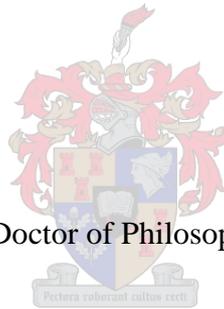


**STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN THE 2015 TANZANIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
CAMPAIGN SPEECHES: A PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL PERSPECTIVE**

BY

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Dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University

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DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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ABSTRACT

The study investigates strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential campaign speeches of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)/Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi (UKAWA) in the Extended pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation. The study employs the Extended pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation to analyse two inaugural speeches conducted in Kiswahili language. It also analyses a part of the CCM closing campaign, that is, a response to some argumentations of the CHADEMA/UKAWA. The study evaluates argumentation structures, argument schemes, presentational devices, successful observation of rules, identification of derailments of rules, and effectiveness and reasonableness in argumentative discourse as objectives of the study. The data were collected from the Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC) and from other online sources. The audio-visual speeches were transcribed and translated from Kiswahili into English. The findings of the study reveal that the complex argumentation structure dominates the rest of the argumentation structures in the speeches. Secondly, in the perspective of Pragma-dialects, the findings indicate that the three argumentation schemes namely causal relation argumentation scheme, symptomatic argumentation schemes and argumentation by analogy are employed in the speeches. More importantly, the pragmatic and majority argumentation is the prototypical argumentative pattern in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches. Thirdly, findings manifest that the three aspects of strategic maneuvering namely the topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices, are employed accordingly. Features of persuasion mainly reflected in the study include appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, commemorating Mwalimu Nyerere and other leaders during the time of independence. The fourth finding from the study demonstrates that critical discussion rules frequently observed are the the standpoint rule, the argument scheme rule, the relevance rule, and the freedom rule. The fifth finding from the study reveal that cmpaigners frequently violate the language rule. The findings indicate that different presentational devices and criteria for reasonableness are employed, to a large extent, in presidential campaign speeches. The study recommends further investigations in the presidential campaign speeches in Kenya where Kiswahili perhaps is not used as language of independence and unity. Furthermore, an investigation into sermon speeches in other African languages in Tanzania would give insights on how the delicate balance in

maintained in the Extended pragma-dialectical perspective. The study can be extended to investigating strategic maneuvering in presidential campaign speeches by merging monological speeches in dialectical profiles

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die verskynsel van strategiese manewrering in argumentasie diskoers in die 2015 Tanzaniese presidensiële veldtog toesprake van die partye Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) en Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) /Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi (UKAWA) binne die raamwerke van die uitgebreide pragma-dialektiese teorie van argumentasie in die analise van twee intreerede toesprake in Kiswahili. Die studie onderneem ook 'n analise van toesprake in die CCM afsluitingsveldtog wat 'n respons gee op sommige argumentasie standpunte van die CHADEMA / UKAWA. Die studie evalueer argumentasie strukture, argumentasieskemas, presentasie-middele, die suksesvolle waarneming van reëls, die identifisering van die ontsporing van reëls, en effektiwiteit en redelikheid in die argumentasie diskoers in presidensiële veldtog toesprake. Die data vir die studie is versamel van die Tanzaniese Uitsaai korporasie, asook vanaf ander aanlyn/internetbronne. Die oudio-visuele toesprake in Kiswahili is getranskribeer en in Engels vertaal.

Die bevindings van die studie dui aan dat komplekse argumentasie strukture dominant is in die toesprake. Tweedens, in die perspektief van die pragma-dialektiese benadering, dui die bevindinge daarop dat die drie argumentasieskemas, naamlik die kousale relasie argumentasie skema, die simptomatiese argumentasie skema, en argumentasie deur analogie ingespan is in die toesprake. Van belang, is dat die pragmatiese en meerderheids argumentasie die prototipiese argumentasiepatrone is in die 2015 Tanzaniese presidensiële veldtog toesprake. Dertens manifesteer bevindings dat drie aspekte van strategiese manewrering, naamlik onderwerp potensiaal, gehoor-eise, en aanbiedingsmiddele teenwoordig is in die toesprake. Kenmerke van oorreding wat hoofsaaklik tevoorskyn kom in die toesprake sluit in die beroepdoenings op liberale en konserwatiewe aannames, en die herdenking van Mwalimu Nyerere en ander leiers gedurende die tyd van onafhanklikheid. Die vierde bevinding van die studie demonstreer dat kritiese besprekingsreëls wat dikwels in ag geneem word, insluit die standpunt reël, die argumentskemareël, die relevansiëreël, en die vryheidsreël. Die vyfde bevinding van die studie dui aan dat veldtogdeelnemers dikwels die taalreël oortree. Oor die geheel, die bevindings van die studie daarop dat verskillende aanbiedingsmiddele, en kriteria vir redelikheid tot 'n aansienlike mate ingespan word in presidensiële veldtog toesprake. Die studie beveel aan dat verdere navorsing gedoen word oor presidensiële veldtog toesprake in Kenia, waar Kiswahili moontlik nie gebruik word as taal

van onafhanklikehid en eenheid nie. Voorts sal navorsing oor preekdiens toesprake in verskillende Afrikatale 'n aanduiding gee van hoe die delicate balans tussen effektiwiteit en redelikheid in stand gehou word. Die studie kan ook uitgebrei word deur die samestelling van strategiese manewrering in presidensiële veldtog toesprake wat monologies is, met die dialektiese profiele.

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TABLE OF CONTENT

STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN THE 2015 TANZANIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN SPEECHES: A PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL PERSPECTIVE	1
DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT	ii
OPSOMMING	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENT	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xviii
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 PURPOSE AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY	1
1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY	5
1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	6
1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS	6
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	7
1.7 PROBLEM STATEMENT.....	7
1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	8
1.8.1 Data gathering methods	8
1.8.2 Data analysis methods	10
1.8.3 Challenges and solutions to the study.....	11
1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY	11

CHAPTER TWO	13
POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A FIELD OF STUDY	13
2.1 INTRODUCTION	13
2.2 OVERVIEW OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND CONTEXT.....	13
2.2.1 Approaches to discourse analysis	15
2.2.2 Coherence and cohesion in political discourse	15
2.3 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA).....	16
2.3.1 Principles of critical discourse analysis	17
2.3.2 Stages in analysing critical discourse analysis	18
2.3.3 Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA)	19
2.4 POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS.....	20
2.4.1 Overview of political discourse analysis	20
2.4.2 Characteristics and means of political argumentation	22
2.4.3 Rhetoric and stylistics in political discourse	22
2.4.4 Strategic maneuvering in political discourse	28
2.4.5 Strategic maneuvering in pre-election presidential campaigns	28
2.4.6 Strategic maneuvering in parliamentary discourse.....	32
2.5 FAIR AND UNFAIR STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN PUBLIC CONTROVERSY	32
2.6 SUMMARY.....	33
CHAPTER THREE	34
THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ARGUMENTATION THEORY.....	34
3.1 INTRODUCTION	34
3.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ARGUMENTATION THEORY	34
3.3 KEY THEORETICAL CONCEPTS IN THE PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL THEORY	35

3.4	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE	48
3.5	AIMING FOR EFFECTIVENESS AND REASONABLENESS IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE	49
3.6	CONCEPTS RELATED TO ARGUMENTATION AND LOGIC	51
3.7	RHETORIC AND DIALECTIC IN THE EXTENDED-PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL PERSPECTIVE	52
3.8	ASYMMETRICAL SETTING AND INSTITUTIONAL PRECONDITIONS IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE	53
3.9	PROTOTYPICAL ARGUMENTATIVE PATTERNS	55
3.10	SPEECH ACTS IN THE EXTENDED PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL PERSPECTIVE 58	
3.11	APPRAISAL THEORY IN THE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE	60
3.11.1	Attitude-the activation of positive or negative positioning	60
3.11.2	Modes of activation	60
3.11.3	Typological criteria	60
3.12	CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS IN THE APPLICATION OF PRAGMA- DIALECTICS	61
3.13	STRUCTURAL MODEL OF DATA ANALYSIS	63
3.14	Summary of the chapter	64
	CHAPTER FOUR.....	65
	STRATEGIC MANEUVRING BY GOVERNMENT ORIENTED CANDIDATE, PARTY MEMBERS AND CAMPAIGN TEAM MEMBERS IN THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF CCM.....	65
4.1	INTRODUCTION	65
4.2	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON SOCIAL SERVICES	66
4.2.1	Improvement of water supply	67
4.2.2	Facilitation of primary and secondary school education	71

4.2.3	Facilitation of higher education	77
4.2.4	Health services.....	81
4.3	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CORRUPTION CONTROL	86
4.3.1	Corruption control in public offices	87
4.3.2	Corruption control in the natural resources sector.....	92
4.4	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON MINERAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT	96
4.4.1	Management of the Tanzanite mining projects	96
4.5	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL SECTOR	102
4.6	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN THE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON THE ROAD INFRASTRUCTURAL SECTOR.....	107
4.7	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON RELIABILITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES	112
4.7.1	Views of politicians on constitutional reforms.....	112
4.7.2	Strengths of the incumbent party, CCM.....	117
4.7.3	Qualifications of presidential candidates.....	124
4.7.4	Qualities of party policies and manifestos.....	132
4.7.5	Selfishness and political immaturity.....	138
4.7.6	Commemoration of liberation parties	142
4.7.7	Photoshopped opposition party rallies.....	149
4.8	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON DEVELOPMENT TRANSFORMATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE	154
4.8.1	Power separation and good governance	154
4.8.2	Development without regard to party affiliations and ethnicity	158
4.9	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON PEACE, UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT	164

4.9.1 Peace and unity	164
4.9.2 Development and national unity	170
4.10 SUMMARY	175
CHAPTER FIVE	176
STRATEGIC MANEUVERING BY OPPOSITION ORIENTED CANDIDATE, PARTY MEMBERS AND CAMPAIGN TEAM MEMBERS IN THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF CHADEMA/UKAWA	176
5.1 INTRODUCTION	176
5.2 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON SOCIAL SERVICES	178
5.2.1 Free education.....	178
5.2.2 Improving health services.....	184
5.3 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN THE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON REHABILITATING AIR TANZANIA INFRASTRUCTURE.....	188
5.4 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON DEVELOPMENT TRANSFORMATION	191
5.4.1 Commemorating Mwalimu Nyerere’s comment on development outside the CCM	191
5.4.2 Criteria for development transformations.....	198
5.5 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON GENDER EQUALITY	203
5.5.1 Women marginalisation.....	203
5.5.2 Gender balance in politics	208
5.5.3 Strategic maneuvering on women dignity	212
5.6 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON GOOD GOVERNANCE	217
5.6.1 Observing human rights.....	217

5.7	STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON RELIABILITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES	221
5.7.1	Need for a new constitution	221
5.7.2	Double standards of CCM in peacekeeping during campaigns	227
5.7.3	Double standard on the personality of Lowassa	233
5.7.4	CCM members contradictions in executing multiparty democracy	238
5.7.5	Health issues of presidential candidates	246
5.7.6	False accusations on opposition party rallies	252
5.7.7	Inclusiveness and clarity of the opposition party camp (CHADEMA/UKAWA) ..	258
5.7.8	Economic status of presidential candidates and good leadership	263
5.7.9	Research findings indicating qualification of Lowassa	268
5.7.10	Strength and wisdom of political party members	274
5.7.11	Unity, language usage and beliefs of political party members	281
5.8	SUMMARY	287
	CHAPTER SIX	288
	COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF STRATEGIC MANEUVERING BETWEEN CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA IN MAINTAINING EFFECTIVENESS AND REASONABLENESS IN CROSSCUTTING THEMES IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN SPEECHES	288
6.1	INTRODUCTION	288
6.2	RECONSTRUCTED ARGUMENTATION STRUCTURES ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES	290
6.2.1	Reconstructed argumentation structure on views of CCM supporter on CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidates' identities	290
6.2.2	Reconstructed argumentation structure on views of CHADEMA/UKAWA supporter on CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidates' identities	296
6.2.3	Merged reconstructed dialectical profile of CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM on CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential candidates' identities	300

6.3	ARGUMENTATION SCHEMES AND PROTOTYPICAL ARGUMENTATIVE PATTERNS ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES.....	303
6.4	ANALYSIS OF TOPICAL POTENTIAL, AUDIENCE DEMAND, PRESENTATIONAL DEVICES, AND APPRAISAL ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES IN DELIBERATIVE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE.....	304
6.5	ASYMMETRICAL SETTINGS AND INSTITUTIONAL PRECONDITIONS DURING CAMPAIGNS ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES IN DELIBERATIVE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE.....	308
6.6	SUCCESSFUL OBSERVATION OF RULES FOR CRITICAL DISCUSSION ON CHADEMA/UKAWA AND CCM PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES	310
6.7	DERAILMENTS OF CRITICAL DISCUSSION RULES ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES.....	311
6.8	MAINTAINING EFFECTIVENESS AND REASONABLENESS ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES.....	312
6.9	SUMMARY.....	313
	CHAPTER SEVEN.....	317
	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	317
7.1	INTRODUCTION	317
7.2	SUMMARY OF THE STUDY	318
7.3	RESEARCH FINDINGS.....	321
7.4	AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	322
7.5	CONCLUSION.....	323
	REFERENCES.....	325
	APPENDIX.....	336

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1:	Causal relation argumentation schemes	47
Table 3.2:	Symptomatic argumentation scheme	47
Table 3.3:	Argumentation based on analogy	48

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: Single argumentation structure.....	44
Figure 3.2: Multiple argumentation structure	45
Figure 3.3: Coordinative argumentation structure	45
Figure 3.4: Subordinative argumentation structure	46
Figure 3.5: Schematic representation of the six dimensions in maintaining a delicate balance between reasonableness and effectiveness in argumentative discourse	64
Figure 4.1: Reconstructed argumentation structure on water supply	68
Figure 4.2: Reconstructed argumentation structure on primary and secondary school education	73
Figure 4.3: Reconstructed argumentation structure on facilitation of higher education	78
Figure 4.4: Reconstructed argumentation structure on improving the health sector	83
Figure 4.5: Reconstructed argumentation structure on corruption control in public offices	88
Figure 4.6: Reconstructed argumentation structure on corruption in the natural resources sector	93
Figure 4.7 Reconstructed argumentation structure on need for good supervision of Tanzanite mining projects	98
Figure 4.8: Reconstructed argumentation structure on need for improvement on agricultural sector	103
Figure 4.9: Reconstructed argumentation structure on improvement of road infrastructure across the country	109
Figure 4.10: Reconstructed argumentation structure on views of politicians on constitutional reforms	114
Figure 4.11: Reconstructed argumentation structure on the strengths of the incumbent party, CCM.....	120
Figure 4.12: Reconstructed argumentation structure on qualification of candidates in the 2015 presidential race.....	128
Figure 4.13: Reconstructed argumentation structure on qualities of party policies and manifestos.....	134
Figure 4.14: Reconstructed argumentation structure on selfishness and political immaturity of Sumaye, the former Prime Minister.....	139

Figure 4.15: Reconstructed argumentation structure on commemoration of liberation parties	144
Figure 4.16: Reconstructed argumentation structure on photoshopped opposition party rallies	151
Figure 4.17: Reconstructed argumentation structure on separation of power and good governance	156
Figure 4.18: Reconstructed argumentation structure on development without regard of political party affiliations	161
Figure 4.19: Reconstructed argumentation structure on peace and unity	166
Figure 4.20: Reconstructed argumentation structure on development and national unity ...	172
Figure 5.1: Reconstructed argumemntation structure on free education	181
Figure 5.2: Reconstructed argumentation structure on health services	185
Figure 5.3: Reconstructed argumentation structure on rehabilitating Air Tanzania.....	189
Figure 5.4: Reconstructed argumentation structure on development transformations outside the CCM	194
Figure 5.5: Reconstructed argumentation structure on the meaning of transformations....	200
Figure 5.6: Reconstructed argumentation structure on women marginalisation	205
Figure 5.7: Reconstructed argumentation structure on gender balance in politics	209
Figure 5.8: Reconstructed argumentation structure on unmeasurability of the dignity of a woman	214
Figure 5.9: Reconstructed argumentation structure on need for good governance	218
Figure 5.10: Reconstructed argumentation structure on the need or a new constitution.....	223
Figure 5.11: Reconstructed argumentation structure on contradictions of the government on peace keeping during the general elections	229
Figure 5.12: Reconstructed argumentation structure on Kikwete’s double standardness on Lowassa	235
Figure 5.13: Reconstructed argumentation structure on CCM disbelief in multiparty democracy	241
Figure 5.14: Reconstructed argumentation structure on health issues of presidential candidates	248
Figure 5.15: Reconstructed argumentation structure on photoshopped rallies.....	253
Figure 5.16: Reconstructed argumentation structure on inclusiveness and clarity of CHADEMA/UKAWA manifesto	260

Figure 5.17: Reconstructed argumentation structure on presidential economic status and good leadership	264
Figure 5.18: Reconstructed argumentation structure on research findings showing qualifications of Lowassa.....	270
Figure 5.19: Reconstructed argumentation structure on the strength and wisdom of political party members	277
Figure 5.20: Reconstructed argumentation structure on different perspectives on unity, language use, and beliefs between CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM supporters	283
Figure 6.1: Reconstructed argumentation structure on corruption scandals on Lowassa..	295
Figure 6.2: Reconstructed argumentation structure on false corruption allegations on Lowassa.....	299
Figure 6.3: Merged reconstructed dialectical profile on CHADEMA and CCM presidential candidates' identities	302

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACT	Wazalendo-Alliance for Change and Transparency
ANC	African National Congress
ASP	Afro Shiraz Party
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CHADEMA	Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo
CUF	Civic United Front
DHA	Discourse Historical Approach
H. E.	His Excellency
Hon.	Honourable
K(P)	Kikwete (Protagonist)
Lws	Lowassa
Mgf	Magufuli
NCCR-Mageuzi	National Convention for Construction and Reform
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NLD	National League for Democracy
PM	Prime Minister
REDET	Research and Education for Democracy in Tanzania
S(A)	Sumaye (Antagonist)
TBC	Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation
TEMCO	Tanzania Election Monitoring Committee
TOT	Tanzania One Theatre
UKAWA	Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 PURPOSE AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

The study investigates strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches from the ruling party (CCM) and the opposition party (CHADEMA) assuming the Extended pragma-dialectical theory of argumentative discourse and appraisal perspective. It comprises eight sections. Section 1.1 is devoted to an overall summary of what the chapter is all about. Section 1.2 focuses on the background to the study. Section 1.3 highlights the theoretical perspectives in the study. Sections 1.4 and 1.5 outline research objectives and research questions. Section 1.6 identifies the significance of the study. Section 1.7 presents a problem statement. Section 1.8 elaborates the research methodology. Sub-section 1.8.1 focuses on data gathering methods, sub-section 1.8.2 presents the data analysis methods and sub-section 1.8.3 highlights challenges and solutions to the study. Section 1.9 presents the organisation to the study.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Presidential campaign speeches in the 2015 campaigns in Tanzania reflect the political competition since the adaption of multiparty democracy in 1992. Constitutionally, multiparty democracy in Tanzania commenced on 1st July 1992 (Msekwa, 2006: 1). Before 1992, Tanzania had experienced multiparty democracy, especially with the parties that existed the time of independence. The four political parties that were registered at the time of independence were the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the United Tanganyika Party (UTP), the African National Congress (ANC), and the All-Muslim National Union of Tanganyika (AMNUT) (Msekwa, 2006). Soon after independence, three more parties were registered, namely the People's Convention Party (PCP), the African Independence Movement (AIM), and the People's Democratic Party (PDP) (Msekwa, 2006: 1).

In Zanzibar, at the time of independence in 1963, the registered parties were the Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP), the Zanzibar Nationalist Party (ZNP), the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party (ZPPP), and the UMMA party. Generally, all the pre-independence parties were meant to oppose the colonial administration. In 1957/58, there were general elections under the multi-party-political system of which in most areas TANU's candidates were returned unopposed. Other elections of September 1958 and February 1959 also were won by TANU candidates.

A year before independence in 1960, Tanganyika had the election in 50 constituencies of which out of 71 members, 58 candidates were returned unopposed. Strictly, 50 seats were open to any candidates of any race, but 11 seats were reserved for the Europeans, and 10 seats Asians. Out of 13 seats, TANU won 12 seats, and the other seat was won by an independent candidate who also belonged to TANU. In those places, where the candidates were returned unopposed, the citizens were not allowed to exercise the freedom of casting their votes. Given such a situation, Mwalimu Nyerere suggested a mono-party political system after independence, where two candidates could compete in the election. Secondly, Mwalimu Nyerere wanted to disambiguate the political party affiliation interests over-shining the government. He articulated that if the situation remained in the line of the multi-party-political system but with the National Assembly dominated by one political party, the Tanganyika African National Union, there could be a possibility of TANU members failing to argue strongly because they had to abide by the TANU constitution, policies and interests.

Additionally, he recommended that in young countries like Tanzania that got independence recently, the multi-party-political system would lead to the divisions along lines of regionalism, tribalism, and religious beliefs. According to Msekwa (2006), that was the reason why Nyerere in the 1990s supported the multiparty political system as there was already some promise of operating in the multiparty system. Based on what Nyerere interpreted to be confusing, in 1964, a commission under Rashid Mfaume Kawawa (by then Prime Minister) was formed to inquire from the public what could be done to have a democratic one-party state, especially during election periods. The reason why the commission did not inquire whether to retain the by then political system or to introduce the mono-party one was that TANU had already approved the move at the party level, and the mono-party system was officialised in 1965.

On 27th February 1991, the second phase president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, appointed the then Chief Justice, Justice Francis Nyalali, to chair a Presidential Commission to investigate the possibility of introducing multiparty democracy in Tanzania (Msekwa, 2006: 21). On the 11th of December 1991, the Commission presented an interim report that demonstrated the political system had to change from monoparty to multiparty democracy. On 17th February 1992, the Commission submitted the final report to the President recommending that the first multiparty election would be in 1995 (Msekwa, 2006: 23). After three days, the report on the change to multiparty democracy was first

accepted by Chama cha Mapinduzi on 20th February in 1992 when an extraordinary party meeting was held, and the party directed the government to officialise multiparty democracy by 1st July 1992. The government implemented the recommendations accordingly. For 30 years, from 1965 to 1995, Tanzania conducted parliamentary and presidential elections under a single party rule (Mwase & Raphael, 1997: 149).

With a different view on the procedure for introducing multiparty democracy in Tanzania, Maliyamkono (1995: 23) argues that, apart from 80% of the people in the Nyalali report not supporting the multiparty political system, the then CCM chairperson, Mwalimu Nyerere, intervened and recommended multiparty democracy. Basically, the interpretation was that Nyerere did so to match with the world political trend of multiparty democracy. During that time, neighbouring countries, such as Zambia and Kenya, were facing challenges because of the monoparty political systems (Maliyamkono, 1995: 24). Internally, there were human rights groups supporting multiparty democracy as one of the criteria for observing human rights (Maliyamkono, 1995). These were some of the circumstances that led to the formation of new parties in Tanzania after the Political Parties Act in July 1992 (Maliyamkono, 1995: 24; Msekwa, 2006: 20). Given the ideology of socialism and self-reliance of 1967, ties of religion, tribe, gender or race was legally not allowed for the registration of new political parties (Maliyamkono, 1995: 24).

In the linguistic perspective, although Tanzania is a multilingual country, the appreciation of African languages other than Kiswahili is questionable. According to the Languages of Tanzania Project (LoT, 2009: 3) there are around 150 languages spoken in Tanzania. Apart from the status Kiswahili has, Kisukuma ranks first with estimation of 5,195,504 speakers followed by the national language, Kiswahili with an estimation of 2,379,294 speakers. This phenomenon provides the ground for investigating the complexity of language policy in Tanzania. It further questions the rationale of legalising Kiswahili as the only official language allowed in campaigns. Other languages can be used subject to interpretation regardless of the unnecessary context where the audience understands the ethnic community language better than the interpreted version in Kiswahili. According to the general election bylaws, only Kiswahili is allowed in the general election campaigns (Tume ya taifa ya uchaguzi, 2015: 5).

At this point, from the linguistic point of view, the general election by laws regarding languages are redundant and need be amended. It may be because of Nyerere's legacy of

unity but that should not be an excuse. What might work logically is conducting research on areas where languages other than Kiswahili are understood better to enable the effective communication. Given the context of Tanzania reflected in the ideology of socialism, this move, because of research back up, may not be interpreted as tribalism or regionalism in the country. Thus, Kiswahili is used as political symbolism.

With respect to multilingualism, Brock-Utne and Qorro (2015: 19) demonstrate that Kiswahili is the lingua franca with an estimation of 95% speakers in the whole population of Tanzania. As an official language, it is used together with English, the language spoken by the estimation of 5% of the Tanzanian population. The power Kiswahili has over other ethnic community languages is rooted deep before and after independence. The Germans thought Tanganyikans could not understand learning in English, they thus capitalised on the Kiswahili language (Brock-Utne & Qorro, 2015).

In respect to previous literature, there is a considerable number of studies on strategic maneuvering in different discourses such as politics, medicine, and legal discourse contexts (Ieţcu-Fairclough, 2008; Walton, Reed & Macagno, 2008; Morris & Johnson, 2011a; Cabrejas-peñuelas & Díez-prados, 2014). The current study is delimited to political discourse, specifically to presidential election campaign speeches. To achieve political goals in pre-election campaigns, politicians regard their own parties to be better than others and more honest, and they question the capability of other parties (Andone, 2005: 2; Morris & Johnson, 2011a: 288; Cabrejas-peñuelas & Díez-prados, 2014: 180). Therefore, arguers strategically maneuver if they maintain reasonableness and effectiveness in their argumentative moves (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). In Tanzanian politics, in the parliamentary discourse, strategic maneuvering is a common phenomenon. Parliamentarians persuade one another in defending standpoints raised during parliamentary sessions (Nyanda, 2016; Rutechura, 2018). Even though literature demonstrates that a study has been conducted on Kiswahili vis-à-vis pragma-dialects, such a context is different from the presidential campaign speeches. The former is regulated, and the physical audience can be determined, the latter, though has regulations, because of an undetermined type of the audience, employs different strategies to accommodate the heterogeneous audience in maximising the number of the potential electorate.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The study employs two theories mainly the extended pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation in investigating how, in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential campaign speeches, campaigners strategically maneuver in a deliberative argumentative discourse. Appraisal theory is slightly mentioned when a need arises, especially the attitudinal perspectives that are not covered in the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation. The Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation has gained momentum after many studies since the 1970s, conducted by scholars in this field (Van Eemeren, 2015a: 2). It started with the aim of developing tools adequate for enhancing the quality of the ways in which people justify their views, analysing, and critically reviewing the justifications of the views they encounter. Pragmatic insights and dialectical insights were observed in early versions of the theory (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984). It has excelled through different stages such as identifying argumentation structures and schemes, unexpressed premises, rules of critical discussion, fallacies in the argumentative discourse, strategic maneuvering, and currently argumentation theory focusses on argumentative patterns in discourse (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992a; Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002; Van Eemeren, Houtlosser & Henkemans, 2007; Van Eemeren, Garssen, Krabbe, Henkemans, Verheij, *et al.*, 2014; Van Eemeren, 2017a).

Secondly, the study employs the Appraisal theory (Iedema, Feez & White, 1994; Martin & White, 2005). Given the nature of the campaign speeches communicative activity type in Tanzania, the judgemental language is revealed among political campaigners as a way of disqualifying the opponent, and thus positively self-evaluating to attract potential electorate. Appraisal theory focusses on the language of evaluation (White, 2011). It explains the attitudinal tendencies that are demonstrated by language users in formal and ordinary interactions. The three attitudinal tendencies are a judgment which deals with evaluating people, things or situations positively or negatively. Secondly, affect deals with issues of feelings or emotions articulated in each communicative activity type, such as the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches. The third category, appreciation, focusses on values of people, things or situation particularly the aesthetic ones (White, 2011).

The perspectives of the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation are applicable in answering questions related to the study such as argumentation structures and schemes, means of strategic maneuvering, rules for critical discussion, fallacies committed in the course of defending or refuting a standpoint, reasonableness and effectiveness in the

argumentative discourse. Moreover, appraisal perspectives are reflected in the means of strategic maneuvering. Arguers in political discourse evaluate themselves positively and evaluate their opponents negatively (Partington & Taylor, 2018).

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The proposed study on strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches aims to

- i. identify types of argumentation structures in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili;
- ii. analyse the argumentation schemes in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili;
- iii. analyse how topical potential, adaptation to audience demand and presentational devices are utilised in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili;
- iv. evaluate the success of the observation of critical discussion rules in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili;
- v. identify the derailments of the critical discussion rules in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili; and
- vi. evaluate to what extent effectiveness and reasonableness are maintained in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Six research questions guide this study.

- i. What types of argumentation structures are employed in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili?
- ii. What types of argumentation schemes are employed in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili?

- iii. How are topical potential, adaptation to audience demand and presentational devices utilised in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili?
- iv. What rules of the critical discussion are observed in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili?
- v. What rules of the critical discussion are derailed in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili?
- vi. To what extent effectiveness and reasonableness are maintained in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili?

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study adds to the already existing knowledge in political discourse, the possibility of employing the extended pragma-dialectical perspective of argumentation and the appraisal perspective in analysing speeches conducted in African languages. The contribution of this study is notable given the uniqueness of the Tanzanian context where Kiswahili is the only African language allowed in the general election campaign speeches, even though the country is multilingual, comprising around 150 African languages. Kiswahili embeds unity and struggle for independence. Thus, the study helps to understand how presidential candidates and campaigners balance the institutional preconditions and persuasion in the argumentative discourse.

1.7 PROBLEM STATEMENT

This study, that adopts the framework of the extended Pragma-dialectical perspective, investigates strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches in the context where Kiswahili is used as the medium of communication. Before and after independence, Kiswahili has been a symbol of independence and unity in the Tanzanian context. The first president of Tanzania, the late Mwalimu Nyerere, emphasised on the use of Kiswahili as a symbol of decolonising Tanzania from using the colonial languages mainly English (Blommaert, 2014). Before independence, English was the only language of power that leaders and other civil servants had to master or at least know to serve

public offices. With the ideology of socialism and self-reliance, Kiswahili is reflected as one of the determining factors in shaping Tanzanian politics. For example, Kiswahili embeds how people should treat one another for the betterment of the state (Blommaert, 2014). In parallel with Kiswahili, socialism determines how challenging it is for developing countries to tamper with the already established system. Failure to maintain the already established systems, may compromise the initiatives of Mwalimu Nyerere and other presidents since independence (Mwase & Raphael, 1997: 149). All such institutional preconditions shape the way arguers in the general election campaigns utilise Kiswahili in persuading or convincing their potential electorate. Different from other studies where an extended pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation has been applied, for example in Europe, in the United States of America, and in Asian countries, this study applies the extended pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation to the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches that were delivered in Kiswahili. In Tanzania, like in any other country, whether explicitly or implicitly, election campaign speeches aim at winning votes and political support of the electorate. Therefore, apart from reasonable arguments campaigners may have, to achieve political goals, rhetorical devices for the effectiveness of the arguments are of central concern in the political argumentative move.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study systematically examined a full set of speeches at various events in order to identify segments in terms of views of the Extended pragma-dialectical theory. This is why the study decided to examine in detail the CCM and CHADEMA inaugural campaign speeches and some segments of the closing campaigns of CCM. These are not the best, but they exemplified intriguing features in the argumentative discourse. In the study, speeches included are those translated into English for selecting argumentative segments in Chapters Four, Five and Six. Some speeches were published in newspapers during the campaign period from August to October.

1.8.1 Data gathering methods

The study employed purposive sampling to ensure that candidates, political parties, and areas that were competitive during the general election campaigns are included in the study. According to Berg (2001), researchers employ purposive sampling in order to include certain groups of people or elements of certain criteria in the study. Although purposive sampling

faces a challenge of limited generalisability, it provides relevant information to the study (Singh, 2006). The data were collected from the 2015 Tanzanian election campaign speeches of CCM and CHADEMA in two cities namely Dar es Salaam and Mwanza. Tanzania has been selected because little research exists on strategic maneuvering in presidential election campaign speeches in Kiswahili if any. In respect to the two cities, they were among the most competitive areas during the campaigns. Due to that political competition in those areas, the political campaigners selected the two cities, Dar es Salaam and Mwanza, for opening and closing campaign speeches. Moreover, the two political parties, CCM and CHADEMA, were selected because they were the most competitive in the campaigns with popular presidential candidates. The candidate from the incumbent party (CCM) (John Magufuli) served as the Minister of Works from 2010 to 2015, and the opposition party (CHADEMA) candidate (Edward Lowasa) has been a Prime Minister from 2005 to 2008, by then a member of CCM. The researcher selected presidential speeches of 2015 because there were unique circumstances.

The first unique circumstance was the formation of a political alliance, UKAWA (Umoja wa Katiba ya Wananchi), comprising four parties: CHADEMA, NLD, NCCR-Mageuzi, and CUF. The alliance was formed with the aim of collecting public views on the process of making a new constitution and persuade the mass to reject the proposed new constitution, which was favouring the incumbent party (CCM). Because the alliance was unconstitutional, it could not elect the candidate to contest for a presidential post; instead, they selected one presidential candidate from one of the legally registered parties (CHADEMA) to represent the rest of the parties in the 2015 general election. Another unique circumstance was that several CCM cadres including two former prime ministers joined opposition parties, CHADEMA, in particular.

Audio and video recorded campaign speeches were collected from media houses (Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation) and social media sites such as YouTube. Also, party manifestos were collected since campaigners may have the responsibility to defend their manifestos. As a matter of what language is recommended and how to appropriately use it, the election campaign regulations were collected from the Tanzania Electoral Committee Offices.

1.8.2 Data analysis methods

Several scholars have dealt with the methods of discourse analysis in different fields such as linguistics, politics, sociology, law (Paul, 1999; Chilton, 2004; Wodak, 2008; Van Dijk, 2009; Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012; Van Eemeren, 2015b; Van Eemeren & Garssen, 2015).

The data of the study are analysed within the framework of the Pragma-dialectical perspective of argumentation (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). The analysis of the argumentative discourse amounts to interpreting discourse systematically from the theoretical perspective of a critical discussion (Van Eemeren & Garssen, 2015). Such an analysis is pragmatic in the sense that it deals with the exchange of speech acts in context and dialectical in viewing this exchange as a methodical attempt to resolve a difference of opinion on the merits. Given that, in this model, there is pointing out of relevant speech acts in the various stages of the resolution process.

The critical discussion model has the heuristic function of indicating which speech acts need to be considered in the analysis. Moreover, the reconstruction of argumentative discourse are analysed in the Pragma-dialectical perspective (Van Eemeren & Garssen, 2015). The analysis investigates how the Pragma-dialectical perspective of argumentation is realised in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches. The theory is applied to analyse the way candidates and their supporting main speakers in presidential campaign speeches maintain reasonableness and effectiveness in the argumentative discourse (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). The Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation guides the study in analysing the research objectives and in presenting the argumentation structures. The second is the argument scheme rules used to identify and evaluate attempts that infringe the resolution process (Van Eemeren & Garssen, 2015). The third objective is to analyse the three pillars of strategic maneuvering (selection of the topical potential, adapting to the audience demand, and selection of the presentational devices) at every stage of the critical discussion (Van Eemeren & Garssen, 2015).

The theory guides the study in the evaluation of how critical discussion rules are maintained in the argumentative discourse. It also helps to identify derailments of the critical discussion in the argumentative discourse (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). Finally, the theory provides guidance to the researcher to analyse how effectiveness and reasonableness are maintained in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential campaign speeches (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002; Van

Eemeren & Garssen, 2015). Essentially, ideal arguments have logical, rhetorical and dialectical parameters and need to be analysed based on such three parameters (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 12). In the analysis, the study applies the Pragma-dialectical perspective of argumentation given its suitability in providing guidance on how to answer questions that are fundamental to the study.

1.8.3 Challenges and solutions to the study

During the time of data collection, there were two main challenges. First, there were plans of the national demonstrations against the government of the fifth-phase. Secondly, neither of the party headquarters could provide speeches. The reason could be the CCM thought I was doing investigation for the interest of the opposition parties, especially CHADEMA/UKAWA. Likewise, CHADEMA/UKAWA thought I was doing so to benefit the ruling party. More challenging was the condition for declaration in writing that I would not in any case use speeches for political reasons. I had to declare that speeches were entirely meant for the present study. In respect to the second challenge, I had to spend more time on data gathering. Moreover, I had to increase the sample of media houses to collect campaign speeches and offices of political parties to collect party manifestoes and party constitutions.

1.9 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The remaining part of Chapter One introduces the study by outlining different chapters. Chapter Two reviews the literature on political discourse as a field of study and strategic maneuvering in pre-election campaign speeches. Also, concerns of discourse analysis and rhetorical devices are elaborated. It further explains characteristics and means of political argumentation. Chapter Three presents an overview of the Argumentation Theory and how it suits this study. Moreover, the chapter elaborates strategic maneuvering in the argumentative discourse. Chapter Four analyses the strategic maneuvering in government oriented presidential campaign speeches. It focusses on the inaugural CCM presidential campaign speeches delivered on 23rd August 2015 at Jangwani Field in Dar es Salaam. The chapter is devoted to argumentation structures, schemes, means of strategic maneuvering, evaluation of the rules for critical discussion and identification of derailments of the rules for critical discussion effectiveness and reasonableness. Chapter Five analyses the strategic maneuvering in the opposition-oriented presidential campaign speeches. The chapter focusses on the strategic maneuvering in the inaugural CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential campaign

speeches on 29th August 2015 at Jangwani Field in Dar es Salaam. Like Chapter Four, it is also devoted to argumentation structures, schemes, means of strategic maneuvering, evaluation of the rules for critical discussion and identification of derailments of the rules for critical discussion, effectiveness and reasonableness. Chapter Six compares strategic maneuvering in government oriented presidential campaign speeches and strategic maneuvering in opposition-oriented presidential campaign speeches. It examines the possibility to have merged dialectical profiles presented instead of putting two different argumentation structures. Chapter Seven provides a summary of the findings, areas for further research, the recommendations of the study, and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A FIELD OF STUDY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a background on discourse in general and political discourse in the operationalising political genre. The chapter comprises eight main sections.

Section 2.1 introduces the chapter by highlighting what the chapter is all about. Section 2.2 provides an overview of discourse analysis and context. Sub-section 2.2.1 highlights the approaches to discourse analysis. Sub-section 2.2.2 is devoted to coherence and cohesion in political discourse. Section 2.3 explains what Critical Discourse Analysis entails. Sub-section 2.3.1 identifies principles of critical discourse analysis. Sub-section 2.3.2 enumerates stages for analysing Critical Discourse Analysis. Sub-section 2.3.3 elaborates Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA). Section 2.4 explains political discourse analysis. Sub-section 2.4.1 elaborates concepts of political discourse analysis. Sub-section 2.4.2 articulates characteristics and means of political argumentation. Sub-section 2.4.3 investigates rhetoric and stylistics in political discourse analysis. Sub-section 2.4.4 examines strategic maneuvering in political discourse. Sub-section 2.4.5 explains strategic maneuvering in pre-election presidential campaigns. Sub-section 2.4.6 examines strategic maneuvering in parliamentary discourse. Section 2.5 investigates fair and unfair strategic maneuvering in public controversy. Section 2.6 provides a summary of the literature review on political discourse analysis as a field of study.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND CONTEXT

According to Paul (1999: 7) discourse analysis with a capital ‘D’ refers to a particular field where a language is used, and discourse with a small ‘d’ means how language is used in a certain field. The term “discourse” with small ‘d’ signals a particular view of language in use (Fairclough, 2003: 3). Therefore, the two are inseparable, they work together. Jones (2012: 2) refers to discourse analysis as a way of looking at language use in real life. In a broad perspective, discourse is construed as any form of language use as (written) text or (spoken) text talk-in-interaction, in semiotic sense, including visual structures, such as layout, letter type or pictures for written or printed text, and gestures, face work and other semiotic signs

for spoken interaction (Van Dijk, 2008: 116). In this sense, discourse may include combinations of sounds and visuals in many hybrid multimedia discourses, such as in movies, television, cell phones, the internet and other channels as well as carriers of communication.

According to Paltridge (2012: 2), discourse analysis examines patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the socio-cultural contexts in which it is used. It also considers ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants and the effects the use of language has on social identities and relations. Moreover, it considers how views of the world and identities are constructed using discourse.

Context refers to a representation of a whole communicative episode, including the communicative event (text, talk) itself, or as a representation merely of the relevant social environment of such an event (Van Dijk, 2008: 117). Making emphasis on what influences context among language users, Van Dijk (2008: 120) argues that it is not only a society nor a social structure, but social members' representations or constructions of such social structure and social situations. This is what is construed as a socio-cognitive approach (Van Dijk, 2008: 120). In the analysis of Tony Blair's speech, Van Dijk (2008: 122) outlines context models in socio-cognitive perspective, which include personal identity (for instance, Tony Blair), national identity (British), setting (time, place, particular location), communicative identity (speaker), political identity (leader of Labour Party), the purpose of the speech etc. All these monitor the appropriateness of the speech in the socio-cognitive perspective. The list of properties mentioned is regarded as the plausible context of context model in which features such as deictic expressions (we, you, I), forms of address (honourable), lexical choice, and persuasive devices are considered (Van Dijk, 2008: 122). A challenge that Van Dijk (2008: 123) admits being complex is that, in a speaker's context model, some properties in the mental processing may take place unconsciously or without a speaker's cognitive attention.

In the theory of context, there are numerous tenets (Van Dijk, 2008). The tenets can specifically assist in interpreting theories of language, discourse, cognition, interaction, society, politics and culture. The tenets include: contexts are subjective participant constructs; contexts are unique experiences; contexts are mental models; contexts are a specific type of

experience model; context models are schematic; contexts control discourse production and comprehension; contexts are socially based; contexts are dynamic; contexts are often, and largely planned. With respect to socio-cognitive interface in influencing talk, features of the social situation do not directly “influence” discourse at all; there is no direct causal or another conditional link between, say, social class and the way words are produced or topics selected in a conversation (Van Dijk, 2008: 119). The construed perspective is that it is the definition, interpretation, representation or construction of participants of their social situation, in terms of subjective context models, that influences how they speak, write, read, listen and understand (Van Dijk, 2008: 119).

2.2.1 Approaches to discourse analysis

According to Jones (2012), there are three different ways of viewing discourse. It can be formal in the sense that analysis deals with the way sounds form words, words form phrases, phrases form clauses or sentences etc. It is also referred to as language above the clause. The functional approach deals with language in use in a context. For instance, warnings are different from requests. The last one is a social approach which focusses on how societies construct realities and identities (Jones, 2012: 36). According to Schiffrin (1994), approaches to discourse analysis include speech act theory, interactional social linguistics, ethnography of communication, pragmatics, conversation analysis, and variation analysis. Other views of discourse analysis include discourse as the social construction of reality, discourse and socially situated identities, discourse and performance, and discourse and intertextuality (Paltridge, 2012: 6–12). Properties of discourse analysis include discourse as social interaction, discourse as power and domination, discourse as communication, discourse as contextually situated, discourse as social semiosis, discourse as natural language use, discourse as complex, layered construct, sequences and hierarchies, abstract structures versus dynamic strategies, and types or genres (Van Dijk, 2011: 3–5).

2.2.2 Coherence and cohesion in political discourse

In regard to comprehending a text, Charteris-Black (2014a: 55) focuses on the importance of coherence, defining it as the impression a text leaves of being unified in some way – but not through explicit cohesive relations; it arises when a hearer or reader understands the writer’s communicative purpose, as a result of shared background knowledge of the world or frames of reference. In the case of oratory, coherence is the understanding that arises when there is a

convergence between the audience's and the speaker's knowledge of the world (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 55). Discussing a political speech of Kennedy in the United States after the Second World War, Charteris-Black states the speech was delivered through accommodation of national audience and international audience. The situation obtaining was dominated by a struggle between two super economic powers, namely the USA and the Soviet Union struggling to get alliance from the colonised governments which by then were struggling for independence, and European countries were in the economic repair of the Second World War. Thus, understanding Kennedy's speech needs some background on why he delivered his speech accommodating not only the USA but also other countries. Specifically, this is what coherence does in spoken or written texts.

In regard to the cognitive perspective, Charteris-Black (2014a: 56–57) comments that construed meaning from speeches (in a case of oratory) gets support because of the assumptions and background knowledge of the speaker and audience, a notion that Van Dijk (2008) supports. Cohesion focuses on the grammatical and lexical items that enable the reader understand parts of the text, for instance, from sentences to paragraphs (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 57–58). Contrasted from coherence, cohesion does not involve cognitive and schematic notions in enabling the reader understand the text in the same capacity as coherence does (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 58). Viewing it differently, Jones (2012: 38–39) explores the mental involvement in connecting what grammatical items refer to in relation to cohesion in the text. Coherence focusses on the framework or set of expectations the reader has and those from the text in interpreting discourse. Basically, coherence provides a purpose a writer or a speaker has to readers or listeners.

