assembly included three types of membership that is; all members of the National Assembly of the United Republic, all members of the House of Representatives of Zanzibar, and two hundred and one (201) members representing social and institutional

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organs appointed by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania in agreement with the President of Zanzibar. Members of the national assembly and the house of representatives of Zanzibar constituted two main blocks, that is those from the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and the those from opposition parties. Having called for this assembly, the President then went to address the members of the assembly as a sign of inaugurating the constituent assembly. In his speech, he addressed some aspects of the CRC's draft by openly reiterating what was known to be the ruling party's stand on the issue of the union structure. Though he was meant to inaugurate the constituent assembly and set it on its way, he chose to throw on critiques and debate on some of the proposals in the draft, casting doubt on their appropriateness for the Union.

This paper draws on this ground to argue its case that political language is most often loaded because politics is concerned with power: the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behavior, and to control their values. The common way to achieve this power is the politician's ability to use language. Odey (2016: 18) observes that the use of language in political activities such as campaigns, debates creates different impacts on the individual and society and therefore elicits different reactions. As such, reactions by the audience go in line with the politician's ideologies or viewpoints. Politicians always have their ideologies, viewpoints, and policies they are willing to make their wide audiences accept them as their own. According to this line of reasoning, the choice of linguistic devices a politician make may have an important effect in transforming the views and opinions of his audience. According to David (2014: 165) "political leaders often play with the audience's presuppositions and the activation of the pertinent mental schemata by selecting or evading certain lexical items or rhetoric strategies in order to increase the credibility of their assertions and to create and diffuse a particular ideology". In connection to this assertion, this paper examines how President Jakaya Kikwete appealed to linguistic selection in his speech to downplay the three-government union structure proposal made by the CRC and promoted the current two-government union structure.

Persuasion in Political Discourse
Politicians tend to reach an understanding with their audiences through the use of different strategies (Fairclough, 2001). Persuasion is the most important tool politicians use to reach their goals.

Persuasion is an "act of convincing others, changing their views, shifting their ideal points along the imagined line" (Diamond & Cobb, 1999: 225). Persuasion therefore has the ultimate objective of influencing people or making them embrace certain beliefs in order that they may either adopt new goals or abandon previous ones in favor of higher value goals, as presented by the persuader (Poggi, 2005). Although persuasion is an inherited form of human interaction, it is "ubiquitous in the political process" (Mutz et al., 1999: 1); since it is socially acceptable to have different views about politics, there is always an attempt to attract people to one side or another. Thus, the attempt to persuade people to change their opinions becomes a legitimate feature of political discourse (Mutz et al., 1999). Persuasion in political communication is an inevitable element because, people disagree. "They disagree about how they should live; who should get what? How should power and other sources be distributed? How should society be based on cooperation and conflict? And so on.." (Heywood, 2002:3); thus, the political communication involves elements of persuasion in order to reach conclusion in these kinds of contexts. Mooney et. al. (2011) note that, for politicians to reach out their goals, they need to speak to their audiences persuasively and inclusively. By using various persuasive linguistic strategies such as wording and word meaning, ethos, presupposition, intertextuality, implicature, the use of conceptual metaphor, transitivity, thematization, politicians seek to persuade audience to positively endorse their views and negatively deny the views of their opponents about certain ideas. Politicians employ these persuasive linguistic strategies which are well understood within their socio-cultural contexts so that audiences can easily understand.

Research on political persuasion was carried out mostly as propaganda analysis in 1900's. Studies of propaganda in the early part of the twentieth century can be regarded as the antecedents to the social scientific study of persuasion. "After World War II, researchers stopped referring to their subject of study as propaganda and started investigating various constructs of persuasion" (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1992:122) cited in Demirdogen (2010). Researches on political persuasion gained an impetus after Aristotle's introduction of three modes of rhetoric; *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos*. To this shift, some studies were done, for instance, The Yale studies of persuasive communications (Smith, 1981: xii) cited in Dermidogen (2010) which sought to estimate how important a speaker's ethos might be, or

when pathos might be effective, or what type of logos should be pursued. Other studies on political discourse (Hart, 1984; Thompson, 1987; Stuckey, 1989; Campbell & Jamieson, 1990; Snyder & Higgins, 1990; and Tetlock, 1993) demonstrated how politicians employ rhetorical devices in their speeches to persuade the public of their views.