2.3 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

According to Charteris-Black (2014a: 83), critical discourse analysts believe that language is crucial in determining power relations. Therefore, critical discourse analysis focusses on how language is used in the abuse of social power by a social group. The basic question critical discourse analysts ask is that of all possible language uses, why one particular language feature is chosen from an almost unlimited range of options and the effect of that feature on social relations (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 84). In this line of thinking, critical discourse analysis is concerned with interpreting contextually how dominant groups use language to maintain power in the social group. Critical discourse analysis investigates ways in which language constructs, and it is constructed by social relations (Paltridge, 2012: 186).

2.3.1 Principles of critical discourse analysis

Van Dijk (1993: 249–250), in explaining how inequality is exercised in the community, he defines dominance as follows:

“the exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequality”.

Given the definition of dominance, Van Dijk (1993) asserts that society operates on the basis of dominating and being dominated, and there are discourse strategies that engineer the power relations. The scholar, thus, evaluates how discourse structures such as direct commands and warnings determine power structures. More importantly, even rhetorical strategies may be predominantly instrumental in evading direct demonstration of dominance by concealing power under the pretext of artistic use of language (Van Dijk, 1993: 250).

There are eight principles of CDA (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 271–281). These principles are a useful starting point for researchers interested in conducting CDA.

In respect to the first principle, CDA addresses social problems. It makes inexplicit social problems explicit to enable an ordinary person to realise the hegemony demonstrated by the dominant groups. Focussing on the second principle, power relations are discursive; CDA elaborates how power relations are exercised and negotiated. For instance, an issue of power relations between media and politics on whether in broad terms mediatized political discourse is the domination of the media over politicians or the exploitation of the media by politicians. More importantly, discursive practices of power relations are not fixed but keep on changing as those in power try to keep the status quo whereas the dominated group tries to question the hegemony of the dominant group like politicians. The third principle is that discourse constitutes society and culture. Every instance of language makes its own small contribution to reproducing and/or transforming society and culture, including power relations.

Discourse does ideological work. Through discourse, certain ideologies are created and sustained. An ideology can be defined as a way of representing and constructing a society which reproduces unequal relation of power, relations of domination and exploitation. For example, through texts and talks, women are portrayed as less emotionally stable than men. Discourse is historical while the context is a necessary factor from which discourse is produced. Therefore, background knowledge determines how an interpretation of a text is made.

The link between the text and society is mediated. Mass media have a central role in how society interprets the text. Influence of mass media has an impact on both speakers/or writers and hearers/listeners or readers. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory. There are different ways of interpreting text depending on what favours the reader in relation to what the text producer believes to be true or wrong. Issues of attitudes and party affiliations are manifested in the political discourse.

Discourse is a form of social action. It means scholars of critical discourse analysis are expected to react in a way that they go against any form of manipulations through language use, for instance, comments by politicians.

Critical discourse analysis is not all about what is right or wrong, but it should try to make choices at each point in the research itself and should make these choices transparent. Moreover, there should be theoretical justifications clarifying why certain interpretations of discursive events seem more valid than others (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 65).

2.3.2 Stages in analysing critical discourse analysis

There are three stages in analysing critical discourse analysis. The first one is speech circumstances, a term preferred by Charteris-Black (2014a: 86) instead of contexts. These are the situations in which a speech was given, the cognitive states of the speaker and audience, the processes through which a speech was generated, and those involved in its delivery. From such speech circumstances, appropriate interpretation of speeches can be analysed. The first stage comprises three key issues. Situational circumstances focus on speech setting of the speaker, the location where a speech takes place, the date, and the audience. Cognitive circumstances deal with the background knowledge, including the beliefs, assumptions, and purpose of the speaker and audience, as well as the interaction between the speaker and audience's beliefs, assumptions, and purpose. Apart from situational circumstances and cognitive circumstances, process circumstances involve a writer, an author and the speaker in relation to a given social context. The second is the identification and analysis of features. As language comprises interlinking systems, at this stage, a critical discourse analyst has a role to identify smaller units at the word level (diction); secondly, large units such as sentence patterns are observed. Stylistic features such as metaphors cut across the whole speech from the beginning up to the end in a critical perspective, where such features are not construed as common sense (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 89). With respect to

performance and delivery, features such as bodily appearance, body movements, prosodic features, use of technology, or notes are identified. The third stage is the interpretation and explanation. This stage seeks to make clear how the social world is comprehended by combining cognitive circumstances and social circumstances (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 91). This notion of cognition finds support from (Van Dijk, 2008). At this stage, an analysis of persuasive strategies in the speech is interpreted in the sense of speaker's and audience's social world, as well as their background knowledge, popularly known as socio-cognitive circumstances (Van Dijk, 2008; Charteris-Black, 2014a). With social cognition, a speaker says what they believe the audience wants to hear. Given this audience monitored circumstances, persuasion becomes a necessary tool in speech delivery (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 92).

2.3.3 Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA)

This is a perspective of critical discourse analysis which embeds the communicative situation in the historical, social, political relations (Wodak, 2002). The discourse historical approach does not only rely on the text but on fieldwork and ethnography to contextualise discourse (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009). Power relations are basically established by discourse, and through the DHA, power relations can be challenged as the method goes beyond the text (Charteris-Black, 2014b: 123). Discourse historical approach analyses spoken and written texts utilising multiple disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, and history to minimise changes of bias (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Power relations are predominantly reflected in political contexts, though this does not mean or imply in other fields; for instance, religion power relations are balanced. Thus, whether in a political context or not, the DHA as a critical discourse approach is appropriate in investigating how language contributes to discursive strategies (Charteris-Black, 2014b: 123). Charteris-Black (2014a: 128) defines a strategy as a plan of practice consciously adopted to achieve a certain political, social or psychological aim. Making a critical comment on DHA by Wodak and Meyer (2001), a word strategy is used when there should be an intentional and conscious language use; otherwise, it is inappropriately construed (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 128).

2.4 POLITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Political discourse is a wide field that embeds several fields in the society.

2.4.1 Overview of political discourse analysis

According to Paul (1999: 2), politics is anything and any place where human social interactions and relationships have implications for how social goods ought to be distributed. Social goods may mean money, power, status, etc., that seem to be of value in society, (Paul, 1999: 2). With reference to this study, Tanzanian election campaign speeches have a direct connection with how the distribution of the national income is done among the citizens. The distribution sounds general, but, in a more concrete language, it refers to which party should lead the government for the duration of one term before the next general elections in 2020. Politics is a broad term which can be defined in relation to two strands. The first view as a struggle to maintain power for incumbents those who seek to resist it. The second view is when it is taken as a corporation or institution of a society meant to resolve opposing interests concerning money, liberty, and the like (Chilton, 2004: 3).

Political discourse as a linguistic field of study originates from a broad field of politics, mainly incorporating language as a means of communication. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 1) argue that political discourse is primarily a form of argument that specifically deals with practical argumentation. Given different alternatives, there are reasons for or against certain arguments that allow those involved in political discourse to transverse over several political possibilities, for instance policies (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 1). These scholars suggest that even though an entire political discourse does not necessarily rely on practical argumentation, it mostly incorporates elements of practical argumentation because of the underlying nature of competition in politics. Regardless of the context, political discourse and language work together (Chilton & Schaffner, 2002; Fetzer, 2013). Language is a means of communication in both micro and macro-politics (Fetzer, 2013). Political discourse has become a prime area for pragmatic analysis (Fetzer, 2013: 2). It has also become a complex phenomenon, accommodating professional and non-professional political actors from other fields such as psychology, pragmatics, and sociology (Fetzer, 2013: 2). The complexity is centred on what is intended and what is achieved as an effect to the hearer. Chilton and Schaffner (2002) differentiate an intention from the achieved effect, and Searle (1979a) describes the felicity conditions that both a speaker and hearer must comply with for

effective communication to take place. The challenge of what is intended and what is achieved faces studies of political discourse that apply machine based interpretation like that of Gryc and Moilanen (2014: 50) as machines however sophisticated may not match with social dynamics.

A task of political discourse analysis is to relate linguistic behaviour to politics or political behaviour (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997). A problem arising from this approach is that what is political depends on the standpoint of a commentator. Owing to difficulties in distinguishing what political actions are, compared to non-political ones, Chilton and Schaffner (1997: 211–214) refer political actions to those which involve power or its inverse resistance. A second problem is that multiplicity of acts that are performed through language (that is discourse), can be interpreted as serving many different purposes, and not necessarily political, but can be heuristic and informative. As a solution to the second problem, Chilton and Schaffner (1997) link political situations and processes to discourse types and levels of discourse organisation by way of intermediate level referred to as strategic functions. A notion of strategic functions is applied to enable analysts of text and talk to focus on details that contribute to the phenomena which people intuitively directly connect to political powers. Firstly, the strategic functions are coercion, which refers to speech acts backed up by legal and physical sanctions and any other forms of commands. Secondly, resistance, opposition, and protest by those who feel coercion acts upon, thus used as self-protecting from suppression. Slogans, appeals, and rallies are some of the linguistic structures used in this context. The third strategic function is dissimulation which focusses on how those with political power control information or discourse. Furthermore, deprivation of information to people is reflected in dissimulation. The last one is legitimatisation and delegitimization. The former concerns with justifications of what politicians can do, and the latter focus of what those without power cannot do (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997). All this is to do with power relations in the political discourse perspective mainly studied from an approach of the CDA (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

Even though politicians may not directly acknowledge language in their activities (Chilton, 2004: 9), political parties and government agencies have publicists who design and monitor wordings and phrasings as a way of responding to challenges and potential challenges. In the perspective of speech acts (Mey, 2001), through language tied to social and political

institutions, one is able to declare war, declare guilty or not guilty, and raise tax or lower tax (Chilton, 2004).

2.4.2 Characteristics and means of political argumentation

Political argumentation is a complex phenomenon in terms of accommodating the audience in relation to standpoints in an argumentation. As Zarefsky (2008: 318–322) presents, there are different characteristics of political argumentation. The first is the lack of limits. This happens in debates where time limits are provided, for instance, 90 minutes in the case of the United States of American 2008 pre-election debates. The argument was about health care, but such related arguments had for 60 years become common phenomena (Zarefsky, 2008: 318–322). The second characteristic is the lack of clear terminus, whereby one cannot be sure whether the argument has been settled or not. The third characteristic is the heterogeneous audience. The audience in the political argumentation includes different people with different political affiliations, making a political situation more difficult especially when arguers think of making certain comments. The fourth characteristic of political argumentation is the open access. Less sophisticated arguers may accommodate this situation, but the sophisticated arguers may find some trouble on accommodating the audience as they may use technical terms with the aim of clarifying their points (Zarefsky, 2008: 318–322). This implies that many politicians strategically maneuver in pre-election campaigns.

2.4.3 Rhetoric and stylistics in political discourse

Different forms of achieving political goals may be employed in the political context, but it is necessary for political discourse analysts to comprehend what is rhetoric and what seems like rhetoric, but it is not, for instance manipulation and propaganda.

In a manipulative move, a manipulator controls the manipulated. There are five conditions of manipulation; search for a solution involves someone showing an interest in getting what they want to be done. Manipulators take advantage of searchers of solutions. Secondly, time sensitivity focusses on allowing a manipulator to realise that time need be considered when one needs something, for instance at a shop. Thirdly, the potential for loss engages a manipulator to understand that the one being manipulated does not have enough information and thus depends on the manipulator. If the one entirely demonstrates dependency on the manipulator, the potential loss is likely to happen. The fourth condition of manipulation is encountering with a benevolent authority which occurs when the manipulator understands the

real needs of the one manipulated. Finally, there is a condition of fully committed where the manipulated gets committed in the line of the manipulator (Lakhani, 2005: 3–5). As Shabo (2008: 1) puts it, manipulation can be realised through propaganda.

According to Shabo (2008: 3) propaganda refers to a persuasive widespread message designed to represent the interests of a particular group, mainly bypassing logic through faulty reasoning and emotional support as a differentiating aspect from other techniques of mass communication. It has a strong ideological bent; it involves mass persuasion; and it relies on ethically suspect methods of influence (Gass & Seiter, 2011: 13–14). Shabo (2008) highlights different types of propaganda techniques. Assertion states a debatable idea with no qualification or explanation. Bandwagon focusses on the majority group in a way that one feels as social misfit without being associated in any way. Card stacking is the technique in which a propagandist gives an unfair advantage to one point of view while weakening another. Glittering generality is a colourful term for appealing, but vague words that often appear in propaganda. False dilemma reduces a complex argument to a small number of alternatives and concluding that only one option is appropriate. The lesser of the two evils presents two bad alternatives but suggesting one to be manageable. Name calling is mainly use of negative words against an opponent. Pinpointing the enemy is the technique of oversimplifying complex problems by pointing out a single cause or a single enemy who can be blamed. Plain folk is the technique of those in higher positions branding themselves to appear and sound like an average person. Testimonials present accepted features of individuals and use them to convince others. Finally, transfer captures the peoples' minds by associating one idea, symbol, or person to another. Propaganda can be applied in desires and fears, for instance the desire for love and fear of rejection, desire for prosperity and fear of powerlessness, the desire for immortality and the fear of death. Positively, propaganda can evoke sympathy and inspire generosity; also, propaganda can promote civic responsibility. Negatively, propaganda can be used to provoke fear and hostility; it can promote discrimination, violence, and property violation; and it can also be used for dehumanisation and violation of human rights. Lastly, the negative use of propaganda is deification whereby a human being is raised as a god (Shabo, 2008).

Related to rhetoric is persuasion. The word 'persuade' means, "to induce to undertake a course of action or embrace a point of view by means of argument, reasoning, or entreaty" (Lakhani, 2005: 1–2). Persuasion refers to one or more persons engaged in an act of creating,

reinforcing, modifying, or extinguishing beliefs, attitudes, intentions, motivations, and/or behaviours within the constraints of a given communication context (Gass & Seiter, 2011: 33).

Rhetoric can be defined as the art of persuasive discourse, whereby discourse refers to a comprehensive term used by modern linguists to denote continuous forms of written and spoken communication (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 1992: 3). The scholars categorise persuasion as either function which deals with the real context of persuading people and focussing on a certain purpose, whereas literary persuasion deals with the imagined situation though it is given a certain context which enables the persuasion to meet its purpose (Cockcroft & Cockcroft, 1992: 4). Also, Charteris-Black (2014b) defines rhetoric as the formal study of persuasion which includes both speech and writing. Oratory is the application of this knowledge specifically to speech making. Rhetoric, since then, in the era of Plato and Aristotle, has had negative connotations. For instance, Plato believed that the role of philosophy was to discover the truth. He, therefore, was against rhetoric because of lacking an aspect of truth (Charteris-Black, 2014b: 4). Aristotle had a different perspective that rhetoric enabled speakers and audiences to debate options (Charteris-Black, 2014b). The scholar identifies three branches of oratory from classical rhetoricians, namely deliberative (delivered to a decision-making body with the general purpose of establishing the benefit or harm that may be expected from a certain course of action, for instance political speeches), forensic speeches (addressed to a court or legal assembly that requires judgements be made about guilt or innocence in relation to past actions, such as a crime), and epideictic (addressed to an audience that is not required to make a decision but is assembled to honour or commemorate a particular individual, or individuals in an event such as death or marriage) (Charteris-Black, 2014b: 6–7). Similarly, Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992) identify that, in Greek city-states (Rome), persuasion aimed at meeting three specific functions namely political debate to enable the acceptability of the public policy, legal or forensic advocacy which was concerned with justice, and demonstrative oratory which had the function of blaming or praising.

The Aristotelian perspective on rhetoric focussed on four stages. The first stage is the prologue (prooimion), which is an introduction stage. It concerns with establishing rapport with the audience. Orators can do so by capitalising on ethical appeals, for instance demonstrating that they are privileged to speak to such an audience. Some orators may use

first person plural ‘we’ as a strategy to make the audience feel some sort of togetherness (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 17). The narrative (*narratio*) is a second stage introducing the frame by outlining central facts about the topic an orator intends to talk about. It differs from the prologue, as the latter is used to establish key information in a way that will provide a springboard for his main argument. The third stage is the proof in which according to Aristotle, there are artistic and unartistic proofs in rhetoric. Aristotle suggests that all three branches of oratory apply artistic proofs in making sure that the speeches are comprehensible in accordance with the intention of the speaker (Charteris-Black, 2014b: 8). The first is ‘ethos’ which deals with speakers’ credibility’. According to Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992: 19), ethos refers to a set of values an individual or a community has, which are reflected in their language, social attitudes, and behaviour. In Aristotle’s perspective, ethos means proof brought about by the character of or virtue of the speaker (revealed in his speech). The term ‘logos’ refers to an aspect of the orator where ideas are acceptable because they are based on arguments grounded in reason (for instance syllogism) and pathos which is meant for arousing emotions. The fourth stage is the refutation at which the orator applies different strategies to argue against their opponents’ opinions. Such strategies may be like using names that will weaken opponents, question the opponents’ credibility, etc. (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 20). Orators may reject what opponents intend to present as arguments in a case where orators have some prior information, for instance, incumbent party candidates in general elections. The final stage is an epilogue at which the orator must apply some skills to make sure that the audience gets the summary of what was spoken about from the beginning up to the end, but in a very skilful way that makes the speech memorable (Charteris-Black, 2014a: 21). Such skills may be realised by the use of stylistic features.

Burke (2014) defines stylistics as the study and analysis of texts, and highlights what Aristotle calls key features of stylistics, namely mimesis (imitation, copying), *catharsis* (cleansing, clearing the way), and plot structure (*hamartia*, *peripeteia*, *anagnorisis*). Plato was against poetry because of its subjectivite nature especially with the notion of mimesis, referring it to mere copying. In response to Plato’s views, Aristotle views poetic work as aesthetic and psychological concerns rather than prescriptive. Poetic work seeks to understand how it suits in an audience with the use of stylistics. Moreover, Plato saw poetry and drama as morally perilous to the society whereas Aristotle saw them as useful and practical and thus helpful to the society (Burke, 2014: 13). With *catharsis*, Aristotle defines it as cleansing or clearing away the body and mind. For instance, after watching serious

torture of innocent persons, one may feel to sympathise and finally cry (Burke, 2014: 14). Referring to plot structure, *Hamartia* refers to ‘mistake’ or ‘error’. *Peripeteia* refers to a sudden or unexpected reversal of circumstances or situation, especially in a literary work. *Anagnorisis* refers to the act of recognition (Burke, 2014: 14) where actors later realise something different from what they assumed to be the case.

There are cases where speakers use stylistic features such as irony and sarcasm, or criticism among politicians about sincerity and consistency as way self-evaluating positively and disqualifying the opponent in the political competition context (Sinkova, 2013). According to Van Dijk (2009), the human mind interface is a necessary phenomenon for appropriate contextual interpretation of political discourse. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012: 13) argue that even though political discourse comprises other aspects such as description, narratives or explanation, its aim is not to describe the world but to underpin decision and action. Therefore, this study will consider the appropriate interpretation of political argumentative moves.

In political discourse, language is a dynamic of human classification. Applying the CDA to analyse texts, Lacerda (2015) demonstrates that inhabitants of favelas in Brazil are detached from the rest of the society. This phenomenon is observed in Rio de Janeiro government utterances and press releases which lead to blaming the poor, perpetuating poverty and reinforcing exclusion. Moves of exclusion are not accidental but strategically presented to justify poor social services provided to inhabitants in favelas.

Rudimentary, rhetoric focusses on political discourse (Gill & Whedbee, 1997: 6). Though there are different definitions of rhetoric, two key factors are common. The first factor is that essential activities of rhetoric occurrence are located on the political stage. Although currently rhetoric has been extended to other fields such as religion, philosophy, literature and other fields, from ancient times, scholars of rhetoric such as Isocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian designed their theories in a way that rhetoric reflected politics (Gill & Whedbee, 1997: 6). The second factor describes rhetoric is calculated to influence an audience toward some end. Thus, there is always an intention to persuade the audience.

Gill and Whedbee (1997) discuss classical conceptions of rhetoric such as the composition of rhetorical texts which mainly focusses on Roman canons of rhetoric. The canons were first developed by Cicero, a philosopher and a politician. There are five of them, namely

invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and delivery. Apart from canons, the other concept is modes of proof. It is rooted in Aristotelian thoughts. The proofs comprise ethos, pathos, and logos. The last concept focusses on propriety which governs a choice of what to speak when to remain silent, what to say, and how to say it.

The second classical conception is process rhetorical criticism. Objectives of rhetorical criticism of two major schools of thought. In the perspective of the first school, rhetorical criticism aims to increase appreciation of the historical importance of rhetorical texts, especially public address. In this school, some critics devote to clarify the political effects of speeches and writing, others devote to examine the inner workings and structure of canon texts, others aim to recover unappreciated rhetorical texts and rhetors. In the perspective of the second school, critics aim to determine how rhetoric invites a construction or reconstruction of events and phenomena. It denies and discusses textual structures, and sometimes dismantles to determine how events operate to create understanding, to sanction ways of viewing the world, or to silence people or to establish points of view.

Both schools have the same critical processes. There are basic questions that critics may ask in reading the text. The questions include expectations created by the context focussing on what the audience expects from the writer/speaker. Critics can use constructs such as exigence (a problem or issue to which the text is addressed). They can use the audience (the actual people addressed by rhetor) though the audience can as well be implied where the message targets people different from those physically present. Critics can use genre (the nature of the text itself), and rhetor credibility (a social position of the rhetor in relation to audience addressed).

The second question devotes to what the text presents to an audience, in which the text can create a rhetorical persona (a speaker or writer is interpreted depending on what he writes or speaks). The text can create an implied audience. It can also create contextual understanding, and finally, the text can make things absent or silence some voices. The third question is on significant features of the text. The features may include structure and temporality (introduction, body, and conclusion of a speech), the argument (for instance, enthymeme), metaphors, and iconicity.

The third classical conception is the critical process in action presenting and analysing speeches, for instance, I have a dream by Martin Luther King in the USA (Gill & Whedbee,

1997: 175–181). This section is fundamental as it provides answers to the theoretical concepts of how to evaluate the ethos, pathos, and logos in the Aristotelian perspective.

A question of what politicians present and what they believe is still a challenge to political discourse analysis in the rhetorical perspective. Well-presented arguments can be some sort of spinning where politicians deliver ready-made speeches by their speechwriters (Charteris-Black, 2011: 5). For instance, Barack Obama acknowledged to the public a contribution of his speechwriter, Jon Favreau by appointing him ‘Director of Speech Writing’(Charteris-Black, 2011: 5).

Metaphor can be defined as a word or phrase that is used with a sense that differs from another more common or more basic sense that this word or phrase has (Charteris-Black, 2011: 31). For instance, a British politician may refer success of a certain political objective as a ‘milestone’, thus creating an impression of metaphor to those who know the meaning of the word milestone, but those who do not may think it is the synonymous word of political success (Charteris-Black, 2011). Furthermore, Chilton (2004) explains that for legitimisation and delegitimization to take place, use of positive and negative terms are employed respectively.

2.4.4 Strategic maneuvering in political discourse

There is a considerable number of studies on strategic maneuvering in different discourses such as politics, medicine, and law (Iețcu-Fairclough, 2008; Walton *et al.*, 2008; Morris & Johnson, 2011b; Cabrejas-peñuelas & Díez-prados, 2014). The study is delimited to political discourse, specifically to presidential election campaign speeches. To achieve political goals in pre-election campaigns, politicians regard their own parties to be better than others and more honest, and they question the capability of other parties (Andone, 2005; Morris & Johnson, 2011b; Cabrejas-peñuelas & Díez-prados, 2014: 180). Therefore, they strategically maneuver if they maintain reasonableness and effectiveness in the argumentative moves (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002).

2.4.5 Strategic maneuvering in pre-election presidential campaigns

There is a considerable number of studies on strategic maneuvering in different discourses such as politics, medicine (doctor-patient communication), legal discourse, etc. (Iețcu-Fairclough, 2008; Morris & Johnson, 2011b; Cabrejas-peñuelas & Díez-prados, 2014). This

study confines itself to political discourse, specifically to presidential speeches during election campaigns.

According to Iețcu-Fairclough (2007), campaigners in the December 2004 pre-election campaign in Romania utilised what would be referred to as fallacies as strategic maneuvering. Traian Băsescu strategically appealed to majority needs but in a strategic manner that he won the election. Băsescu (51.23% of the votes), a candidate of the Alliance for Justice and Truth and former mayor of Bucharest outcompeted Adrian Năstase (48.77%), the candidate from the Social Democratic Party and the Prime Minister in the former government. Basically, Băsescu, aware of unacceptance of communism in Romania by that time, accepted that himself and Năstase were communists, but Băsescu argued that he was just a member whereas Năstase was a real practitioner of communist policies and rules.

With the self-criticism strategy, in 2008 and after the US general election, Obama used a strategy of criticizing himself that he did not have time for his family but strategically putting in a way it could sound general where no specific details he wasted time. Moreover, Obama believed that the war against Iraq was not fruitful to America but they had to do it for the betterment of the United States of America (Kienpointer, 2013: 365). Obama argued strategically with universalism strategy that human rights for all are necessary that is why he claimed to close Guantanamo Bay where American security tortured criminals that could have been protected by the law on American land (Kienpointer, 2013: 366).

The irony is another persuasive strategy in Obama's political rhetoric. In 2010, Obama expressed his success of cutting taxes, for instance, taxes for small businesses. He ironically commented that he expected applause from the audience. Cutting taxes was an idea of Republicans but Obama bought it and implemented it appropriately, that is why in the presence of Republicans he requested for the applause (Kienpointer, 2013: 364).

In analysing the self-evaluative aspect of pre-election presidential debates in Spain, it is evident that both political candidates Mariano Rajoy and Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba regarded their own party better and questioned the capability of the other party (Cabrejas-peñuelas & Díez-prados, 2014: 180). Moreover, both candidates portrayed their own party as honest. This kind of strategic maneuvering implies capitalising one's own success and honesty, at the same time emphasising on the opponent's failure to win the voter's decision.

Providing strategy categories in the pre-election debates, Morris and Johnson (2011b: 288) claim that in the presidential debates between Barack Obama and John McCain in the United States of America in 2008, there was a lot of strategic maneuvering in the whole process of each candidate presenting their arguments. Among seven strategic maneuvering categories in the debate, clash categories between the two candidates dominated the process as it occurred five times. These included analysis of positions, where candidate articulated their own positions and qualifications; analysis of position-opponent, where candidates articulated opponent's negative character; comparison of opposition, where candidates compared and contrasted each another in terms of their positions ; comparison of co-optive, a strategy which candidates used to agree with the opponent in some aspect; and a statement to opponent, a strategy where they provided statements directed to each other either at the beginning or at the end of the debate. The other categories were policy statement, referring to a statement that offers a candidate's or opponent's position (current or past) or a desired future direction, without analysis supporting that position, and ritualistic statement which functions to follow the ritual of debates, including thank you, statements to the moderator, light-hearted jousting, eulogies, life stories, attacks on outside forces, and humour.

The use of presentational devices is delicate in the sense that one may derail and sound fallacious instead of sounding reasonable in the argumentative move. According to Ajilore (2015: 4), in 2011 , the Nigerian gubernatorial debate in which several candidates participated (Jaiye Randle of the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Babatunde Fasola, incumbent candidate of All Progressives Congress (APC), Dr Ade Dosumu of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), Dr Adegbola Dominic of the All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) and Chief Yomi Tokoya of the All Nigeria's People's Party (ANPP)), political debates manifested three elements namely acclaims, attacks, and defences as practices that politicians use in election campaigns. Acclaims refer to campaign moves related to praise of what a candidate or a party can do or has done. Attacks are a direct or indirect criticism against the opponent in the argumentative move, and defences are strategies that candidates or campaigners employ to disagree with what is raised against them. All the three elements fall under the category of fallacies, given the context of the discussion.

Also, applying hybrid machine-learning and logic-based classification framework in analysing sentiments of political blogs in the 2008 United States of America presidential election, Gryc and Moilanen (2014) admit that some challenges are likely to occur in

machine-interpreted results. These scholars anticipate, in the political blog of the 2008 U.S presidential election, that bloggers use a kind of language full of rhetoric, sarcasm, irony to mention but a few, in presenting their opinions (Gryc & Moilanen, 2014: 50). Political discourse, like some other fields in social sciences and humanities, needs a human mind interface in making the analysis, otherwise, the results may not be what they ought to be.

In making a comparison of manipulative strategies in pre-election political debates, Cabrejas-peñuelas (2015) comments that in the U.S, candidates Obama and McCain, and Spanish candidates Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba and Mariano Rajoy, in the pre-election debates of 2008 and 2011 respectively, manipulative practices of positive self-evaluation and of negative opponent evaluation were similar in both contexts. Differences were observed on the way the debates were moderated including time set for the candidates, candidates' places of sitting during the debate and the way interactions took place.

In the first round of the French presidential election of 2002, number one and number two had a narrow win difference in which Jacques Chirac, the incumbent president got 19.9% and Jean-Marie Le Pen got 16.9%. The second round Jacques Chirac got 82.2% and Jean-Marie Le Pen got 17.8%. This difference based on how presidential candidates managed to defend their party policies and the way those party policies could be incorporated in the wellbeing of the French (Laver, Benoit & Sauger, 2006).

The functional theory of political discourse elaborates acclaiming, attacking, and defending as the three potential features that campaigners and contenders mostly portray in struggling to win minds of the voters (Benoit, McHale, Hansen, Pier & McGuire, 2003). The theory relies mainly on five assumptions, namely voting is a comparative act; candidates must distinguish themselves from opponents; political campaign messages are important vehicles for distinguishing between candidates; candidates establish preferability through acclaiming, attacking, and defending; and a candidate must win a majority (or a plurality) of the votes cast in an election. Cases are provided in the American context in 2000 pre-election campaigns between George W. Bush and Gore. For instance, Bush advocated private school vouchers while Al Gore did not. On energy, Bush proposed to increase production, Al Gore stressed on conservation.

2.4.6 Strategic maneuvering in parliamentary discourse

There are different argumentative patterns that members of the parliament employ to win the debates. For instance, in the European Parliament, in plenary debate, pragmatic-problem solving argumentation pattern is employed to win the arguments (Garssen, 2017a), in reports of European parliamentary committee of inquiry, the pragmatic and majority argumentation is used as a strategy to win support from the parliamentarians (Andone, 2017), and argumentation by example in legislative debate in the European Parliament (Garssen, 2017b). Apart from argumentative patterns, other strategies may be employed in the parliamentary discourse. In Greek parliament, arguers present their view to create identities of their political parties, at the same time criticising opponents (Tsakona, 2012). In the Tanzanian context, Nyanda (2016) demonstrate that members of the parliament strategically select topics that the audience is interested in. Ructechura (2018) portrays persuasion as central in convincing and persuading the opponent to accept what an arguer supports. A challenge Rutechura presents is that persuasion is hard to be fully realised if arguers rely on their party affiliations and the government decisions.

2.5 FAIR AND UNFAIR STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN PUBLIC CONTROVERSY

With strategic maneuvering, Van Laar and Krabbe (2016: 321) focus on issues of fairness in the sense of a balanced, transparent, and tolerant argumentative moves. Strategies may be either constructively effective or destructively effective. The former increases the degree of cooperation whereas the latter decreases the degree of cooperation (Van Laar & Krabbe, 2016: 321). The application of strategies in the fairness approach is so tricky. In some circumstances, the unfair strategies may be beneficial in the argumentative move, and the fair ones may be detrimental (Van Laar & Krabbe, 2016: 316). The three aspects of fairness can be manifested in fair shares, no cheating, and no coercion. In the study on the public controversy on the plan to oil extraction that had to involve induced earthquake in the Kingdom of Netherland, Van Laar and Krabbe (2016) outline the features of strategies in terms of balance, transparency, and tolerance as follows. Misleading refers to providing false information. This falls under the category of unbalanced strategy. Spinning can serve a balanced, transparent, and tolerant strategic maneuvering when presenting opinions in a clever presentation. But it can also serve the opposite if the speaker tries to circumlocate to avoid inconvenient criticism. Other strategies are trivialisation, which refers to a situation

where one of the arguers ignores concerns of the opponents. Spinning can be demonstrated by supporting or avoiding media but making sure one's favourite position is communicated clearly to the public. Fobbing off refers to situations where answers provided are not of help. *Ad baculum* refers to putting some pressure to the open and threatening them if they do not accept your views. *Ad Misericordiam* refers to evoking sympathy to fool the opponent to accept opinions. Shelving refers to postponing the outcome in the public controversy to maintain the status quo. Belittlement is a strategy of demonstrating that an interlocutor is not important to seriously engage with in the argumentative discourse. Rationalisation refers to offering pertinent arguments to support a position especially providing a critical examination of counterarguments. *Quid pro quo* is the strategy according to which one may make concessions, but not without getting something in return. Conciliation refers to the strategy of confidently trying and managing to inspire the opponent where finally they may accept assertions without a lot of criticism. Asking too much refers to the strategy of stiff demands, and it is often motivated by the idea that if those demands are unfeasible, the room will be created for obtaining concessions.

2.6 SUMMARY

In Chapter Two, I presented an overview of the literature on discourse analyses. The chapter identified approaches to discourse analyses and the importance of coherence and cohesion in the analysis of the text. Critical Discourse Analysis has been elaborated as one of the methods of analysing discourse in principles of CDA and the Discourse-Historical Approach has been elaborated. Another section has explained rhetoric and stylistics in political discourse. In addition, the chapter explained what political discourse entails by describing the characteristics and means of political argumentation, strategic maneuvering in political discourse, strategic maneuvering in pre-election presidential campaigns, and strategic maneuvering in parliamentary discourse. The last section has elaborated fair and unfair strategic maneuvering in public controversy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ARGUMENTATION THEORY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three comprises 14 sections of the discussion on Argumentation theory and the motivation of how it suits this study on strategic maneuvering in campaign speeches in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election in the pragma-dialectical analysis. Section 3.1 provides an introduction to the chapter. Section 3.2 is devoted to an overview of the Argumentation theory. Section 3.2 is devoted to key theoretical concepts in the argumentation theory. Section 3.4 elaborates strategic maneuvering in the argumentative discourse. Section 3.5 explains effectiveness and reasonableness in argumentative discourse. Section 3.6 focusses on the concepts related to argumentation and logic. Section 3.7 presents rhetoric and dialectic in the extended pragma-dialectical perspective. Section 3.8 demonstrates asymmetrical setting and institutional preconditions in the argumentative discourse. Section 3.9 examines prototypical argumentative patterns. Section 3.10 investigates speech acts in the argumentative discourse. Section 3.11 explains the appraisal theory from the pragma-dialectical perspective. Sub-section 3.11.1 examines attitude as activation of positive or negative positioning. Sub-section 3.11.2 explains modes of activation. Sub-section 3.11.3 focusses on the typological criteria in the appraisal theory. Section 3.12 elaborates challenges and solutions in the application of Pragma-dialectics. Section 3.13 focusses on the structural model of data analysis. Section 3.14 presents a summary of the theoretical framework.

3.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF ARGUMENTATION THEORY

The Argumentation theory is discussed with respect to different aspects. The theory has undergone a series of modifications over the past three decades. It started with speech acts in the argumentative discussion (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984). It then advanced to the characterisation and classification of fallacies (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b). The theory subsequently advanced to the reconstructing of argumentative discourse in order to identify the implicit premises (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, Jackson & Jacobs, 1993). Furthermore, it articulated the fundamentals of argumentation theory providing its historical and contemporary developments (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst & Henkemans, 1996). Other developments of the theory articulated the facet of maintaining reasonableness and effectiveness in the argumentative discourse (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). Further

developments articulated the systematic integration of speech acts and reasonableness in argumentative discourse (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). Furthermore, the theory developed the argumentative indicators in argumentative discourse (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2007). It went farther to examining argumentation in context (Van Eemeren, 2009). To observe the rules for critical discussion, the theory articulated the fallacies that infringe the reasonable arguments (Van Eemeren, Garssen & Meuffels, 2009). Further refinements of the theory introduced dissociation as an element of strategic maneuvering in the argumentative discussion (Van Rees, 2009a). In the process of incorporating rhetorical devices in the theory, the in-depth insight of strategic maneuvering was articulated (Van Eemeren, 2010). The extended Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation was introduced focusing on the ideal model of critical discussion (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). Currently, the Argumentation theory focuses on reasonableness and effectiveness in the argumentative discusses (Van Eemeren, 2015c), specifically a focus on full range of steps in the theory, and perspectives for further development (Leal, 2016). Moreover, the reconstruction of the argumentative moves is advanced in identifying expressed premises in the ideal model of critical discussion (Van Eemeren & Garssen, 2015). Advancing the theory, a project on prototypical argumentative patterns is conducted. There are prototypical argumentative patterns that determine the way argument schemes are employed (Van Eemeren, 2017b). The patterns are of different categories depending on the communicative activity type (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). For instance, in a plenary debate in the European parliament, pragmatic problem-solving argumentation is predominantly instrumental (Garssen, 2017a), while in the legislative debate in the European Parliament, the prototypical argumentative pattern focusses on the argumentation by example (Garssen, 2017b).

3.3 KEY THEORETICAL CONCEPTS IN THE PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL THEORY

The first deals with the meta-theoretical starting points which are premises preceding the actual theorizing and indicate the general methodological principles in accordance with which theorizing is to proceed (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 523). They constitute unique features that differentiate the Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation from other theories of argumentation. Both pragmatic insights and dialectical insights are achieved through the four starting points. The first is functionalisation which outlines the functions of speech acts (commissives, declaratives, assertives, expressives, and directives) put forward in an

argumentative discourse (Searle, 1979b). Commissives refer to committing oneself to do things; assertives refer to telling people how things are, declaratives dealing with how language is used through utterance to change the world; directives refer to trying to get other people to do things, and expressives refer to expressing one's feeling and attitudes. Functionalisation is supported by other scholars who indicate how these functions are manifested in different contexts to meet certain objectives (Poggi, Cavicchio & Magno Caldognetto, 2007; Macagno, 2012). The second is socialisation which focusses on the epistemic function as arguers must provide justifications of their standpoints. An aspect of justification is important to enlighten readers or listeners on what exactly one wants to deliver with respect to the given evidence (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 527). The third meta-theoretical starting point is externalisation. It expresses the effectiveness of the arguments in a way that arguers must have speculative projections for their standpoints. It aims at making sure that arguers are aware of how to rhetorically present their concerns in the argumentative move. Differing from informing, this section helps arguers to predict how important acceptability of arguments is (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 527). The fourth is dialectification which deals with the reasonableness of the arguments as part of the normative dimension of dialectification. It insists on arguing in a logically convincing way for the participants of the argumentative move to accept the standpoints (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 527).

The second concept is the model of critical discussion. In resolving a difference of opinion on merit, a theoretical notion of critical discussion is employed in explaining the ideal model in argumentative moves (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). It comprises the following four stages: the confrontation stage, the initial stage, the argumentation stage, and the conclusion stage, which either implicitly or explicitly arguers are expected to observe in the ideal model of critical discussion. In the confrontation stage, the critical discussion is initiated and the difference of opinion manifested where one part raises a standpoint and the other part doubts it or advances a different standpoint (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b; Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2007). In case there are no differences of opinion between a protagonist and an antagonist, then there is no critical discussion (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 529). In the opening stage, the division of discussion roles of protagonist and antagonist is agreed upon, and commitments that are to be in force during the entire discussion are identified, both the material (substantive) and the procedural commitments. The protagonist has the obligation to defend the standpoints, while the antagonist assumes the obligation to respond critically to these standpoints and the protagonist's defense (Van Eemeren *et al.*,

2014: 529). In the argumentation stage, the protagonist defends the standpoints at issue methodically against the critical responses of the antagonist. If the antagonist is not convinced, then further arguments are advanced. Therefore, the structure of argumentation may advance from simple to complex in the argumentative move (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 530). In the concluding stage, the protagonist and the antagonist determine whether protagonist has successfully defended the standpoint. Therefore, if the view points of the protagonist must be withdrawn, then the resolution is in favour of the antagonist. But if the protagonist has convinced the antagonist to change their minds and accept their counterpart's view, then the antagonist's doubts must be retracted (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 530).

The third is the analysis as reconstruction. The argumentative reality may not operate in the line of the ideal model of critical argumentation. Some arguers may avoid a face threatening situation, and thus decide to operate circumspectly. Therefore, the reconstruction is important to make unexpressed premises explicit. The reconstruction helps in making a critical analysis of the argumentation moves between the protagonist and the antagonist. The first is deletion. It concerns with removing all elements that do not contribute to the argumentation process on merits. Irrelevant topics, receptions and other redundant features are ignored (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 535). Such features are common in argumentative reality. Thus, a pragma-dialectician must be aware of deliberate and unintentional equivocal formulations in the argumentative move of a certain communicative activity type. The second is an addition. The addition reconstruction comprises supplementing to the argumentative move what is elliptically phrased or what is implicitly presented in order to make an argumentation clear (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 535). Arguers may decide to hide some information to keep their faces unthreatened at the expense of resolving a difference of opinion on merits. The third is a permutation. It focusses on arrangements of elements in the argumentative move so as they reflect the process of resolving a difference of opinion on merits by placing them according to the argumentation stages (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 535–536). The fourth is a substitution. The reconstruction of the substitution disambiguates equivocal formulations in the argumentative moves. It clarifies statements that are ambiguously formulated, which in most cases arguers may deliberately phrase to win the argumentation (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 536). But focussing on the model of critical argumentation and the argumentation rules, Pragma-dialecticians must make clear of such violations.

In a practical perspective, the term ‘reconstruction’ refers to a representation of discourse fashioned to fit a specific analytic perspective (Van Eemeren et al., 1993: 37). The reconstruction of an argumentative discourse is meant to reflect the model of critical discussion as if it were real (Van Eemeren et al., 1993: 38). The reconstruction should have a critical approach to avoid biased interpretation. Moreover, even though speakers or writers may not explicitly state what they mean, it does not, however, mean that there is no argumentative reality. It is the role of the analyst (reconstructionist) to make sure that the aim is to reflect the argumentation to the ideal model of critical discussion. Whenever interactants diverge a bit, such are areas of interests, and not entirely blaming the interactants (Van Eemeren et al., 1993: 38). The main reason for the studies of argumentation is the critical analysis of argumentative discourse and the interpretation and evaluation of actual cases of argumentation in light of normative standards for argumentative conduct (Van Eemeren et al., 1993: 37). A challenge with normative reconstruction is maintaining the intention of the ordinary actors and standards of the critical analysis. Reconstruction refers to the rewriting of the discourse in the view of critical analysis (Van Eemeren et al., 1993: 37). Reconstruction in the normative perspective does not mean including all that was articulated in the resolution process, but it represents relevant aspects which were articulated and those which were not articulated but implied. Briefly, the reconstruction allows the abstraction reflected from a concrete argumentation as if what is reconstructed were the real discourse. Therefore, what is included comprises textual structure, propositional content, and pragmatic functions. At every stage in the normative reconstruction, arguments are critically assessed either as supporting a standpoint or refuting a standpoint.

Considering approaches to reconstruction, in the analysis of reconstructing argumentations, naïve reconstruction refers to interpretive procedures used by ordinary-language users to accomplish an ongoing “reading” of the situation. With respect to the normative argumentation, reconstruction involves textual structure, pragmatic function and propositional content. Thus, analytic (etic) approach utilises the theoretically based criteria (critical model of argumentation, speech acts, etc.) whereas interpretation is general in the sense that it does not have clear boundaries (emic). Unlike the interpretive approach, the analytic approach does not rely on a common sense of everyday language user (Van Eemeren et al., 1993: 52). Another approach is *a priori* versus *a posteriori*. *A priori* is deductive (it starts with the theoretically based criteria), whereas a *posteriori* is inductive in the sense that the theoretical insights are gained by way of empirical observation (Van Eemeren et al.,

1993: 52). As far as the normative perspective is concerned, the reconstruction of argumentative discourse is that of a priori because it must abide by the model of critical discussion.

The fourth deals with the rules for critical discussion. The critical norms of reasonableness authorising the performance of speech acts in the various stages of resolving a difference of opinion on merits are in the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation depicted as rules for critical discussion (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 539). Speakers must adhere to rules for critical discussion in order to avoid fallacious speech acts which may obstruct resolving the disputes on merits (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984: 151). The rules for critical discussion are the key points in the reasonable argumentation (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). Distinguished from rational which refers to the use of the faculty of reasoning, reasonable refers to the sound use of the faculty of reasoning (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004). Although there are different approaches to reasoning in argumentation, such as geometrical and anthropological, Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004: 132) take a combined perspective dialectic. That is, logical insights are taken from the geometrical approach, and rhetorical insights are taken from the anthropological approach (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004: 132). More importantly, the study of strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches adopts the same approach in the analysis of the sampled speeches. The reasonableness of the procedure is based on the possibility it creates to resolve differences of opinion (its problem validity) in combination with its acceptability to discussants (its conventional validity) (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004: 132). In the dialectical perspective, both an assertion and its denial cannot be true, and the discussants claim to have a logical starting point (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004: 132). In such circumstances, either a protagonist must withdraw their standpoint, or an antagonist must retract their doubts on the standpoints for the argumentation to sound reasonable in the dialectical perspective. At this point, the critical scrutiny is on speech acts of the protagonist and those of the antagonist. This is the role of Pragma-dialectical theorists. Therefore, the rules of conduct in the model of critical discussion are outlined (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 542–544).

Discussants may not prevent each other from advancing standpoints or from calling standpoints into question (Freedom rule). This rule makes sure that standpoints and doubts can be freely advanced. Both the protagonist and antagonist must abide by allowing each

other chances to express and question views in the argumentative move. Discussants who advance a standpoint may not refuse to defend this standpoint when requested to do so (Obligation to defend rule). A protagonist who asserted a certain standpoint is expected to accept the responsibility of advancing it. Therefore, there is a need to have a rule that will bind arguers responsible to defend the positions they assumed in the opening stage. Not only protagonists but also antagonists have the same obligation to advance their negative propositions against the assertions. Attacks on standpoints may not bear on a standpoint that has not actually been put forward by the other party (Standpoint rule). Arguers may not deviate from the standpoint that was advanced in the confrontation stage. The protagonist must defend the standpoint that was initiated earlier not defending another one which is different from the agreed difference in the argumentative move. Also, the antagonist must not deliberately or unintentionally misinterpret the standpoint and thus decide to argue against something else. Standpoints may not be defended by non-argumentation or argumentation that is not relevant to the standpoint (Relevance rule). Arguments staged in defense or doubt of a standpoint must be relevant to allow the critical discussion to take place. Discussants must not bring in concepts in the argumentation move that are not relevant, and thus obstructing the resolution process on merits.

Discussants may not falsely attribute unexpressed premises to the other party, nor disown responsibility for their own unexpressed premises (Unexpressed premise rule). The resolution process may not be appropriately observed if the protagonist denies defending unexpressed premises, or if the antagonist misinterprets the unexpressed premises for the sake of winning the argumentation. Discussants may not present something as an accepted starting point of falsely denying that something is accepted starting point (Starting point rule). Reasoning that is in an argumentation explicitly and fully expressed may not be invalid in a logical sense (Validity rule). Standpoints defended by argumentation that is not explicitly and fully expressed may not be regarded as conclusively defended by such argumentation unless the defense takes place by means of appropriate argument schemes that are applied correctly (Argument scheme rule). Inconclusive defenses of standpoints may not lead to maintaining these standpoints and conclusive defenses may not lead to maintaining expressions of doubt concerning these standpoints (Concluding rule). Discussants may not use any formulations that are insufficiently clear or confusingly ambiguous, and they may not deliberately misinterpret the other party's formulations (Language use rule).

The fifth concept is devoted to fallacies in the argumentative moves. Fallacies are speech acts intended by the speaker to make a contribution to the resolution of the dispute but often, in fact, obstructing the way to a resolution (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984: 151). The aim of a pragma-dialectician is to prevent speakers performing such acts from delivering to an audience which may accept them as common sense. In categorising types of fallacies, (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984: 179) indicate that unexpressed premises form a fallacy which can be identified by reconstructing the argumentation structure. This conceptualisation brings a lot of questions as the analyst may have bias. Fallacies may also refer to the violations of a code of conduct for rational discussants whose aim is the resolution of a dispute (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984: 182). Fallacies can be reflected from the rules for critical discussion.

Fallacies can be committed at any of the argumentation stages. In the confrontation stage, the fallacy can be committed where one of the discussants infringes another speaker from staging their views (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b: 108). In the Model of the critical discussion, Rule 1 states that arguers must not restrict each other from expressing their views. Such cases may be putting pressure on the opponent. The generic term for such kind of a threat is *argumentum ad baculum*. From Latin origin, *baculum* means a stick. Therefore, one is threatened to argue against a staged standpoint or to advance their standpoints. Direct ways such as ‘shut up’ may be applied, but the extreme way possible is to physically isolate someone by not allowing (him/her) to speak at all in the given discussion. Apart from putting pressure on the opponent, attacking the opponent personally may be another way to identify a fallacy (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b: 110). This can be done by questioning his moral authenticity. One can portray one as stupid, unreliable, inconsistent, or biased. All this is a violation of Rule 1 and must be regarded as a fallacy. A technical term for a fallacy referring to a personal attack is *argumentum ad hominem*. The cases of personal attack are of different ways, such as abuse, circumstantial (commenting that someone is selfish), and *tu quoque* (commenting that someone is inconsistent in their arguments) (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984: 190, 1992a: 111).

Rule 2 (Obligation to defend rule) can be violated, at the opening stage where discussants must take sides depending on what argumentation is about. Failure to do so means that they are violating the rule, and that is a fallacy. But there are exceptions, for example, in circumstances where the same argument has already been defended in the same context.

Therefore, it is in situations where discussants evade the burden of proof that fallacies are committed (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b: 117). This can be realised, for example, arguers starting with phrases such as, ‘Nobody in his right mind would deny that...’, ‘It is clear as a daylight that...’etc. Therefore, there are several ways of evading the burden of proof. The first one is presenting the standpoint as self-evident, for instance, ‘It is clear as daylight that...’. This may be meant to conceal the weakness of the standpoint. Secondly, the protagonists may do phrasing indicating that their phrases guarantee the rightness of the standpoint, for instance, ‘ I am absolutely convinced that ...’.The third way is applying hermetic wordings for instance, ‘the real young person of today is lazy’ (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b: 118). The third category closes further discussions by such kind of dogmatic expressions. Shifting the burden of proof (*Argumentum ad ignorantiam*) can also lead the argument to derail as assumed responsibility among discussants may be clearly stated, a protagonist may decide to shift their role to their opponents. This happens where the protagonist tasks the antagonists to prove the standpoints. Failure to do so is regarded as ignorance to argue against something one does not know. It is a fallacy because it is the role of the protagonist to prove their standpoints. By doing so, they violate the second rule (Obligation to defend rule) (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b: 120).

Fallacy originating from Rule 3 (Standpoint rule) is realised when attacking a standpoint that has not been put forward, as it deviates from the focus of the discussion. Also retracting untenable standpoint is the other way of the protagonist to attack the standpoint (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b: 124).

The fallacy of violating Rule 4 (Relevance rule) is realised in choosing the means in defense when arguers do not rely on the argumentative means of persuasion (reasonable argumentation) and relevant argumentation (not committing the straw man fallacy) (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b: 132). The first way is playing on the audience’s emotions (*argumentum ad hominem* and *argumentum ad populum*), this is what is known as a non-argumentative means of persuasion. Since *argumentum ad populum* deals with sociopsychological factors, it is a common phenomenon in public demonstrations, political meetings, and religious gatherings. Secondly, parading one’s quality also leads to violation of the relevance rule as discussants may take advantage of the audience by advertising themselves at the expense of the reasonable argumentation. The fallacy is therefore known as *argumentum ad populum* (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b: 135).

Rule 5 (Unexpressed premises) must be accounted for even though such premises were not explicitly stated in the standpoint. Thus, avoiding the responsibility of responding to unexpressed premises leads some arguments to derail. Moreover, magnifying an unexpressed premise leads to the straw man fallacy. The fallacy bases on making interpretations in one's favour instead of reasonably arguing in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics.

In utilising standpoint rule (Rule 6), falsely presenting a premise as a common starting point (straw man fallacy) is on the side of the antagonist. With the protagonist, stating that there is no need to call into question the starting point violates the rule of freedom (Rule 1). Another fallacy is when a protagonist over questions the standpoint leading to many question fallacy (trick question fallacy). Normally, such cases are appropriate in police interrogation where a suspect is not expected to assume the responsibility of accepting the crime (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b: 152).

Considering the utilising of argumentation schemes in Rule 7, the ways of evaluating the fallacies are identification procedure (checking the relations between premises and starting points) and testing procedure (determining whether the argumentation put forward in defence of a standpoint does indeed have an appropriate argumentation scheme that is correctly applied). The results may either be that the argumentation has been conclusively defended (where identification procedure and testing procedure bring positive results) or conclusively attacked (where the results are negative). Fallacy resulting from *argumentum ad verecundiam* is that, because of the expertise of the protagonist, there is no need of questioning. Also, fallacies can be realised in utilising logical argument forms (logical formulations and logical validity) (validity rule). The fallacies are committed where reasoning does not belong to at least logical minimum (that is, if...then), or logical optimum which comprises even the context where the argumentation takes place. Fallacies in concluding the discussion (concluding rule) are traced when withdrawing or retracting standpoints or doubts respectively at the concluding stage. If one of the interlocutors refuses to accept failure, according to the model of critical discussion, he/she runs to fallacy. The use of equivocal, vague, or ambiguous formulations leads to the violation of language use rule in the argumentative move.

The sixth concept focusses on the argumentation structure. In the Pragma-dialectical perspective, structures of the argumentation determine the flow of the arguments in relation to the conclusion. Structures may range from simple to complex based on the nature of the

argumentation itself. A single argument structure has one explicit form and one unexpressed form (Van Eemeren, Grootendorst & Henkemans, 2008: 64). An argumentation is given the number of its standpoint, followed by the number of its own. For instance, standpoint 1, then the argumentation will start with 1, followed by the number of its own 1, thus 1.1. The argumentation with the unexpressed premise is reconstructed but differently presented with the same number together with an apostrophe on the argumentation (for instance 1.1').

Moreover, an ampersand (&) is used between argumentation and unexpressed premise together with arrows.

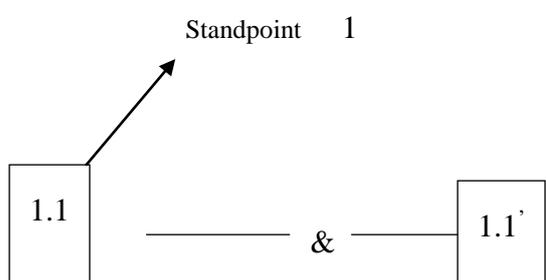


Figure 3.1: Single argumentation structure

According to Walton (2006: 139), the single argument has only one premise given that is used as the basis for inferring a conclusion. It can further be categorised as the single non-mixed dispute, meaning the reaction to the standpoint is just a doubt. Moreover, if the reaction to the standpoint is negative, the dispute becomes a single mixed dispute. Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992b: 21) comment that, if more than one of the propositions lead to doubt or opposition, then the dispute is multiple.

Also, there is a multiple argumentation structure. This type of structure consists of alternative defences of similar standpoints, presented one after another. These defenses do not depend on each other to support the standpoint. They are of equal weight (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 64). The same strategies as shown in section 3.3.2 apply. The alternative defenses are given the number of the standpoint and then their own numbers after a point. The multiple argumentative structure also refers to the divergent argument. This occurs when two separate conclusions are inferred from the same premise (Walton, 2006).

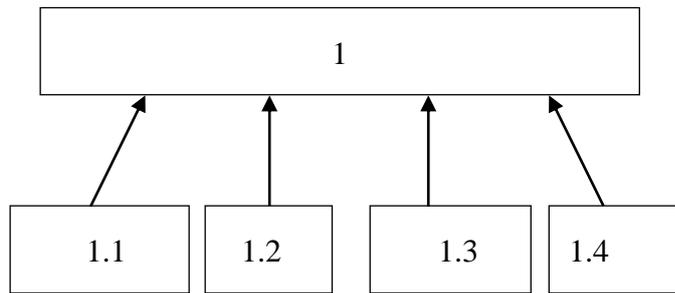


Figure 3.2: Multiple argumentation structure

The other type is the coordinative argumentation structure. It comprises different arguments which are combined to build a conclusive defence of the standpoint. The component parts of the coordinative structure are dependent on each other in a certain order for the defence of a standpoint (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 65).

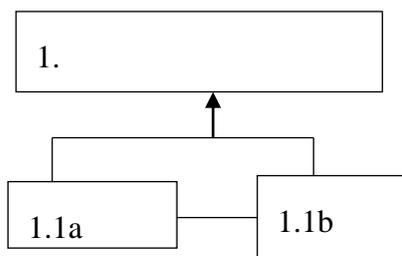


Figure 3.3: Coordinative argumentation structure

Coordinative argumentation structure can be referred to as a linked argument. In the linked argument, two premises are jointly used to provide support for a conclusion, and the two premises depend on each other (Walton, 2006: 142). With that regard, the reaction from the other party determines what difference of opinion is engaged in the argumentative discussion. It can be argued that linked arguments, apart from structurally being like coordinative arguments, in terms of reasoning, can be termed as deductively valid arguments.

The last type is the subordinative argumentation structure. It comprises different layers. The first argument supporting the standpoint cannot stand on its own; therefore, another argument supports it. The supporting argument cannot again stand on its own; it also needs another supporting argument until the defence is conclusive (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 65). Subordinative argumentation can be referred to as a serial argument. In serial arguments, the

conclusion of the first single argument functions as the premise of the second single argument. The statement at the middle has a dual function (Walton, 2006: 146).

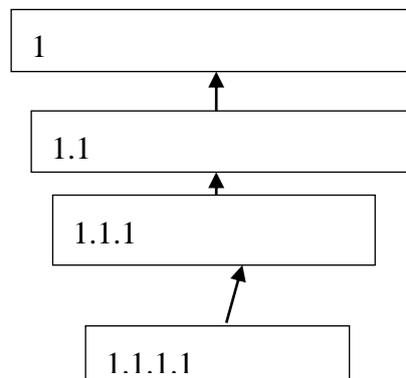


Figure 3.4: Subordinative argumentation structure

The seventh concept is devoted to explaining argumentation schemes. There are three main types of argumentation schemes, namely symptomatic argumentation, causal argumentation, and analogy argumentation (Van Eemeren, , Grootendorst & Henkemans, 2002). With reference to argumentation based on symptomatic argumentation, a standpoint is defended by citing in the argument a certain sign, symptom, or distinguishing mark of what is claimed in standpoint (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 97).

A simple logical analysis can be

Y is true of X,
Because: Z is true of X,
and: Z is a symptom of Y

(Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 97).

The causal argumentation scheme bases on the reasoning that a standpoint is defended by making a causal connection between the argument and the standpoint, such that the standpoint, given the argument, ought to be accepted on the grounds on such flow (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 100).

Y is true of X,
because: Z is true of X,
and: Z leads to Y

(Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 101).

	Y is true of X
because	Z is true of X
and	Z leads to Y

Table 3.1: Causal relation argumentation schemes

Considering the analogous argumentation scheme, a standpoint is defended by showing that something referred to in the standpoint is similar to something that is cited in the argumentation and that, on the grounds of such resemblance, the standpoint should be accepted (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 99).

For instance,

Y is true of X,
because: Y is true of Z,
and: Z is comparable to X

(Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 99).

The summary of argumentation schemes can be as follows. Argumentation based on symptomatic relation applies in a situation where the standpoint is defended by citing in the argument a certain sign, symptom, or distinguishing mark of what is claimed in the standpoint.

Its general conceptualisation can stand as follows.

	Y is true of X
because	Z is true of Y
and	Z is symptomatic of Y

Table 3.2: Symptomatic argumentation scheme

There are two most critical questions.

Are there no other non-Y's that have the characteristic Z?

Are there no other Y's that do not have the characteristic Z?

Argumentation based on a relation of analogy applies in the situation where something referred to in the argumentation is like something that is cited (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 99).

A general conceptualisation of the analogy scheme can be presented in the following table.

	Y is true of X,
because	Y is true of Z,
and	Z is comparable to X.

Table 3.3: Argumentation based on analogy

A critical question on analysing argumentation based on analogy is

Are there any significant differences between Z and X?

3.4 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE

Although to some extent it may seem strange to include political argumentation in institutionalised contexts, it is reasonable to state that there are similar cases in political argumentation that almost cut across several other political argumentation contexts. With respect to such common practices, Zaresfsky (2009: 116) outlines the characteristics of political argumentation as lack of time limits, lack of clear terminus, heterogeneous audience, open access, means of strategic maneuvering, changing the subject, modifying the relevant audience, appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, reframing the argument, using condensation symbols, employing the locus of the irreparable, using figures and tropes argumentatively, etc. In the Extended Pragma-dialectical perspective, there are three components of strategic maneuvering, namely presentational devices, audience demand, and topical potential. Both presentational devices and audience demand strategies are regarded in many circumstances as fallacious, but it is the role of argument analysts to fairly analyse and identify the strategies which are fallacious and the ones which are not fallacious.

Parties involved in the argumentative discourse cannot in any way over emphasize on one side, for instance effectiveness, and remain reasonable. They should also be aware that they are responsible for their unexpressed premises of which they implied intentionally, or they evaded articulating them. Maintaining the balance involves the commitment to rules for critical discussion. If they bring in irrelevant means to reach a resolution on their merits, they are derailing, and thus, such argumentative moves become automatically fallacious. One cannot afford to say that, “Never mind I was being rhetorical” in a situation where they want to avoid the responsibility of sounding and being reasonable (Van Eemeren, 2010: 42). In such circumstances, the analysis of strategic maneuvering must not only look at the resolution of disputed standpoint but also the procedures.

3.5 AIMING FOR EFFECTIVENESS AND REASONABLENESS IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE

In principle, language users do not only aim at the communicative aspect (addressees understanding that a certain speech act has been performed to the persons they are interacting with), but more importantly to the interactional aspect (the appropriate verbal or non-verbal response) in the communication process (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984: 23). With respect to the Speech act theory, the communicative aspect falls under the category of illocutionary effects, whereas the interactional aspect falls under the category of perlocutionary effect (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984: 23). In order to differentiate the perlocutionary effect of acceptance and the range of consequences from the accepted speech acts, Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984: 24) introduce a clear categorisation. The first is the inherent perlocutionary effect (minimal perlocutionary consequences) concerned with the acceptance of speech acts by the listener. The second is the consecutive perlocutionary consequences (optimal perlocutionary consequences) comprising of all other consequences of the speech act. The idea is that when an utterance in locutionary act is made, the illocutionary act (understanding what an utterance means follows, whether commanding, requesting, warning, advising etc.), and the perlocutionary act finalises by the listener acting accordingly. But it is not always the case to find a smooth line in communication that way (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984: 25).

Effectiveness in the argumentative discourse is not synonymous to persuasiveness in the sense that the former must take place in all stages of critical argumentation, and strictly it must go together with the conception of reasonableness (Van Eemeren, 2010: 39–40). A central concern of argumentation in the Pragma-dialectical perspective bases on the principle that arguers must strategically maneuver in order to maintain both effectiveness and reasonableness (Van Eemeren, 2010: 40). Maneuvering is construed as moving towards the best position in view of argumentative position (Van Eemeren, 2010). The word ‘strategic’ is added to maneuvering because maintaining effectiveness and reasonableness has to be done in a clever and skilful planning (Van Eemeren, 2010: 41). Therefore, strategic maneuvering refers to argumentation discourse in which the equilibrium between effectiveness and reasonableness are maintained. The pursuit of reasonableness fulfils the dialectical dimension, whereas the pursuit of effectiveness fulfils the rhetorical dimension.

Reasonable is distinguished from rational. Rational refers to the state of using reason, whereas reasonable refers to the appropriate way of using reason (Van Eemeren, 2010). The basic principle of reasonableness is having the regimented critical discussion (Van Eemeren, 2010: 32). What is regimented is the discussion between a protagonist and an antagonist. With respect to the Pragma-dialectical perspective, a difference of opinion comes into being when a potential protagonist advances their standpoint on a potential antagonist. That being the case, the critical discussion must be monitored to enhance reasonable argumentation (Van Eemeren, 2010: 32). The resolution process does not exclusively deal with either the protagonist withdrawing their standpoints or antagonists retracting their doubts. It must strictly follow the speech acts performed in the resolution process. This enables a fair judge to make a decision on how utterances between the antagonist and protagonist manifest either retracting or withdrawing doubts respectively (Van Eemeren, 2010: 32). There should, on the other hand, be no either logical or pragmatic inconsistency (Van Eemeren, 2010: 34). Pragmatic inconsistency means all necessary conditions must be met. Making a promise of buying someone a present on their birthday, bigger than one can afford to buy, is a pragmatic inconsistency.

Given a certain argumentation, there can be intrinsic goals that mainly originate from the argumentation and extrinsic goals that originate from outside context (Mohammed, 2016: 223). The two intrinsic goals are justification and convincing. Extrinsic ones depend on the activity types, for instance, deliberation focusses on the action to be taken by the audience, whereas in jurisdiction, a third partner who must make a decision; that is a judge (Mohammed, 2016: 225). Therefore, extrinsic goals of argumentation are context-dependent based on the dialogue types (activity types).

At every other stage in the resolution process, there is a possibility of strategic maneuvering. In the confrontation stage, the dialectical objective is to have clarity on issues that are at stake. The rhetorical objective is to ensure that such issues are beneficial to everybody's side. In the opening stage, the dialectical objective is to make sure that the disputes are unambiguous and the rhetorical one is to choose the less involving burden of proof. In the argumentation stage, the dialectical objective is to test the acceptability of the standpoint at issue by providing all possible evidence and attacking the side of the antagonist. The rhetorical aim is to apply persuasive devices that will make one win the argument. In the concluding stage, the dialectical aim is to make sure all that has been said is concluded

reasonably with evidence, and the rhetorical aim to make sure that one finally wins the argumentation (Van Eemeren, 2010: 43).

3.6 CONCEPTS RELATED TO ARGUMENTATION AND LOGIC

The study invokes concepts from the following linguistic and contextual dimensions. With respect to terms, there are several argumentation-theoretical terms central to the proposed study. The term argumentation refers to the reasonable defence of one's standpoint from the beginning of the discussion up to the point of conclusion in order to clear the doubts of the opponents (van Eemeren et al., 2014). The study employs the definition of Van Eemeren *et al.*, (2014) because it captures the basic parts of argumentation for the purposes of the study. The term 'argument' can refer to a group of statements, one or more, of which the premises are claimed to provide support for, or reasons to believe, one or the other conclusion (Walton, 2006; Hurley, 2012: 1). Hurley (2012) defines argumentation-related terms such as statements, premises and conclusion in a more clear manner. The statement is a sentence that is either true or false, specifically a declarative sentence or any other component that could stand as a declarative sentence. Premises are statements that set forth the reasons or evidence, and a conclusion is a statement that the evidence is claimed to support or imply. Logic may be defined as organised body of knowledge, or science, that evaluates arguments (Hurley, 2012: 1). Thus, there is no claim of arguments without prior conceptualisation of logic.

In analysing Toulmin's model of argumentation, Van Eemeren et al., (2014: 203) assert that the model replaces the old concepts (premises and conclusion) with new concepts (claim, data, warrant, modal qualifier, rebuttal and backing) in order to provide more details for Argumentation theory. The term 'strategic maneuvering' refers to the ways of maintaining a dialectical aim and a rhetorical aim in an argumentative move in a way that arguers stage their arguments in their own favour (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002: 135). Finally, this work employs argumentation schemes referring to forms of argument (structures of inference) that represent the structures of common types of arguments used in everyday discourse, as well as in special contexts like those of legal argumentation and scientific argumentation (Walton *et al.*, 2008; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014).

Van Eemeren *et al.* (1996: 5–6) differentiate argumentation from logic. Argumentation takes place when there is a controversy between speakers whereas logic does not necessarily need such a condition. With logic, validity is determined when premises and conclusion are true,

but argumentations must involve to sides with different standpoints trying to come out with the resolution. The study of argumentation concentrates on the principles of communication, mainly that any reasoned argumentative discourse that the participants in communication process should refrain from making any moves which impede the communication proceedings (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1996: 12). In this general agreement, the interlocutors must observe the four standards: clarity, honesty, efficiency, and relevance (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). Sometimes, in argumentative discourse, there may be different possibilities of interpretation. To avoid such ambiguities, an analyst of argumentative discourse must not only base on validity criterion, as in a case of logical analysis, but also on the standards for reasoned discourse, as in the case of pragmatic analysis (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1996: 14).

3.7 RHETORIC AND DIALECTIC IN THE EXTENDED-PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL PERSPECTIVE

To start with rhetoric, Aristotle defines it as the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in oratory (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1996: 42). With rhetorical strategies, deductive reasoning can best be used in the presence of experts, whereas inductive reasoning can best be used in the presence of unlettered multitude. Furthermore, Aristotle categorises artificial means of persuasion which depend on logos, ethos, and pathos, from inartificial means of persuasion which depend on pre-existing materials such as documents, laws, and statements by witnesses (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1996: 43). Logos is an argumentative means of persuasion whereas ethos and pathos are means of persuasion, which may not necessarily be presented in an argumentative way (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1996: 43). Secondly, Aristotle referred analytic to what is known as logic. In antiquity, it was called dialectic. This implied that the art of debating is rhetoric. Aristotle divided arguments into two sorts: deductive syllogism and inductive syllogism. With the former, something is asserted from different statements. Basically, the premises lead to a conclusion. That is, the true premises must lead to a true conclusion. This is what is known as a deductively valid argument. It logically follows that it is impossible to have true premises with the false conclusion (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1996: 30–31). In the following example, a challenge may be when William is rich, and does not need any fund for his scholarship. Such contextual circumstances are points of discussion for a deductive syllogism.

All PhD students get scholarships.

William is a PhD student.

Therefore, William has a scholarship.

With inductive syllogism, specific cases are named on the premises and from these premises, a general conclusion is drawn (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1996: 32). Consider the following example.

The trained driver is the best.

The trained footballer is the best.

Therefore, the trained man is the best.

Aristotle distinguished arguments for three purposes. Apodictic or demonstrative arguments are designed to achieve certain and reliable knowledge. Dialectical arguments are calculated to lead to generally accepted opinion. Rhetorical arguments are particularly meant to convince a particular audience of the correctness of a standpoint.

3.8 ASYMMETRICAL SETTING AND INSTITUTIONAL PRECONDITIONS IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE

Analysing the institutional argumentation and institutional rules, Thompson (2017) argues that institutional goals and agenda are maintained by agents of institutions against individual agents. Providing an example of a scenario where an American folk-singer, Pete Seeger, had allegations against supporting the Communist Party USA, the House Un-American Activities Committee members had to observe the institutional rules against the accused. From the analysis three main asymmetrical settings were observed: first, the committee members-controlled turn taking; they controlled topic selection; and they had the power to assert a particular interpretation as an institutional fact. This setting compromised all the argumentation but it was strategically done in a way that the institutional goals could be met (Thompson, 2017). According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), the institutional context provides institutional preconditions by which arguers must abide.

Providing an example of the increasing university tuition fees, arguers in the British parliamentary debate, as an activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse, complain of being interrupted (a four-minute permission to contribute) because of time when they were still putting forward their arguments. Therefore, time limits in parliamentary discourse is the precondition that all members in that debate must comply with. Moreover, the procedural control of the argumentation is another precondition in the parliamentary institutional context. Clearly argued, the closure in parliamentary debates does not rely on

shared beliefs, but on the collective decision; that is, it ends in voting (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). According to Van Eemeren (2017b), strategic maneuvering does not take place in an idealised critical discussion but in the given context in the argumentative reality. To make his claim clear, Van Eemeren (2017a) explained key features in the Extended argumentative research program. First is the institutional context in which the argumentation takes place. Different argumentative discourses may have different contexts. For instance, campaign speeches conducted in general elections may promote good governance but the model of disseminating information is different from when the same communicative activity type is raised in the parliamentary sessions. Apart from the institutional context, every communicative activity type has an institutional point. The institutional point is what the communicative activity type suggests should be obtained (Van Eemeren, 2017b). For instance, in the 2015 Tanzanian general election, the opposition parties camp on good governance would mean suggesting improvement of leadership that would enhance living standards of the people. As already stated, communicative activity types are contextualised. There are always institutional preconditions that interlocutors or speakers must abide by, though they may be able to strategically maneuver. For instance in the parliament setting, as explained by Van Eemeren (2017b), the speakers must address the chairperson in many parliaments as a primary precondition. But speakers also may have other commitments like party interests which also need be considered in their presentations as secondary preconditions. The third aspect is the communicative activity type. This is a specific speech event taking place to meet a certain institutional point. For instance, the campaign speech communicative activity type has an institutional point of maximizing the number of the potential electorate in the general elections. The fourth aspect is the conventionalisation of activity type. By this, it is explained that every communicative activity type is characterised by certain features that differentiate it from other types. For instance, the campaign speeches where the audience are expected to make decisions on who to vote for is different from the law case where a judge settles a dispute or has the mandate for a legal verdict.

The institutional preconditions will determine the strategic maneuvering moves of campaign communicative activity type differently from the law case communicative activity type. The fourth aspect determines the fifth aspect, which is known as the genre. This is the second level aspect which deals with how decisions or final goals are achieved. The genres can be adjudication, decisions depending entirely on the judge (final verdict), deliberation, decision depending on the audience (for instance votes), disputation, depending on the experts

available in the panel of discussants in an academic setting (for instance a scientific discussion), and the medical domain, which the doctor and the patients, from the contemporary perspective, both parts have some decisions. The fifth item is the domain which is the umbrella. These can be legal domain (formal, constitutive, and regulative), political domain (less formal), academic domain (less formal but a bit strict), and medical domain which is flexible.

3.9 PROTOTYPICAL ARGUMENTATIVE PATTERNS

Having explained the main issues in the argumentative discourse, the implementation of the Extended pragma-dialectical model of argumentation and the conventionalisation of activity types determine how the resolution minded process is obtained (Van Eemeren, 2017b). For instance, every other communicative activity type will have dominant prototypical argumentative patterns. The effectiveness and reasonableness in the activity type of the domain of adjudication will employ symptomatic argument schemes and argumentation from analogy. They do so to legitimate the final verdict in the communicative activity type of the law case. Thus, the symptomatic argument scheme and the argumentation from analogy are instrumental in legal domain-oriented activity types. In a case of the deliberative domain, the prototypical argumentative pattern is pragmatic argumentation. This means that the arguer presents standpoints and explains why such standpoints should or should not be carried out because of positive (desirable) results or negative (undesirable) results. It can be systematically presented as follows.

The first is the positive variant,

1. *Action X should be carried out.*
 - 1.1 *Because: Action X leads to positive result Y.*
 - (1.1') *(And: If action X has a positive result such as Y, it must be carried out.*

The second is the negative variant,

1. *Action X should not be carried out.*
 - 1.1 *Because: Action X leads to negative result Y.*
 - (1.1') *(And: If action X leads to negative result Y, it must not be carried out.*

The pragmatic argumentation is combined with majority argumentation in parliamentary discourse (Andone, 2017). Analysing the report of European parliamentary committees of

inquiries, Andone (2017) argues that pragmatic argumentation and majority argumentation are complimentary in meeting the institutional point. Specifically, what is desirable, and what the majority support is what must be carried out. About the majority wants, the European Parliament committees of inquiry executed its power of investigating institutions in the European Union that were directly or indirectly responsible to European Union. The committee made an investigation on the crisis in the Equitable Life Assurance Society for failure to provide services as its contracts with customers in the European Union stipulated. The crisis based on a situation of customers living longer than expected, thus causing more expenditure to the company. Accordingly, the Equitable Life Insurance Society decided to pay less than stipulated in the contract to those who had recently joined after retiring. Following that violation of the contract, some members sued the company to court. In reaction, the company started paying all members equally, a decision that led to its collapse. There were challenges among consumers. Some did not know how to get their rights and, somehow, to task the company. So, the committees of inquiry decided from the finding to stage a problem that existed in the company. More importantly, it was to take what is desirable and thus support it for the betterment of European Union member states. Apart from the desirability, what was suggested was to meet the majority. That was the pragmatic and majority argumentations combined to meet the institutional demand for solving the problem of not paying the consumers of the service of Equitable Life Assurance Society, in the sense that, what was desirable was to be supported by the majority (Andone, 2017).

In an analysis of the role of pragmatic problem-solving argumentation in a plenary debate in the European Parliament, Garssen (2017a) argues that, in the European Parliament, the proposal for a certain legislation is presented in the parliament for approval or disapproval. The proposal may be a plan, a policy etc. Because it is directly related to defending a plan or a policy to be established, it is called a practical argumentation. For the proponents, a proposal is presented in a view that it will solve a certain problem, thus suggesting the problem-solving argumentation. Protagonists cite it with reasons that there are no serious problems related to that. The former employs pragmatic problem-solving argumentation and the argumentation scheme by example. An example below demonstrates schematically the argument scheme of pragmatic argumentation.

1 Standpoint: Action X should be carried out.

1.1 Because: Action X leads to positive result Y

(1.1') (And: If action X leads to a positive result such as Y it must be carried out

(Van Eemeren, 2017a).

Applying the scheme in the context of the parliamentary debate, the following schematic flow is demonstrated in the pragmatic problem-solving argumentation.

1 The proposed legislation X should be adopted

1.1 Because: Adoption of the proposed legislation X solves problem Y

(1.1') And: If the proposed legislation X solves problems such as Y, the proposed legislation X should be adopted

(Garssen, 2017a: 35).

Apart from the pragmatic problem-solving argumentation, parliamentary debates in the European Parliament are predominantly of complex problem-solving argumentation.

1 Standpoint: The proposed legislation should be adopted.

1.1a There is a problem X

1.1.b Adaptation of the proposed legislation Y will solve the problem

(1.1a-1.1b') (If there is a problem Y, and the adaptation of the proposed legislation X solves the problem, it should be adopted).

Garssen differentiates argument by example from illustrations. The former occurs in an argumentation when the generalisation or a standpoint is still unaccepted by the target audience, whereas the latter occurs when the proposition is already accepted by the target audience (Garssen, 2017b: 109). According to Kruger (1960:148), cited in Garssen (2017b: 109), argument by example is associated with inductive generalisation, referring to the method of arriving at general or universal propositions from particular facts of experience. In addition, Copi, (1982) cited in (Garssen, 2017b: 109) finds argument by example and inductive generalisation equivalent, that is, from a series of observations one can conclude something about another unobserved event or one can come to a general conclusion that what is observed will generally be applicable to all cases. In that respect, Copi (1982: 413) cited in (Garssen, 2017b: 109) schematically presents argument by example associated with inductive generalisation as follows.

Instance 1 of phenomenon E is accompanied by circumstance C.

Instance 2 of phenomenon E is accompanied by circumstance C.

Instance 3 of phenomenon E is accompanied by circumstance C.

.....

Therefore, all instances of phenomenon E are accompanied by circumstance C.

Copi (1982: 413) cited in (Garssen, 2017b: 109) refers to this type of reasoning as induction by simple enumeration.

Concerning the use of the argument by example in debates of the European Parliament, Garssen (2016), cited in (Garssen, 2017b), comments that the flow of the argument goes as follows.

1 The proposed legislation should be accepted.

1.1a There is a problem

1.1b The implementation of the proposal will solve the problem

1.1a.1 Argument by example showing that there is a problem.

This is a form of problem solving argumentation.

3.10 SPEECH ACTS IN THE EXTENDED PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL PERSPECTIVE

“Pragmatics is the study of meaning in relation to the context in which a person is speaking or writing. This includes social, situational and textual context. It also includes the background knowledge context, that is, what people know about each other and about the world. Pragmatics assumes that, when people communicate with each other, they normally follow some kind of cooperative principle; that is, they have a shared understanding of how they should cooperate in their communications. The ways in which people do this, however, varies across cultures. What may be a culturally appropriate way of saying or doing something in one culture may not be the same in another culture. The study of this use of language across cultures is called cross-cultural pragmatics” (Paltridge, 2012: 38).

A contextualised utterance consists of three related acts (Yule, 1996: 48). The first is a locutionary act, which is the basic act of utterance or producing a meaningful linguistic expression. Secondly, the function of the utterance is known as illocutionary act. Utterances are formed via communicative forces such as giving an offer, a warning, etc. Such utterances

are also known as illocutionary force. Finally, apart from having an intention or purpose, the utterance is expected to have an effect. This is what is known as a perlocutionary effect (Yule, 1996: 49).

For speech acts to be meaningful, felicity conditions are appropriate circumstances necessary for the performance of speech to be recognised as intended (Yule, 1996: 50). Among ordinary users of the language, there are preconditions that must be met for the recognition of the performance of the intended speech acts. There are general conditions which require that participants can understand the language being used and they are not acting in the utterances they make. There are content conditions; for instance, for a warning and a promise, the content of the utterance must be about a future event. There is the propositional content condition; the utterance must express propositional content appropriate to its force. For example, promises must refer to future states, while reports of occurrences must not refer to future states. The essential condition; making the utterance must “count” as an expression of a certain objective, within some set of social understandings. The sincerity condition; the speaker must believe, want, and intend anything represented as believed, wanted, or intended. The preparatory conditions; the speaker must have adequate justification for undertaking to achieve the underlying objective and must believe that performing the speech act itself will help lead to the achievement of the objective.

In classifying speech acts, Yule (1996: 53–54) lists five types of general functions performed by speech acts. Declarations are kinds of speech acts that change the world via utterance. Secondly, representatives are those kinds of speech acts that state what the speaker believes to be the case or not, such as assertions, conclusions and descriptions. Thirdly, expressives are those kinds of speech acts that state what the speaker feels. The fourth one is of directives which are those kinds of speech acts that speakers use to get someone else to do something. The fifth one is commissives which are those kinds of speech acts that speakers use to commit themselves to some future action.

Speech acts can be direct or indirect. To understand the direct or indirect speech act, there must be a structure. The structure is based on three basic sentence types as Yule (1996: 54–55) presents.

<i>You wear a seat belt.</i>	<i>(Declarative)</i>
<i>Do you wear a seat belt?</i>	<i>(Interrogative)</i>
<i>Wear a seat belt!</i>	<i>(Imperative)</i>

Thus, direct speech act is realised whenever there is a direct relationship between structure and function, and an indirect speech act is realised whenever there is an indirect relationship between a structure and function.

3.11 APPRAISAL THEORY IN THE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE

According to White (2011: 14), an appraisal is a framework for analysing the language of evaluation.

3.11.1 Attitude-the activation of positive or negative positioning

In the Appraisal theory, attitudinal meanings (negative and positive) can be grouped into three semantic categories. The first is affect, which falls under the category of attitudinal meaning associated with emotion; that is, texts indicate positive or negative views via either reports of the speaker/writer's emotional responses or reports of emotional responses of the third parties (Martin & White, 2005; White, 2011: 16). The second is judgement, which falls under the category of meanings by which a view is indicated by the social acceptability of the behaviour of human actors and assessment by reference to some system of social norms or morality (White, 2011: 16). The third one is appreciation, which refers to the meanings by which assessments are made of semiotic and natural phenomena by reference to their value in a given field, perhaps most typically, by reference to their aesthetic qualities (White, 2011: 16).

3.11.2 Modes of activation

The modes are inscribed evaluation (explicitly attitudinal terms of negative/positive evaluation) and invoked evaluation (implied, inferred attitudinal terms of negative/positive evaluation) depending on what writers/speakers use in communicating their messages (White, 2011: 17).

3.11.3 Typological criteria

Halliday (1994), cited in White (2011), comments that the semantics of affect is one by which meanings are most typically realised through a verbal process undergone or

experienced by a conscious human participant-the reactional mental processes of systemic functional linguistics. For instance, “Your decision saddens me” (White, 2011: 18). Judgement values are realised in the frame, “It was X- Judgement value of Y to ...”, for instance, “It was dishonest of him to resign”. Even appreciation may operate in that frame only when it acquires a judgemental status; for instance, “It was beautiful of you mentoring those young academicians” (White, 2011: 19). On account of such complexities in realising the typological criteria, further studies are still needed to come with findings that can clearly distinguish the three-attitudinal modes of evaluation (White, 2011: 19).

3.12 CHALLENGES AND SOLUTIONS IN THE APPLICATION OF PRAGMA-DIALECTICS

Some arguments have been made against the application of the pragma-dialectical approach of argumentation in political discourse analysis. Mainly, the claims are that, because of the nature of the goals politicians have, there is no actual deliberative democracy, no genuine democratic deliberation in politics. Therefore, political discourse does not involve argumentation/ deliberation, and mostly, the application of power to manipulate the decision-making process prevents this (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 14). Such arguments are not strong because the agents in political practical reasoning must weigh what is presented to them despite some manipulations. (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012: 14; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). With respect to the choice of this theory in the proposed study, Leal (2016) argues that

“although there is no shortage of researchers in argumentation studies willing and able to theorise, I submit that there is in this field no theory of argumentation in the standard sense of the word ‘theory’ within the philosophy of science as practised from Kant and Comte on-with the notable exception of Pragma-dialectics.”

Basing on the elements of a theory, Leal (2016) argues that the Pragma-dialectical theory is an analytic engine capable of continuous inferential development, empirical hypothesis testing, and a broad application of vagaries of the real world, in this context the vagaries of argumentative reality.

Moreover, perspectives on the bridged argumentation theory on strategic maneuvering clarify a justification of employing pragma-dialectics in the analysis of the campaign speeches in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election. There are three general approaches to studying argumentation. Logic is concerned with the matters of form and the relationships among

statements in an argument. Dialectic deals with procedures of critical questioning between interlocutors to resolve disagreements between them. And rhetoric concerns itself with the relationship between claims and audiences, examining both the pragmatic influence of claims and the philosophical question of how audiences validate arguments in everyday life. One focuses on validity, one on the intersubjective agreement, and one on persuasiveness (Zarefsky, 2014: 129). Dialectics bridges the gap between logic and rhetoric, and strategic maneuvering operates in when dialectic and rhetoric move together. Therefore, strategic maneuvering in the Pragma-dialectical perspective is not optional; it must be observed in all cases of argumentative moves (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002).

In an actual argumentation, arguers realise that there is a point of disagreement, and they would like to resolve it; however, they commit themselves depending on their viewpoints, who will be an antagonist who will be the protagonist. The role of argument analysts is to assess whether the rules for critical discussion are observed in the argumentative move. Basically, the ideal model of argumentation differs from the real situation that takes place in the argumentative move. Accordingly, the analysts must encourage arguers to observe whether they can at least implement the approximated ideal model of critical discussion (Zarefsky, 2014). The argumentation analysts should find out how to balance the congruence between the ideal universal audience which comprises only reasonable people and the real audience in the argumentative reality.

Derailments of strategic maneuvering are taken as arguments in which topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices were selected not because they clarify focus, increase presence of the ideas, or achieve stylistic elegance, but because they took advantage of circumstances of an audience in the real argumentative move (Zarefsky, 2014: 132).

In summary, the extended pragma-dialectical theory is appropriately applicable to the study for it provides a guide in dealing with the research objectives. To start with, several studies have demonstrated the richness of the theory in analysing and evaluating strategic maneuvering in argumentative discourse (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002; Mohammed, 2008; Zarefsky, 2008; Sahlane, 2015).

Another application of the theory deals with argumentation schemes where literature shows the effectiveness of the theory in analysing and evaluating argumentative discourse (van Eemeren & Garssen, 2015; van Eemeren et al., 2014; Freeley & Steinberg, 2009a; Walton et

al., 2008; Hart, 1995: 7-58 cited in Walton et al., 2008; Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969). In addition, the theory is relevant to identifying argument structures (Walton, 2006; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). Finally, the theory is relevant to analysing and evaluating rhetorical devices (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). As earlier studies indicate, rhetorical devices are a tool for effectiveness in either written or spoken contexts (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969: 400; Crosswhite, 1996; Van Eemeren, 1999; Iețcu-Fairclough, 2008).

3.13 STRUCTURAL MODEL OF DATA ANALYSIS

The data in this study are analysed based on the six dimensions as shown in Figure 3. With this regard, any argumentation claimed to be successful, a process of resolving differences of opinion comprises identifying the argument structure or structures, argumentation schemes, topical potential, audience demand, appraisal, and presentational devices. The process also involves evaluating the success of observing rules for critical discussion, identifying rules derailed in the argumentative reality, and evaluating the effectiveness and reasonableness in the argumentative reality. Nevertheless, the study does not mean stages are explicit and are met in all argumentations nor does it mean they are chronological. The study presents, from the perspective of pragma-dialectics, the ideal model of argumentation in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential campaign speeches.