The relationship between language and politics helps us to gain insight into how language is used by those who wish to gain power, those who wish to exercise power and those who wish to keep power. Language plays a crucial part in communicating politics, since it is used by speakers who do politics and, language as 'discourse' does politics not only in political spaces (i.e. parliaments, councils, party meetings), but also elsewhere (i.e. media, press conferences). Political discourse a form linguistic perspective has been a subject of attention to many philosophers, rhetoricians and scholars (Black, 1965; Delia, 1987; Vickers, 1988; Obeng, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2011) among others. The central focus of these works have looked at how language is used by politicians in election campaigns to win elections, how language is used by politicians in institutional debates to defend their positions and policies.

In the last three decades, the involvement of text analysis in political discourse has attracted a great deal of attention. Some scholars (Chilton & Schäffner, 1997; Hodges, 2008) point out that language is vital to the process of transforming political will into social action. In fact, any political action is prepared, accompanied, controlled and influenced by language. Fairclough goes further by stating that "politics is not just conducted through language, but much of politics is language: politics partly consists in the disputes which occur in language and over language" (1989:23). Words do not simply describe a pre-existing truth; words in political discourse effectively help realize it (Hodges, 2008: 2). Politicians, therefore, use language carefully to control resources, control other people's behaviour, control values and make decisions.

Recent studies on political discourse have mainly examined political speeches from Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, for instance Sharndama (2015) who employed Fairclough's three-dimensional analytical approach to find out how President Buhari chose linguistic element to project the ideological plan of his government as he delivered his speech after taking an oath in 2015, Okoroh (2016) study which examined modality and transitivity from two speeches

by President Buhari, Galasso and Nannicini (2016) who investigated the differential response of male and female voters to competitive persuasion in political campaigns in Italy.

Theoretical Framework

This study falls within the boundaries of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The primary concern of CDA from analytical approach is to explore "the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (van Dijk, 2003). Within the same line of argument, Fairclough (2003) holds the view that CDA heavily relies on a theoretical aspect on language as a method. CDA, however, has had various proponents. Every one of the major proponents has a specific approach; van Dijk's sociocognitive approach, Fairclough's dialectic relational approach, and Wodak's socio-historical approach. Despite differences in their analytical approaches, all the three approaches accept language as a manifestation of social action (Chilton, 2005). It is therefore the text that stands out as a focal point of analyzing a discourse. "Critical" in analyzing discourse is interpreted as the analysis and understanding of language embedded political, economic and social perspective (Wodak, 2001). One generalization to be drawn from these different perspectives of CDA is that all of them represent the dialectic relationship between language, power, ideology, and the influential role that language plays in emanation of power and legitimizing social inequalities. Therefore, CDA is the best analytical approach for this study because it helps us to analyze and understand how political actors use language to present their viewpoints of a certain policy, phenomenon or ideology and get their audience accept the views in their own favor.

Analytical Framework

This study draws on Fairclough's (1989) Text Oriented Discourse Analysis (TODA) to analyze the text of the President's speech. Since I am analyzing critical parts of the text to uncover the President's use of linguistic strategies to amplifying the challenges posed by the CRC against a three-government union structure, I describe the text by identifying text features he used in the speech, and interpret the ways these features were used. This way I will be able to come up with the findings showing the linguistic features used by the President to amplify on the challenges of the proposed three-government union structure identified by the CRC.

Data
This study analysed a speech which was delivered by President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete inaugurating constituent assembly, which was obtained from the internet, http://www.muungano.go.tz (see References for specific details). Although there were many aspects covered in the speech, this paper focused on the structure of the union which attracted attention to the public.