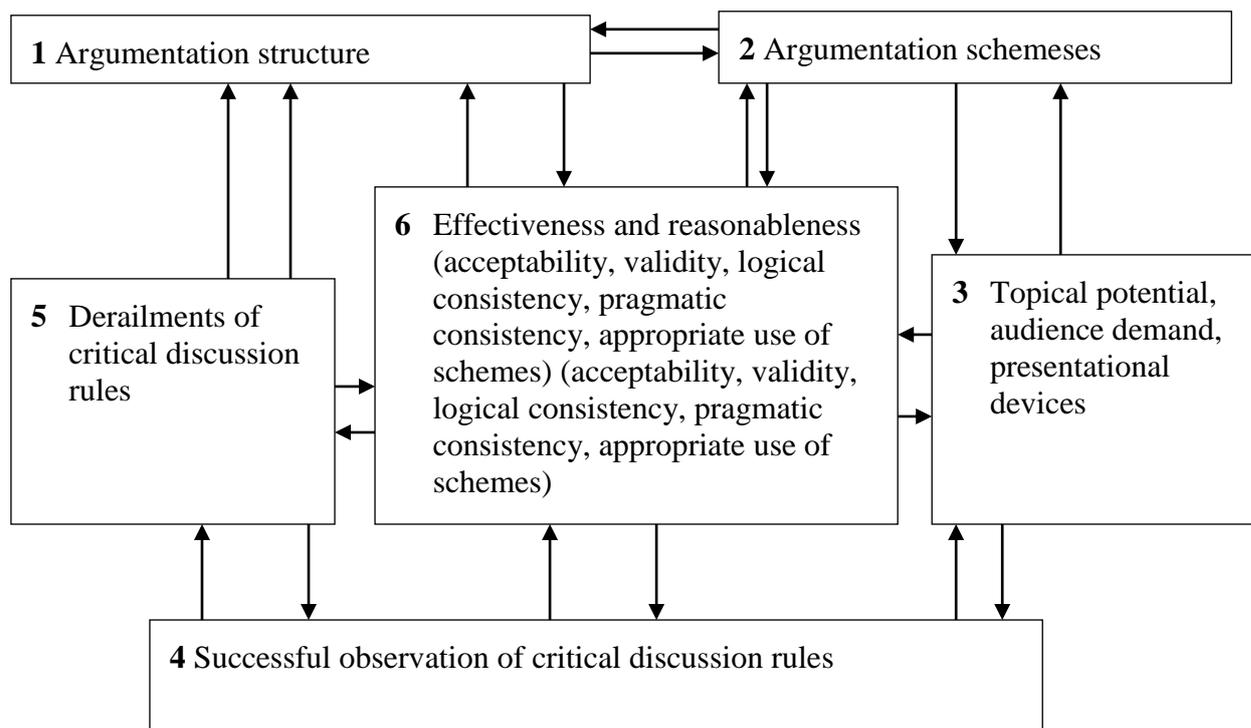


Figure 3.5: Schematic representation of the six dimensions in maintaining a delicate balance between reasonableness and effectiveness in argumentative discourse

Chapter Three demonstrated how the Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation suits the analysis of strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches. It presented an overview of the Argumentation theory. Furthermore, key theoretical concepts in the argumentation theory were elaborated. The chapter examined strategic maneuvering in the argumentative discourse. Also, effectiveness and reasonableness in argumentative discourse were examined. Key concepts related to argumentation and logic were presented. It examined rhetoric and dialectic in the extended Pragma-dialectical perspective. Moreover, asymmetrical setting and institutional preconditions in the argumentative discourse were explained. In addition, prototypical argumentative patterns were highlighted. It also investigated speech acts in the argumentative discourse. It further explained appraisal theory from the Pragma-dialectical perspective. The chapter elaborated the theoretical point of departure. The research design of the study was described in which data gathering methods, data analysis and the structural model of data analysis were presented.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRATEGIC MANEUVRING BY GOVERNMENT ORIENTED CANDIDATE, PARTY MEMBERS AND CAMPAIGN TEAM MEMBERS IN THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF CCM

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Four investigates strategic maneuvering in the inaugural CCM presidential campaign speeches delivered on 23rd August 2015 at Jangwani Field in Dar es Salaam. It aims at examining how the incumbent party, CCM, strategically maneuvers in justifying why Tanzanians should continue trusting the party and its members; thus, they should vote for the presidential candidate and the running mate from CCM. There are six dimensions necessary in the analysis of argumentation in Chapter Four. In this analysis, an argumentation is regarded reasonably and effectively presented after scrutiny of identifying what type of argumentation structures are employed, analysing the argumentation schemes, analysing how topical potential, adaptation to audience demand, presentational devices, and how evaluative language (appraisal) is utilised. Other aspects are evaluating the success of the observation of critical discussion rules, identifying the derailments of the critical discussion rules, and evaluating the extent to which effectiveness and reasonableness are maintained in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili.

Chapter Four comprises ten sections. Section 4.1 introduces the chapter. Section 4.2 examines strategic maneuvering in argumentation relating to social services. More specifically, sub-section 4.2.1 examines arguments regarding argumentative discourse relating to improvement of water supply; sub-section 4.2.2 focusses on argumentation concerning facilitation of primary and secondary school education; sub-section 4.2.3 examines argumentation concerned with facilitation of higher education; and sub-section 4.2.4 presents argumentation regarding health services. Section 4.3 investigates strategic maneuvering in the argumentative discourse on economic development and corruption control. Sub-section 4.3.1 examines argumentation on corruption control in public offices, and sub-section 4.3.2 describes argumentation concerning corruption control in the natural resources sector. Section 4.4 analyses strategic maneuvering on mineral resources management; sub-section 4.4.1 scrutinises argumentative discourse concerning management

of Tanzanite mining projects. Section 4.5 delineates strategic maneuvering in the agricultural sector. Section 4.6 examines strategic maneuvering in the argumentative discourse on the infrastructural sector, with sub-section 4.6.1 dedicated to the improvement of road infrastructure. Section 4.7 examines argumentation regarding the reliability of political parties, with sub-section 4.7.1 analysing strategic maneuvering on views of politicians about constitutional reforms; sub-section 4.7.2 focusses on argumentation about the strength of the incumbent party, CCM; sub-section 4.7.3 analyses arguments about the qualifications of presidential candidates; sub-section 4.7.4 investigates qualities of policies and manifestos; sub-section 4.7.5 examines arguments concerning selfishness and political immaturity and sub-section 4.7.6 examines argumentation concerning the photoshopped opposition party rallies. Section 4.8 examines strategic maneuvering in the argumentative discourse on development transformation and good governance. More specifically, sub-section 4.8.1 examines argumentative discourse concerning power separation and good governance, while sub-section 4.8.2 examines argumentation on development without regard of party affiliations and ethnicity. Section 4.9 examines strategic maneuvering in argumentation on peace, unity, and development, with sub-section 4.9.1 analysing arguments concerning peace and unity; in addition, sub-section 4.9.2 analyses arguments concerning development and national unity. Section 4.10 summarises strategic maneuvering by the government-oriented candidate and his campaign team members in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches of Chama Cha Mapinduzi.

The analysis presented below is based on the six dimensions that the study finds appropriate in evaluating of strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993; Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008).

4.2 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON SOCIAL SERVICES

Section 4.2 comprises four sections, 4.2.1, 4.2.2, 4.2.3, and 4.2.4 as identified in section 4.1. Campaigners in support of the ruling party strategically maneuver in making sure that they reasonably and effectively persuade potential electorate in the 2015 presidential elections. Due to the high demand for water supply, education facilities, and health services, campaigners focus on these issues to the votes of the electorate in the argumentative discourse of presidential election campaign communicative activity type.

4.2.1 Improvement of water supply

The presidential candidate of the ruling party, CCM explains what CCM will do in the next five years in relation to the improvement of water supply in rural and urban areas.

CCM speech segment 1

MAGUFULI: Suala la maji! (1) Maji vijijini, bahati nzuri kwenye ilani ya uchaguzi imezungumzwa. (2) Tutaongeza hadi kufika 2020 watu vijijini wapate maji kwa asilimia 85 na mijini wapate maji kwa asilimia 95, na hii si kwa takwimu tutalisimamia.

Concerning water! [1] Water in the rural areas, fortunately, it is stipulated in the CCM election manifesto. [2] By 2020, we will have increased water supply in urban and rural areas by 95% and 85%, respectively. [3] This matter is not just a matter of statistics. [4] We shall implement it.

Concerning the first dimension of maintaining a delicate balance in argumentation on the water in speech segment 1.1, represented in Figure 4.1 demonstrates the subordinative argumentation structure. Standpoint 1 is supported by argument 1.1; likewise, argument 1.1 is supported by sub-argument 1.1.1. In this regard, in the subordinative argumentation structure, the argument behaves as the standpoint of the supporting argument. The structure in figure represented in 1 presents a deductively valid argument. It means it is logically impossible for the premises to be true while the conclusion is false (Walton, 1987: 63). In Tanzania, a pledge of supplying water for 85% and 95% in the rural and urban areas, respectively, is convincing to persuade candidates to vote for the presidential candidate. In a form of a deductively valid argument, the reconstruction in Figure 4.1 demonstrates how the pledge of water accessibility increases chances of being voted for. Magufuli pledges improvement of water supply. Therefore, Magufuli will be elected by the voters. Such structures are part of formal logic, a form of reasoning in a mathematical flow. It is employed in arguing against an opponent who presents a false premise in one of the premises. This form of reasoning is also referred to as modus ponens (Walton, 1987: 66).

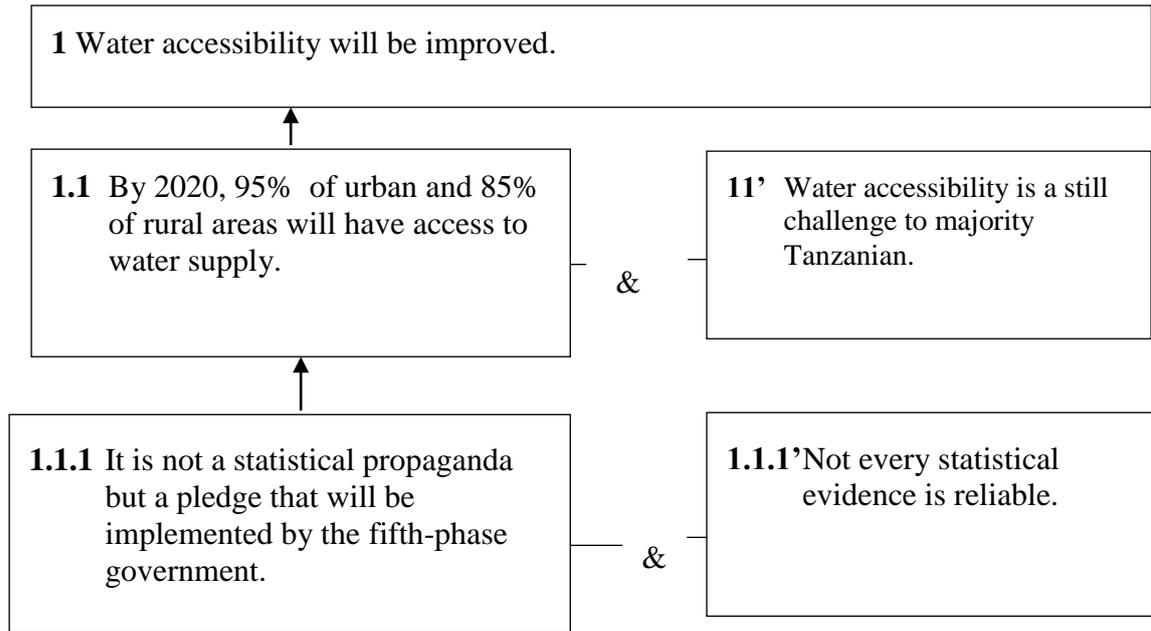


Figure 4.1: Reconstructed argumentation structure on water supply

In regard to the second dimension, in figure 4.1, the speaker employs various schemes, and symptomatic argumentation scheme is among the portrayed schemes. Magufuli provides statistical evidence showing that by 2020, 95% and 85% of urban and rural areas, respectively, will have access to water supply. This improvement is a great achievement. That is why the speaker emphasises that it is not for statistical propaganda but something that the fifth-phase government pledges to implement. Magufuli acknowledges the CCM manifesto in which the pledge is found (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015: 105–106). It can also be categorised as argumentation from authority. From the deductive reasoning approach, voting for the incumbent party candidate will lead to improvement of water supply. Thus, another argumentation scheme is of causal relation. It can thus be concluded that Magufuli employs pragmatic problem-solving argumentation (Garssen, 2017b: 111). The electorate is advised to vote for Magufuli. Magufuli will solve the problem of water in rural and urban areas. Therefore, voting for Magufuli will lead to the solution to the problem of water in rural and urban areas.

Concerning the third dimension (topical potential, audience demand, presentational devices, and appraisal), in the confrontation stage, the topic on water accessibility in Tanzania is introduced. Unlike other social services, water is a necessary daily basic need that human beings cannot do without. Such a strategy of majority need makes Magufuli's argumentation effective. Notwithstanding, CCM has been in power for over 50 years, yet Magufuli tries to

convince the audience that there is still hope of solving water problems by 2020. Identifying the need for solving water Magufuli associates himself with water stressed groups especially those in rural areas where women must wake up as early as possible to walk several kilometres to fetch water. In the opening stage, Magufuli defends his standpoint capitalising on his real intention to solve water problems. This is a strategy known as a persuasive persona (Lakhani, 2005). In the argumentation stage, Magufuli admits water to be a problem. In strategic maneuvering, Magufuli implies that, even though Tanzania obtained independence more than 50 years ago, the government has not managed to solve water problems. He states that he decides to take charge of the project to convince the audience that by 2020 the situation will have changed. It would be unrealistic for Magufuli to argue against the obvious reality regarding water related problems in urban and rural areas.

Magufuli engages in the topic that water is a problem to be addressed in the campaign and be solved by 2020. Not only does Magufuli mention the problem, but also pledges to take charge of solving it. A commitment raised in Magufuli's argumentation implies the government under him would implement the goals that the manifesto of CCM stipulates on water supply. Given the felicity conditions (Searle, 1979b; Yule, 1996), the context where Magufuli refers to the implementation is appropriate for the audience to believe. Moreover, from an appraisal perspective (Iedema *et al.*, 1994), Magufuli judges himself as a capable person; that is why he uses the first person singular in statements in making pledges. Thus, a persuasive persona is more capitalised on than the party identity. Magufuli appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions because water is a needed by every single individual regardless of political affiliations. Magufuli then reframes the subject. Instead of admitting directly that the ruling party has failed to supply water to its citizens, he pledges that 95% and 85% of urban and rural areas, respectively, will have access to water by 2020. Moreover, the personal identity of Magufuli is transferred to the party identity as he speaks as if he were an independent candidate. This is revealed by using the first person singular pronoun, 'I', instead of the first person plural pronoun, 'we', referring to CCM members and the government. This is typical of institutional precondition strategy, where a member of a certain party is expected to defend their institution as much as they can. In the conclusion stage, in the same way, his conclusion suggests a need to trust the CCM candidates, so that water problems could be solved.

In accordance with the fourth dimension of the successful observation of critical discussion rules in the argumentative discourse in figure 4.1, Magufuli observes the freedom rule. Given the institutional preconditions from the ruling party, Magufuli could be expected to deny the allegations of water problems against the government. Contrary to expectation, he willingly responds to the unexpressed premise. The burden to prove what the fifth-phase government would do with respect to solving the water problem, Magufuli commits himself to pledge to get the problem solved. With the reconstructed unexpressed premise, water is still a problem in Tanzania. Magufuli responds to the starting point by explaining what the government will have done by 2020. Connected to the standpoint point rule, Magufuli appropriately exploits the unexpressed premise that the government of the fourth-phase was not working up to standard. The argumentation schemes were appropriately employed, especially the causal relation, symptomatic argumentation, and authority argumentation. The argumentative pattern in speech segment 1 is a problem-solving argumentation.

The dimension of the identification of derailments provides a way to evaluate how Magufuli violates the rules for the critical discussion in the move to strategically maneuver. Magufuli's comment that the pledge on water is not just for statistical propaganda is questionable because Magufuli does in this inaugural speech of 23rd August 2015 identify himself as a candidate with empirical and statistical evidence. One may think, whenever he provides statistical data in other contexts, he does so on political grounds to get more supporters at the expense of pledging what he really intends to implement. He thus violates the language usage rule due to the ambiguity on the use of statistical data in his argumentation.

From the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth dimensions discussed above, the sixth dimension (reasonableness and effectiveness) evaluates that Magufuli presents his arguments represented in figure 4.1 effectively. Statistical evidence is used though he implies not in all circumstances the audience must rely on statistical evidence. Other presentational devices he employs include dissociation, pragmatic argumentation, majority need, and association. Reasonableness of the argumentation is achieved by the appropriate use of schemes. Magufuli employs pragmatic problem-solving argumentation that there is a need for the government to initiate water accessibility projects. Given that many people need water, they argue that the initiatives of Magufuli are appropriate and should be supported. Supporting the initiatives implies the electorate are advised to vote for Magufuli. Furthermore, there is pragmatic consistency in the context where Magufuli pledges water solution. In Dar es

Salaam, water is still a critical problem in many areas. His pledge intends to attract voters to support him and the party, CCM. Logically, it is consistent because water is a basic need, and it is responsibility of the government to supply water to its citizens. Thus, the argumentation is valid both in terms of the ability of the government to supply water and the political will of the fifth-phase government as the pledge is indicated in the 2015 CCM election manifesto (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015). For dialecticians, reasonableness is not only based on the approval of the audience but also on the observation of the critical discussion rules that lead to valid argumentation (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992a). Guided by the principles of communication that the speaker or writer must be clear, sincere, efficient, and keep the point (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 52), Magufuli effectively and reasonably argues in defence of the standpoint that voting for the ruling party candidate will lead to solving water problems.

4.2.2 Facilitation of primary and secondary school education

Apart from water service, primary and secondary school education is portrayed as the source of difference of opinion where the ruling party pledges a free- education policy in both primary and ordinary level secondary education (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015: 97).

CCM speech segment 2

MAGUFULI: Kuhusu elimu! (1) Tutatekeleza sera ya mfumo wa mpya elimu ambao unataka kutoa elimu bure kuanzia shule ya msingi hadi kidato cha nne. (2) Tukibana hii mianya ya ufisadi, wizi na nini hela zitapatikana za kuweza kuwasimamia watoto hawa wasome kuanzia darasa la kwanza hadi kidato cha nne. (3) Inawezekana! (4) Lakini kuhusu nyumba za walimu kwa mfano kwenye shule za msingi na shule zilizopo vijijini, tutahakikisha tunajenga nyumba nyingi za walimu, ili walimu waweze kutoa huduma vizuri. (5) Ili nalo linawezekana. (6) Ninafahamu walimu wengi walikua wanazungumza shemeji unatuachaje sasa! (7) Sijui watazungumzaje kwasababu mimi mke wangu ni mwalimu na mimi nilikua mwalimu, kwahiyo ni shemeji kwa shemeji kote kote.

[1] In the education sector, we will implement the new educational policy of free education from primary school to ordinary secondary school – Form Four. [2] If we manage to control grand corruption and embezzlement, we will get money for free education to children from Standard One to Form Four. [3] It is possible! [4] Pertaining to the houses for the teachers,

for instance, in the primary schools and schools found in the rural areas, we will make sure that we build many houses for teachers so that teachers become efficient in their duties. [5] This is also possible. [6] I know that many teachers were saying, 'brother-in-law, how do you leave us?' (referring to Kikwete since his wife was a teacher too) [7] I do not exactly know what they say because my wife is a teacher and I was a teacher. [8] So, I am an 'in-law' on both sides.

According to the first dimension of the argumentation structure, Figure 4.2 of the CCM speech segment demonstrates a complex argumentation structure because it comprises different structures. Arguments (1.1a and 1.1b) are coordinative and arguments (1.1b, 1.1b.1, 1.1b.1.1, and 1.1b.1.1.1) are subordinative (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). Magufuli employs different structures to make sure his standpoint on primary and ordinary secondary school education is strongly supported by different arguments. In addition, the form of reasoning in Figure 4.2 is deductive (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993). Magufuli argues that, if Tanzanians want priority in the education sector, they should vote for the candidate who supports free education. Magufuli supports free education. Therefore, the Tanzanians are advised to vote for Magufuli.

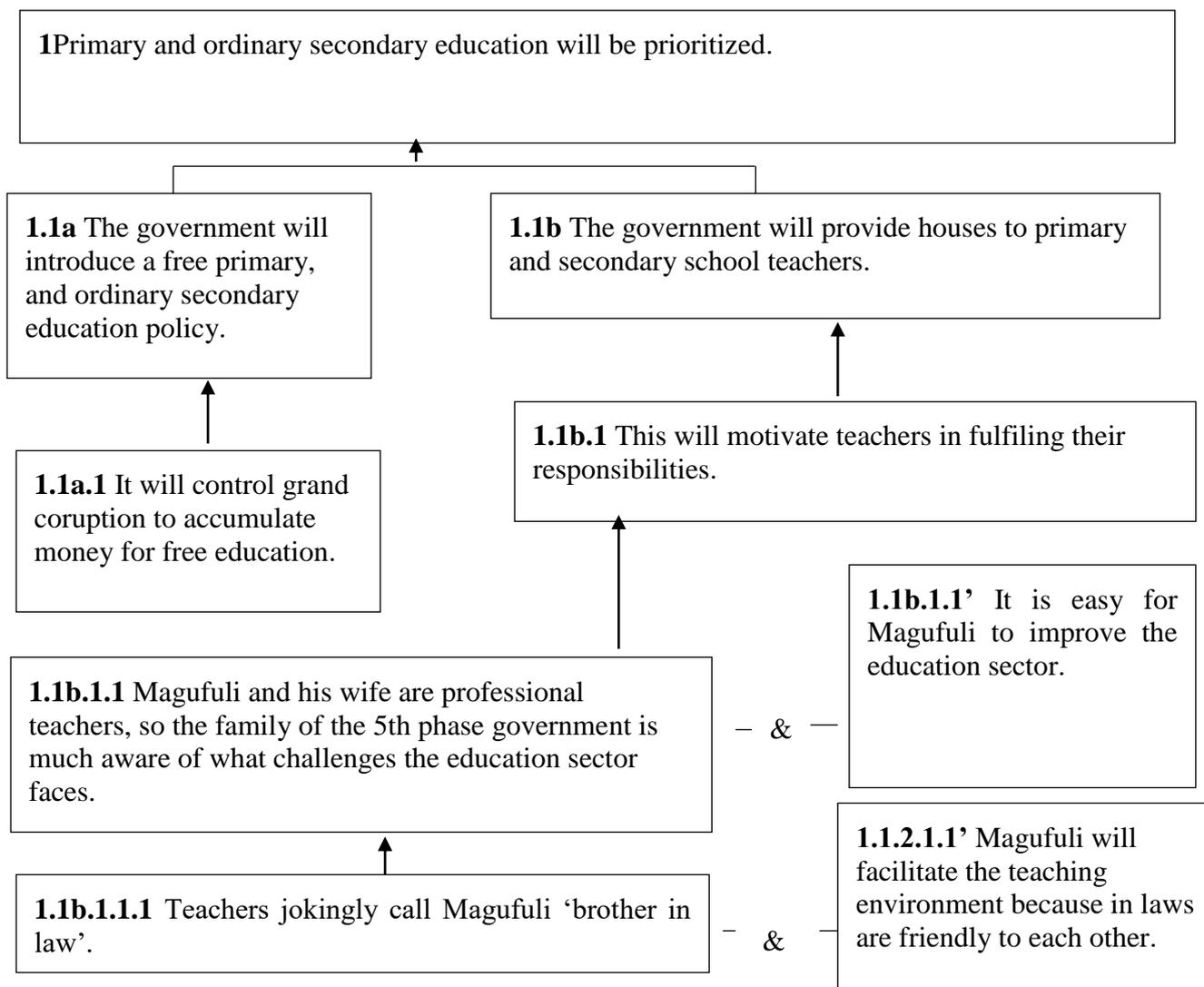


Figure 4.2: Reconstructed argumentation structure on primary and secondary school education

Focussing on the second dimension, that is, argumentation schemes, Figure 4.2 demonstrates the employment of appropriate argument schemes in the argumentation to support the free education policy. Pragmatic argumentation and majority argumentation are combined in the argumentation as argumentative patterns. Magufuli pledges to implement the policy of free education from primary school to ordinary level of education. Free education is the policy that promises improvement in the education sector, and the policy will benefit many Tanzanians. Thus, Magufuli qualifies to be the president because of good policies of his party, and his pledge to implement the free education policy. Moreover, the candidate employs an argument from analogy. He provides real examples that teachers call Magufuli brother-in-law because his wife is a teacher, and Magufuli himself is a professionally

educated teacher. Contextually, in Tanzania, in-laws treat each other in a friendly manner. Therefore, Magufuli implies that he would improve the teaching environment for primary and secondary school teachers. Secondly, telling the audience about his profession, Magufuli presupposes that he needs to attend first to education. Another argumentation scheme is a causal relation. He assures citizens of his intention of controlling corruption to save money for free education.

The third dimension relating to accomplishing the delicate balance between reasonableness and rhetorical effectiveness, Figure 4.2 presents how topical potential, audience demand, presentational devices and appraisal are employed. In the confrontation stage, the choice of the topic of free education is a strategic decision to get public support. As far as the audience is concerned in presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type, Magufuli skilfully tries, from the confrontation stage, to appeal to free education as a strategy to get many potential voters to support him. In the appraisal perspective (Iedema et al., 1994), Magufuli is positively judging himself as caring, an aspect which is categorised under propriety. Pledging free education relates to support by caring parents, guardians, and children who perhaps would not be able to pay for tuition fees either in public or private schools. Making the argumentation effective, Magufuli invokes conciliation stating that there is a need for the government to have free education in primary and ordinary secondary schools. There are allegations that the government misuses public funds, which if they were utilised appropriately, they could be used to provide free education. Magufuli indirectly criticises his party for failing to control corruption. This is a typical ironical utterance for CCM members and leaders; though it can be viewed as a self-criticism strategy meant to avoid counterarguments from the opponents (Kienpointer, 2013).

In the opening stage, Magufuli supports a claim to implement the free education from primary school to the ordinary level of education. It is a strategic decision to support free education topic because the majority like it, and it sounds beneficial to the public. Magufuli assumes the responsibility of defending the standpoint that the fifth-phase government would provide free education. He distinguishes himself from CHADEMA/UKAWA whose pledge is free education up to university level. Notwithstanding his pledge, this may be a challenge in case the audience decides to compare between Magufuli's pledge and the pledge of the opposition. In the argumentation stage, the topic is maintained. Magufuli identifies himself as a friend of teachers. Therefore, he perhaps manages to get supporters from the teaching cadre.

He employs a persuasive persona pledging to control corruption to get money for free education. Magufuli has had moral credits in the fourth-phase government. Thus, he stands as a candidate, who, notwithstanding corruption allegations in the government, the public still trusts. In as much as CCM may be pledging free education without providing the way the fund will be obtained, Magufuli is trusted in what is saying. Appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions is employed too. Like any other poor countries in Africa, Tanzania still has a need to consider its citizens for free education since many people, especially in the rural areas, are economically disadvantaged. Also, in Figure 4.2, there is a reframing of the argument. Corruption has been an issue in the United Republic of Tanzania, especially in the fourth-phase government. Magufuli does not mention corruption alone but he relates it to compromising education facilities. The argumentative move he stages is an attempt entailing that the corruption allegations are neutralised by the glittering generality of the new policy on education in the fifth-phase government. Moreover, Magufuli associates himself with teachers in a strategy to win votes since teachers would be perhaps convinced of supporting someone who knows and is ready to solve problems in primary and secondary schools. In the conclusion stage, Magufuli suggests the electorate ought to consider supporting a candidate that values education, especially by helping poor families to take their children to school. In addition, Magufuli suggests that the teaching environment for teachers would be improved if they would vote for him. Parents and guardians are advised to vote for the CCM candidates because the party has the intention of providing free education. He invokes a persuasive persona of his personal credibility when he was a minister, a strategy that may be of benefit to Magufuli and his party in general. Thus, this strategy is employed to show how considerate he is to facilitate the teaching and learning environment for the betterment of the people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

The fourth dimension, in Figure 4.2 demonstrates how rules for critical discussion are successfully observed in the deliberative argumentative discourse of the presidential election campaign speeches as a communicative activity type. From the beginning of the argumentation up to the end, Magufuli observes freedom rule. Magufuli is aware that the opposition party camp/UKAWA pledges free education from primary school up to university level. Magufuli does not say it is not easy for the developing nations like Tanzania to provide free education up to university level. Focussing on primary and secondary school education implies CHADEMA's pledge on education is too ambitious to implement. Accordingly, he assumes the burden of proof. He explains how he would combat corruption to rescue public

funds. He argues that funds would be used to provide free education and construct houses for teachers. Magufuli's response to the unexpressed premise, that it is possible to have free education from primary school to university level education, observes the standpoint rule. It is a pledge of CHADEMA/UKAWA that education would be free from primary school level to university level. Referring to the relevance rule, Magufuli supports his standpoint with relevant arguments and sub-arguments. Teachers are included in the pledge of improving education in primary and secondary schools. Houses for teachers are envisaged to encourage the goal of free education but with well motivated teachers.

The unexpressed premise rule is observed as Magufuli mentions the matter already circulating during the campaigns, namely Tanzania deserves free education policy. The starting point rule is also observed. Magufuli is perhaps responding to the pledge by the opposition party. Regarding corruption allegations, Magufuli responds that there will be no opportunities for corruption. Thus, the argument scheme rule is observed. Causal relation argumentation, pragmatic argumentation, majority argumentation, and symptomatic argumentation are employed to support the standpoint on the need for giving priority to education. The argumentation is valid because the incumbent party candidate admits that the government has enough money to support free education if it can control corruption. Regarding the fifth dimension, some rules for the critical discussion are compromised. The language on controlling corruption is rather vague in that Magufuli does not state explicitly or implicitly how corruption affects education.

Concerning the sixth dimension that is maintaining a delicate balance between reasonableness and rhetorical effectiveness, the argumentation represented in Figure 4.2 is effectively and reasonably presented. Magufuli employs several persuasive devices such as association, dissociation, persuasive persona, and transfer of credibility. Regarding reasonableness, the argumentation is acceptable. Free education in Tanzania is not a new policy. During the first phase government under Mwalimu Nyerere, education was free, and it was of acceptable quality. Moreover, the argumentation of Magufuli is valid. Magufuli has been a minister in different ministries for about 15 years. Thus, he knows how public funds were allegedly misused and are still misused given the high corruption level during the fourth-phase government. Controlling such corruption can enable the government to provide free education. Therefore, in the context of the United Republic of Tanzania, the pledge of free education in primary and secondary schools is logically and pragmatically consistent.

4.2.3 Facilitation of higher education

The third aspect of social service Magufuli pledges to facilitate is higher education as stipulated in the CCM manifesto (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015). The focus in Figure 4.3 of the CCM speech segment 3 is on providing loans to students on time. He opposes the current practice in which the Higher Education Students' Loans Board does not release loans unless students boycott. Like the other segments of argumentation, the six dimensions are scrutinised in evaluating how arguers maintain the required delicate balance of effectiveness and reasonableness in the argumentative discourse of the presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type.

CCM speech segment 3

MAGUFULI: (1) Lakini kwa wanafunzi wa Chuo Kikuu kweli kama kuna kitu kinaniuma ni kuona wanafunzi badala ya kupelekewa fedha zao za mikopo mapema wanasubiri mpaka wagome ndio wapelekewe, wakati bodi ya mikopo ipo pale na neno lenyewe linasema mikopo kwanini mkopo umcheleweshee mtu? (2) Nataka niseme hili nitalisimamia. (3) Nitakachotaka kuangalia tu ni kwamba kila mwanafunzi aliekopa asome kweli. (4) Asije akakopa halafu akaenda kufanya biashara. Lakini nitahakikisha mikopo ile akiingia chuoni na mkopo wake anao ili kusudi akasome amalize ili aje ajenge nchi yetu na kuifanyia kazi. (5) Hiyo ndio Tanzania ninayotaka kuijenga. (6) Lakini pia niaangalia namna ya kujenga hostel kwaajili ya kuimarisha wanavyuo. (7) Tuna taasisi zetu kama NSSF tutafuatilia wajenge.

[1] Concerning university students, if there is something that pains me is to see those in charge of disbursing loans not giving loans until students boycott studies while the loans board is working, and yet that money is a 'loan'. [2] So, why should you delay giving loans to students? [3] I want to say that I will deal with it, but I would also want to make sure that every beneficiary really studies. [4] They should not take loans and start businesses. [5] I will make sure that when a student reports at the university they get loans on time to facilitate them complete studies on time and come back to build our country through serving it. [6] This is the kind of Tanzania I want to build. [7] But I will also see the possibility of building hostels for students. [8] We are going to urge our institutions like the NSSF to build hostels.

In respect to the first dimension, the argumentation structure, Figure 4.3 of the CCM speech segment 3 presents multiple structures of arguments (1.1 and 1.2) and subordinative argument structures (1.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.1.1, and arguments 1.2, 1.2.1) (Van Eemeren *et al.*,

2008). In addition, from the argument structure in Figure 4.3, providing students with loans on time, facilitating accommodation to students, and supervising all sectors that are directly related to facilitation of higher education are given as possible instances of improving higher education. Thus, Figure 4.3 demonstrates an inductive argument (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren et al., 1993; Hurley, 2012: 33).

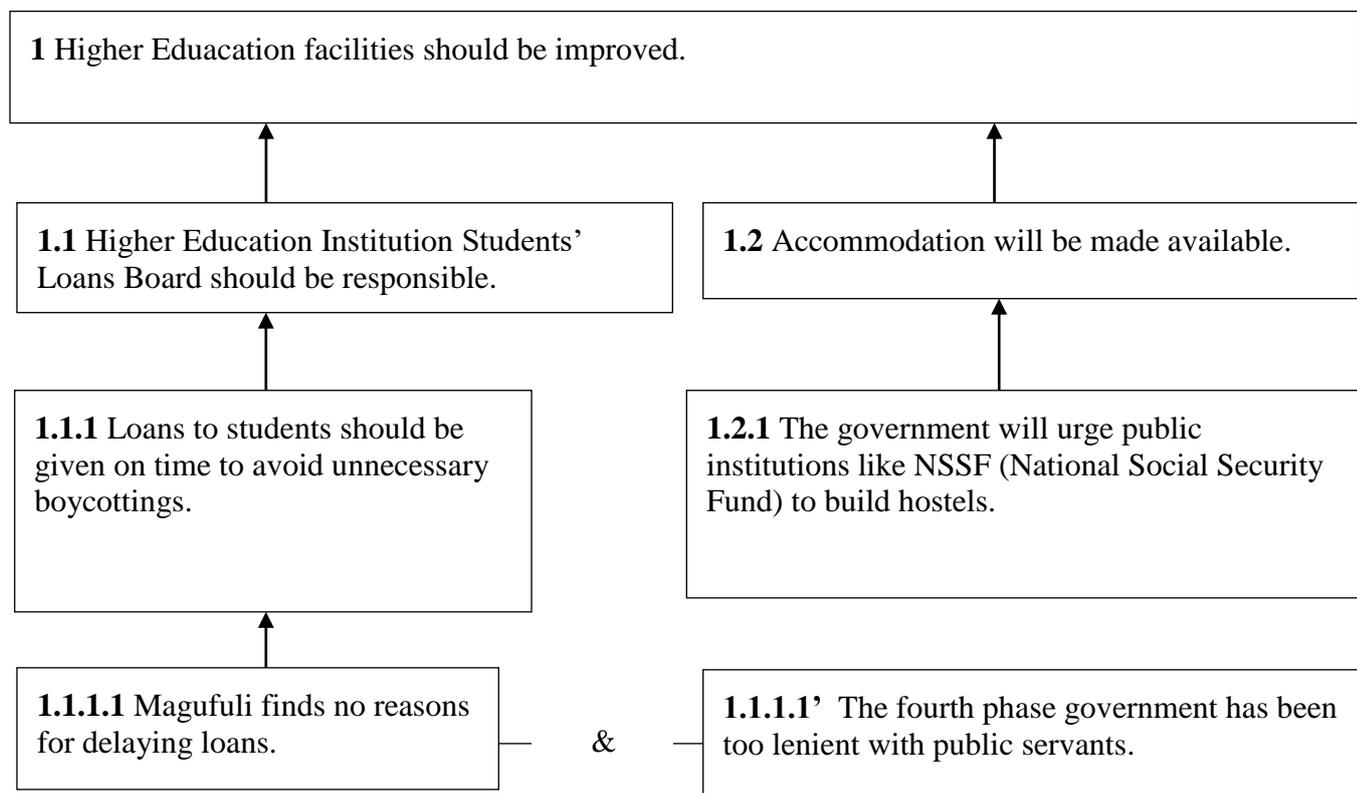


Figure 4.3: Reconstructed argumentation structure on facilitation of higher education

Referring to the second dimension in maintaining a delicate balance between reasonableness and rhetorical effectiveness, in the Pragma-dialectical perspective, argument schemes support a standpoint. Without argument schemes, it is difficult to claim the argumentation as effective and reasonable (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). Magufuli employs a causal relation argumentation scheme. In the context of Tanzania, it is generally common that loans to students are released to students after students' organisations present an ultimatum to boycott or, sometimes, even after students have boycotted. Magufuli argues that unnecessary and deliberate delays are sources for boycotting. Secondly, Magufuli utilises a symptomatic argument scheme. The demonstrations and boycotting of students are the symptoms of the dissatisfaction of students with some public institutions, such as the Higher Education

Students' Loans Board. The third argument presented is an argument from authority. In his envisaged presidency, Magufuli pledges to question the responsible offices why loans are delayed while the beneficiaries are expected to pay back the loans. He pledges students would be equally provided with loans to enable them to study peacefully and serve the nation after they have graduated.

With regard to the third dimension, namely topical potential, audience demand, presentational devices, and appraisal, at the confrontation stage, strategically, Magufuli selects a topic on convenient loans for university students with intending to win votes from university students, secondary school students, and parents/guardians. Promising convenient loans, Magufuli intends to meet audience demand as speakers or writers are controlled by the needs of the society (Lakhani, 2005). He explicitly identifies a gap of poor education facilities at universities, and he pledges to fill it should the electorate vote for him in the 2015 Tanzanian general elections. These undertakings are meant to gain support from students who are potential beneficiaries of the loans. For effective argumentation, Magufuli demonstrates rhetorical devices in his argumentation. He dissociates himself from the government, as he states the need to improve higher education facilities presupposing that the government of the fourth-phase has failed to do so. In the opening stage, Magufuli assumes the responsibility of defending the standpoint. He commits himself to implement a free education policy, a move that is interpreted as a commitment in terms of speech acts (Searle, 1979b). Many university students are potential voters. Thus, the majority strategy is represented in the argumentation in Figure 4.3.

In the argumentation stage, Magufuli maintains his standpoint to build hostels, and urges institutions concerned to provide loans to students. Again, he employs persuasive persona since he identifies himself as a type of president who opposes bureaucracy. In addition, he stipulates steps that he would take to help students in higher learning institutions. For achieving effectiveness, Magufuli demonstrates different devices in the argumentation stage. To start with, liberal and conservative presumptions is utilised to capture the potential electorate who perhaps support CHADEMA/UKAWA, those who support CCM but are not happy with the higher education facilities, and those who are undecided who to vote for. Secondly, the strategy of *ad misericordiam* is employed as Magufuli explains that it is painful to hear students are not provided with loans until they boycott. In the same manner, the affect was employed because Magufuli states that the matter pains him. According to White (2011),

the word 'pain' in the appraisal perspective attracts feelings, in this case, the pain that Magufuli says he feels when students do not get loans. Thirdly, Magufuli reframes the argument by capitalising on what should be done instead of questioning the fourth-phase government on why such delays of loans to students were entertained. Lastly, there is avoidance of the real situation that the government has other priorities like health services, education in secondary school, and building infrastructures like roads. This is a type of fair strategic maneuvering. In the conclusion stage, Magufuli implies, if students want a conducive environment, they should support him. He thus asks for votes as he would solve problems in higher education including building hostels for students.

Concerning the fourth dimension, that is the successful observation of the rules of critical discussion, the freedom rule is observed. The speaker knows the government does not effectively support the education system at higher learning institutions. Opposition parties stage many allegations for such government failures. Self-criticism is strategically demonstrated to portray honesty to the public. Magufuli does not object allegations against his party. He emphasizes them even more than would be expected. He also assumes the burden of proof of how he would improve the education facilities at universities. He pledges to urge the National Social Security Fund (NSSF) to build hostels for students' accommodation. To the Higher Education Students' Loans Board (HESLB), he promises to make those in charge accountable for unnecessary delays in providing students with loans. A standpoint rule requiring the relevant arguments from the other party's standpoint that has been advanced is also observed. Magufuli firmly states, notwithstanding his status as a minister in the fourth-phase government, that he accepts claims of government weaknesses in facilitating the higher learning institutions. In addition, relevant examples are presented to support his standpoint especially urging NSSF to build hostels for students. Thus, unexpressed premise rule and validity rule are observed from the arguments Magufuli provides to support his standpoint.

Regarding the fifth dimension, that is derailments of the rules of critical discussion, there are minimal cases that can lead the argumentation in Figure 4.3 to a fallacious state. First, Magufuli superimposes the first person singular as if he is a private candidate to the extent of sounding he is above the CCM manifesto and the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. Contextually, he does so to rescue CCM by using his persona. Before and during the election campaign, the public claimed CCM was a problem because of the

underperformance of the government. Politically, such circumstances need individuals with high reputations to stand on behalf of the party.

To conclude, the sixth dimension that is effectiveness and reasonableness is examined. The argumentation is effectively argued in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics. The topic is selected according to demands especially the students in higher learning institutions. The presentational devices such as association, dissociation, ad missercordiam, appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, and strategic party criticism are demonstrated. In the case of reasonableness, first, it is acceptable in the sense that loans must be paid back. Thus, it is meaningless to wait for students to boycott when loans can be provided on time. Similarly, it is valid because the government has the role to facilitate education. Without conducive environment for students in higher learning institutions, Tanzania cannot have well qualified workers. Such kind of rationalisation makes the argumentation logically consistent. In the same way, the speech circumstances in which the argumentation takes place is pragmatically consistent to support the view that Magufuli has reasons to capture the minds of the potential electorate in the 2015 general election.

4.2.4 Health services

The presidential candidate from the ruling party (CCM) pledges to improve health services from the village level to the national level. Magufuli regards the expenses of transferring patients to foreign hospitals a failure for the government, hence a need to modify health services. In the election manifesto of CCM, it is stipulated that the fifth-phase government will improve the health sector, especially by training medical doctors (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015: 85). The six dimensions reflected from the objectives are applied to scrutinise the argumentation on improving the health sector.

CCM speech segment 4

MAGUFULI: (1) Lakini afya nalo nimezungumza! (2) Tutahakikisha kwa sababu utaratibu mzuri umeshaanza tumepanga mipango mizuri, tunajenga zahanati kwa kila kijiji, tunajenga kituo cha afya kwa kila kata, hospitali kwa kila wilaya, na hospitali za rufaa kwa kila mkoa. (3) Lakini tutahakikisha hawa madaktari na waudumu wa afya wanaendelezwa na wanapata haki zao kama inavyotakiwa. (4) Lakini tutajitahidi sana kupunguza wagonjwa kuwa wanakwenda kutibiwa nje zinatumika hela nyingi. (5) Tunataka hata wa nje wawe wanakuja kutibiwa hapa. (6) Mbona kwa Semunge walienda wanashindwaje kuja kutibiwa hapa. (7)

Kwahiyo tutaimarisha hospitali zetu ziwe za kisasa kwaajili ya kutoa huduma za kutosha kwa wananchi wetu.

[1] Moreover, I have talked about health services. [2] We will make sure that we have good plans, [3] and we have already set good modalities of going about it. [4] We shall build dispensaries in every village. [5] We shall build health centres in every ward. [6] We are building a hospital in every district, [7] and we shall build a referral hospital in every region. [8] Additionally, we will make sure that doctors and healthcare practitioners are developed and provided with their rights accordingly. [9] Furthermore, we are going to try hard to reduce the number of patients going abroad for medical treatment for we use a lot of money for such medical treatment. [10] We even want patients from abroad to come for medical treatment. [11] Thus, we will improve the healthcare sector in our hospitals by modernizing them so they can provide better services to our citizens.

From the CCM speech segment 4, the dimension of the argumentation structure in represented Figure 4.4 presents a pledge on improving the health sector. It comprises a coordinative argument structure (see arguments (1.1.1a, 1.1.1b, 1.1.1c, and 1.1.1d), subordinative argument structure (1.1(1.1.1a, 1.1.1b, 1.1.1c, and 1.1.1d)), and a multiple argument structure (see arguments 1.1 and 1.2, arguments 1.1.1a-d, 1.1.1, and 1.1.2), and thus it a complex structure (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008), and it has a form of inductive reasoning as the conclusion is determined by empirical observation (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993; Hurley, 2012: 33). Based on the 2015 CCM manifesto and the presidential candidate, a dispensary at the village level, a health centre at the ward level, a hospital at the district level, and a referral hospital at the regional level are indicators of improved health services.

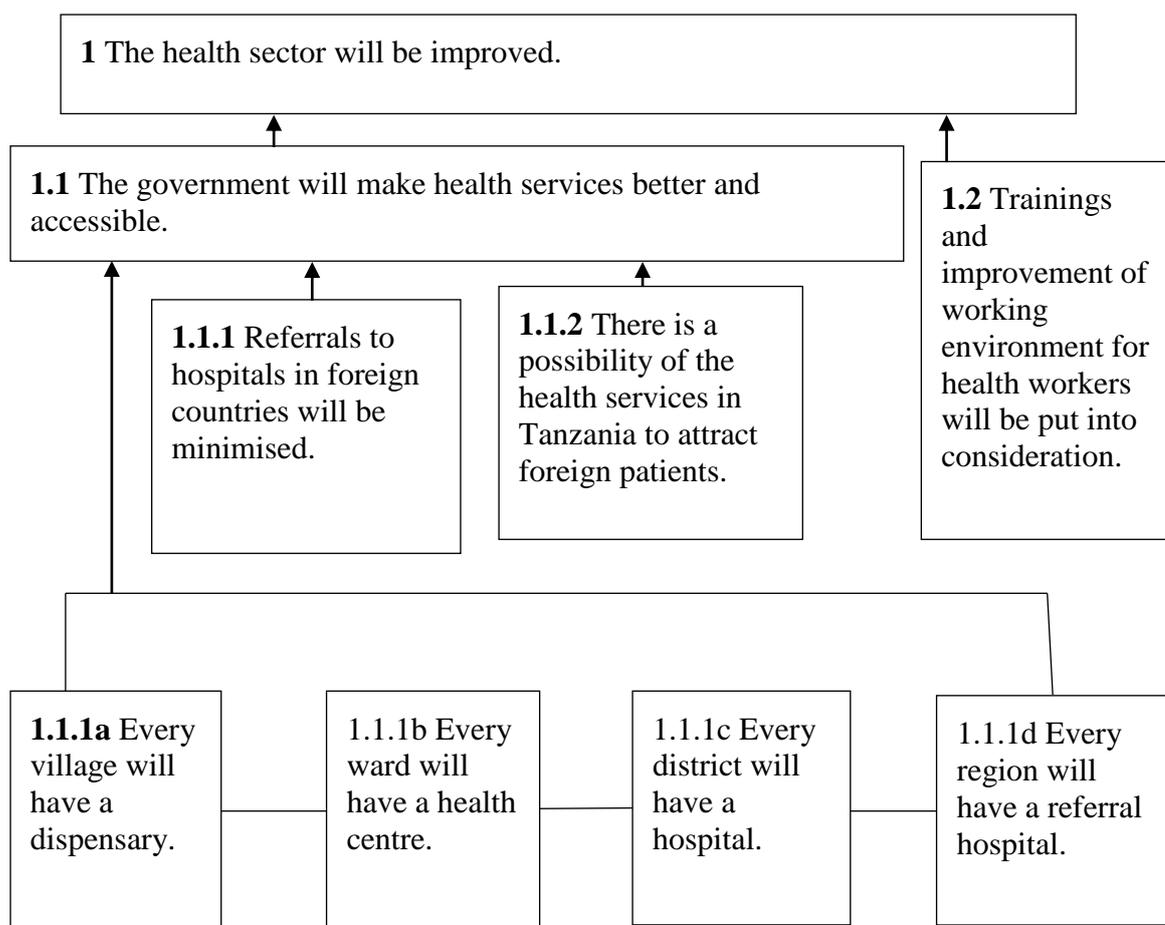


Figure 4.4: Reconstructed argumentation structure on improving the health sector

Focussing on the second dimension of argumentation scheme in maintaining delicate balance reasonableness and rhetorical effectiveness, Figure 4.4 presents a pragmatic and majority argumentative pattern. Magufuli promises to improve health services and make them accessible to the public since better health services are what the majority of the Tanzanians want. Magufuli should be supported to implement that pledge. Thus, the majority argumentation is implied in the pragmatic argumentation scheme. Improvement of health services will lead to the improvement of living standards and, because the majority of Tanzanians want improvement of their living standards, Magufuli should be supported to implement such projects. Referrals to foreign countries for medical treatments are typical of poor health services that need improvement. The pledge that the fifth-phase government will build dispensaries in all villages, health centres in wards, hospitals in districts, and referral hospitals in regions, is a symptom that Tanzania is still facing a critical problem in the health sector.

Concerning the third dimension of analysing whether the argumentation in Figure 4.4 maintains effectiveness and reasonableness, the topic on the need for improvement in the health sector is selected strategically. In the confrontation stage, Magufuli implies that the health sector in Tanzania faces many challenges. Referring to affect as one of the aspects of the attitudinal language evaluation (Martin & White, 2005), articulating that patients are taken abroad for medical care strengthens the feeling that Tanzanians are facing problems that Magufuli can solve. Audience demand as one of the means of strategic maneuvering is well managed by the arguer as represented in Figure 4.4. Magufuli's argumentation demonstrates the association strategy. In addition, he employs *argumentum ad missericordiam* fair strategic maneuvering to make the public feel that there is a need to vote for him as a caring person. In the Pragma-dialectical perspective of the Argumentation theory, presentational devices play a central role in communicating the intended message effectively. Magufuli has worked for the government of the United Republic of Tanzania. He is thus aware of the limited access to health services, as he strategically identifies a need for health service improvement.

In the opening stage, Magufuli takes a role of a protagonist to elaborate the need to make strategies for health service improvement. From the perspective of speech acts (Searle, 1979b), Magufuli commits himself to the potential electorate and the people of the United Republic of Tanzania. For a protagonist, it is easy to satisfy the audience demand of wanting the government to improve health services. Magufuli knows that the government has, for over 50 years, not done as much as expected by its citizens, but he tries to convince them of his political will to improve the health sector.

Thus, he effectively argues to appeal to the emotions of the potential electorate in the audience. He also presents a credibility transfer by making pledges using the first-person singular pronoun 'I' because of the reputation he has acquired for over 15 years as a government minister in different ministries. Contextually, Tanzanians had largely lost trust in the ruling party CCM; hence, he uses his name instead of the name of the party.

In the argumentation stage, Magufuli identifies the projects that will be done from building dispensaries in villages to referral hospitals in all regions. The strategies of making sure every village has a dispensary are meant to get good support from people in rural areas who have trouble in getting health services. Magufuli reframes the argument. He capitalises on what the previous phase could have improved, but he does not admit who exactly failed to

improve the health sector. Secondly, he appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions. Magufuli pledges to build health service infrastructure so that CCM supporters, opposition camp supporters, and those without any political party commitments can consider him a better candidate. In addition, the majority need strategy is demonstrated. Health services are critical across the country. In the conclusion stage, Magufuli states he is willing to improve the health service sector in the United Republic of Tanzania. He expresses a sense of emergency suggesting that the health sector needs Magufuli to get improved is presented in the argumentation. Therefore, voting for another candidate is like frustrating the strategies of improving the health service sector.

Concerning the fourth dimension, that is the successful observation of the rules of critical discussion, Magufuli attempts to respond to the allegations of the unexpressed premise that the ruling party, CCM, has not performed up to the expected standards in spite of being in power for over 50 years. The freedom rule is implemented as he decides to pledge to improve what the public claims was neglected. Though this does not mean the fourth-phase government has done nothing, Magufuli accepts blame as a way of observing the freedom rule. He takes the burden of proof as a protagonist to reassure the public that CCM can still do better under him. Relating to the standpoint rule, Magufuli responds accordingly because there are many allegations that the government ignores in many sectors, including the health sector. All the pledges especially building dispensaries in rural areas are relevantly presented by Magufuli. The response to improve the health sector is reflected from the unexpressed premise that the government does not play its expected roles in the health sector.

In observing the standpoint rule, Magufuli appropriately responds to the public claims that the outgoing government has not effectively invested in the health sector. Argumentation schemes, such as pragmatic argumentation, majority argumentation, casual relation, and symptomatic argumentation are appropriately employed (see the second dimension). The language Magufuli uses is straightforward except where he does not provide a breakdown on where funds will be obtained to build dispensaries, health centres, hospitals, and referral hospitals. Given the arguments in regard to the third dimension of topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices, Magufuli's conclusion that everything will be possible in case he becomes the fifth-phase president is also appropriate. Therefore, he observes the validity rule.

Regarding the fifth dimension of successful observation of rules for critical discussion, except for the failure of Magufuli to a state where the funds will be generated from, and to some extent pledging too much on health services in the context of Tanzania, no tangible fallacies occurred in Magufuli's argumentation in Figure 4.4.

In the analysis of the sixth dimension of reasonableness and effectiveness, the effectiveness of argumentation mainly depends on the appropriate use of presentational devices, stylistic devices and other persuasive techniques in the perspective of the Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation. Magufuli employs several presentational devices including an appeal to liberal and conservative presumptions, using a persuasive persona, transferring credibility, and creating the sense of emergency for the audience to consider him as a must vote for president. In respect to reasonableness, Magufuli demonstrates different argumentation schemes which are appropriately used, especially the pragmatic argumentation and symptomatic argumentation schemes.

The argumentation is valid because, if the government really has the intention of solving problems in the health sector, it is important to start from the grassroots level, that is, villages, because over 75% of Tanzanians live in rural areas. The argumentation is sound because it is pragmatically consistent. In the context of the United Republic of Tanzania with a population of approximately 55 million people, health services need much more investment in order to meet the demands of the people. The argumentation is furthermore logically consistent because not all villages, wards, districts, regions, have facilities Magufuli pledges to provide, notwithstanding the role of the government to do so. Therefore, from the perspective of the Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002), the argumentation in Figure 4.4 is effectively and reasonably argued.

4.3 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CORRUPTION CONTROL

Section 4.3 comprises sub-sections. Sub-section 4.3.1 focusses on arguments about corruption control in public offices, and sub-section 4.3.2 focusses on arguments about corruption control in the natural resources sector. The presidential candidate of the incumbent political party pledges corruption control in public offices as a way of winning the minds of the voters in the 2015 general elections. The citizens of Tanzania have complained widely

that the fourth-phase government does not have practical solutions to control the perceived corruption especially in public offices and in the natural resources sector.

4.3.1 Corruption control in public offices

Magufuli pledges to control the perceived corruption in relation to what the CCM election manifesto stipulates in this regard (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015: 206). He emphasises that a special court for fraud cases will be established. Magufuli argues that conflicts in the country are caused by perceived corrupt leaders (see the CCM speech segment 5).

CCM speech segment 5

MAGUFULI: (1) Vita dhidi ya rushwa na ubadhilifu nimeeleza ndugu zangu nitachukua hatua kali kwa wala rushwa mafisadi ili kusudi haki za watanzania muweze kuzipata haraka. (2) Sipendi kueleza mengi zaidi kwasababu ninafahamu yapo maswala mengine ni ya msingi tu, mfano mzuri ni migogoro ya wafanya biashara tu katika hizi za NF na kadhalika. (3) Nitahakikisha panakua na uelewano mzuri ili kama ni kulipa kodi, wakubwa walipe kodi hata na wadogo walipe kodi sio wadogo tu ndio walipe kodi.

[1] My fellow citizens, I will stage war against corruption and embezzlement of public funds in order to enable Tanzanians to get their rights as soon as possible. [2] I do not want to talk much as I am aware there are certain issues which are very sensitive. [3] The good example is about these conflicts of the businessmen and many others. [4] I will make sure there is a good relationship to make sure that if it is an issue of paying taxes, both informal small business traders and big traders pay taxes. [5] It is unfair to only collect tax from the informal small business traders.

In attempting to analyse the first dimension, as represented in Figure 4.5 of the CCM speech segment 5 presents a pledge of Magufuli to control corruption in public offices, especially in the Tanzania Revenue Authority. He claims informal small business traders are taxed leaving the big business traders largely free of appropriate taxation. Figure 4.5 comprises subordinative argumentation structure (see arguments 1.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.1.1 and 1.1.1.1.1).

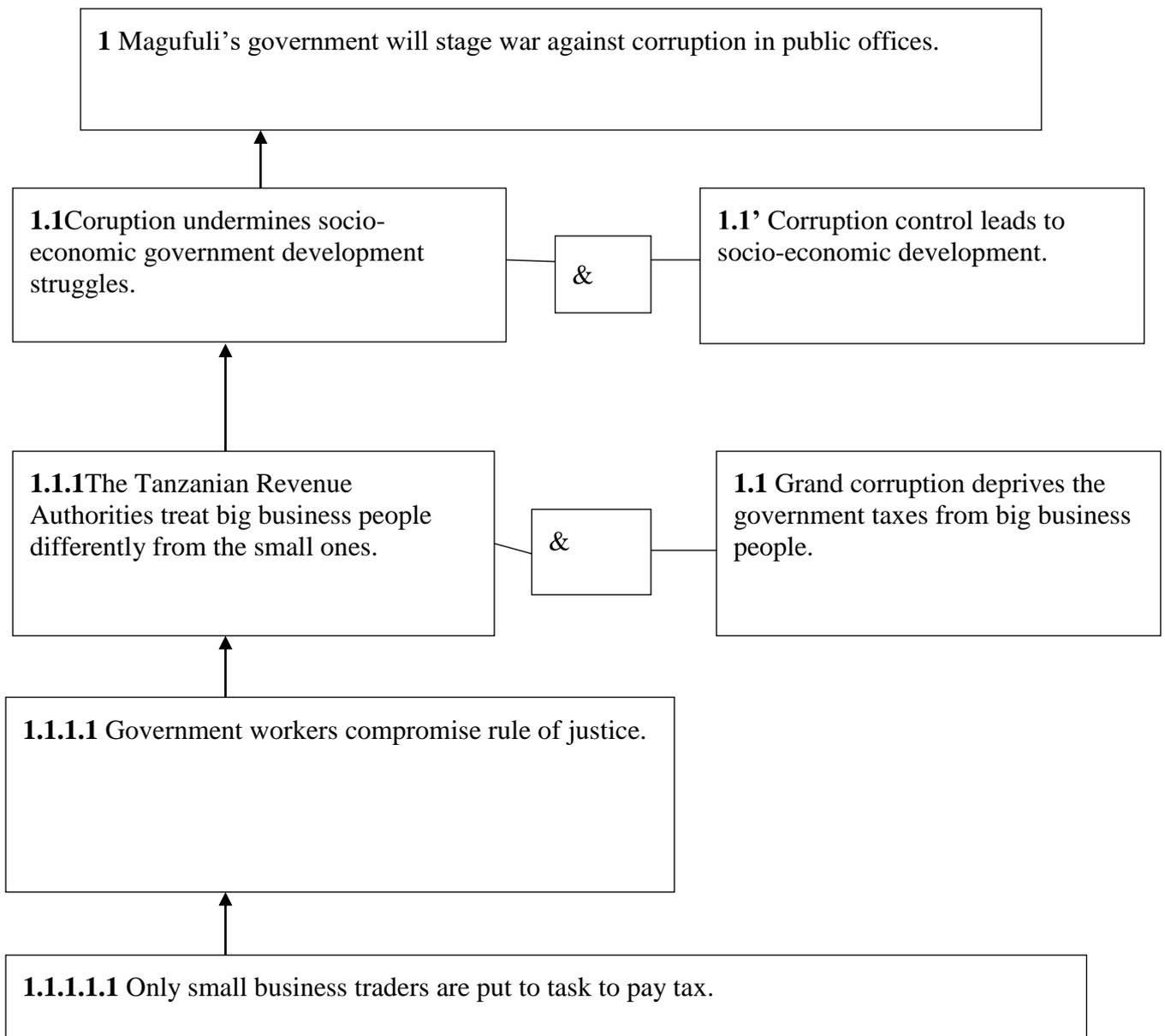


Figure 4.5: Reconstructed argumentation structure on corruption control in public offices

Regarding the second dimension, the argumentation schemes in Figure 4.5 are indicated. Magufuli utilises argumentation from analogy with a general legal principle of the rule of justice. He explains how corruption frustrates government development struggles. In the context of Tanzania, the government run by the ruling party, CCM, for over 50 years, was in 2015 general election, and even before alleged of embracing big business traders at the expense of the national revenue collections. In his position of awareness, Magufuli emphasises the need for equal treatment, implying the application of the rule of justice. Commenting on such inequality, he furthermore employs the causal relation argument scheme. To meet government development goals, it is not only unimplementable but also

illogical to collect taxes from informal small business traders and allow an unlimited grace period to big business people. Practically, the project cannot be implemented. The symptomatic argument scheme indicates the way the focus is on those who earn less from their business instead of focussing closely on those earning more or following the tax collection law. This is a symptomatic feature of alleged corruption (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). Generally, the alleged argumentation represented in Figure 4.5 employs the pragmatic problem-solving argumentative pattern (Garssen, 2017a: 31). Thus, the desire to control the alleged corruption should be adopted because it will solve the problem of denying the government revenues. The current practice embraces big business traders and collects tax from the small informal business people. Therefore, applying the rule of justice in the revenue authorities will increase the national income, and justice will prevail.

Concerning the third dimension of topical potential, audience demand, presentational devices, and the confrontation stage, the topic is strategically selected. The war against corruption in public is stated to sensitise the public on the need to get a leader who dares stage war against corruption. In the opening stage, such a statement by the presidential candidate implies a commitment when already in office. According to Searle (1979b), a commissive entails a speaker meets the felicity conditions for implementing what they promise. Utilising presentational devices, staging war is something that captures the audience emotionally, a perspective realised as affect in appraisal analysis (White, 2011). Given the context of Dar es Salaam, Magufuli is aware of how dominant informal small business traders are and how corruption affects their business and the national income. Thus, he identifies the problem of corruption and expresses the will to control it. Presentational devices aiming at emotionally engaging the audience are referred to as emotional appeal (pathos) techniques in the Aristotelian perspective (Burke, 2014). It is from such aspects that the rhetorical effectiveness of the argumentation can be achieved without affecting the rational appeal (logos). Persuasion requires mutual agreement from the audience although there might be some elements of manipulation if not critically evaluated (Lakhani, 2005).

In the Pragma-dialectical perspective, at every stage of argumentation, arguers must observe both rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness in the argumentative move (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). In the argumentation stage, the topic against corruption is capitalised on. Magufuli provides concrete examples that the move to task informal small business traders to pay tax, while leaving big business traders free of taxation, is a typical symptom of

corruption. The audience expected to know who exactly benefits from the perceived corruption. Thus, Magufuli mentions public servants, especially in the revenue authority, as the area of grand corruption. In one way or another, the issue of numbers is necessary for a political campaign, evading tax is risky but not as critically riskier as overtaxing small businesses. Addressing business and taxation issues touches business people and the rest of the electorate. In addition, avoidance is employed as a form of a fair strategic maneuvering. The government is left aside; all blames are directed to the workers in the Tanzanian Revenue Authorities. The arguer, furthermore, appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions. Grand corruption in Tanzania has been a critical issue before and by 2015.

The opposition parties have alleged, and they still accuse the government led by CCM of failing to control corruption. Magufuli decides to capture the electorate by pledging to control deep rooted corruption. In addition, the association strategy is demonstrated in that Magufuli demonstrates sympathy to informal small business traders although he does not strategically suggest a system that would impartially treat all business people. In the concluding stage, Magufuli pledges to solve that kind of bias in tax collection for the common good of the people of the United Republic of Tanzania. He assures the audience that, if elected as president, he will enforce the rule of law and ensure a fair taxation system in the tax collection departments. However, in the real sense, taking advantage of the low level of education of many people, he strategically maneuvers by not stating it clearly that even small business people are going to pay tax in formally a systematised way. In his conclusion, he emphasises that he intends to control corruption that undermines the development efforts, especially the move to collect tax.

In respect to the fourth dimension, the freedom rule is successfully demonstrated as represented in Figure 4.5. On behalf of the ruling party, Magufuli admits the allegations that corruption was and still is a problem in the fourth-phase government. Hence, in his arguments, he provides scenarios in which informal small traders are taxed by the Tanzania Revenue Authorities and big business traders are released from paying tax but not in good faith (see arguments 1.1,1.1.1,1.1.1.1, and 1.1.1.1.1). Magufuli takes the burden of proof to explain why he thinks the revenue authorities do not observe the rule of law. He explains how grand corruption is involved in releasing such big business people from paying tax. Relating to the standpoint rule, Magufuli seems to conciliate though strategically. The opposition party camp claims on several campaign occasions that Magufuli cannot manage to control

corruption in the government led by CCM. To persuade the audience, Magufuli advances his persuasive persona institutionalising his personal identity instead of the party's identity. He manages to consistently use the first person singular 'I' in pledging to control corruption. Magufuli provides examples of alleged corruption in the revenue authorities. Thus, he observes the relevance rule of the critical discussion. The conclusion is reasonably stated suggesting reinforcing the rule of justice in the tax collection departments.

In the fifth dimension of evaluating derailment, Magufuli projects the allegations of corruption to the Tanzania Revenue Authorities, instead of directing them to the fourth-phase government. It is not clearly stated in his argumentation opposing corruption that the government is, to some extent, responsible. Mainly, a statement which could be fallacious strategically is stated in a way that it becomes an observation of the critical argumentation rules. As such, the government is responsible for eliminating corruption, Magufuli's avoidance can be viewed as concealing the reality about grand corruption.

In the sixth dimension, that is, maintaining rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, effectiveness is maintained through using the means of strategic maneuvering, such as appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions. Moreover, the arguments are reframed to reserve face of the ruling party, CCM. Other devices that are presented are dissociation, association, and persuasive persona when Magufuli presents himself as a morally upright person, instead of presenting himself as a CCM candidate. This is done to transfer Magufuli's credibility to the ruling party. By doing this the argumentation on corruption control is effective. Concerning reasonableness of the argumentation in Figure 4.5, the speaker applies argument by analogy explaining how difficult it is to implement government strategies to collect tax while revenue authorities do not abide by the rule of justice by treating all business people impartially. In addition, examples that are provided about grand corruption in the country are relevant; that they appeal to peoples' emotions to perhaps support Magufuli in the war against corruption. The validity rule is clear. To have a fair society where there is nobody above the law and the rule of law is observed, it is necessary to put in place clear corruption controlling mechanisms. Therefore, the argumentation is pragmatically consistent because, in the context of Tanzania, grand corruption was critical before Magufuli came into power. The desire to control grand corruption is possible because the president has the power to do so. It can be concluded that, in the Pragma-dialectical perspective, Magufuli's argumentation in Figure 4.5 was effective and reasonable.

4.3.2 Corruption control in the natural resources sector

Apart from controlling alleged corruption in the revenue authorities, it is alleged that natural resources are also mismanaged because of the alleged corruption. Thus, in Figure 4.6 representing the CCM speech segment 6, Magufuli promises to control corruption in the natural resources sector.

CCM speech segment 6

MAGUFULI: (1) Bandari tutashughulikia. (2) Usafiri wa anga tutashughulikia. (3) Mali ya asili nayo tutaisimamia vizuri. (4) Katika vitu ninavyochukia sana ni pale unapoona meno ya tembo yameshikwa ulaya. (5) Na yamepitia labda kwenye uwanja wa ndege wa Dar es salaam, wakati mapembe ya ng'ombe yanayochungwa na Wamasai hayatoroshiwi. (6) Sasa kwa wakati wangu nitaboresha maslahi ya watendaji katika maliasili. (7) Lakini pia na wao ikiwezekana wawachunge tembo kama wanavyochunga Wasukuma, kama ng'ombe Wamasai wanavyowachunga, ili kusudi meno yale yasiuzwe maliasili yetu isiharibiwe ili watalii wengi waje tupate fedha zivasaidie wananchi wa maisha ya chini.

[1] We shall deal with the harbour. [2] We will improve air transport. [3] We will also manage the wildlife sector. [4] Of all the things I hate most is the issue of detecting elephant tusks in Europe which were checked in at the Dar es Salaam airport, while it is possible for horns of Maasai cattle to be protected from illegal transportation. [5] During my term, I will improve the benefits of the workers in the wildlife management sector. [6] On their part, if possible, they should also look after elephants in the same way the Sukuma graze their cattle, and in the same way, the Maasai graze their cattle. [7] They should do so to prevent stealing of elephants' tusks and our wildlife resources to ensure a constant influx of the tourists for foreign currency for the betterment of the people living in abject poverty in the country.

Regarding the dimension of the argumentation structure, Magufuli's speech segment provides grounding on why corruption in the natural resources sector must be controlled. He employs several arguments of the same weight to support a standpoint on how corruption endangers natural resources, such as illegally transporting elephant tusks from Tanzania to Europe (see arguments 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3) as illustrated in Figure 4.6.

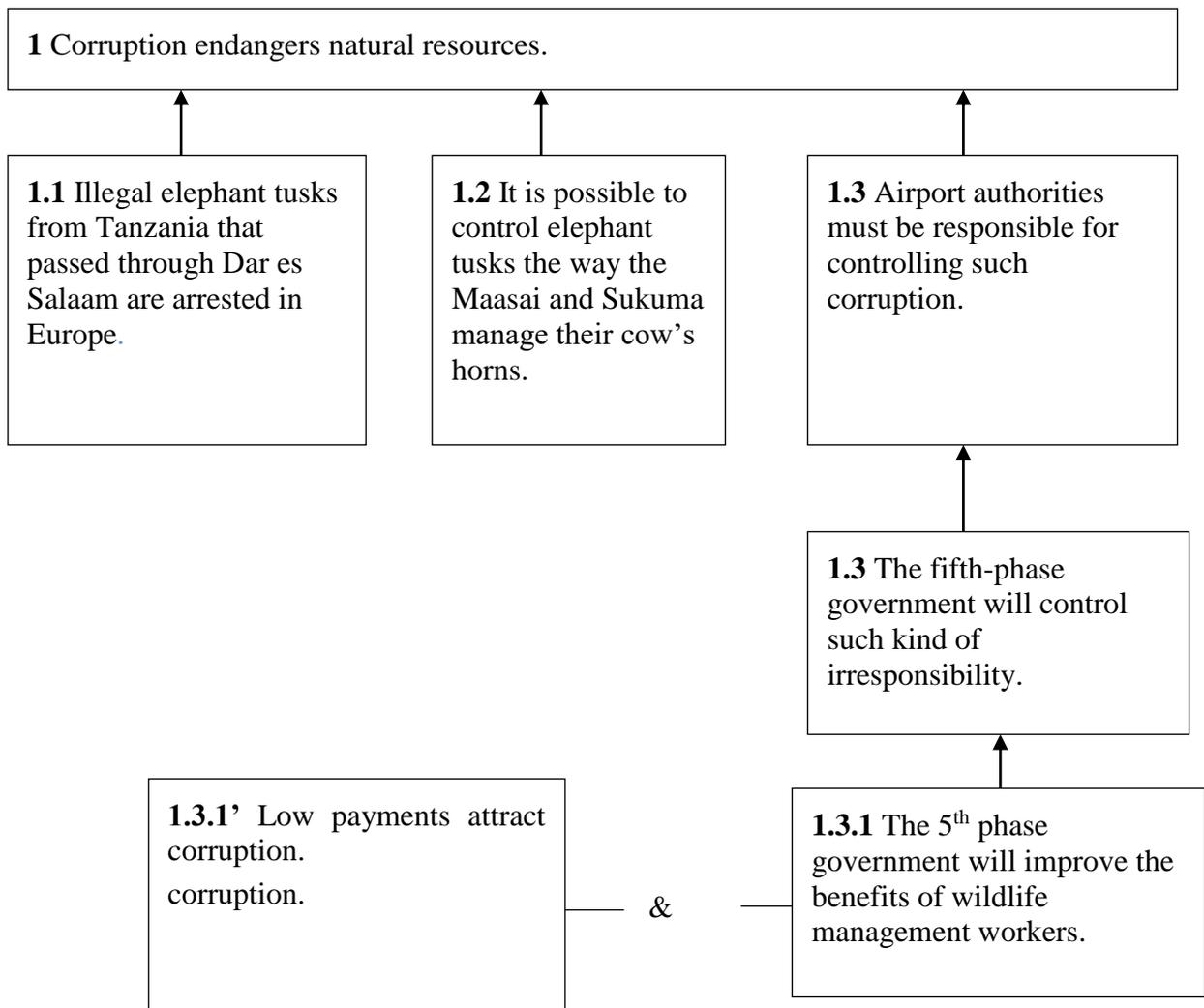


Figure 4.6: Reconstructed argumentation structure on corruption in the natural resources sector

In the implementation of the second dimension, Magufuli utilises argumentation based on analogy. He comments on the possibility to control illegal transportation of elephant tusks the way the Maasai and Sukuma people control the horns of their cows. This represents some sort of comparison. Those who take care of cattle do not have the security as airport authorities do. It is also an instance of direct sarcasm. Causal relation argumentation is also demonstrated in Figure 4.6. Magufuli argues that corruption leads to loss of natural resources. He regards such actions as sabotaging the national development goals. Another scheme is based on symptomatic argumentation. The tusks being transported via the Mwalimu Nyerere International airport is viewed as a sign of corruption. Worse still, the tusks are confiscated in Europe and those involved questioned by Interpol. Such inadequate security controls at the airport in Dar es Salaam reveals how corrupt the Tanzanian airport authorities are. The other type is pragmatic argumentation combined with the majority argumentation. Emphasizing the political will, Magufuli vows to control corruption at the airport, and he suggests anybody who opposes illegal transportation of elephants' tusks would support Magufuli in the general

election to have the problem solved. Therefore, the argumentation in Figure 4.6 demonstrates a pragmatic problem-solving argumentative pattern.

Concerning the third dimension, that is, topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Magufuli selects a topic on how corruption leads to a loss of natural resources. The issue of elephants' tusks is critical because, across the county, the public, especially the opposition party camps are complaining about the government's failure to control such open corruption practices. Knowing the audience demand possibly leads Magufuli to decide to focus on corruption control, especially at airports, as the source of the loss of natural resources. The political will to control corruption to rescue natural resources carries strategies of appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions. Both the ruling party supporters and the opposition camp (UKAWA) supporters were tired of allegations that the fourth-phase government fails to control the corruption of illegally transporting elephants' tusks from Tanzania to other countries. In the opening stage, Magufuli maintains the topic of controlling corruption to rescue natural resources. He commits himself to make sure that natural resources are not misused by any means. In regard to the speech acts perspective of commissives (Searle, 1979b), Magufuli tries to be committed to what he believes to be true. Such a commitment is reflected in presentational devices. He associates himself with the public. In all offices he served before he contested for presidency, he never explicitly articulated fighting against transporting elephants' tusks illegally. In his speech, however, Magufuli accepts the role to fight against corruption in the natural resources sector. Strategically, he intends to get support from the majority of citizens who before and during the general election campaign opposed this kind of misconduct by the airport authorities and the government because of its failure to control its subordinates in different public sectors. Magufuli assumes the responsibility of convincing the audience that the CCM still has credible candidates to control corruption. Thus, his personal credible identity is employed to win the public support.

In the argumentation stage, he maintains this topic but pledges to make the airport authorities accountable. In his strategic maneuvering, he projects the problem to airport authorities as if the government never knew about it. According to the appraisal perspective (White, 2011), Magufuli is indirectly perceived negatively judging the fourth-phase government under Kikwete as irresponsible. The arguer provides examples from the Maasai and the Sukuma communities where, although their cattle are not provided police security, no crimes occur of

illegally transporting cow horns outside the country. This approach entails irony as a stylistic device. Magufuli compares the Sukuma and Maasai cow horn protection with the elephant tusks protection. His aim is to criticize ironically the security forces and airport authorities for failing to control corruption despite the facilities such institutions have. His pledge to make the airport authorities accountable is to persuade the audience so that he can win the popular appeal. Furthermore, apart from being allegedly corrupt, the votes of police forces and airport authorities involved in poaching of elephants still count in the general elections. Magufuli thus pledges to increase benefits for these authorities as if corruption is legal to low paid cadres. That is a way of strategic maneuvering. In his conclusion, he just mentions improving the benefits to airport authorities without mentioning the strategies by the government to control corruption. Magufuli insists on controlling corruption to rescue national resources. Thus, he presupposes the fourth-phase government was and still is lenient to the public workers who are misusing public funds.

In respect of the fourth dimension, Magufuli argues carefully to abide by the freedom rule. The allegations that the government has failed to control natural resources, especially elephants, are serious, and the public knows it. He emphasises it, notwithstanding the presence of the fourth-phase president, Kikwete. Magufuli assumes the burden of proof to explain the strategies the fifth-phase government will deploy to rescue the scarce resources in the country. The standpoint rule is also implemented. The allegations of corruption leading to a big loss of natural resources are reasons Magufuli tries to analyse the measures that the fifth-phase government will apply. In addition, the argument schemes that Magufuli's exhibits in defending the standpoint are relevant. Therefore, both the relevance rule and the argument scheme rule are appropriately observed, as discussed in the second dimension in relation to the schemes. Magufuli accepts allegations realised in the unexpressed premise on the poor management of natural resources particularly elephants. The starting point rule is thus presented. Magufuli responds to the matter the public accuses the government of. The reasoning to control corruption to rescue natural resources, is valid because the government has the resources to do so, and it is the responsibility of the government to utilise and control its resources.

Concerning the fifth dimension of the derailments of critical discussion rules, the question in Figure 4.6 relates to a comparison between cows and elephants. Though he could have done so strategically, Magufuli's comparison of the management of cow horns with the

management of elephant tusks is difficult to analyse. This comparison concerns the management, but the implication raised concerns value. Elephant tusks are more valuable and scarcer than cow horns. However, this comparison cannot lead his argumentation to be fallacious, because he ironically demonstrates corruption and negligence in the government of the fourth-phase government under the ruling party, CCM.

In regard to the sixth dimension of maintaining the delicate balance between reasonableness and rhetorical effectiveness, presentational devices are appropriately used by Magufuli in making sure that effective persuading simultaneously occurs with reasoning as to supporters is as important as the argumentation itself. It sounds unreasonable to capitalise on the number of supporters at the expense of logical reasoning. However, in a deliberative argumentative activity type such as political campaign speeches, the decision depends on how much the audience is persuaded or convinced. Soundness of any argumentation depends on its acceptability to the audience. In the context of claims to control corruption leading to illegal transportation of tusks outside the country, there is evidence from Europe supporting the claim. Therefore, the argumentation is acceptable. Another parameter of Magufuli's speech is that of argumentation schemes. Schemes of causal relation, the argument from analogy, pragmatic argumentation, and symptomatic argumentation, as explained in discussing argumentation schemes, are appropriately employed for achieving soundness of the argumentation. The third parameter of validity is clearly explained in regard to the dimension of the observation of the critical discussion rules. Finally, the argumentation is both logically and pragmatically consistent. The speech circumstances (context) match with the speech Magufuli presents and defends logically.

4.4 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON MINERAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

4.4.1 Management of the Tanzanite mining projects

The presidential candidate in the government-oriented party, CCM promises to manage the Tanzanite mining projects well as it currently has little benefits to the United Republic of Tanzania. Magufuli emphasises utilisation of Tanzanite as stipulated in the manifesto of CCM (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015: 24).

CCM speech segment 7

MAGUFULI: (1) Hakuna sababu madini kama tanzanite, nchi inayoongoza kuuza madini ya Tanzanite kwanza India, ya pili Kenya, halafu sisi tunakua wa 3 wakati madini hayo hayachimbwi nchi hizo wakati yanaitwa ni tanzanite. (2) Haya nitayaangalia nione ni mahali gani kuna tundu la upenyo linalotufanya tukose haya mapato sisi Tanzania.

[1] There is no compelling reason why Tanzania ranks third in the world in the market of tanzanite. [2] The first is Indi; the second is Kenya, while the mineral is only extracted in Tanzania. [3] I will look into these issues to identify the gap for an income loss from these minerals.

Concerning the first dimension that is argumentation structure, Figure 4.7 in the CCM speech segment 7 demonstrates multiple argument structures (1.1 and 1.2) and subordinative argument structures (1.1, 1.1.1) and (1.2,1.2.1). All arguments support the standpoint on the need to manage well Tanzanite mining contracts and projects. Furthermore, Figure 4.7 presents inductive reasoning since the conclusion is obtained from empirical examination (Van Eemeren et al., 1993). India ranks first; Kenya ranks second; and Tanzania ranks third even though Tanzanite is only extracted in Tanzania. This empirical observation can lead to the conclusion that Tanzanite is not well managed in Tanzania. This is a typical inductively valid argument (Walton, 1987; Hurley, 2012).

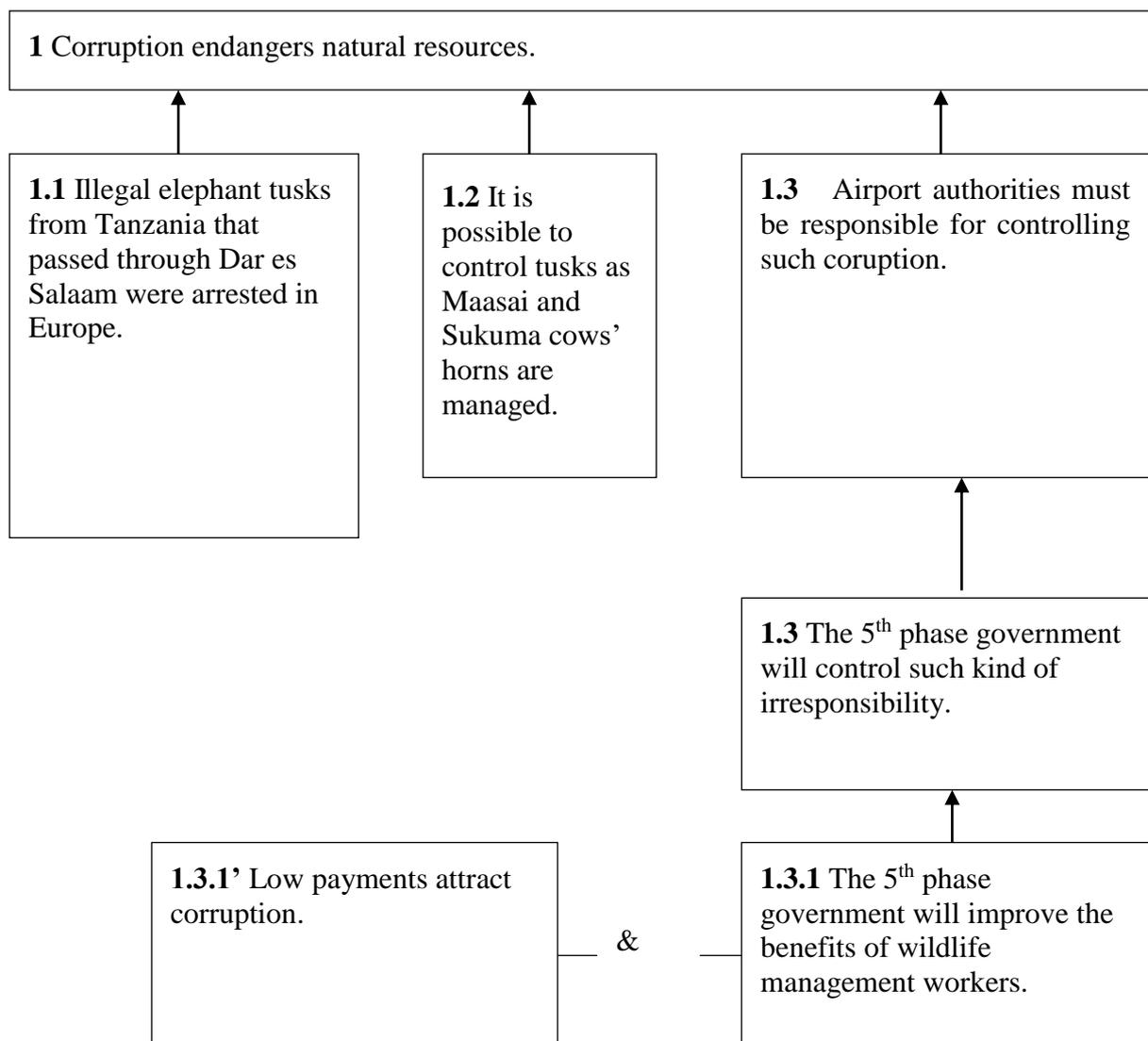


Figure 4.7 Reconstructed argumentation structure on need for good supervision of Tanzanite mining projects

From the perspective of the second dimension, that is, argumentation schemes, Magufuli uses the argumentation scheme based on an argument by analogy to support the standpoint that mineral extraction projects need to be well supervised. He identifies that, according to the world records, India ranks first, Kenya second, and Tanzania third in the selling market of Tanzanite. This ranking does not make sense to him because Tanzanite is only extracted in Tanzania. Magufuli pledges to investigate why this kind of discrepancy exists. The causal relation argumentation scheme is employed. In Magufuli's interpretation, poor supervision is the source of such a mismatch between the rank Tanzania has and other countries in terms of selling Tanzanite in the world market.

Relating to the third dimension, that is, topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Magufuli identifies a problem that needs to be resolved. The need for managing the mineral resources sector presupposes previous leaders were not sufficiently competent for this sector. This statement is a negative judgement in the Appraisal theoretical perspective (White, 2011). Employing the commissive speech act (Searle, 1979b), strategically, Magufuli pledges to solve this problem as a way of correcting the mistakes previous leaders made. Minerals are very valuable for the economic development of a country like Tanzania. By identifying that Tanzanite mining benefits little the United Republic of Tanzania, he associates himself with the poor people in the country who have many expectations from the government. Audience demand is a key component of effective rhetoric (Burke, 2014). In the context of Tanzania, in the year 2015, the citizens claimed that they deserved a better living standard, especially from income generating sectors like mining. Thus, putting forward a standpoint to strategise the increase of national income from Tanzanite, Magufuli captures the minds of the audience. Considering Figure 4.7, there are several presentational devices that are presented, evaluated, and analysed in the perspective of the Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation. Avoidance is strategically applied. Magufuli does not tell the audience the weakness of the government which leads to his decision to identify the need to supervise mineral resources well. Secondly, he invokes a persuasive persona to present himself as a person intending to help the country to appropriately use its resources.

In the opening stage, Magufuli strategically assumes the role of the protagonist, explaining the need to manage mineral resources for the advancement of the country. He provides justification by admitting that the government has been losing a huge amount of revenue from Tanzanite extraction projects. Magufuli, thus, is the protagonist who defends his standpoint on the need to manage the mineral sector to get more income from mining of, particularly Tanzanite. Development is a common core interest among citizens, whether someone belongs to the opposition party or the ruling party. As Magufuli mentions strategies and the desire to utilise such natural resources, the electorate may perhaps be convinced to vote for him. Magufuli is ready to respond to the unexpressed premises from the public that the government under the CCM is performing up to standard in controlling the natural resources. He strategically associates himself with the public, especially with the opposition party camp, to win the support from the liberal and conservative electorate, that is, those opposing the ruling party and those supporting the ruling party (Zarefsky, 2008).

In the argumentation stage, the topic is advanced by suggesting the intensive supervision to get the income Tanzania deserves from Tanzanite. Magufuli creates room for the public sympathy for the natural resources. Thus, he associates himself with especially the economically disadvantaged groups in the struggle to fight for economic freedom. He concludes strategically that he would pursue the matter of investigating why Tanzanian resources are mismanaged. That implies the electorate should vote for Magufuli to provide him with the opportunity to manage contracts and projects in the natural resources of the country. Magufuli provides critical examples that Tanzania ranks third after Kenya and India, who are first and second, respectively. This is the main party of the standpoint on the need to manage well the mineral resources, especially Tanzanite. The presentational device that is exhibited is irony, informing the government that Magufuli is not like the former president, Kikwete, who could not manage natural resources. Furthermore, this is a dissociation strategy, as Magufuli is dissociating himself from the former presidents from the fourth-phase governance who did not perform their duty well to control public resources from being misused by privately-owned mining companies by foreign investors. Magufuli appeals to emotions of the potential electorate with the topic of controlling the Tanzanite extraction. He concludes asking for votes from all that need development for the betterment of the nation. This was a strategy to win conservative and liberal presumptions in the 2015 Tanzanian general elections.

In respect to the fourth dimension of successful observation of the rules for critical discussion, in the speech segment examined from the perspective of the Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation, various rules are violated. However, given the context in which the election campaigns take place in Tanzania, a more critical approach is needed for the analysis. Magufuli, for instance, observes the freedom rule regarding the public with allegations that the government does not manage well its natural resources. He pledges to take initiatives to rescue Tanzania's natural resources, but he does that strategically by presenting himself as if he were one of those people who make allegations against the poor performance of the government. It could be contradicting if Magufuli stated that he does not trust the party which nominated him to stand in the national presidential competition against other candidates from the opposition parties. The burden of proof rule is observed as Magufuli proves that there are critical incidences that need serious investigation in the process of controlling the loss of natural resources, particularly Tanzanite. Considering the standpoint rule, the examples Magufuli provides are relevant to the need to supervise natural

resources to enable Tanzania to benefit from minerals such as Tanzanite. Maintaining argument schemes relevant to the standpoint, Magufuli succeeds to argue according to the unexpressed premises that the government run by the ruling party (CCM) had not been working up to standard. Magufuli presents himself as a party rescue candidate, thus he argues in a strategy of agreeing with the opposition party views and the citizens in general in the Tanzanian context. Magufuli accepts the starting point that the government had overlooked, among other things, the income the country ought to earn from Tanzanite compared to what it is earning. Therefore, the rules of critical discussion are observed.

Concerning the fifth dimension, that is derailments of critical discussion rules, the only critical observation of fallacies relates to the strategy by Magufuli to conciliate with the public and the opposition party camp that the government of the CCM is not performing up to standard. In contexts where political systems are advanced like in the United Kingdom and in the United States of America, this kind of contradiction within the party could imply the failure of the party, even though the candidate could be strong (Kienpointer, 2013). This facet of the argumentation needs to take shape of African politics, especially in Tanzania where, in practice, the president has much more power than stipulated in the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. It makes sense if a candidate criticizes his own party in the same capacity, with almost the same views and opinions as the opposition party. However, a ruling party candidate sounds fallacious doing this in the contexts of a multiparty system. The solution is either to convince the candidate to defect to another party with views that he supports. This cannot function if the constitution entails chances that may lead to manipulation of the multiparty system.