Data Presentation and Analysis
Presenting his speech, the President pointed out two challenges of a three-government union structure presented by the CRC. Referring to the CRC's proposed constitutional draft, the President says:

Katika kuainisha changamoto za muundo wa serikali tatu, tume ya mabadiliko ya katiba imeyataja mambo mawili makubwa ambayo ningependa wajumbe muyape tafakuru stahiki. Mambo hayo ni **mosi,** *misuguano na mikwamo katika kujadili na kufanya uamuzi kuhusu mambo muhimu ya muungano. Na* **pili,** *ni kuibuka kwa hisia za utaifa wa zamani kwa nchi washirika.* "In identifying the challenges of three governments, the CRC has mentioned two major things which I would like members to give important reflection. These things are **one,** deadlocks and paralysis in discussing and making decision on important issues about the union. **Second,** is emergence of nationalistic sentiments from member states."

The President capitalized on these two challenges raised by the CRC by amplifying their possible effects to the people of Zanzibar and Tanganyika as well as to the government. I examine the linguistic means the President employed to amplify on these two challenges as follows.

Wording and Word meaning
Commenting on the two possible challenges of three governments raised by the CRC, the President chose some words and expressions to amplify their effects. A good example is associating a three-government structure with chaotic state as the President states in his remark that:
[Muundo wa serikali tatu] sio tu kwamba unaweza kuhatarisha uhai wa Muungano, bali hata usalama wa raia na mali zao "[A three-government structure] will not put the union in danger, but also it will put the people's security and their assets in danger."

The President associates people's peace and their assets being at in unstable state with the introduction of a three-government union structure. The use of these words is not accidental but the President suggest that the members of constituent assembly should be aware that a three-government union shall put people's life and their assets in danger.

He also amplifies the negative impacts a three-government union structure will result into as by stating that *Litakuwa ni jambo lenye mshtuko mkubwa na athari zisizoweza kutabirika...* "It must be a great shock with unforeseen consequences." The expressions 'great shock' and 'unforeseen consequences' are deliberately used by the President to create sense of fear towards the three-government structure of the union proposed by the CRC, thus making members of the constituent assembly ignore the CRC's proposal of a three-government structure in favor of a two-government structure.

Moreover, the President carefully chooses expressions with negative connotation as he further comments on the two challenges raised by the CRC presented above. Associating threats such as like *chuki* "hatred", *maadui* "enemies" with the two challenges raised by the CRC on the proposed three-union structure as used in the comment; *Katika mazingira haya ni rahisi sana chuki kupandikizwa na watu waliokuwa ndugu mara moja watajikuta maadui* "In this context, it is very easy for hatred to be implanted and people who were brothers and sisters find themselves enemies." does create fear among the members of the assembly who are being dressed by the President, thus getting them to consider a three-government union structure as a cause of all these, and therefore opt against CRC's proposal in a bid to strive for a two-government union structure.

Furthermore, President Kikwete further explains the challenges raised by the CRC on three-government union structure by warning members of the assembly to keep in mind of the outcome of the three-government union structure proposed by the CRC. He uses peace threatening expressions to warn members of the assembly of the possible outcome of a three-government structure as he comments:

Tusije tukajutia uamuzi wetu tutakapoona watu wanafukuzana, wanauana na mali zao kuporwa "We shouldn't blame our decision when we will see   people deporting each other, killing each other and their assets being robbed."

In the above comment, the President deliberately uses expressions that create a sense of fear to the public suggesting that if three government is to be adopted on the basis of the challenges raised by the CRC, members should expect people to kill each other, the Tanganyikans to deport the Zanzibari and Zanzibari to deport the Tanganyikans and lose their jobs and assets. Careful choice of these words was made by the President to have members of the assembly hate a proposed three-government union structure.