Concerning the sixth dimension, that is rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, Magufuli presents his argumentation effectively. Several presentational devices, persuasive techniques like invoking personal identity, and stylistic devices such as irony, are employed in making sure that a form of argumentation is appropriately focussed on convincing the potential electorate to accept the political will of Magufuli to manage and utilise Tanzania's natural resources.

Regarding reasonableness, Magufuli reasonably presents the real situation happening in the mining sector, especially Tanzanite in respect to pragmatic consistency. Furthermore, the argumentation is logically consistent since Tanzania is the only country where Tanzanite is extracted, but the country benefits little from it. For achieving argumentation soundness,

appropriate argumentation schemes, such as analogy, causal relation, and symptomatic argumentation are invoked. These logical devices result in the validity of the argumentation represented in Figure 4.7 in the 2015 Tanzanian general election campaign context.

4.5 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON IMPROVEMENT OF AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

In Figure 4.8 of the CCM speech segment 8, Magufuli pledges to improve the agricultural sector. His pledge relates to the relevant stipulation in the CCM election manifesto (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015: 9). Magufuli is aware of land conflicts to farmers. He views that challenge as an opportunity to convince his audience that he will solve problems such as land conflicts (see argument 1.1.1a), agricultural facilities (see argument 1.1.2b), and the government giving less value to agricultural products (see argument 1.1.3c).

CCM speech segment 8

MAGUFULI: (1) Ninafahamu kwa wakulima mnatamani mpate miliki ya ardhi. (2) Mnatamani mpate pembejeo. (3) Mnatamani mpate mbegu za gharama nafuu. (4) Mnatamani mpate masoko ya uhakika na bei nzuri za mazao. (5) Suala la wakulima kuikopesha serikali badala ya serikali kuwakopesha wakulima. (6) Hiyo nawahakikishia itakua historia. (7) Mfano unadhihirisha watu wa Kusini kule wamelima mahindi wanaendelea kukopesha serikali. (8) Serikali iwakopeshe wakulima. (9) Mimi hiyo hapana kabisa! (10) Yaani acha kabisa!

[1] As for you farmers, I know you want to own land. [2] You want to get agricultural inputs. [3] You want to buy seeds at a fair price. [4] You want to get reliable markets and better prices for your crops. [5] The issue of the government to lend crops from the farmers instead of the farmers themselves to lend crops to one another, I assure you that will be history. [6] There is a clear example of people from the Southern part who have grown maize and are continuing to lend the government. [7] Such issues of the government to take crops on a credit basis is not acceptable to me at all. [8] That habit has to be abolished.

Concerning the first dimension that is argumentation structure, the argumentation in Figure 4.8 comprises multiple argument structures (see arguments (1.1.1a, 1.1.1b, 1.1.1c) and (1.1.2)), and subordinative argument structure (see arguments (1.1, 1.1.1a, 1.1.1b, 1.1.1c) and (1.1, 1.2.1, and 1.1.2.1)). Figure 4.8 demonstrates inductive reasoning (Van Eemeren *et al.*,

2008). The pledges Magufuli makes in comparison with the current situation amounts to empirical observations that lead to the conclusion of the need to improve the agricultural sector.

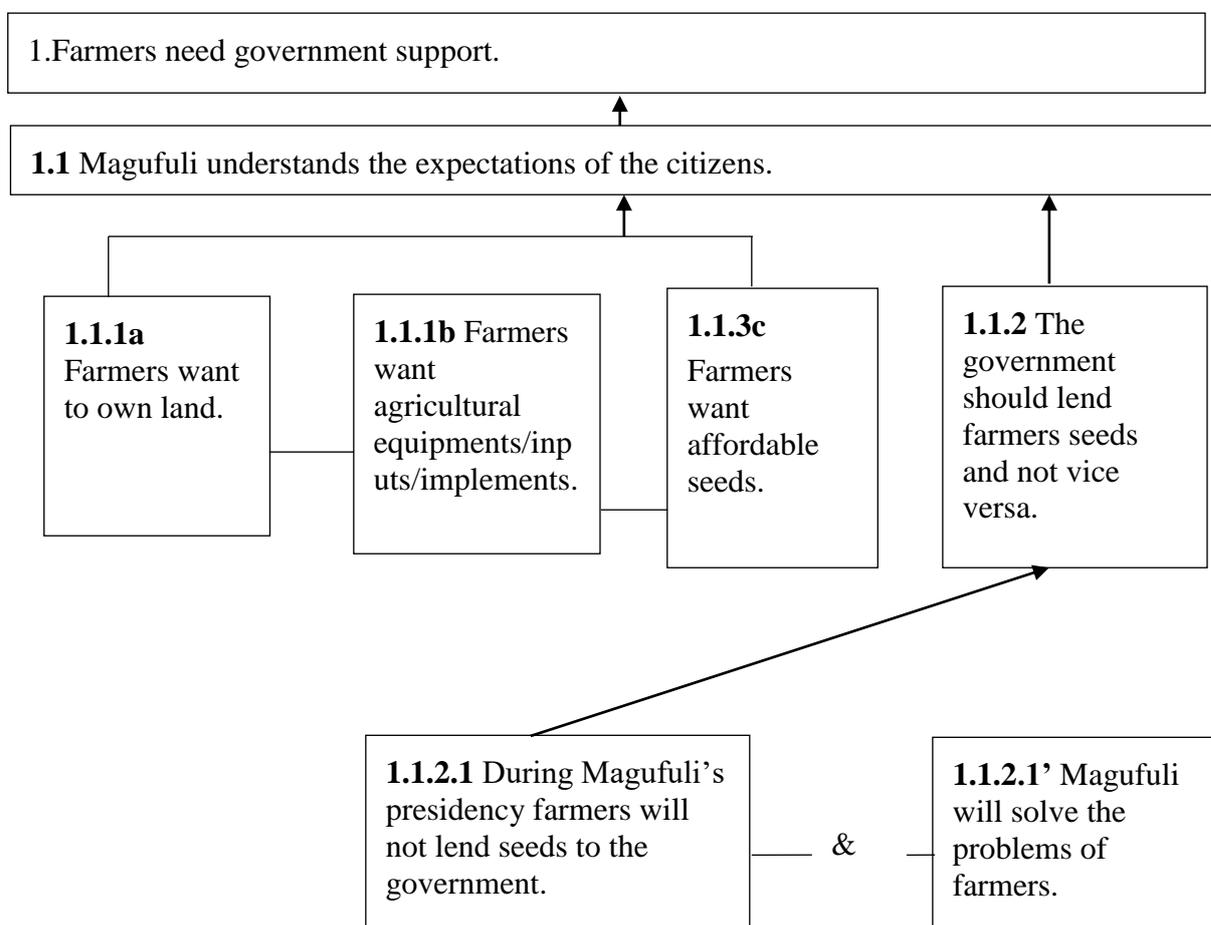


Figure 4.8: Reconstructed argumentation structure on need for improvement on agricultural sector

Regarding the second dimension, that is the argumentation schemes, the CCM candidate employs pragmatic argumentation. He explicitly asserts that farmers need government support for farming activities. More importantly, invoking pragmatic argumentation combines majority argumentation (Andone, 2015). The example of farmers lending seeds to the government, while the situation is supposed to be vice versa, makes the argumentation represented in Figure 4.8 convincing. Magufuli, therefore, demonstrates a pragmatically consistent opinion that, if the government responsibly assists farmers, the agricultural sector will benefit the citizens tangibly. Given the benefit for the majority of Tanzanians, it is worth

for voters to support Magufuli for the successful implementation of farming support that he pledges and, more generally, for the development of the country.

Regarding the third dimension, a selection of topical potential in any argumentative discourse in the Pragma-dialectical perspective determines failure or success of the argumentation. In the confrontation stage, Magufuli strategically identifies a doubt on the by then government to neglect the farmers. He believes the government must the farmers not vice versa. A speech act of assertive is implied in the confrontation stage (Searle, 1979b). Like in many other African countries, in Tanzania, subsistence farming is a generally dependable activity for the survival of many people. Aware of the audience demand, Magufuli capitalises on the need to assist farmers in case he wins the election. Persuasion takes place where a persuader manages with reasons to convince their interactants the way he persuades things is a better way but without having an intent of manipulation (Lakhani, 2005).

The critical doubt about the role of the government in facilitating farming activities is the association strategy. Despite being a member of the ruling party and a minister, Magufuli strategically criticizes the failure of the government to support farmers. This strategic move increases credibility to the audience. Indirectly, Magufuli's suggestion of the government to support farmers might have an emotional impact as far as the Appraisal perspective is concerned (Martin & White, 2005). In the opening stage, he assumes a protagonist's role that farmers ought to be assisted. His position as a protagonist intends to appeal to liberal and conservative presumptions. In a surface interpretation, it sounds as a contradiction because Magufuli has been part of previous governments when he served and was still serving a position of a minister. Underlyingly, an interpretation of such an argumentative move is sound because, as a minister, he is not responsible and accountable to all ministries; thus, he had no power to intervene in farming activities. In the argumentation stage, he argues that the government ought to lend seeds to farmers and not farmers lending seeds to the government. He takes that role because over 75% of the Tanzanian population mainly depends on subsistence farming. To support his standpoint, he employs the argumentation scheme by example by demonstrating how typically the government has for so long ignored farmers the to extent of farmers lending seeds to the government.

Also, Magufuli dissociates himself from the ruling party and Kikwete's government to strategically persuade the audience that what Kikwete's government overlooked would be adjusted in Magufuli's government. In an equivalent manner, he utilises a strategy of

institutionalisation of persuasive persona. Magufuli portrayed himself as a credible CCM member despite a lot of development inconvenience in the government under the ruling party. So, farming facilitation would be implemented regardless of the government will. This is typical of Tanzanian political campaigns as a communicative activity type. Fundamentally, pledges are supposed to exemplify government policies, party manifestos, and more importantly, the national constitution. Magufuli, aware of the contexts in which he makes his speech, takes advantage of the Tanzanian democracy where individuals may sometimes decide what to do instead of adhering to the rules of the constitution. In addition, he appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions. The 2015 Tanzanian general elections competition, especially when two former Prime Ministers defected to the opposition party camp, CHADEMA/UKAWA. Farming as an economic activity of especially family subsistence benefits all citizens involved in it without regard to political affiliations. Thus, Magufuli pledging to facilitate it may win him more votes from CCM members and non- CCM members.

In the conclusion stage, consistently, he strategically suggests that if they vote for him, farming would be a beneficial sector for the development of the nation as good plans for rehabilitation of the farming sector would be implemented. Thus, Magufuli, in concluding his argumentation, employs locus of irreparable to farmers, implying that they ought to vote for him for the improvement of the farming sector.

Concerning the fourth dimension, that is, successful observation of the rules for critical discussion, argumentation in the Pragma-dialectical perspective, demands arguers to abide by the ideal rules for critical argumentation. Magufuli argues relevantly given that over 75% of Tanzanians depend on subsistence farming. Pledging to improve the farming sector means improving the living standards of people. The argument schemes by example and causal relation are demonstrated. He explains how neglect of the farming activities leads to life hardships to people in rural areas; thus, he promises to make tangible improvements in the farming sector. Magufuli accepts the burden of proof of the claim that the government has not effectively supported the sector. He provides an example in the southern part of Tanzania where farmers were lending crops/produce to the government instead of the government providing farmers with loans/subsidies for agricultural inputs. The closure rule is also observed as Magufuli asks for votes because he pledges to solve the problems facing farmers.

Implementing the fifth dimension, that is, the identification of derailments in argumentative discourse, any move in the process of strategically maneuvering that frustrates reasonable argumentation, is termed as a fallacy (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). This definition may be different depending on the context. The contextual differences do not mean fallacies should be justified. In the representation in Figure 4.8, Magufuli, to some extent, violates the validity rule given that he is a single individual in the ruling party. However, he portrays himself as a person who can do improvements in the farming sector without acknowledging the source of his power, namely the manifesto. Secondly, his language use is not clear. He emphasises the improvement of the farming sector, but he does not mention the sources of funds.

Regarding the sixth dimension, that is, rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, as far as presentational devices, topical potential, audience demand, and other stylistic devices are concerned, Magufuli argues effectively. This can be seen in the way he shows a strong affiliation with the need to solve problems facing farmers, especially when dissociating himself from previous governments that either intentionally or unintentionally ignored interests of farmers. For credibility, Magufuli provides concrete examples of the groups of Tanzanians in the southern part of the country which are victimised by the government in the agricultural sector. The government must be responsible for lending seeds to farmers, but, contrary to the norm, the farmers sell their produce on credit to the government. As in all cases of the appropriate use of reasoning in the argumentation, Figure 4.8 represents from the Pragma-dialectical perspective, the validity of the argumentation. Magufuli tries to justify why he thinks the government ought to support farmers by explaining how much citizens are struggling to conduct subsistence farming despite poor or no support at all from the government.

Secondly, argumentation schemes are appropriately invoked, especially argumentation by the example of the farmers who had been selling crops on credit to the government, instead of the government loaning seeds to farmers. The argumentation represented in Figure 4.8 is acceptable because over 75% of the Tanzanian population depends on subsistence farming, thus any improvement to such core source of feeding of the people and economic centre would be a great development and transformation to the country. In addition, the argumentation is logically consistent because, if farmers would be assisted, living standards would automatically improve. With pragmatic consistency, Tanzanians, especially those in

rural areas, would agree with any candidate pledging improvement in the farming sector. This is because many of them entirely depend on subsistence farming activities to sustain their living standards. Given these reasons, Magufuli effectively and reasonably presents his claim that the government ought to support farmers.

4.6 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN THE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON THE ROAD INFRASTRUCTURAL SECTOR

Referring to Figure 4.9 of CCM speech segment 9, Magufuli pledges to improve road infrastructure (see arguments 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3). The CCM election manifesto also stipulates such pledges (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015: 53). Magufuli is the minister for works but has worked in different ministries including Lands, Housing, and Human Settlement. He knows what the audience wants to hear in relation to road infrastructure.

CCM speech segment 9

MAGUFULI: Suala la barabara! (1) Ndugu zangu Tanzania imejitahidi katika hili katika awamu ya nne lakini tunataka sasa tuunganishe mikoa yote kwa barabara za rami. (2) Na tutaanza kujenga barabara za mikoa zinazounganisha wilaya. (3) Lakini pia tutaanza kujenga barabara za flylover nyingi kwa dar es salaam apa kwa mfano barabara ya Tazara ya kwenda juu. (4) Kampuni ya Japan imeshakuja kukagua tutaanza mara moja ile fly over ya kilometa 1.2. (5) Kutoka pale kwenye daraja la Sarenda pale tutajenga daraja lingine la kupita majini la kilometa 7.2. (6) Kutoka Dar es salaam apa tunajenga nyingine ya njia 6 inayoenda mpaka chalinze na kutoka chalinze mpaka Morogoro na itakua na njia 6 na itakua na fylovers. (7) Transaction adviser yuko kwenye site ameshalipwa billion 7.2, gharama ya barabara yenyewe itakua triloni 2.3. (8) Ninayoyasema ninayaamini ninafahamu wakati fulani niliwahi kuzungumza tukiwa Mtwara kwamba mtu atatoka Mtwara kwa taxi mpaka Bukoba. (9) Watu wakasema ninaota ni ndoto za mchana ninafahamu kuota mchana huwa ni vibaya mimi huwa naota usiku. (10) Mchana huwa soti na sasa bado ni mchana ninayoyasema ni ukweli, ya ukweli kweli kwahiyo tatizo la msongamano la Dar es salaam inawezekana lisiishe kwa siku moja lakini tunalishughulikia kikamilifu. (11) Na ndio maana daraja la kigamboni linaendelea. (12) Interchange ya ubungo pale itaanza kujengwa kwa gharama ya shilingi billioni 67 za Kitanzania na itakua na ghorofa 3. (13) Kwahiyo ndugu zangu Wasukuma ukikosea ulikua unaenda mwenge ukapita kwenye barabara ya gorofa ya pili utajikuta upo buguruni.

The issue of roads! [1] Fellow citizens, Tanzania has succeeded quite substantially in this matter in the fourth-phase government, but as of now, we want to connect all regions to tarmac roads. [2] We will begin constructing regional roads which connect districts, [3] but we will also start constructing many flyovers. [4] Here in Dar es Salaam, for instance, we will construct a flyover at TAZARA area. [5] A Japanese company has already surveyed a site; so we will start instantly to construct a 1.2 kilometre flyover. [6] From the Salander bridge, we will construct another 7.2 kilometre bridge passing over water. [7] From Dar es Salaam here we will construct another six lane road to Chalinze, and from Chalinze to Morogoro. [8] It will be a six way road which will also have flyovers. [9] The transaction adviser is at the site, and he has already been paid 7.2 Tanzanian billion shillings and the total cost of this road amounts to 2.3 trillion. [10] I believe in what I say! [11] I remember that there was a time when we were in Mtwara, I said that a person will be travelling from Mtwara to Bukoba by taxi, [12] and people said that I was daydreaming. [13] I know that day-dreaming is bad, so I normally dream at night. [14] I do not daydream, [15] and it is now daytime, so I say the truth. [16] To be honest, the problem of road congestion in Dar es Salaam will possibly not come to end in a single day, [17] but we are trying to solve it diligently. [18] This is the reason why the construction of the Kigamboni bridge is going on and the construction of the Ubungo interchange, which will have three storeys, will commence soon and will cost TZS67 billion. [19] Therefore, for you, Sukuma people, if you make a mistake as you go to Mwenge and pass through the second storey, you will find yourself in Buguruni.

Regarding the first dimension, Figure 4.9 demonstrates a complex argumentation structure since it comprises multiple structures (1.1, 1.2, and 1.3), coordinative structure (1.2a and 1.2b) and (1.3a and 1.3b), and subordinative structure (1.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.1.1, and 1.1.1.1.1), and (1.2 (1.2a, and 1.2b,1.2b.1.1) and 1.3 (1.3a and 1.3b)). In addition, it follows a deductive reasoning since the conclusion is obtained from the premises (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren et al., 1993; Hurley, 2012). Magufuli illustrates concerns with examples of improving infrastructure namely improving and constructing tarmac roads, flyovers, and bridges in different parts of Tanzania.

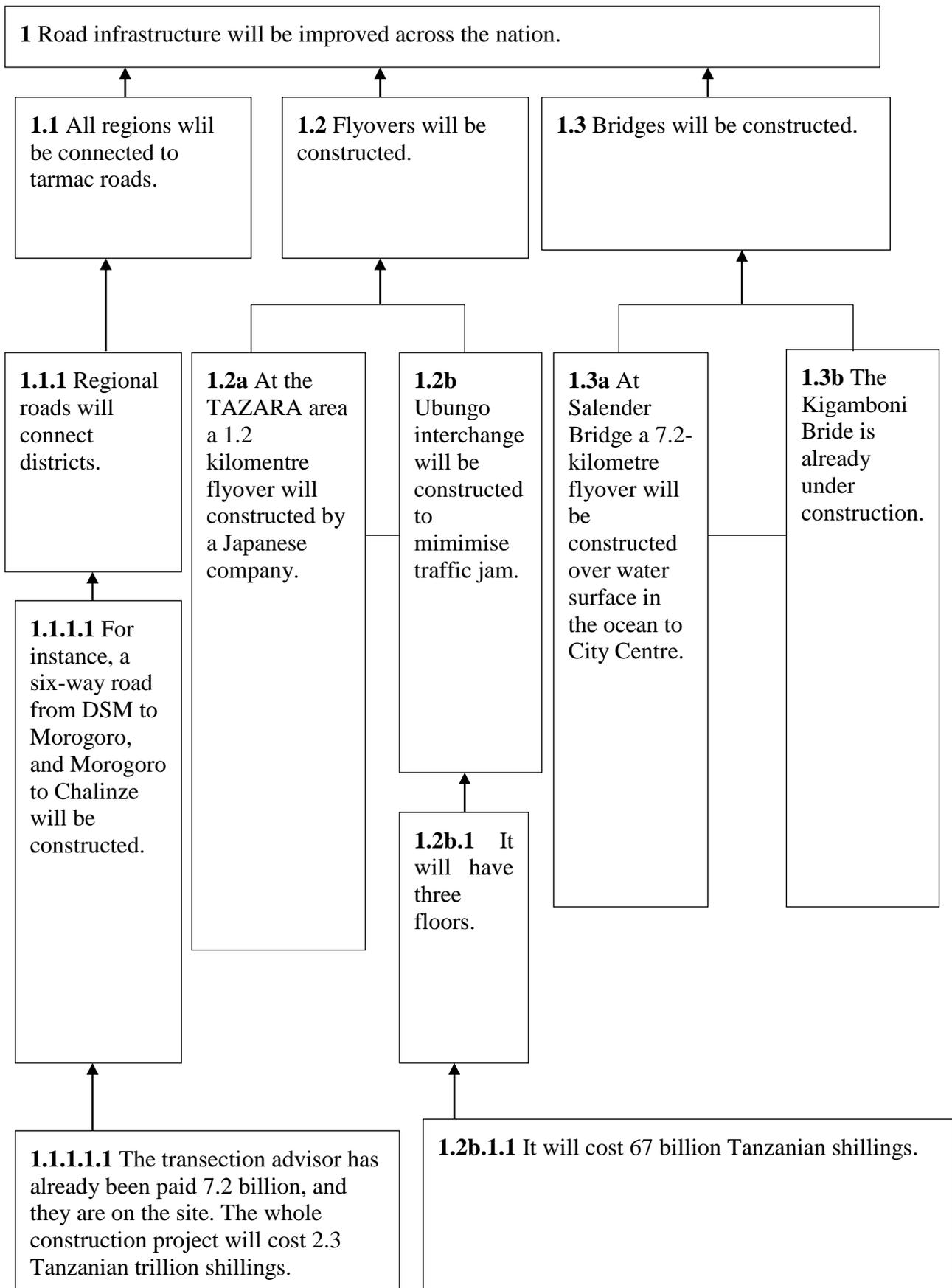


Figure 4.9: Reconstructed argumentation structure on improvement of road infrastructure across the country

Concerning the second dimension, that is, the argumentation scheme, Magufuli employs pragmatic argumentation, majority argumentation, argumentation by analogy, and causal relation argumentation. Regarding pragmatic argumentation, facilitating road infrastructure is stated as something worth doing. In Tanzania, there is still a need for improving road transport to make transportation easier. Most Tanzanians want improved road transport. This is a scheme that implies Magufuli should be supported to improve road infrastructure. For citizens to have convenient transport, tarmacked roads, bridges, flyovers, and interchanges must be constructed. This standpoint on road infrastructure falls under causal relation argumentation.

Relating to the third dimension that is topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, Magufuli strategically selects the topic potential that meets the audience demand. In the confrontation stage, he focusses on his political will to improve the country's infrastructure. In terms of Searle (1979b), Magufuli is interpreted engaging in assertive and commissive speech acts. It is the strategy to get support from the potential voters, because road transport is the major means of movement from one place to another in the United Republic of Tanzania. The audience is considered from the confrontation stage to the conclusion stage. Magufuli appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions by stating his desire to facilitate road infrastructure. The effectiveness of the argumentation mainly depends on how the arguer employs the stylistic devices, presentational devices, and persuasive devices. Magufuli identifies a gap in the road infrastructure sector to win liberal and conservative presumptions. Moreover, given that many people in the country depend on road transport, demonstrating the political will to do improvement implies seeking majority support.

In the opening stage, the topic is maintained. Magufuli assumes the responsibility and expresses the political will to improve infrastructure. Strategically, he uses a fair *ad misericordiam* as he makes the audience view road infrastructure as inadequate; thus, there is a need for immediate improvement. This is the attitudinal move in the Appraisal perspective which White (2011) refers to as affect. Magufuli also associates himself with the opposition party camp concerning low quality road infrastructure in Tanzania, especially, in respect to the impact of traffic congestions caused by poor roads in the city of Dar es Salaam. In the argumentation stage, Magufuli emphasises project plans already done, for example, the plans of building flyovers, and the projects the fifth-phase government would do under Magufuli if

the electorate vote for him. Capitalising on road infrastructure, Magufuli utilises pragmatic and majority argumentation. He concludes stating that if the electorate vote for him he would be in the position to build standard infrastructural facilities. He presents the plans of connecting regional roads with tarmacked roads. This kind of pledge is typical of developing countries in Africa. A tarmacked road is considered as something of great value because many of the roads in the country are rough roads. Magufuli thus appeals to both conservative and liberal potential voters. He discusses another example of plans for constructing a six-way road from Dar es Salaam to Morogoro. Accordingly, he implies, people in Dar es Salaam and Morogoro would benefit from such projects. The majority argumentation is employed. The audience from the regions mentioned is assured of better road transport; this suggests they would vote for him to get the projects implemented. Other devices employed include persuasive persona. Magufuli presents himself as a credible presidential candidate capable of utilising government funds for the public good. An instance of transfer of credibility in that Magufuli portrays himself as a credible candidate to vote for notwithstanding the ruling party, CCM is alleged to have failed to implement government projects.

In the concluding stage, he suggests to the potential electorate to support him, as he would execute the projects he pledges. Magufuli asks for public support, especially supporting the ruling party candidates, so that, together with Magufuli, they could implement development projects.

Regarding the facet of observing the rules of critical discussion, several critical discussion rules are observed. About the freedom rule, Magufuli responds to the accusations that the ruling party could no longer have credible candidates to improve infrastructure. Magufuli does not object directly; instead, he provides the plan of the projects that the fifth-phase government would implement to minimise traffic congestion in town and city and to solve other poor road related transport. Therefore, he is in the position to allow other views opposing what he believes. He assumes the burden of proof to indicate how the fifth government will improve road infrastructure. Invoking the standpoint rule, Magufuli argues accordingly though against allegations on CCM. Magufuli uses the persuasive persona of his personal identity to seek public trust for him and the party in general. He presents arguments of constructing bridges, flyovers, interchanges represented in Figure 4.9. This makes the argumentation sound reasonable. The unexpressed premise rule is also exhibited. Magufuli engages in the unexpressed premises on lack of trust in the CCM, especially in the fourth-

phase government. The starting point rule in the unexpressed premise is observed. The public, especially the opposition accused the ruling party in the fourth-phase government of not performing up to standard. Magufuli's standpoint was a reaction on behalf of the government. The argument schemes are appropriately employed (see the second dimension on argumentation schemes utilised in the argumentation on road infrastructure). The argumentation is also logically valid. The 2015 CCM manifesto pledges to implement road infrastructure projects.

In regard to the manifesto, the credibility of Magufuli and his experience for over 15 years in different ministries including Lands, Housing and Human Settlement serve as evidence that Magufuli would implement road infrastructure projects. As Magufuli argues providing statistical evidence of projects the government the fourth-phase has already established, and projects pledged in the CCM manifesto, the closure rule is observed. He concludes in a way implying the role is left to the potential electorate to decide for the improvement of infrastructure if they vote for Magufuli. The language used is also direct; thus, the usage rule is observed. Given the explanations and evidence in dimensions one to four, Magufuli largely observes the rules for critical discussion. There are no tangible cases that can lead the argumentation into a fallacious state (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). According to what has been demonstrated in the third dimension, presentational devices, critical discussion rules, the argumentation represented in Figure 4.9 maintains rhetorical and dialectical dimensions of effectiveness and reasonableness, respectively.

4.7 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON RELIABILITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Section 4.7 focuses on argumentation that reflects the reliability of parties and the party candidates in the 2015 general elections.

4.7.1 Views of politicians on constitutional reforms

Amon Mpanju is a CCM cadre and a leader of people with disabilities. Accordingly, he supports the ruling party because it is stipulated in the CCM election manifesto that the interest of the people with disabilities will be considered in the fifth-phase government (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015: 43). Regarding the constitutional reform, Mpanju criticises Lowassa and opposition parties especially CHADEMA, for being inconsistent on the appropriate government structure for the United Republic of Tanzania. His focus is

mainly on Lowassa who supported a three-government structure but changed his mind to a two-government structure, and later a three-government structure. Mpanju defends a two government structure as stipulated in the CCM election manifesto (Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa ya CCM, 2015: 204).

CCM speech segment 10

MPANJU: (1) Msifanye makosa watanzania! (2) Wale ni wababishaji. (3) Ni waganga njaa. (4) Wanatamaa ya madaraka. (5) Na kuwahakikishia wanatamaaa ya madaraka, kuna mmoja alikua ni miongoni wa waliochampioni na kugharimia na kuhangaika tuwe na serikali mbili kwasababu tume ya maandiko ya katiba yalivyoenda kwake na rasimu ya pili wakamwambia ni rasimu ya pili yenye serikali tatu. (6) Wakamwambia mzee hii apa rasimu. (7) Yeye akasema, ‘Inamaana raisi wa muungano atakua na madaraka gani?’. (8) Wakamwambia, ‘Huyo atakua anaenda New York na nje lakini akija hapa Tanzania hawezi kwenda Mtwara wala hana hata gharama hausiki na mafuta na gesi’. (9) Akasema, “Aah! Sasa tuwe na serikali mbili”. (10) Sasa mtu huyo leo anawadanganya watanzania anawadanganya wenzie UKAWA kwamba anaweza akawaletea serikali tatu. (11) Huyo hatufai! (12) Ni muongo na anabadilika kama kinyonga tumpuuze. (13) Dawa ni Magufuli ambae ni mzee wa kazi.

Tanzanians! [1] Do not make mistakes! [2] Opposition party candidates do not know what they aim at. [3] They want to satisfy their stomachs. [4] They are power mongers. [5] They are longing for power; there is one person who sponsored and campaigned for a two-government constitution in the United Republic of Tanzania. [6] The reason was when the commission for a new constitution presented him with the second draft of the constitution, which proposed a three-government structure, they told him, “Our elder! Here is the draft of the constitution. [7] He asked them, ‘What will be the duties of the Union president?’. [8] They answered ,’ The union president will be able to travel to New York and abroad in general, [9] but when he/she comes back to Tanzania, he/she will not be able to visit Mtwara, (as an example), and he/she does not even have a budget for doing so. [10] He/she will not be concerned with oil or gas deals. [11] He said, “Yeah! So, we should have the two-government structure”. [12] Today that person is lying Tanzanians. [13] He is deceiving his UKAWA colleagues that he can initiate a three-government structure. [14] That person is unfit, [16] and he is not our suitable candidate since he is a liar as he keeps on changing like a chameleon. [17] We have to ignore him. The solution is Magufuli who is reputable hard-working person.

Concerning the first dimension focussing of argumentation structure, Figure 4.10 of the CCM segment 10 presents a complex argumentation structure, comprising of multiple argument structure (1.1, (1.2a and 1.2b), and 1.3), coordinative argument structure (1.2a and 1.2b) and subordinative argument structure (1.3, 1.3.1, 1.3.1.1). Regarding the type of reasoning, it falls under the category of inductive as the conclusion is a result of empirical evidence from arguments (Van Eemeren et al., 1993).

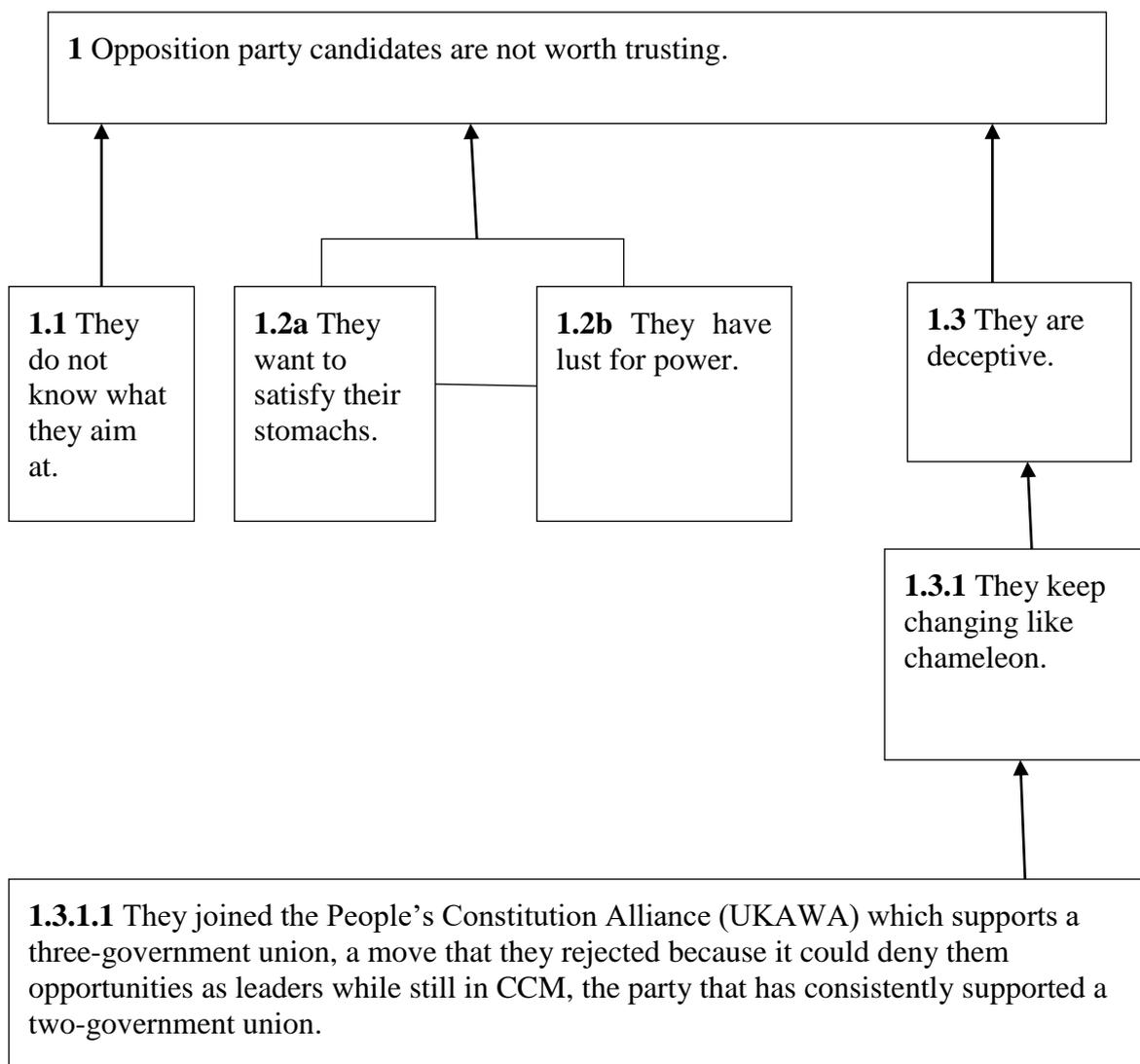


Figure 4.10: Reconstructed argumentation structure on views of politicians on constitutional reforms

In respect to the second dimension, that is, the argumentation schemes, Mpanju states that opposition party candidates are like chameleons. While in CCM, Lowassa expressed an interest in a two-government structure, but when he joined CHADEMA/UKAWA, he

claimed to support the CHADEMA/UKAWA perspective of a three-government structure. This trend is interpreted by Mpanju, the CCM supporter as a sign of inconsistency. Therefore, symptomatic argumentation is employed in making sure that the standpoint can be well presented. Argument from analogy is also implicated in the argumentation. The same person supporting a two-government structure in the ruling party, ought to hold the same position in the opposition party. It could be reasonable if Lowassa decides to join CHADEMA/UKAWA because of a differing perspective on the type of the government structure, otherwise, it is difficult to understand what government structure Lowassa prefers.

Concerning the third dimension that is topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Mpanju states that the opposition party candidates are not worth trusting. Asserting so means Mpanju does not believe in the opposition party candidate. The illocutionary act is explicitly presented to send a message to the audience not to trust the opposition party presidential candidate. He selects the topic strategically by employing dissociation. In this claim, a party worth trusting must have candidates whose political views on how they can deal with issues ought to be consistent. Voting for a party whose candidates are inconsistent would be a difficult decision for the potential electorate. Therefore, the speaker increases the possibility of getting more votes on the side of the ruling party CCM by negatively evaluating CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates.

In the opening stage, the speaker assumes the position of the protagonist. Defending the claim against inconsistency among political leaders and presidential candidate would be easier than defending the opposite views. Thus, it implies Mpanju judges the opposition party candidate negatively. Such a judgement in the Appraisal perspective is categorised as tenacity (Iedema et al., 1994), because Lowassa has been judged as an unreliable politician. It is a common phenomenon that people want politicians who can correctly make decisions and stick to those decisions for public interests. This could, therefore, appeal to liberal and conservative presumptions. In the argumentation stage, the topic on the importance of consistency is maintained. The audience demand for honest leaders is invoked by commenting that the CCM presidential candidate has been consistent wherever he worked; thus, he is the right candidate. Because people want their living standards improved, this strategic move is of great advantage to the ruling party to win more supporters. The use of several presentational devices is represented in Figure 4.10. For instance, a metaphor has been used when the argument of the speaker represented in Figure 4.10 articulates that opposition party

candidates are chameleons. Chameleons keep on changing colours, depending on the physical environment they are in at a time. That is why the CCM supporter refer to UKAWA candidates and parties as chameleons. Clarifications are provided on the study of metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2014b).

Another presentational device is the use of pronouns, leaving the name of a person for the audience to infer. This has been used where the person who had supported a two-government system in CCM changed his mind to support a three-government system in UKAWA was implied. This is an instance of typical strategic maneuvering. At the macro-level, that person may be the candidate for the UKAWA because he had a strong influence within the ruling party, the CCM, before he joined the opposition party. The challenge with the Kiswahili language in relation to strategic maneuvering of using pronouns is that the language has no gender/sex markers at the morphological level. It is possible when a speaker pronounces words in male or female voice by changing pitch. This may entail a deliberate ambiguity to avoid responsibility in case one is sued to court to answer charges. Dissociation is reflected as well (Van Rees, 2009b: 2). Apart from the metaphor represented in Figure 4.10, dissociation has been used where the CCM supporter regards UKAWA candidates materialistic while CCM candidates as public serving people.

Regarding the critical discussion rules, as Figure 4.10 represents in arguments 1.1, 1.2a, 1.2b, 1.3, validity is observed. The argument is presented in a flow that allows a logical conclusion of not trusting opposition party candidates (van Eemeren et al., 2008: 186). Leaders are expected to be consistent, and if they are not, they are not trustworthy. The freedom rule is observed since Mpanju asserts that some UKAWA candidates when campaigning to the rally pretend to support a three-government system although when they were in CCM, they supported the two-government system. Mpanju explains why he believes CHADEMA/UKAWA members are not worth trusting. He assumes the burden of proof. From the beginning up to the end, Mpanju capitalises on the need to vote for leaders who are trustworthy. The starting point is that CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates are not trustworthy. The argumentation scheme by analogy and the symptomatic argumentation scheme are employed in a relevant manner as represented in Figure 4.10.

Regarding the violation of critical argumentation rules as represented in Figure 4.10, the CCM supporter employs a personal attack by calling the UKAWA presidential candidate chameleon. This is known as *argumentum ad hominem* (van Eemeren et al., 2008). It can also

be categorised as unfair strategic maneuvering- *argumentum ad hominem* (van Laar & Krabbe, 2016). Using the ambiguous language of not articulating exactly who the third person pronouns refer to is a type of violation of the rules for critical discussion known as equivocal formulations. Mpanju does not provide reasons why CCM support and campaign for the two-government structure. It appears as if there is deliberate concealment of that choice.

As represented in Figure 4.10, Mpanju strategically maneuvers as he appropriately uses the symptomatic argumentation scheme. He argues reasonably as it is logical to not trust someone who is not consistent. In the Tanzanian context, having a background with an ideology of socialism and self-reliance in 1967, many citizens do not accept politicians who are selfish. It can, therefore, be regarded as strategic maneuvering, depending on the soundness criteria Mpanju presents and effectiveness in the sense of presentational devices presented in Figure 4.10 (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). Figure 4.10 represents several presentational devices, for instance, the metaphor of chameleon, dissociating CCM members from unpredictable members of CHADEMA/UKAWA. Mpanju utilises assertions in which CCM is evaluated positively and CHADEMA/UKAWA negatively. Therefore, the delicate balance between effectiveness and reasonableness is maintained in a resolution process based on the views of politicians on the constitutional reforms. UKAWA was formed because of misunderstanding relating to the structure of the government of the United Republic of Tanzania.

4.7.2 Strengths of the incumbent party, CCM

Mwinyi is the second-phase president of the United Republic of Tanzania. He succeeded Mwalimu Nyerere in 1985. He stayed in power for 10 years. Mwinyi argues that there is no other political party in Tanzania stronger than CCM. He labels opposition parties CCM B.

CCM speech segment 11

MWINYI: (1) Mheshimiwa raisi wa Jamhuri ya watu wa Tanzania Dokta Kikwete, waheshimiwa viongozi wooteeee wa chama mliopo katika hadhara hii, waheshimiwa ndugu wana CCM ninao kushuhudieni kuwapo hapa, hii leo hii hatari ati. Mabibi na mabwana asalamalleikum. (2) Nimefika hapa kwanza ninaelewa kwamba wakati unatuacha mkono na tuliomkusudia kumsikiliza kashafika lazima tumpe nafasi ya kutosha atuambie alilonalalo. (3) Upande wangu mimi ningeona au nasema hivi kwamba maneno yaliosewa hapa na

waliotangulia wote pamoja na hadhi aliyokupa msheshimiwa Warioba usikilize sana. (4) Mimi naafikiana nao sana na mimi nakuombeni nanyi muyakubali hayowaliyoyasema. (5) Ndugu zangu hatuna haja ya kukumbusha ukubwa wa CCM. (6) CCM ni chama kweli kweli, (7) kikubwa kweli kweli, (8) maarufu kweli kweli chenye uwezo mkubwa kweli kweli. (8) Na ntakupeni dalili maana kila jambo lina ushahidi. (9) Tazama hii leo kutokana na baadhi ya walikua CCM wenzetu wapinzani wamepata nguvu zao. (10) Inaelekea kwamba vyama vya upinzani vimeona ili waweze kufanikiwa sharti waazime. (11) Wana CCM wengine washafika na wengine wanatangaza hata hii jana kwamba na wao wanakwenda huko huko. (12) Na dhamiri inayowapeleka mmeisikia sisemi mie. (13) Wanakwenda kutia nguvu, (14) wanakwenda kuwafundisha, (15) wanakwenda kuelekeza namna ya kufanya ili waweze kuishinda CCM. (16) Hamkusikia? (17) Kumbe kumbeee kuna CCM mbili, CCM A ndo hii apa na CCM B, mmeisikia hiyo. (18) Sasa katika mazingira haya mimi nna maswali nataka kukuulizeni ninyi wenzangu na sio nyie pekeenu na watanzania wote tuliopo katika Tanzania. (19) Kama CCM A ipo, CCM B ya kazi gani? (20) Unawezaje kuinyima kura CCM A ukaipe kura CCM B, maana yake nini? (21) Haina viwango, kuna watuwanakwenda kupeleka ufundi ulioupata katika CCM A. (22) Kwahiyo mtu haachi fundi akapokea mwanafunzi, ndugu zangu ninyi mlioko hapa na watanzania wote wa vyama vyote vilivyopo Tanzania nawahusia watie kura zao kwa CCM A ndio hii. (23) Kwa leo niseme haya yatosha tutakutana tuelekezane zaidi asanteni sana.

[1] Your Excellency, the President of the United Republic of Tanzania Dr Kikwete, honourable all the party leaders who have gathered here, honourable CCM members I see here in large numbers, ladies and gentlemen; this is surprising! [2] How are you? [3] I have come here but I know we are running short of time since the person to be the main speaker has already arrived, [4] and thus he should be given plenty of time to tell us what he has. [5] On my part, I should urge you to take note of the words by previous speakers and the status which honourable Warioba accorded you. [6] I concur with them [7] and I also beseech you too to accept all the words they have said. Ladies and Gentlement! [8] It is superfluous for us to remind one another about the greatness of CCM. [9] CCM is a great party indeed, [10] it is a famous party, [11] and it is a party with great capability. I will give you evidence since every matter has evidence. [12] Take a look at what is seen today – those who were our fellow CCM members have joined the opposition camp to strengthen the opposition. [13] Possibly, the opposition side has realized that in order to succeed, they must borrow some CCM members. [14] Some have already joined the opposition camp, and some declared their

interests yesterday. [16] These are not my words, [17] but the intention of joining opposition parties, [18] you know, [19] they want to strengthen the opposition camp. [20] They are going there to teach and show them strategies of defeating CCM in the election. [21] Didn't you hear that? Okay! [22] So, we have two CCMs; we have CCM A which is this one, [23] and CCM B which you have heard of. [24] Under such circumstances, on my part, I have questions to ask you, my comrades! [25] And I am not only asking you people here, but I am also asking all Tanzanians. (26) If we have CCM A, what is CCM B for? [27] How can you vote for CCM B? [28] Or how dare you vote for CCM B and not vote for CCM A. [28] CCM B does not have the acceptable standards, [30] and thus people are going there to give it the winning strategies which they got from CCM A. Therefore, normally a person does not leave an artisan and hire an apprentice. [31] My comrades who are here and all Tanzanians of all political parties in Tanzania, I advise you solemnly to vote for CCM A which is this one here. [32] This is enough for today, we shall meet next time for details on these issues. [33] Thank you so much.

Regarding the first dimension that is argumentation structure, Figure 4.11 of the CCM speech segment 11 demonstrates a complex argumentation structure (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008) comprising of a coordinative argumentation structure (see arguments 1.1a, 1.1b, 1.1c, and 1.1a.1.1a and 1.1a.1.1b) and subordinative argumentation structure (see arguments (1.1a, 1.1a.1, 1.1a.1.1, 1.1a.1.1.1a, and 1.1a.1.1.1a.1). The validity of the argumentation as represented in Figure 4.11 is determined by empirical observation. It is a type of argumentation known as inductive reasoning.

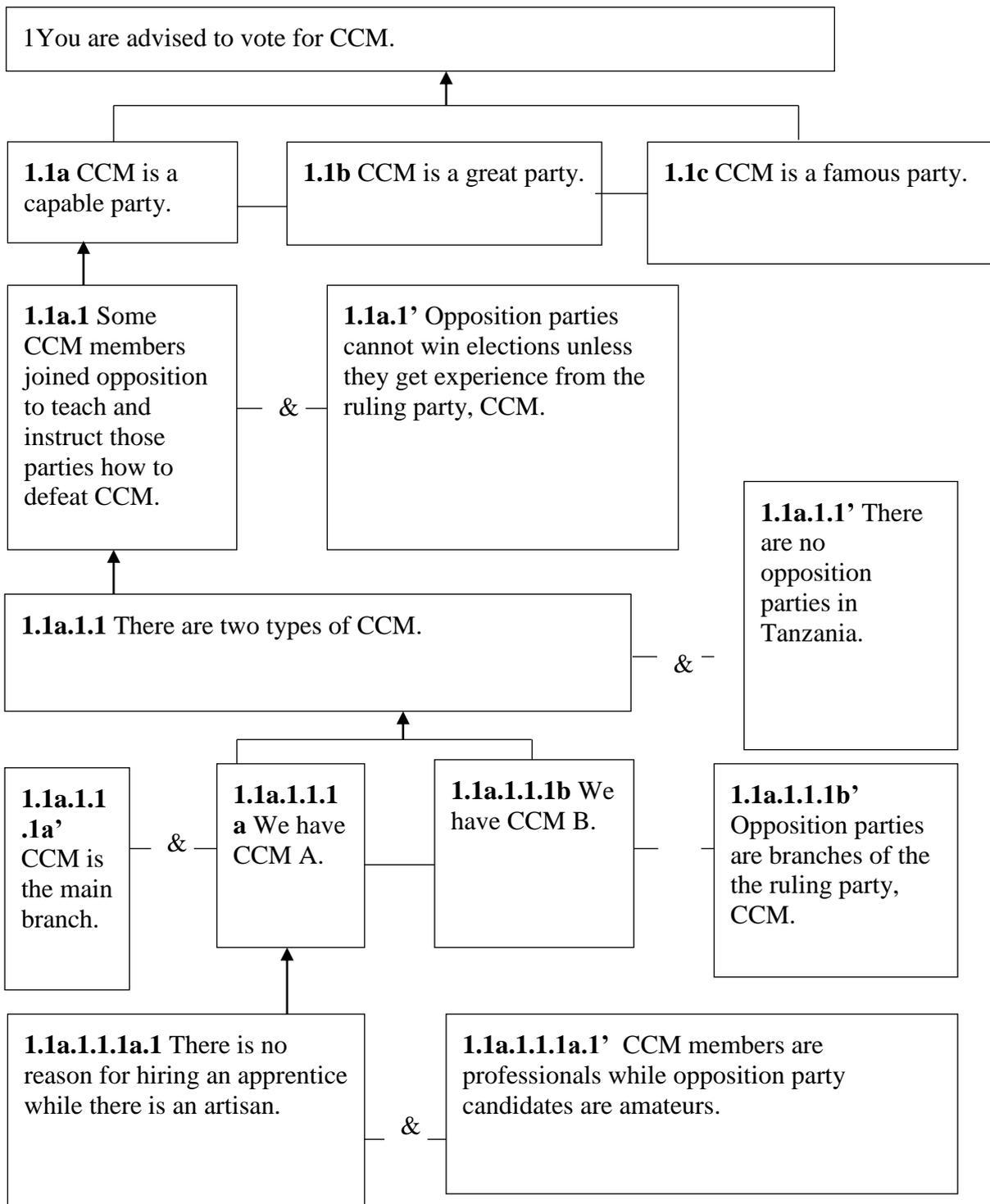


Figure 4.11: Reconstructed argumentation structure on the strengths of the incumbent party, CCM

Regarding the second dimension that is the argumentation schemes, the comparison characteristics of CCM members with those of the members of the opposition parties exhibits symptomatic argumentation scheme. If the opposition parties have borrowed CCM members,

it is logical to conclude that the opposition parties are part of the ruling party. However, according to the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1997, it is legally acceptable to join or abandon any political party¹. Mwinyi strategically interprets joining opposition parties from the ruling party as a move to find out a way to defeat the CCM because the same qualifications of the former CCM members are applied to members of the opposition parties. Mwinyi states that, if the opposition party cannot have qualified candidates to contest the presidential race unless they get experienced cadres from the ruling party, therefore, the opposition parties are CCM B.

Regarding the third dimension, that is the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, Mwinyi portrays the CCM as a great, famous and capable political party. These qualities lead him to conclude that people of the United Republic of Tanzania Should vote for CCM candidates. In the confrontation stage, he demonstrates a need for supporting CCM rather than supporting opposition parties that expect to get members who are experts from among CCM members. From the perspective of speech acts (Searle, 1979b), Mwinyi asserts and expresses the greatness, fame, and capabilities of the ruling party, CCM. Such verbal acts imply the CCM is the best political party in Tanzania. In the context of the argumentation in represented Figure 4.11, given that in the 2015 general election in Tanzania there is more emphasis on the strong government to control national wealth, Mwinyi describes the need to support a capable party, although he does not mention criteria to determine the capability of the party.

In addition, Mwinyi's argumentation demonstrates a public political controversy concerning which party can enhance national development. In the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaigns, there were two main political groups: the ruling party (CCM), and UKAWA (Coalition of Citizen's Constitution). The former still believed that the CCM was still a strong party to continue leading the country, while the latter advocated it was not possible to have genuine candidates from a party that has failed to control public funds. These controversies prompt the speaker to apply different strategies to persuade and convince the audience. In the opening stage, several arguments appealing to the minds of the audience are stated. In regard to association and dissociation (Van Rees, 2009a), Mwinyi capitalises on voting for a capable party that seems to be dissociating from a not capable party, a comment that is typically evaluative in the perspective of the Appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005).

¹ Article 20 (1) The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1997 (as amended from time to time)

The protagonist states that he supports the ruling party; hence, he is taking a role to defend his standpoint that the CCM is better in the different qualities that a political party must have. In the argumentation stage, Mwinyi argues that the CCM is great, famous, and capable to continue leading the country. He emphasises that other opposition parties get experienced politicians, as new members, from the CCM. Mwinyi assumes the responsibility of stating the view that supporting other political parties is supporting a CCM B as CCM A is the ruling party. In his comment about some CCM cadres planning to join the opposition party camps to outcompete the CCM, Mwinyi implies by symptomatic argumentation that CCM A has artisans as leaders while CCM has apprentices as leaders.

There are several other presentational devices that the speaker employed in persuading the audience. First, the device of belittlement is employed in the sense that the opposition party human resources are identified as weak, and that they depend on external human resources from the CCM (Van Laar & Krabbe, 2016). This conceptualisation which the supporter of the CCM assumes invoked from the fact that some CCM members decided to join the opposition parties. Though presented as a weakness, it is basically constitutionally acceptable². This is unfair strategic maneuvering (Van Laar & Krabbe, 2016). Secondly, the speaker associates strategically the CCM with opposition parties when he labels them CCM B. Association to this case is meant to neutralise the authenticity of the opposition party camps (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969: 190).

It can also be categorised as persuasive naming. In addition, the presentational devices of trivialisation have been employed in the sense of implying that joining as just strengthening the opposition camp. In fact, there are many critical reasons, including alleged corruption within the ruling party and failure to control public interests related to development. Perceived corruption was a critical issue to deal with because some of the CCM members who joined the opposition camps were also suspects of alleged corruption scandals. Mwinyi uses a comparison strategy when he compares the CCM and opposition parties, portraying the latter as apprentices and the former as artisans. Rhetorical questions such as why voters would opt for the apprentices while there are artisans, are employed to differentiate the CCM, in the speaker's view, as a party with professional human resources from the opposition parties, which rely on amateurs. The naming propaganda technique has been revealed in Mwinyi's argumentation. He regards the opposition party accepting former CCM cadres as

² Article 20 (1) The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1977 (as amended from time to time)

borrowing (Shabo, 2008). In the conclusion stage, from the observation represented in Figure 4.11, the arguer commented that it is reasonable to vote for the CCM because of having better experienced leaders.

Concerning the fourth dimension, which is about the observation of critical discussion, Mwinyi observes the burden of proof rule. He consistently defended the standpoint. Secondly, the speaker has been relevant in his arguments. He comments that former CCM members who join the opposition camps do so to strengthen the opposition in Tanzania to defeat the CCM. Therefore, the relevance rule has appropriately been employed (van Eemeren et al., 2008). The rest of the rules like validity, argument scheme, and relevance are appropriately observed.

Regarding the fifth dimension of identifying derailments of critical discussion rules, the argumentation represented in Figure 4.11 demonstrates some violation of rules according to the model of critical discussion (van Eemeren et al., 2014). Mwinyi claims that there are two CCMs: CCM A and CCM B. However, there is only one party by the name of CCM. This claim is a violation of standpoint rule. The opposition party camp never stated that they belong to CCM B. Insisting that there is CCM B implies that there is no freedom of expression, like differing with the ruling party. This view is expressed by the speaker as some CCM members joined the 2014 Citizen's Constitution Coalition, under CHADEMA, as a constitutionally lawful party, to have a presidential candidate. The speaker seems to deny political freedom of expression.

Regarding the sixth dimension, the reasonableness of the argumentation meets some of the effective reasoning criteria. It is valid concerning the view expressed that if opposition parties during the 2015 Tanzanian presidential campaigns accept members from CCM, especially those who are members of the parliament and ministers, then practically the opposition parties have governing skills like those of CCM, making no difference in terms of managing those political parties. Concerning acceptability, it is not acceptable that the audience regards UKAWA as CCM B because of the strong competition in the 2015 general elections. This statement makes such line of reasoning, although strategically presented, questionable. Although the argumentation seems questionable, with the appropriate use of symptomatic argumentation schemes, the speaker tries to demonstrate that, if some former CCM members join the opposition parties, then, opposition camps have nothing new in terms of human resources. Depending on the type of the audience represented in Figure 4.11, that is,

particular and universal audiences, the speaker effectively employed several rhetorical devices, such as irony, by referring to opposition parties as the CCM. Dissociation and association also evidence that the speaker's argumentation is effectively presented.

4.7.3 Qualifications of presidential candidates

The president of the United Republic of Tanzania and the chairperson of Chama cha Mapinduzi highlights in his argumentation the qualifications of 2015 candidates in the presidential race.

CCM speech segment 12

KIKWETE: (1) Leo ndio mwanzo wa safari, safari ambayo mimi mwisho wake nitakabidhi kijiti kwa raisi wa awamu ya tano. (2) Na sina wasiwasi hata kidogo raisi huyo atakua John Pombe Magufuli. (3) Nitafanya hivyo kama mzee Mkapu alivyofanya kwangu na kama na yeye ambavyo mzee Mwinyi alifanya hivyo kwake, na kama mzee Nyerere alivyofanya hivyo kwa mzee Mwinyi. (4) Kazi yangu leo ni ndogo. (5) Nina kazi kubwa mbili za kuwatambulisha wagombea wetu kwenu na kwa watanzania na pili kuwakabidhi ilani ya uchaguzi ya chama cha mapinduzi. (6) Kazi yao ni kwenda kuinadi kuwaambia watanzania CCM inaahidi itawafanyia nini wakiichagua. (7) Lakini kabla ya hapo nataka niseme kwamba CCM tulipomchagua John Pombe Magufuli kuwa mgombea wetu hatukubahatisha. (8) Hatukuchagua tumelenga kwa sifa zake tunataka raisi anae penda nchi na anayewapenda wananchi wa nchi hii. (9) Magufuli anayo sifa hiyo. (10) Hatupendi raisi masikini, (11) lakini tunapenda raisi ambaye mali yake alivyoipata tunahakika nayo. (12) Nirudiee.....tumesema hatutaki kuchukua mgomea anamakandokando mengiii... na tukatumia muda wetu mwingi kujitetea sisi na kumtetea yeye kabla hamjaomba kura. (12) Magufuli hatupi tabu. (13) Yeye ni muaminifu ni muadilifu. (14) Sisi wote ni mashahidi hapa. (15) Alipokua anapita kwenda kuomba kura alikua hana msururu wala watu walikua hawajua kwamba yuko mtu anaitwa John Pombe Magufuli anagombea. (16) Siku ile alivyokuja kuniaga anasema, 'Mzee mimi nakuaga nakwenda kuchukua fomu.' (17) Nikamwambia utakuwa umefanya vizuri. Akasema, 'lakini mimi nikisha chukua fomu sitakwenda kuzungumza na waandishi wa habari'. (18) Nikamwambia kwanini anasema mbwembwe hizo sizihitaji. (19) Mimi nilizani anania nikasoma kwenye gazeti kweli Magufuli kachukua fomu katokea mlango wa nyuma kaenda zake. (20) Magufuli baadhi ya mikoa wako viongozi walishaagiza kwamba mtu wakujaziwa fomu ni mmoja tu na wengine wakija msiwajazie. (21) Alipokwenda ofisi za

wilaya alipokosa msaada akaenda kwenye matawi makubwa Magufuli akaenda kudhaminiwa na wanachama wenyewe. (22) Yupo yeye na dereva wake anazunguka mwenyewe. (23) Mnyongeeeee... haki yakeee.... (24) Alikua mnyonge mbele ya watu waliokuwa waujumu mali. (25) Lakini hakua mnyonge mbele ya wana CCM. (26) Hawakukataa kumjazia fomu yake. (27) Tunamaliza mtu aniambie mimi kundi la Magufuli ni lipi. (28) Magufuli alikua na kundi lake mwenyewe tu, yeye na dereva wake na msaidizi wake wanazunguka kwenda kujazisha fomu.

(29) Lakini mwenyezi Mungu kwa lugha ya kwetu sisi Bagamoyo na wenzangu wale wa Pwani Mwenyezi Mungu ana shani yake. (30) Humpa ampendaye. (31) Humpa aliemchagua, na safari hii kamchagua John Pombe Magufuli. (32) Katika hali yoyote ya kawaida ya mfumo wa watu Magufuli asingeteuliwa lakini tunae. (33) Mimi nampenda naamini Tanzania chini ya mikono ya John Pombe Magufuli iko salama. (34) Atapambana na uovu kwasababu yeye mwenyewe sio muovu na wala uovu haupendi. (35) Atatujengea nchi hii kwasababu katika fursa alizopewa katika kipindi changu cha wizara tatu alizotumikia ameonesha dhamira ya dhati ya kutekeleza kinachotakiwa kufanywa. (36) Alikua wizara ya mifugo na uvuvi kwa kupenda kazi yake amejua mpaka idadi ya samaki wa ziwa Victoria. (37) Kabla ya hapo alikua wizara ya ardhi alikua anajua viwanja vilivyopimwa ametengenezea mifumo mizuri ukiona sasa kuna kanda huko huko huko ni kazi John Pombe Magufuli. (38) Kuwapunguzia watu adha ya kutolewa upepo na maafisa wa ardhi wasiokua waaminifu. (39) Aliyoyafanya kwenye barabara sisemi mzee Warioba ameeleza vizuri kwa vigezo hivi ni mtu wa uhakika wa kuleta maendeleo. (40) Mimi nimesema sana.

[1] Today is the beginning of our journey; a journey that will end by me handing over the stick to the fifth-phase president. [2] I am not worried at all since that president will be John Pombe Magufuli. [3] I will do so as our elder Mkapu did to me, and in the same way as our elder, Mwinyi did to him, and as our elder, Nyerere did to Mwinyi. [4] My task today is very small. [5] I have two main tasks, namely to introduce to you and to the Tanzanians our candidates and the second task is to give to them the CCM election manifesto. [6] Their task will be to go to advertise it to the Tanzanians by telling them what CCM will do for them if they elect it. [7] First and foremost, I want to say that, when we as CCM appointed John Pombe Magufuli to be our presidential candidate, we did not guess. [8] We elected him due to his qualities as we want the president who loves his country and one who loves the citizens of this country. [9] Magufuli has that quality; we do not want a poor president, but we want

the president whose richness is justifiable. [10] Let me come again. [11] We have said that we do not want to nominate a candidate with many scandals and thus be forced to spend much time to defend ourselves and defend him before begging for the votes. [12] Magufuli does not cause us that trouble because he is morally good and faithful. [13] We are all witnesses here that, when he was going to beg for supporters for contesting the presidential seat, he did not have any company of people. [14] They did not know that there is a person called John Pombe Magufuli who was contesting for the presidential position. [16] On that day, when he came to inform me that he was going to collect the forms for contesting for the presidential seat, he told me, my boss, I have come to let you know that I am going to take the form. [17] I told him that that would be a good thing, but he said after taking the form, I am not going to talk with the journalists. [18] I asked him why. He replied that he did not like such pomposity. [20] I thought he was joking but I read in the newspaper that Magufuli had taken the form and exited through the back door. [21] In some of the regions, the leaders had issued orders that the person whose forms had to be filled was only one person, [22] and they were forbidden to fill in the forms of the other candidates. [23] When he went to the district office and could not get any help, he went to the big branches, so there Magufuli was sponsored by the party members themselves. [24] He was with his driver being very desperate. He was humble towards the people who were arrogant and wealthy but Magufuli was not weak before his fellow CCM members as they did assist him to fill in his form. [25] As we were winding up the preliminary procedures someone wanted to know Magufuli's camp. [26] Magufuli had his own group composed of himself, his driver and his personal assistant moving from one place to another to ask people to fill in his form. [27] But, in our language, people from Bagamoyo and Pwani (the Coastal Region), we say that God Almighty has his discretion. [28] He gives whomever he chooses, and this time he has chosen John Pombe Magufuli. [29] Under the normal political system of the people, Magufuli would not have been nominated, [30] but we have him here today. [31] Personally, I like him. [32] I believe Tanzania will be safe in the hands of John Pombe Magufuli. [33] He will fight against all evils since he is not corrupt, [34] and he does not like evils. [35] He will build this country as from what he did in three ministries under my leadership, [36] he has shown a good intention of implementing what needs to be done. [37] He was a minister for livestock and fishery. [38] Due to commitment for his work he knew even the total number of the fish found in Lake Victoria. [39] Before that time, he was the land minister. [40] He knew all the surveyed plots of land. [41] He has introduced good plans, for instance, land ministerial

zones. [42] *He has reduced the bribery disturbance which people used to get from the unfaithful land officers.* [43] *What he has done in the road construction is an invaluable work, as our elder Warioba has just said,* [44] *I do not want to repeat.* [45] *By assessing his qualities, he is a reliable person who can bring development to us.* [46] *I have said much.*

Regarding the first dimension, the reconstructed argumentation structure, represented in Figure 4.12 of the CCM speech segment 12 demonstrates a complex argumentation structure (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). Kikwete attempts to resolve multiple differences of opinion in the same argumentation. Thus, the standpoint requires different arguments in resolving the difference of opinion. It comprises multiple argument structures (1.2 and 1.3), a coordinative argument structure (1.1a and 1.1b), and subordinative argument structure (1.1a, 1.1a.1a), (1.1a, 1.1a.1b, 1.1a.1b.1), (1.2,1.2.1, 1.2.1.1) and (1.3,1.3.1,1.3.1.1). In relation to the structure, the line of reasoning in Figure 4.12 is deductive. In the confrontation stage, Kikwete states that nominating Magufuli for the presidential race was not by chance. His claim is supported by arguments (1.1a and 1.1b). If Magufuli is honest and loves his country, and if Tanzanians want honest and patriotic leaders, then Magufuli qualifies to be the president.

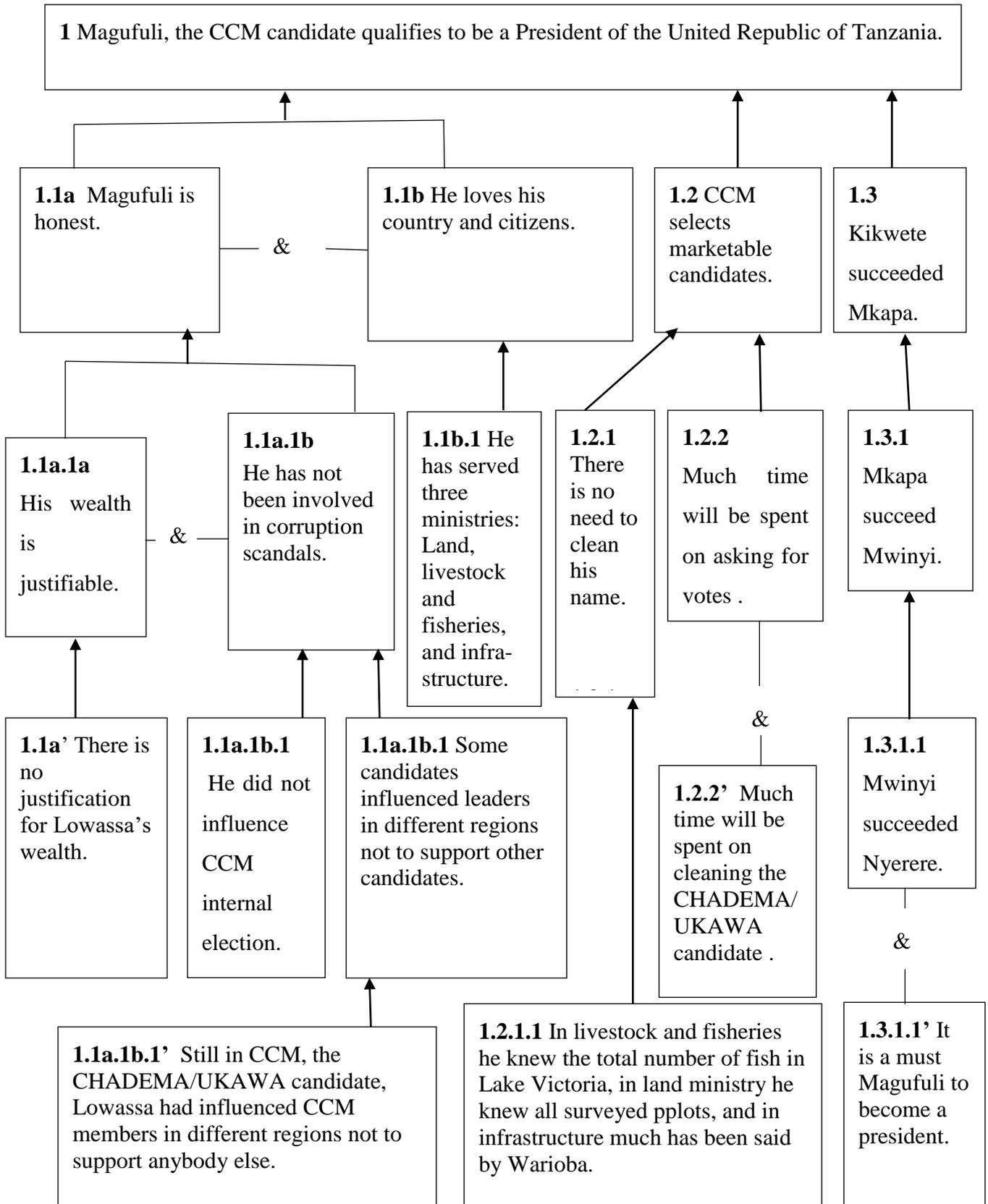


Figure 4.12: Reconstructed argumentation structure on qualification of candidates in the 2015 presidential race

The argumentation represented in Figure 4.12 comprises several argument schemes with the dominant schemes being pragmatic argumentation (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). In this pragmatic argumentation, a policy is recommended to ensure positive results of government projects and because positive results are what the majority wants, the conclusion focusses on the majority will (Andone, 2015). Van Eemeren (2017) states that capitalising on the context in which the argumentation takes place can enable an appropriate evaluation of the scheme the arguers employ. By beginning with pragmatic argumentation in support of the standpoint represented in Figure 4.12, the speaker convinces the audience to support the CCM and their candidates; since independence, presidents have been coming from the ruling party. In addition, there have been positive results achieved by the government led by the ruling party, and development is what the public want. Therefore, voting for Magufuli, the CCM candidate, must be encouraged. This exemplifies what van Eemeren (2017) regards as a prototypical argumentative pattern in the political domain. Argumentation by analogy is another scheme of supporting a standpoint which Kikwete demonstrates. Kikwete asserts that Magufuli has the same qualifications the former presidents had in the CCM party. As a matter of rule of justice, if Mwalimu Nyerere, Mwinyi, Mkapa, and Kikwete became presidents from the ruling party, Magufuli should be president for consistency (Van Eemeren, 2014). Furthermore, the argumentation represented in Figure 4.12 portrays that voting for Magufuli would lead to accountability by the government because of his quality of honesty. This reasoning is associated with a causal relation argumentation scheme. The implied meaning is that voting for a candidate from another party would lead to negative results which are undesirable for political accountability (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). It is from these schemes that prototypical argumentative patterns are evidenced in the political deliberation as the communicative activity type (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014).

Concerning the dimension of topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Kikwete's statement implies a difference of opinion; that is other parties do not have the qualifications that Magufuli has, a fact that is defensible. Regarding assertives (Searle, 1979b), Kikwete thus maintains that potential electorate must vote for Magufuli to support the development of the United Republic of Tanzania. Secondly, regarding audience demand represented in Figure 4.12 in the Pragma-dialectical perspective, Kikwete considers both the majority will and validity of the standpoint in place. Strategically, the speaker in the confrontation stage emphasises how much corruption demoralises the public in terms of being deprived of services they ought to get from the government. Thus,

strategically, issues of love of the nation and of the citizens are introduced as a standpoint. The language of evaluation by the CCM candidate such as loving expresses with linguistic resources to which Martin & White (2005) refers to as emotive words, for instance loving the nation. Since most Tanzanians would like the candidate who loves the nation to be president, Kikwete can persuade and convince the audience in this regard.

Presentational devices from the perspective of Pragma-dialects are as important as the reasonableness of the argumentation. For the devices to serve as strategies, there must be a considerable amount of relevancy in the context in which the argumentation takes place. With this regard, the speaker represented in Figure 4.12 tries to abide by the requirement of the critical argumentation rules from the Pragma-dialectical perspective. Among others, the argumentation consists of a persuasive contrast by enumerating positive qualities of Magufuli, implying the absence of such qualifications of candidates from other parties. This is strategically realised in the confrontation stage.

In the opening stage, the arguer strategically assumes a protagonist role of supporting Magufuli since the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate was associated with corruption scandals since he was Prime Minister in Kikwete's government. Apparently, the role of Kikwete is that of a protagonist trying to show how much Magufuli would control corruption because of his commitment to the nation. He does so to delegitimise the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate, a strategy well explored in the study of the language of persuasion in politics (Partington & Taylor, 2018). Assuming the role of the protagonist needs a convincing or persuading approach. The universal audience like the goals that Kikwete identifies as represented in Figure 4.12. This device is popularly known as the majority will. Another strategy exemplified is age-wisdom trust. Capitalising on elders such as Nyerere, Mwinyi, and Mkapa invokes feelings of trust by the audience regarding the former presidents of the United Republic of Tanzania.

In the argumentation stage, the issues of political accountability and justification of wealth of public office bearers are presented as of public interest, thus the standpoint can easily be defended. Kikwete identifies the essence of supporting the CCM and its presidential candidates in the 2015 Tanzanian general elections. Underlyingly, the arguer capitalises on the view that the danger of not voting for Magufuli would be detrimental in terms of controlling public funds. Critically viewed, the arguer's comment of the marketability of Magufuli is meant to stimulate the minds of the audience to recall Lowasa's economic

scandals which shook the nation when he was serving the nation as the Prime Minister. Furthermore, the strategy of dissociation is employed. The CCM and its presidential candidates are regarded accountable, honest, and devoted to the nation more than any other candidate in the 2015 general election. It is not the matter of being accountable or devoted to the nation, but the overall moral trends of Magufuli in the office he served before contesting the for presidential race that the speaker emphasises.

Lowassa, the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate, is portrayed as dishonest during the time he was in office, a strategy known as *argumentum ad hominem*. In situations where the personal attack is accompanied with a convincing explanation, it is not regarded as a fallacy. Kikwete claims to have advised Lowassa to surrender the position of prime minister. He speaks with his authority as a strategy. Another strategy evidenced is trivialisation. Marketable candidates represent ethical candidates and are opposed to other parties' failure to select competitive and marketable candidates. This can lead to the use of another strategy known as belittlement. An implication of Kikwete's speech is that the CCM has good and focussed plans in selecting presidential candidates while the main opposition, CHADEMA/UKAWA camp does not. Other strategies exhibited in the speech are problem projection, where someone else's failure is directed to another person, a group of people, or a party, in this case. It was Kikwete's role to control dishonesty in the government, but all failures are strategically associated with Lowasa, a Prime Minister under former president Kikwete. In the concluding stage, Kikwete provides a historical trend that implied Magufuli must be a president by default. Kikwete states that whatever could be the case, given the trend that Mwalimu Nyerere was succeeded by Mwinyi, Mwinyi was succeeded by Mkapa, Mkapa was succeeded by Kikwete, and similarly, Kikwete was to be succeeded by Magufuli. Where certain interests must be met, this kind of strategic maneuvering is very instrumental; it is referred to like a particular audience (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b). Therefore, the speaker suggests, to elect a honest president, the people of the United Republic of Tanzania must vote for Magufuli.

Concerning the dimension of the observation of the rules for critical discussion, most of the arguments represented in Figure 4.12 are relevant. Other rules observed include the standpoint rule. From the confrontation stage to the conclusion stage, Kikwete focusses on the qualities of Magufuli portraying him as a better politician than Lowassa. His speech appropriately realises argumentation schemes, especially the symptomatic argumentation scheme representing that Magufuli has served successfully in three ministries. This is a sign

of his abilities to serve the position of the president. By doing this, Kikwete assumes the burden of proof to explain to the audience why he believes Magufuli is worth voting for.

The derailments of rules for critical discussion are reflected in the argumentation. The freedom rule is violated. Figure 4.12 represented the ruling of voting for the CCM, despite Tanzania being a multiparty state. Furthermore, Kikwete asserts that the presidency belongs to Magufuli because of his qualifications. The validity rule is also violated because not every CCM presidential candidate qualifies as better than the previous CCM presidents. This kind of violation leads, to some extent, to the derailment of the argument although the rules observed are stronger than those that are violated. This means that on grounds of the plausible validity of Magufuli's experience, compared to that of the opposition party candidate, Kikwete concludes that Magufuli is a better qualified presidential candidate than Lowassa.

In the Pragma-dialectical perspective, Figure 4.12 demonstrates appropriate features for effective argumentation. Supported by appropriate pragmatic argumentation, the causal relation argument scheme and argumentation by analogy, Kikwete presents his argumentation reasonably. Apart from appropriate schemes, the validity of the argumentation is clearly presented that the ruling party has a better track record in leadership than other political parties in the 2015 Tanzanian general election. The issue of acceptability of the ruling remains critical because, although the CCM claim they did their best in the past leadership, Tanzanians deserve a better situation. Therefore, it is not clearly explained why Kikwete suggests the electorate should vote for the ruling party. Although there are critical issues in Kikwete's argumentation, generally, the argumentation is both logically and pragmatically consistent.

4.7.4 Qualities of party policies and manifestos

Kikwete explains in Figure 4.13 of the CCM speech segment 13 why, in terms of policies and manifestos, the CCM is better than any other political party.

CCM speech segment 13

KIKWETE: (1) Ndugu zangu, Watanzania wenzangu, hakuna kubabaika hakuna chama kama CCM. (2) Kina sera zinazojulikana (3) Kina ilani inayojulikana, hao wengine hao maana toka wengine wamehama wamehamia najaribu kusikiliza hivi wanasimamia kitu gani. (4) Kuing'oa CCM madarakani. (5) Ukiacha hilo hawana lingine lolote na huwezi kulipata

pale. (6) Wale wagombea wawili, mgombea uraisi na mgombea mwenza wanagombea kwa jina la CHADEMA. (7) Huyu mmoja ana sera za CCM, (8) mmoja ana sera za CUF. (9) Kuna wakati mmoja mgombea yule mmoja akasema wataisoma namba, wimbo wa TOT. (10) Mmoja amekwenda jana anasema amekwenda kuimarisha CCM. (11) Na yule ndugu yangu nimejaribu kusikiliza hasa anasema nini sikuelewa kabisa, hivi hasa anasema nini nimejaribu kujiuliza mpaka leo sijui kasema nini. (12) Halafu mimi nawashangaa sana mtu anakwenda kwenye chama anasema huku kwenye chama hiki hakuna watu wenye uwezo wa kuongoza. (13) Kwahiyo ndio anakwenda yeye sasa awasaidie kuongoza, huyu mtu anawadharau lakini ukikubali kudharauliwa shauri ako. (14) Pale kuna mgombea uraisi ambaye unaweza ukasema ni mgombea binafsi maana ana sera zake ambazo hazifanani na icho chama matokeo yake hivi sasa vyama vya CUF na CCM huku bara vimechanganyikiwa kabisa. (15) Lakini wameyataka wenyewe tuwaache walivyo.

[1] Fellow Tanzanians, we should not vacillate, there is no party other than CCM. [2] It has clear policies, [3] it has a known manifesto, those people including the people who have quited from CCM, I have been asking myself, what do they rely on? [4] They only rely on removing CCM from power; apart from this issue, they do not have any other thing on which to rely. You cannot get it there! [5] The two contestants, the presidential candidate and his running mate, contest by the name of CHADEMA. [6] This other person has CCM policies, [7] and the running mate has CUF policies. [8] There was a time when one of the two candidates said that 'they will read the number', a verse found in the TOT band song. [9] The other person who has joined the opposition yesterday, said he joined to strengthen the opposition. [10] I have tried to listen to what that brother of mine has been saying, [11] I did not understand what he was trying to say. [12] Until today, I have not grasped what he was saying. [13] Personally, I am surprised to hear their claim that oppositions do not have people with the leadership ability. [14] Thus CCM members join to assist them to lead. [15] These persons disdain them, but if they accept to be scorned, it is up to them. [16] There is a presidential candidate you might think of him as a private presidential candidate because he has his policies which do not match with those of the party. [17] As a result, Tanzania mainland CUF and CCM parties have become totally confused. This is what they want to do, let us leave them as they are.

Regarding the first dimension, Figure 4.12 comprises complex argumentation structure such as multiple arguments (1.1 and 1.2), and coordinative arguments (1.1.2a and 1.1.2b).

Moreover, Kikwete inductively argues that CCM has a reliable manifesto, policies and candidates whereas the opposition party does not. According to Kikwete, the party with reliable manifesto, policies and candidates qualifies to lead the government. He claims CCM has such qualities. Therefore, from the arguments, the conclusion is that the candidates of CCM should be voted for reliable government and the president.

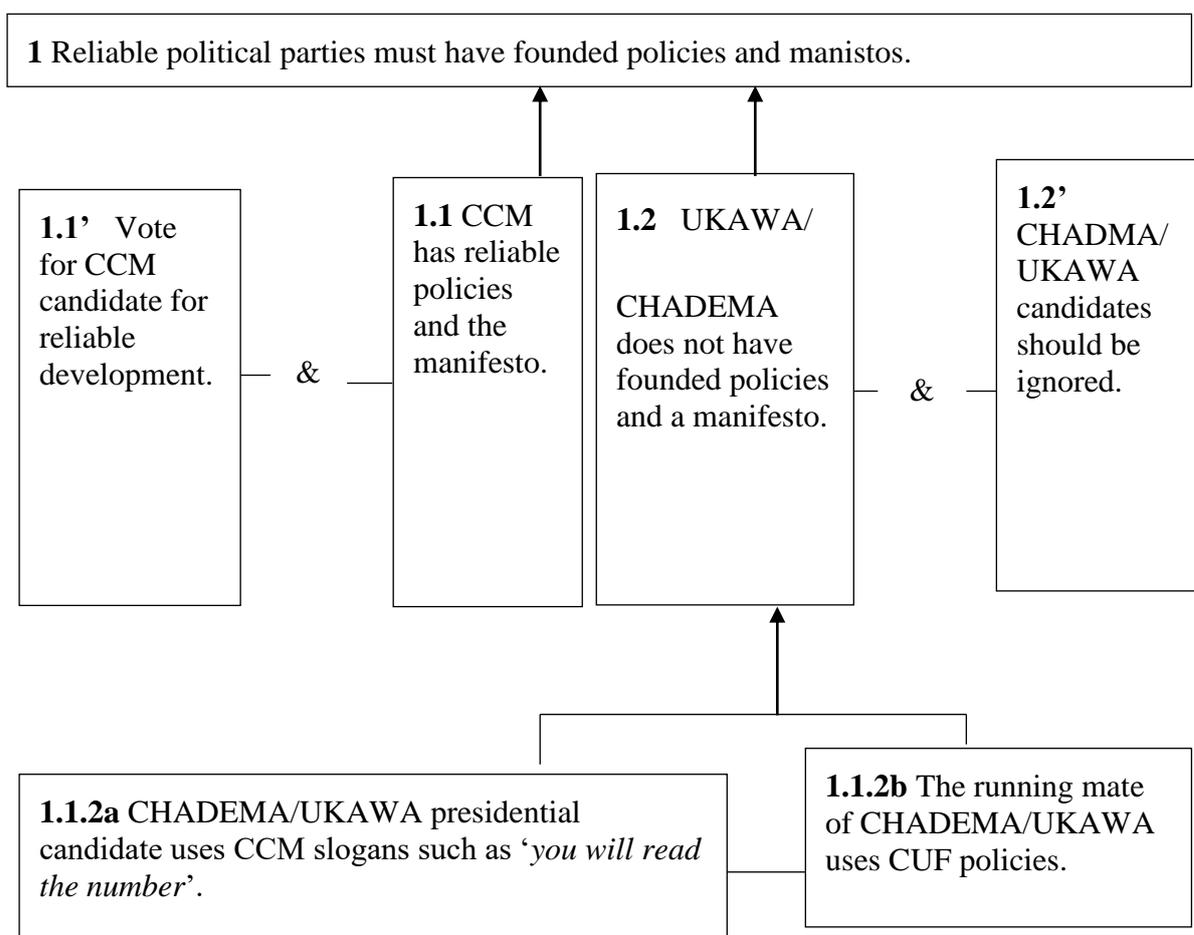


Figure 4.13: Reconstructed argumentation structure on qualities of party policies and manifestos

Concerning the second dimension, Kikwete utilises schemes such as argumentation by analogy. The standpoint that reliable political parties must have first introduced policies and manifestos is supported by the argument that rely on the similar case of the party with strong policies such as the CCM. This implies no other party but CCM is worth voting for in the 2015 Tanzanian general elections. In addition, the causal relational argument scheme is employed because the speaker implies the party with systematic strategies would likely implement specifications stated in the manifesto. A party without a clear manifesto, such as

CHADEMA, would most likely not be able to run the government. A prototypical augmentative pattern of the political deliberation combines pragmatic argumentation and the majority will argumentation. Kikwete emphasizes on the importance of political parties having manifestos as a map towards the improvement of the public living standards and, because development is what the majority want. Therefore, a party with clear policies and founded manifesto is worth supporting.

Regarding the third dimension, at the confrontation stage, Kikwete strategically selects a topic that reliable parties must have founded policies and manifestos. The supporter of CCM sticks to the topic of development but mainly focussing on the importance of having the manifesto and reliable policies to run the government. Examining assertive as a speech act (Searle, 1979b), Kikwete asserts only CCM is the political party reliable in the United Republic of Tanzania. In the Appraisal perspective (White, 2011), reliability is a judgement associated with trustworthy, implying other parties are unreliable. This type of positive self evaluating and negative evaluation of the opponent is elaborated in the Political persuasion (Partington & Taylor, 2018). With reference to audience demand in Figure 4.13, the arguer focusses on the need of parties with clear plans for the general public's development at the confrontation stage. The speech implies a plan of development cannot be met unless political parties have clear and implementable policies. In the opening stage, Kikwete identifies a doubt on the opposition party camp having no manifestos and clear policies. This doubt leads the arguer to take a role of the protagonist to prove that the candidates of CHADEMA do not have what to rely on but plan to defeat CCM. Attempting to convince the audience, Kikwete expresses his decision to defend the standpoint that it is not possible to have a party that does not have a clear manifesto from which public development plans are specified.

In the argumentation stage, the same standpoint is maintained that even CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates belong to different political parties. Therefore, the same topic of lack of a development plan is maintained. Kikwete presents himself as a liberator of Tanzanians from opposition parties. There are several presentational devices that have been employed in Figure 4.13. To start with, persuasive naming has been one of the features. Kikwete refers to CHADEMA presidential candidates as 'independent candidates' something practically unconstitutional. The reason provided is that Lowassa, the presidential candidate is a former CCM member, thus he has remnants of the ruling party, CCM. Likewise, the running mate, Duni is a former CUF member. Secondly, there is a strategic association.

Intentionally, as represented in Figure 4.13, CHADEMA candidates are associated with the CCM and CUF to create an inclusive picture as a way of winning members from CHADEMA; and even CUF feels no difference deciding either to vote for CCM or CHADEMA. This was tricky because if it were not carefully put, some members of CCM could as well think voting for CHADEMA candidates was right. Thirdly, Kikwete dissociates the CCM from CHADEMA in terms of the ability to form party policies and manifestos. Thus, CCM is given a hierarchical value as the party with reliable policies and manifesto. Another strategic maneuvering is belittlement, Figure 4.13 portrays CHADEMA as a weak party because they fail to write the manifesto. If they could not show in the meeting they had on 29th August 2015, this could be fair strategic maneuvering. Because they showed their constitution a week later, the strategy became fallacious. Trivialisation also is revealed in Figure 4.13. The speaker did portray CHADEMA as a weak political party. Ironic statements are also portrayed in Figure 4.13 when Kikwete expresses that opposition party candidates joined the opposition because they got skills from the ruling party that can enable them to lead the opposition. In the conclusion stage, the speaker suggests that since only CCM is the party with direction, its candidates are worth voting for. Kikwete presupposes that parties which do not care for the future development of the people of the United Republic should be ignored.

Concerning the fourth dimension, Kikwete observes some critical discussion rules. For instance, it is clear CHADEMA candidates have some challenges in adapting to CHADEMA policies because both the presidential candidate and the running mate are from the CCM and the CUF respectively. The freedom rule is also implemented. The speaker expresses that he does not understand when he listens to one of the CHADEMA campaigners. This reflects allowing turns in the political campaigns. The obligation to defend rule is implemented. From the beginning of the argumentation up to the end, the speaker committedly defends the standpoint.

In respect to the fourth dimension, there are rules Kikwete violates. The first one is language usage. Kikwete strategically labels Lowassa and Dunny CCM and CUF candidates, respectively, something that causes a lot of ambiguities. In as much as Kikwete tried to abide by the rules for the critical discussion in the argumentative discuss, he appeals to the majority, not in the sense of good performance by the previous presidents, but because they

had many supporters from Zanzibar and Tanzania mainland. It can be critically analysed that Magufuli does not break down as in who did what in every other government phase.

In the sixth dimension, carefully, Kikwete expresses different means of strategic maneuvering like changing the subject of the argument. For instance, Lowassa and Sumaye, the former Prime Ministers moved to CHADEMA not because they want CCM to lose the 2015 Tanzanian general elections, but because CCM has failed to meet public demands. This reveals persuasive strategies Kikwete utilises to finally get mutual consent on why the age-voting audience could vote for the candidates from the ruling party, CCM (Lakhani, 2005).

As expressed by van Eemeren et al. (2008), a sound argumentation must be acceptable. The undeniable facts are that it is difficult for the opposition party presidential candidate to clear everything of the former parties in their long-term memories; Consequently, they sometimes use slogans from CCM and CUF inappropriately. Appropriate argumentation schemes are demonstrated, especially pragmatic argumentation, which mainly pertains to how important it is to support candidates from parties with reliable policies and manifestos such as CCM. This finally demonstrates that opposition parties could not deliver accordingly because they have violated their long-term constitution for gaining political popularity during the time of the election. The validity of the argumentation concerning the view that manifestos and policies are guidelines that keep parties accountable when they come into power is clear. So, in case such references are not available or not clear, accountability by leaders especially in the government may be difficult. The allegation that CHADEMA/UKAWA does not have a constitution was counter-argued a week later the 29th of August 2015.