Intertextuality

According to Fairclough (1992) intertextuality is the property of texts to contain within them traces of other past texts, either manifestly or constitutively. In this paper, intertextuality looks at the way President Kikwete was able to refer to traces of other texts either constitutively or manifestly to back up his views of the structure of the union. Commenting on the challenges of a three-government union structure pointed out by the CRC, the President quoted two prominent individuals whose contributions were leaning in favor of a two government union structure. In legitimating his proportion, President Kikwete refers to the comments made by Mwalimu Nyerere warning against three governments saying that:

Hamuwezi kutenda dhambi kubwa namna hiyo bila adhabu... na adhabu nyingine zimo mle mle ndani ya kitendo hazisubiri "You cannot commit big sin like that without punishment... and other punishments are within the act; they don't hold on".
Another reference is made to what the President calls 'a top religious leader' saying he once told him that; "

Hivi Serikali mbili zikiwa na matatizo jawabu ni kuongeza ya tatu? Si matatizo ndiyo yatazidi?... Mimi nawashauri msichoke kutafuta majawabu kwa matatizo ya hizi mbili "If two governments have problems, the solution is adding the third government?... I advise you not to give up looking for solutions for these two [governments]"

The two references are made to establish a solid ground and credit his views of the two governments ahead of three governments proposed by the CRC. This is not only based on the comments referred to but also the type of people who gave comments. Mwalimu Nyerere is a founding father of the nation was and still is widely respected and widely admired in Tanzania and beyond. The other person referred to is a 'top religious leader'. I would go back to the wording and word meaning to attribute this as an alternative

wording, where the President modifies the religious leader as a 'top'. The views suggested by the President here is that other religious leaders correspond to the religious leader whose comments have been quoted. This strategy of quoting comments from famous and highly respected individuals favoring a two-government union structure was employed by the President to establish credibility of his argument as he commented further on the challenges of the three governments raised by the CRC.

Rhetorical Question

As a means of emphatically warning the members of the assembly not to accept a proposed three-government union structure in order to maintain peace and harmony among the people of Zanzibar and Tanganyika, the President uses a rhetorical question to emphasize on the point. In making his point, he says; *Umoja wetu utatetereka na muungano wetu unaweza kuvunjika. Kwanini tufike huko?* "Our unity will shake and our union could break up. Why would we get there?" The message behind a rhetorical question "Why would we get there?" suggests that the President is warning members not to take the nation to a situation he describes to be a chaotic state by endorsing the CRC's proposed three-government union. One can therefore argue that the President avoids using a direct imperative statement "We should not get there!" purposely in order to sound polite but also for emphatic reason by producing a rhetorical question "Why would we get there?" which has persuasive effect to the members of the assembly.

Discussion

This study aimed at uncovering the linguistic strategies employed by President Kikwete to amplify the challenges of the proposed three-government union structure posed by the CRC. From the analysis above, President Kikwete employed wording and word meaning, and intertextuality to capitalize and amplify on the two prospective challenges of the proposed three-government union structure identified by the CRC. As far as intertextuality is concerned, the President tends to refer to the comments made by famous individuals favoring a two-government union structure in order to build a solid back up of his preferred two government union structure. By referring to these comments, the President is seeking the opinion in a bid to include the majority members who believe in Mwalimu Nyerere's ideas as well as those religious believers who cannot question the opinion given by their religious leader. I would call this,

'seeking authority' from these two important individuals who have the majority followers.

As far as wording and word meaning is concerned, the President consistently uses negative expressions to amplify on the two challenges of a three-government structure proposed by the CRC. The President appealed to expressions suggesting a chaotic state such as hatred, people killing each other, people losing their jobs and assets as he gives further comments on the challenges identified by the CRC. By using these peace threatening expressions, the President is suggesting that members should not allow this to happen, and the only way preventing this to happen is by not adopting the CRC's proposed three-government type of union structure, which he emphatically presents by using a rhetorical question "Why would we get there?"

Conclusion

In this paper, I did a text analysis of President Kikwete's constituent assembly inaugural speech to identify and analyze linguistic strategies he employed to capitalize on the two challenges of a proposed three-government union structure, identified by the CRC. The analysis evidenced that since the President's own view was against a proposed three-government union structure, he employed linguistic devices which negatively characterized a proposed union structure such as peace threatening expressions, attempting to convince members of the assembly to disregard the CRC's proposed three-government union structure and back up the current two-government union structure. On the basis of these findings, I can generally claim that political elites use language, given their political authorities, to swing their opinions in political fields such as political campaigns, debates, political speeches deliberately to achieve their desired goal.

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