The opposition party alliance presents their constitution in the same field CCM members inaugurated their speech a week before on the 23rd of August 2015. Notwithstanding the fact that the argumentation in Figure 4.13 is counter-argued, it remains valid because the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania recognises only CHADEMA as the party that had the presidential candidate in the UKAWA. The complexity in the process of getting the presidential candidate of CHADEMA/UKAWA had challenges in keeping the argumentation valid. It is ambiguous for new members to contest for the highest position in the country. In short, there are critical issues in the CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidates that lead to lack of both pragmatic and logical consistencies. Therefore, the argumentation represented in Figure 4.13 is effectively and reasonably performed.

4.7.5 Selfishness and political immaturity

Makongoro Nyerere, a son of the first-phase government, Mwalimu Nyerere, argues that Sumaye (the Former Prime Minister in the third-phase government) abandoned the CCM and joined the opposition due to his selfishness and ignorance. Figure 4.14 of the CCM speech Segment represents that Makongoro expresses his doubt on the political maturity of the former Prime Minister, Sumaye.

CCM speech segment 14

NYERERE: (1) Miaka 10 iliyopita kaka yangu Sumaye akiwa waziri mkuu na kaka yangu mheshimiwa Jakaya, waliingia kwenye 5 bora. (2) Sumaye alikuwemo kura zake hazikutosha zikatoshwa za Jakaya. (3) Kwa kuwa alikua ameingia 5 bora, akasema chama kizuri akakaa. (4) Miaka 10 baadae 5 bora hakuingia. (5) Hahaha tulikua wengi na mimi nilikuwepo au vipi bwana! (6) Kwahiyo kuna mambo yanauma wewe kama unajua jina langu halirudi mbona unachukua hela yangu wewe vipi bwana. (7) Yanaumaaa! (8) Kuna kijana mmoja mimi nampenda ila yeye hanijui bwana! (9) Anaitwa Joti. (10) Joti upo apa? (11) Joti yupo? (12) Basi mkimuona mumpe salam zangu. (13) Alinifurahisha nilikua namuangalia katika video. (14) Kuna mzee mmoja Joti anampenda binti yake. (15) Akaenda akampelekea barua na shilingi zake elfu 5 au elfu 8. (16) Yule mzee kamrudishia barua yake, kamwambia kuwa wewe hufai kuwa na binti yangu lakini ile hela ya Joti kabaki nayo. (17) Basi patamu apo. (18) Hahahahah! Joti anamwambia, ‘Mzee nirudishie hela yangu!’. Hahahahaha! (19) Unajua kuna taratibu zingine hela kama hizi za kina Joti hazirudi.

[1] Ten years back when my brother Sumaye was the Prime Minister with my brother Jakaya Kikwete, both were in the top five list of candidates. [2] However, Sumaye’s votes were not enough; thus Jakaya won. [3] Because he was among the top five candidates, he said the CCM was good. [4] He remained in the party. [5] Ten years later, he was not on the list of the top five candidates. [6] This was a race in which many of us including me were there. [7] It is interesting, right? [8] Thus there are certain matters which are very painful. [9] If you know that my name will not be in the selected list, why do you take my money? [10] What is wrong with you?’ [11] Such issues are so painful! [12] There is a certain young man I like him, though he does not know me. [13] His name is Joti. [14] Joti, are you here? [15] Is Joti here? [16] When you see him, please pass my compliments to him, since he amused me when

I was watching him on TV. [17] There is a certain old man whose daughter was loved by Joti. [18] Joti took a betrothal letter for her and five thousand or eight thousand Tanzanian shillings. [19] That old man returned that letter to Joti telling him that he did not qualify to marry his daughter, [20] but the man kept Joti's money. [21] That is very tricky. Hahahahaha! [22] Joti claimed for his money. Hahahahaha! [23] You know there are certain circumstances in which such money is never refunded.

Figure 4.14 represents multiple argument structures (1.1 and 1.2) and subordinative argument structure (1.2, 1.2.1, and 1.2.1.1). It, therefore, represents a complex argumentation structure (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). The reasoning of the argumentation in Figure 4.14 is inductive since the conclusion is derived from empirical observation (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993; Hurley, 2012).

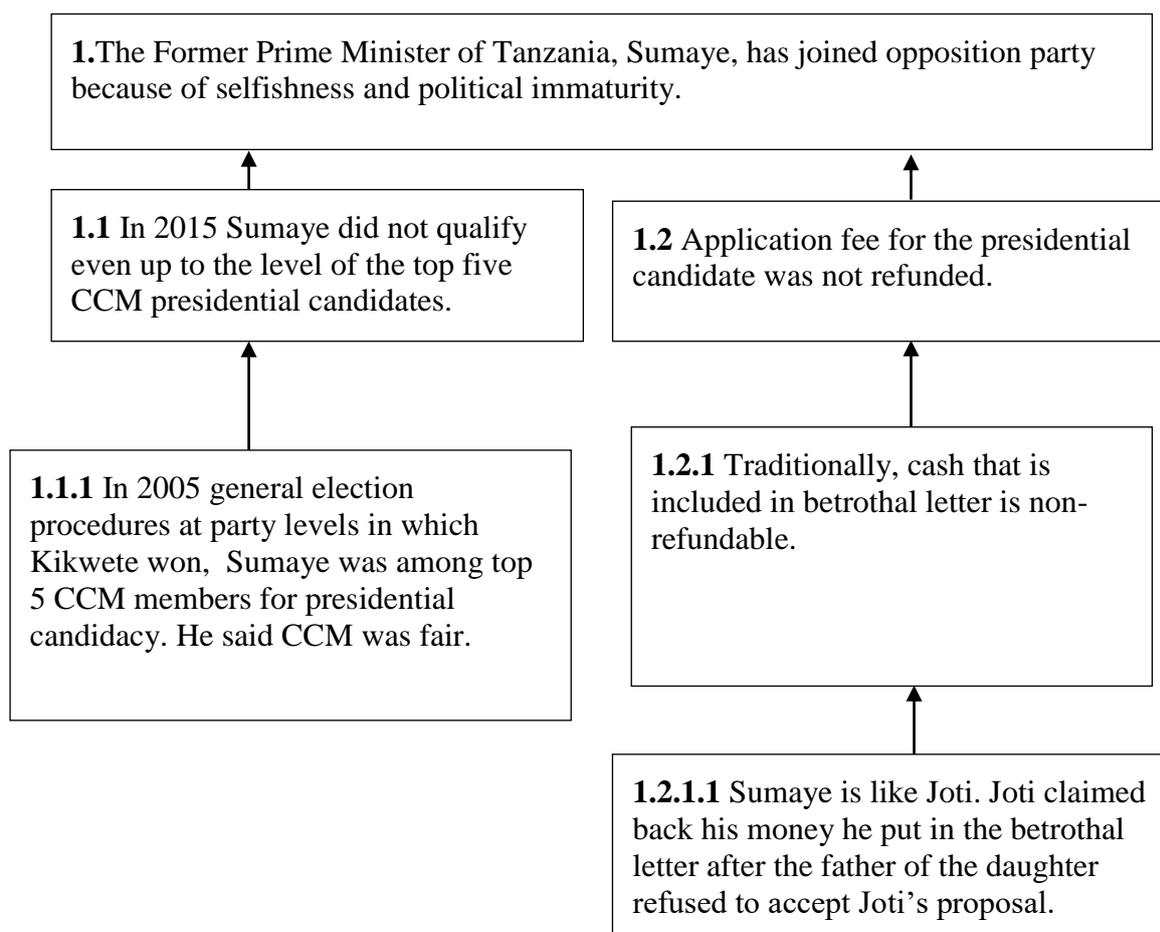


Figure 4.14: Reconstructed argumentation structure on selfishness and political immaturity of Sumaye, the former Prime Minister

In respect to the second dimension, Makongoro provides an example of a Tanzanian comedian namely Joti, who claimed for his money from a family he sent a betrothal letter enclosed with five thousand Tanzanian shillings, after the father of the daughter objecting Joti's proposal. This is an argument from analogy because Sumaye has abandoned CCM to join CHADEMA/UKAWA, because, the National Electoral Commission (NEC) did not refund his money when he could not win the presidential race at the party level. Traditionally that money is not refundable, Joti ought not to demand it back. The other scenario where Sumaye did not by then abandon the CCM because he was among the top five in 2005, reveals that Sumaye has joined CHADEMA because of not being nominated among the top five in 2015. Failing to qualify among the top ten has led to Sumaye to join the opposition party. Therefore, there is a causal relation argumentation scheme.

Concerning the third dimension, in the confrontation stage, the topical potential is that Former Prime Minister of Tanzania, Sumaye has joined opposition party because of selfishness and political immaturity. Strategically, Makongoro Nyerere labels Sumaye politically immature. This negative naming propaganda technique would decrease credibility to the opposition party camp. Secondly, negative evaluation of Sumaye as the selfish person implies those who have joined opposition parties are not for the interests of the Tanzanians but for personal gains. In the opening stage, the supporter of CCM assumes the protagonist's role to defend a standpoint. With respect to speech acts, this refers to commissive (Searle, 1979b). Makongoro commits himself to prove that Sumaye has joined the opposition because of selfishness and political immaturity. This would make the audience believe opposition parties are meant for self-interests and thus think of voting for the ruling party candidates. In the argumentation stage as Figure 4.14 reveals, in 2015 Sumaye was not nominated among the top ten presidential candidates at the party level. As a result, he joined the opposition party. This can be compared with 2005 where Sumaye was among the top 10 nominated presidential candidates in CCM. He remained steadfast in the party. Another scenario demonstrated is that Sumaye has joined the opposition party because, when he could not qualify among the top five, he wanted his application fee for presidential seat be refunded to him. Makongoro ironically comments that it is painful to Sumaye. With this regard, the Appraisal theory is employed under the aspect of affect (White, 2011). Moreover, Makongoro questions the reasoning of Sumaye when he implies Sumaye has joined the opposition because of selfishness and political immaturity, a judgement that refers to the

negative evaluation of the person's capacity (Iedema et al., 1994). Makongoro states that, when Sumaye could not get his money back, he decided to join CHADEMA/UKAWA.

There are several rules that the supporter of CCM observes as represented in Figure 4.14. Makongoro criticises the reasons that have made Sumaye join the opposition party but does not restrict Sumaye from providing reasons for joining the opposition parties. Makongoro elaborates why he thinks Sumaye has joined CHADEMA/UKAWA because of self-interests and political immaturity. He provides a scenario where application fees are non-refundable and any claim to get that fund back implies immaturity (argument 1.2). Therefore, the schemes are relevantly employed in the argumentative discourse in Figure 4.14. The validity rule was as well valid. If Sumaye was nominated in 2005, and he remained steadfast to the ruling party, joining CHADEMA/UKAWA in 2015 when he was not among the top five presidential candidates could be the sign of selfishness. Moreover, the standpoint is maintained from the beginning to the end in argumentative discourse. The conclusion is clear that CCM is better than opposition parties, because the latter operates on self-interests and political immaturity.

Regarding the fifth dimension, among other fallacies in Figure 4.13, the strawman's fallacy is the most obvious. Sumaye was the Prime Minister for 10 years (from 1995 to 2005) in Mkapa's government. Claiming that he does not know that the application fee for presidential competition forms is non-refundable sounds far fetched. Secondly, Ad hominem is portrayed in the argumentation. The arguer evaluates Sumaye negatively instead of capitalising on why he thinks the CCM candidate is better than those in the opposition camp.

Concerning the sixth dimension, that is rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, whether the argumentation represented in Figure 4.14 is reasonable and effective or not depends on certain criteria for the soundness of the argumentation. To start with the pragmatic argumentation that Sumaye has joined CHADEMA/UKAWA on selfishness and political immaturity bases is something that does not demonstrate the political smartness of Sumaye. In addition, because the majority like a party that is for public interests, then it is plausibly valid to vote for CCM candidates. Regarding the acceptability criterion, Sumaye was among the top ten CCM nominated candidates in 2005 and he did not join the opposition. Thus, doing so in 2015 is regarded as the reaction of not being nominated. Therefore, the argumentation could be acceptable. The schemes as elaborated in the second dimension are appropriate. Pragmatically, in the context of Tanzanian politics, Sumaye can be regarded as

selfish because he was the Prime Minister; he served for ten years, but he never raised concerns pertaining to issues that he thought were not going well for the betterment of the country. As already highlighted in the third dimension, there are several presentational devices such as dysphemism; Sumaye claims to join the opposition party to strengthen the opposition but Makongoro interprets it as selfishness and political immaturity. Secondly, dissociation is employed. Makongoro dissociates genuine members of CCM from the ingenuine ones of CHADEMA/UKAWA such as Sumaye, the former Prime Minister. Given the deep investigation from the first dimension to the sixth dimension, the argumentation in Figure 4.14 maintains a delicate balance as Makongoro observes the rhetorical dimension of effectiveness and the dialectical dimension of reasonableness in the argumentative discourse.

4.7.6 Commemoration of liberation parties

In figure 4.15 of the CCM speech segment, Mkapa comments that nobody should claim to liberate Tanzania because the country was liberated by the ASP and TANU. He calls those claiming to liberate Tanzania fools and loafers.

CCM speech segment 15

MKAPA: Mheshimiwa mwenyekiti, waheshiwa makamu wenye viti, viongozi wote kwenye meza kuu, wana CCM wenzangu na ndugu wananchi mnao tusikiliza kwa njia mbali mbali za mawasiliano, Asalaam Aleikum! Mambo! Mambo! (1)Baada ya maelezo mazuri mliyواسikia kutoka kwa viongozi walionitangulia yangu ni mafupi kabisa. (2)Kwanza kuwahakikishieni kwamba katika hao wanane walioteuliwa na tume ya uchaguzi, hakuna timu nzuri safi maridadi madhubuti kama ya John Pombe Magufuli na Samia Hassan. (3)Hawa ndio wanaotakiwa kuchukua usukani kuendeleza maendeleo na maendeleo ya nchi yetu ya Tanzania wakiwa wagombea wa CCM. (4)Kuna chama cha ukombozi kimoja tu katika nchi hii, ni CCM, CCM iliyojaliwa na ASP na TANU, vyama vya ukombozi wa bara na visiwani. (5)Wazazi wakombozi wanazaa mtoto mkombozi. (6)Najua kuna vyama vingine eti *vinadaidai* eti nataka kuwakomboa watanzania. (7)Hao ni wapumbavu. (8)Nchi hii ilikwisha kumbolewa na ASP na TANU, (9)na sasa inaendelea kukombolewa kutokana na unyonge wa umaskini, maradhi na ujinga na chama cha mapinduzi na serikali zake kutoka awamu ya kwanza mpaka hii ya sasa na hiyo inayokuja ya John Pombe Magufuli. (10)Nenda nchi zote jirani! (11)Nenda nchi za kusini mwa Afrika uliza Tanzania chama cha ukombozi ni

kipi? (12)Watakambia CCM. (13)Kwahiyo nina kila sababu ya kusema kuwa wanaojidai wao ni chama cha ukombozi ni kwamba ni *wapumbavu malofa*.

Honourable chairperson, honourable deputy chairpersons, all leaders at the high table, my fellow CCM members and my dear citizens listening to us on different mass media. May peace be with you! Hi? [1]After listening to good words by previous leaders, I have a very brief talk to make. [2] First, I assure you, that among the eight people who have been appointed by the election commission, there is no any other good team, clean team than that of John Pombe Magufuli and Samia Hassan. [3]Tanzania needs these CCM candidates to take a steering wheel to speed up development of our country. [4]There is only one liberation party in this country. [5]That is CCM. [6]The liberation parties, ASP and TANU in the mainland (Tanganyika) and island (Zanzibar) respectively, amalgamated to form CCM. [7]Liberators normally bear the liberator. [8]I know there are other parties claiming they want to liberate Tanzanians. [9]Those are fools. [10]This country was liberated by TANU and ASP. [11]Currently, it is being liberated from the state of abject poverty, diseases and ignorance by CCM and its governments from the first phase government up to the coming phase government of John Pombe Magufuli. [12]Go to the neighbouring countries. [13]Go to southern African countries. [14]Go and ask them the liberation party in Tanzania. [15]They will answer you it is CCM. [16]Therefore, I have each and every reason of saying that the people who claim they have liberation parties are fools and loafers.

The structure of the argumentation represented in figure 4.15 is complex. It comprises the coordinative argument structure (1.1.1.1a and 1.1.1.1b) and a subordinative argument structure (1.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.1.1a, and 1.1.1.1a.1) (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). Figure 4.15 represents that the speaker employs deductive reasoning since the conclusion is determined by the premises in the argumentation reality (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993).

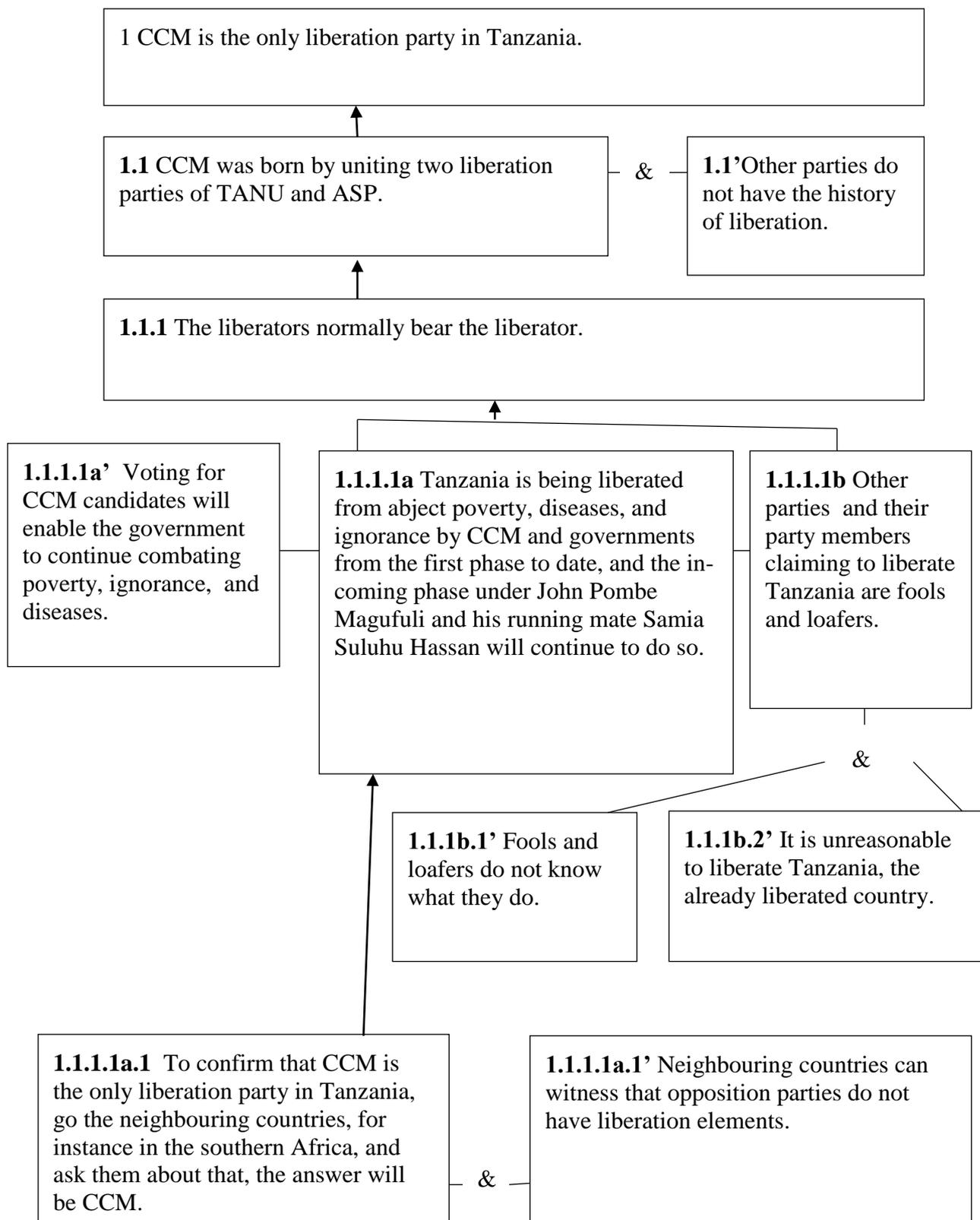


Figure 4.15: Reconstructed argumentation structure on commemoration of liberation parties

In regard to argumentation schemes, the argumentation in figure 4.15 demonstrates argumentation based on causal relation argument. The former president of the United Republic of Tanzania in the third phase government, Benjamin William Mkapa explains that CCM is an amalgamation of Afro-Shiraz Party (Zanzibar) and Tanganyika National Union (Tanganyika). Both ASP and TANU were revolutionary parties. Thus, CCM is the only liberation party and its candidates could maintain the same spirit. In accordance with studies in argumentation schemes, Mkapa ensures the audience all that was achieved by former presidents from Chama Cha Mapinduzi would be ensured by Magufuli. This is argumentation based on analogy (van Eemeren et al., 2008). Moreover, the arguer implies the rule of justice to apply to CCM candidates because former candidates from the same party performed up to standard. This, according to Van Eemeren (2014), is referred to normative argumentation analogy. This demands, because of similarities, what applies to one case must apply to a similar case consistently.

Regarding the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, arguing effectively and reasonably requires appropriate use of presentational devices available in the context where the argumentation takes place (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). Mkapa utilises various ways to strategically maneuver in the CCM inaugural campaign speeches that took place on the 23rd of August 2015 at Jangwani Field. In accordance with the model of critical discussion (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014), in the confrontation stage, the topical potential the arguer raises as represented in Figure 4.15, concerns the CCM as the only liberation party in the United Republic of Tanzania (URT). This assertion implies that no other political party can claim to liberate Tanzania in any aspect. The speech act of assertive (Searle, 1979b) requires a speaker to take the burden of proof as in the framework of Pragma-dialectics (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). Liberation is a key term in the topic the speaker selects, in implying that other parties do not play any role in liberating Tanzanians. In the opening stage, Mkapa assumes the role of protagonist to defend his standpoint. He strategically maneuvers by selecting a topic appealing to the audience given the historical background of the colonial era and the abject poverty Tanzanians still experience. Audience demand, as an important aspect of argumentation, is effectively considered in Figure 4.15. Both the particular and universal audience is considered (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b). More importantly, as was pertinent to liberation struggles before independence, Mkapa tries to attract a universal audience to ensure that a person who is reasonable would support the CCM, the party that was formed by parties that liberated

Tanganyika and Zanzibar from colonisers (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969). This consideration of the audience in the opening stage is strategic maneuvering (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002).

Mkapa assumes consistently the responsibility of defending the standpoint that only the CCM can bring development to the people of Tanzania. He strategically maneuvers taking into consideration that every other single Tanzanian would like to have living standards in accordance with the resources of the country which have been for so long either underutilised or poorly managed. In addition, he expresses the need to raise his concern about other parties claiming to liberate the United Republic of Tanzania. Specifically, he emphasises the strategic term, ‘liberation’ to associate the CCM with pre- and post-independence social and economic struggles. In a similar manner, his use of the adverb ‘only’ strategically implies other parties claiming to do so are not being fair to the ruling party, CCM. In the argumentation stage, Mkapa emphasises that other parties which never existed during the time Tanzania was fighting for independence cannot pledge to deliver liberation because they are not originating from liberation parties. In the appraisal perspective (Martin & White, 2005), reminding the audience to fight for independence appeals to the emotion of the audience such that people could vote for CCM candidates based on emotional loyalty.

Mkapa concludes that, because the CCM was found by uniting two parties namely the Afro-Shiraz Party of Zanzibar and the Tanganyika African Union, it has the authority and should be trusted to continue leading the government. Furthermore, Mkapa demonstrates that liberators bear a liberator, meaning that the CCM as a party formed from two liberation parties, namely ASP and TANU, could plausibly produce candidates with the same attitudes and intention of developing Tanzania and its citizens. Simultaneously, he negatively comments on the opposition party candidates claiming to liberate Tanzanians without any background of historical struggles for independence referring to them as fools and loafers. This comment may imply that opposition parties did not know what they were doing. The interpretation of this comment was stronger than the speaker expected. A week later, during the CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaign speeches on the 29th of August 2015 at Jangwani Field, this comment was interpreted as an insult. Thus, the opposition took advantage of this negative comment to strategically maneuver by capitalising on the unexpected mistake from the former president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Mkapa. This comment by Mkapa was an instance of unfair strategic maneuvering (Van Laar & Krabbe, 2016). With regard to presentational devices, the utilisation of persuasive devices

pertinent to the model of critical argumentation (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014) is evident in the argumentation stage. First, the speaker dissociated the CCM from other parties in the opposition camp. He claims that it was not appropriate for other parties to speak of liberation given that the CCM is the only political party that can legitimately claim this responsibility. Thus, changing the subject from an unexpressed premise of the opposition party about corruption into liberating Tanzania. Basically, the claim made by the opposition party was about liberating Tanzania from misusing public funds mismanaging public natural resources. The speaker retrospectively strategically maneuvers by referring to the liberation of Tanzania and the struggle for independence. In this line of reasoning, the audience could reconsider the importance of the CCM in the history of Tanzania. Appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions (Zarefsky, 2008) the speech segment represented in Figure 4.15 employed to win the minds of the voters who want the CCM to step down because of its weaknesses in managing some socio-economic projects and those voters still trust the CCM as a liberation party. Furthermore, because of the union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the argumentation contains condensation symbols which are reflected in the names of the parties (ASP and TANU) and use of the term, 'liberation'.

All devices are invoked as a means to win the minds of the audience so that they could vote for Magufuli and Samia, the CCM candidates. Apart from the liberation theme, means of strategic maneuvering, the scheme of argument by analogy is viewed to be one of the prototypical argumentative patterns that Mkapa explicitly demonstrates as a means of strategic maneuvering. The argumentation includes trivialisation, a way of presenting problems in a strategic way so that they seem insignificant especially in political campaign argumentative discourse moves. In this regard, the former president strategically refers in an unexpressed premise, to the failure of the CCM to improve living standards of Tanzanians as not a strong reason for Tanzanians to vote for opposition parties. Similarly, the argumentation comprised belittlement in the sense that the projects that opposition parties pledge to execute in their term if they won the election are of less importance. In the concluding stage, a political campaign speech as communicative activity type, because of its nature of competition, speakers or writers involved in such activities employ different strategies to convince and persuade the audience to make decision basing on what politicians advocate.

Regarding the observation of the rules for critical discussion, the argumentation observed the standpoint rule. Mkapa committedly supports his claim that there is only one liberation party in the United Republic of Tanzania. The burden of proof rule is observed because the speaker

provides reasons why the CCM is the only party that can enjoy the status of liberator after the independence of Zanzibar and Tanganyika. Mkapa expresses his view about why the CCM is still a trusted party to continue leading the country to fight poverty and other socio-economic deprivations that need attention. Other rules that are directly observed in the speech segment are the argument scheme rule and the closure rule. The ASP and TANU amalgamated to form the CCM in 1977. The two political parties fought for independence in Zanzibar under Aman Abeid Karume and in Tanganyika under Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Since the Union in 1964, the United Republic of Tanzania has remained strong in terms of peace among its citizens. For this reason, Mkapa, utilising analogy based argumentation believes the CCM can do better than the opposition parties in the struggle for the welfare of the people of Tanzania.

In respect to the derailments of the rules for critical discussion, in an African cultural context, age is generally one of the factors determining the level of wisdom. Apart from violating rules of the critical discussion, culturally, the speaker as represented in Figure 4.15 shocked the audience because of Mkapa's insulting language uses in his argumentation. Calling the people in the opposition parties fools and loafers invokes a sense of political intolerance in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches. Mkapa explicitly attacks personalities of people, a derailment referred to as *ad hominem* (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). Also, referring to an unexpressed premise of a desire for political transformation coined by CHADEMA, Mkapa's speech segment exhibits another derailment of interpreting transformation issue in terms of struggling for independence at the expense of other daily socio-economic demands of citizens in the United Republic of Tanzania. This kind of derailment is termed strawman's fallacy. Given his experience of serving in the presidential position, the audience may have not expected Mkapa to narrow the meaning of transformation to the independence struggles era. Even though he refers to the role CCM has played to eradicate poverty, Mkapa mainly accuses the opposition party of claiming to liberate the people of the United Republic of Tanzania. *Ad baculum* is another derailment exhibited in Mkapa's speech demonstrated in Figure 4.15. Mkapa threatens people who hold opposite views, that is, supporting the opposition parties. In the ideal model of critical discussion, such moves in the argumentation are regarded as a violation of the freedom rule.

As Figure 4.15 demonstrates, the arguments of the CCM supporter are relevant from the confrontation stage to the conclusion stage. This is evident by considering the criteria for sound argumentation. First, relevant schemes of analogy and symptomatic argumentation are

appropriately employed. Secondly, the view that CCM is the only party that has a history of liberation is verifiable. The last criterion deals with the validity of the argumentation. In regard to this aspect, Mkapa clarifies that the CCM had policies to eradicate poverty, a plan that the CCM still has. Thus, if most Tanzanians support the party that cares for the people's economic affairs, as the CCM has been doing and it pledges to do so in the next term, then it is an important decision for the electorate to vote for the CCM candidate. Apart from the logical consistency that may be derived from Mkapa's argumentation that the CCM is the only liberation party in Tanzania, pragmatically, the political role of the ASP and TANU is necessary to incorporate in the argumentations on general elections so as to allow people get a clear understanding of what it means by transformations. Mkapa's speech segment demonstrates several presentational devices to make his argumentation persuasive. From the analysis represented in Figure 4.15, it can be concluded that Mkapa's argumentation is effective and reasonable.

4.7.7 Photoshopped opposition party rallies

The president of the United Republic of Tanzania claims opposition party rallies are photoshopped. He supports his standpoint with arguments (1.1a) and (1.1b).

CCM speech segment 16

KIKWETE: CCM oooyeeee.....Magufuli oooyeee....Samia oooyeeeeeee..eehee (1) Mambo ndio haya! (2) Wanawezaaaaa...? (3) Wanawezaaaa...? (4) Hawawezi, hawatakaa waweze! (5) Ndugu makamu mwenyekiti wa chama cha mapinduzi na zanzibar dokta Ally Mohamed Shein, ndugu makamu mwenyekiti ndugu Phillip Mangula, wenyeviti wastaafu, maraisi wastaafu Mzee Ally Hassan Mwinyi, na Mzee Benjamin William Mkapa, Makamu wa raisi, Mawaziri wakuu wastaafu, Wajumbe wa halmashauri kuu ya taifa, Wajumbe wa kamati kuu, wana CCM wenzangu na wananchi wenzangu wa Dar es Salaam naomba nianze kwa kutoa shukrani. (6) Shukrani nyingi kwa katibu mkuu na viongozi wa mkoa wa Dar es Salaam kwa mafanikio makubwa ya maandalizi ya mkutano huu. (7) Amesema mzee mkapa hata wakati wake haikua hivi, hata wakati wangu pia haikua hivi. (8) Leo Dar es Salaam imetapika, imafurika! (9) Wana hasira? (10) Eeh, maana nilisema pale siku ile Diamond wakanikasirikia. (11) Wanachukua picha za zamani nyingine za Slaaa wanaziweka kwenye magazeti wanamuweka yule mzee pale aonekane zake yeye, aibuuuu...! CCM oooyeeee...! (12) Lakini sio yaliyotuleta leo hayo.

CCM hurray...! Magufuli hurray...! hurray Samia...! Yeah! [1] Things are happening! [2] Can they defeat us...? [3] Can they defeat us...? [4] They cannot, [5] and they will never win. Comrade the Zanzibar CCM deputy chairperson, Dr. Ally Mohamed Shein, comrade the CCM deputy chairperson, Phillip Mangula, the retired chairpersons, the retired presidents, our elder Ally Hassan Mwinyi and our elder Benjamin William Mkapa, the vice president, the retired prime ministers, the members of the national council, the members of the national chief committee, my fellow CCM members and my fellow citizens of Dar es Salaam. (6) Let me start by expressing my gratitude, I express my profound thanks to the secretary general and the Dar es Salaam leaders for their great success in the preparation of this campaign meeting. [7] Our elder Mkapa has said that even during his time, it was not like this. [8] Even during my time, it was not like this. [9] Today Dar es Salaam has busted, it has flooded. [10] They are furious! [11] Yeah, since I commented that at Diamond, and those people became angry with me. [12] They take old photos, some of them were taken during Slaa's campaigns. [13] They put them on the newspapers together with that old man to make people believe such crowd support him. It is a shame...! CCM hurrah...! [14] But that is not the agenda for our meeting.

The argumentation in Figure 4.16 is complex since it comprises different structures including a coordinative argument structure (1.1a and 1.1b) and subordinative argument structure (1.1, 1.1.1, and 1.1.1.1) (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). The form of reasoning is deductive since the conclusion is determined by the premises supporting the standpoint (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993). Kikwete disqualifies the CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate claiming rallies supporting CHADEMA are photoshopped. If CHADEMA/UKAWA are not honest during campaigns, and the citizens do not like dishonest leaders, then, CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates do not qualify for the presidency.

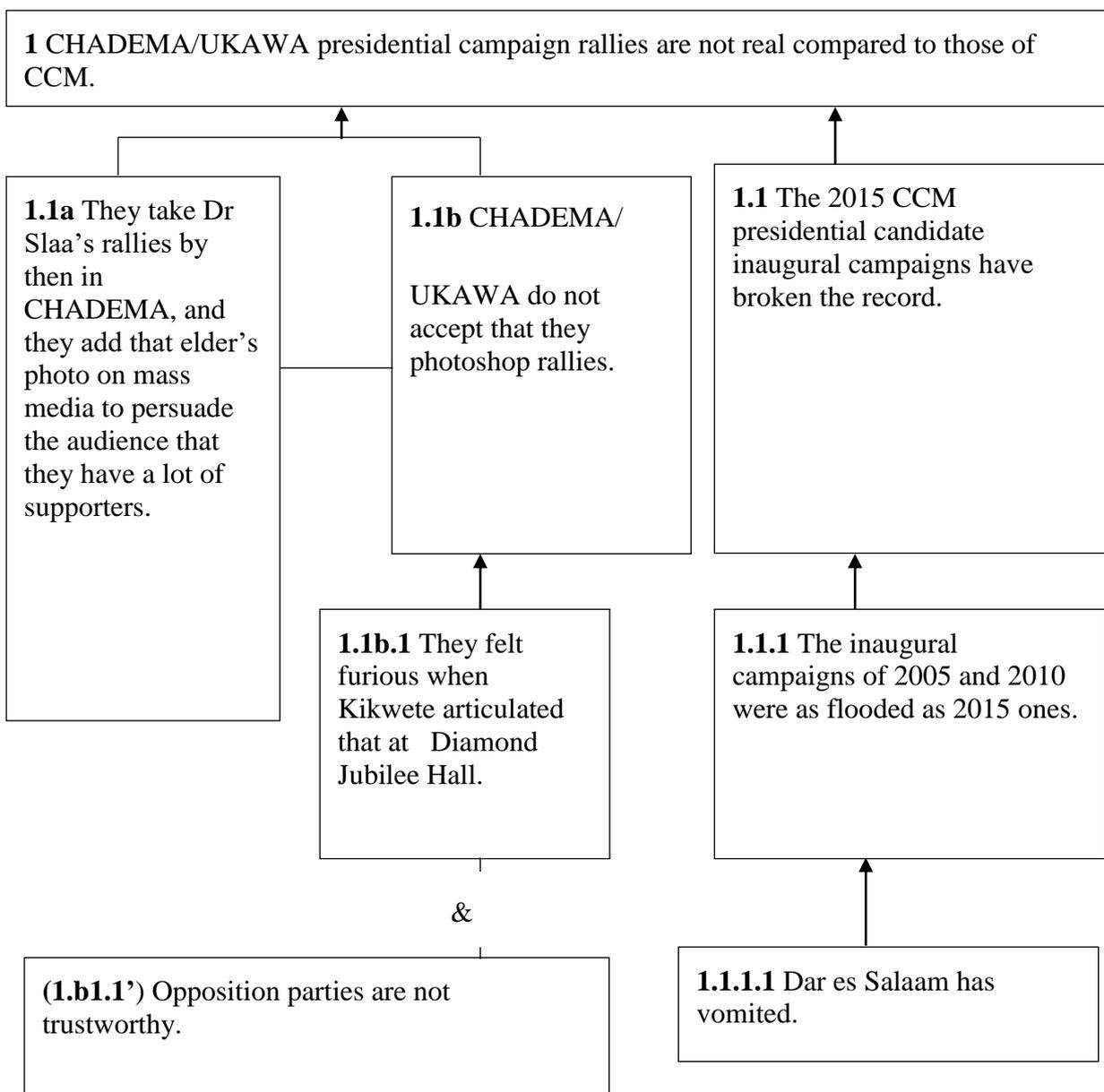


Figure 4.16: Reconstructed argumentation structure on photoshopped opposition party rallies

Regarding the argumentation scheme, Kikwete’s speech segment demonstrates causal relation argumentation in his defending of the standpoint that CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential campaign rallies are not real. In a critical analysis, the speaker implies that CHADEMA/UKAWA struggles to get supporters, that is why they use photos of their former presidential candidate Dr Slaa, a politician who was popular in CHADEMA before he stepped down in 2015 and joined CCM. It may also mean that, if CHADEMA fails to speak the truth on simple matters like the real number of the supporters attending rallies, they

cannot be honest when they get into power. Therefore, this argumentation segment exemplifies the cause-effect argumentation scheme. The editing of Slaat's photos and inserting the pictures of the implied candidate, Lowassa, is construed a sign of lack of confidence in the political campaign competition. It can, therefore, be regarded as the symptomatic argumentation scheme (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008).

In respect to topical, audience demand and presentational devices, at the confrontation stage, like in other cases of strategic maneuvering (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002), the selection of topical potential in the argumentation in the political domain is important. Figure 4.16 represents the speech segment claiming dishonesty within the opposition parties as a measurement for parties that voters ought to avoid. Since the audience would not like dishonest leaders, this strategy is appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions. In the opening stage, Kikwete assumes a position of the protagonist to argue against fake moves in the political campaigns.

Pragmatically, by virtue of asserting that the opposition parties are photoshopping their rally in the mass media, Kikwete employs the illocutionary speech act, termed commissive, (Searle, 1979b) to defend his standpoint. This strategy is referred to as the burden of proof in the Pragma-dialectical perspective (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). Kikwete negatively judges CHADEMA in that he presents them as dishonest. This is a form of language evaluation that Iedema *et al.*, (1994) is referred to as a negative judgement. More specifically, Kikwete accuses the opposition parties of photoshopping the former CHADEMA general secretary, Dr Slaat, and adding Lowassa's photo to the former CHADEMA meeting. In the argumentation stage, Kikwete's speech segment demonstrates association and dissociation strategies (Van Rees, 2009a). He believes the ruling party rallies are a success as they get more supporters than those of opposition parties. Dissociation is evidenced when the speaker portrays the opposition party rallies as photoshopped. Kikwete associates big rallies with the former CHADEMA general secretary, Dr Slaat. In normal circumstances, it is not expected for the former president, Kikwete, to express this appreciation of Dr Slaat in relation to having a good number of supporters. However, the intention is to justify that the current CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate has no influence compared to 2010 one.

Another strategy employed is the contrast technique (Partington & Taylor, 2018) in which a speaker applies to demonstrate the popularity of the CCM in terms of supporters. The use of pronouns instead of proper names is also employed. Kikwete refers to 'that old person'

instead of naming Lowassa and ‘that party’ meaning CHADEMA/UKAWA. This form of negative appreciation reduces the value of the person (White, 2011). The expression ‘old person’ has culturally and contextually been used in a manner implying wisdom, which Tanzanians equate with age, but lack of energy to lead the nation. In the concluding stage, Kikwete alerts voters not to rely on advertisements they see on mass media as CHADEMA/UKAWA rallies are photoshopped. He explicitly suggests that the CCM is the party to trust and to vote for because the CCM rallies are realistically reported.

Concerning the observation of rules for critical discussion, Kikwete has proved his claim that CHADEMA/UKAWA rallies were photoshopped. The burden of the proof rule is observed (van Eemeren et al., 2008: 182). The standpoint rule is also observed. This is evident because by nature political parties depend on big numbers, thus, CHADEMA/UKAWA are struggling to get more members including recruiting some from the CCM. Thus, the speaker defends the standpoint of having more members than CCM. Kikwete asserts that the inaugural campaigns of the CCM are attended well because of the quality and the trust people have on the party. The conclusion is appropriate that dishonest parties must not be supported by the ruling party.

While observing various critical discussion rules, the speaker obviously violates some of the rules. A deliberate personal attack of the CHADEMA/UKAWA leadership is made that they edit photos of the previous general election to make Lowassa look popular on mass media. This is fallacious according to the critical discussion rules. The speaker, therefore, depicts CHADEMA/UKAWA as dishonest without providing evidence. The exaggeration that CHADEMA/UKAWA campaign meetings are photoshopped is an indication that the conclusion of Kikwete is too unconvincing to sound reasonable. Regarding the closure rule as represented in Figure 4.16, the speaker does not clarify what made him conclude that the rallies for the opposition camp are not accurately reported, leading to the violation of the usage rule. Kikwete presents his doubt about CHADEMA/ UKAWA rallies in a way that excludes room for further argument. Thus, an argumentative discourse move of this type leads to a violation of the freedom rule.

Examining the dimension concerning rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, Kikwete’s speech segment demonstrates that, if the opposition party edits photos of their rallies, it is logically consistent with the conclusion that supporters of the opposition party are not as many as the number presented by newspapers. Pragmatically, because of the coalition of 2014 (UKAWA), the rallies may have the number of supporters from the four different

parties. It can be viewed that despite some fallacies committed as represented in Figure 4.16, the argumentation is nevertheless valid, acceptable, and the argument schemes are appropriately used. The argumentation is effective because several strategies are employed to convince or persuade the audience. These strategies suggest acceptability in political campaign settings. Apart from these strategies, typical cases like the appropriate selection of the topic exemplifies how opposition parties mislead Tanzanian citizens by presenting photoshopped rallies in the mass media like the newspaper.

4.8 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON DEVELOPMENT TRANSFORMATION AND GOOD GOVERNANCE

4.8.1 Power separation and good governance

As represented in Figure 4.17 of the CCM speech segment 17, Magufuli pledges to lead the country constitutionally by abiding by laws of the United Republic of Tanzania (arguments 1.1a and 1.1b). Figure 4.17 represents a complex argumentation structure. It is presented with a coordinative argument structure (see arguments 1.1a and 1.1b, 1.1a.1a, 1.1a.1b, and 1.1a.1c, 1.1b.1.1a and 1.1b.1.1b) and a subordinative argument structure (see arguments 1.1b and 1.1b.1, 1.1b.1.1a/ 1.1b.1.1b) and a multiple argument structure (1.1b.1 and 1.1b.2). The argumentation represented in Figure 4.17 demonstrates the deductive reasoning. Magufuli pledges to have a government that respects the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. Tanzania is a democratic country; hence, leaders are expected to abide by the constitution. Magufuli pledges to respect the constitution. Therefore, voting for Magufuli is a desirable decision to make.

CCM speech segment 17

MAGUFULI: (1) Lakini utawala wa nchi serikali itaendeshwa kwa kuheshimu majukumu na mipaka ya kila mhimili. (2) Bunge litakua na wajibu wa kutenda haki zake kama bunge, kwa ajili ya kutunga sheria na kuisimamia serikali, (3) na nina uhakika mtachagua wabunge safi sana wa kuweza kuisimamia na kuibana vizuri kweli serikali, (4) na wengi watatoka CCM ili tuweze kwenda mbele kwa ajili ya maendeleo ya kweli. (5) Lakini mahakama nayo sitaiingilia na nataka niwaeleze ndugu zangu kama nitachaguliwa nitahakikisha ninaunda mahakama maalum ya kushughulikia mafisadi na majizi wafungwe haraka ili watanzania waweze kuishi kwa raha katika nchi yao. (6) Nchi hii ni tajiri lakini mafisadi na majizi

wengine ndio wametufikisha hapa. (7) Nataka kuwahakikishia nitalala nao polepole ili wajue hapa Tanzania ni mahali pa kuishi salama kwa ajili ya maendeleo hasa wananchi wanyonge.

(8) Nitasimamia utawala bora nchi itaendeshwa katika misingi ya kidemokrasia na kuheshimu haki za kibinadamu na uhuru wao wa kuabudu na kuishi. (9) Ninatambua nchi yetu ni ya vyama vingi nitaheshimu hata yale mawazo ya vyama vingine ambayo yana lengo na kujenga nchi yetu ili nchi yetu iweze kwenda mbele kwa maendeleo. (10) Ninachotaka mimi ni kazi tu na maendeleo yaende mbele. Tanzania oyeee...! (11)

[1] The administration of the government will respect the duties of each government pillar. [2] The parliament will have its responsibility of doing justice as the parliament for making laws and supervising the government, [3] and I am sure you will elect good members of parliament who are able to make the government accountable and effective, [4] and many of these members of parliament will come from CCM. [5] This will be done to enable real development and transformation. [6] I will not also interfere with the activities of the judiciary, [7] and I would like to assure, my comrades that, if I am elected, I will establish a special court to deal with suspects of grand corruption and thieves of public money, so, they get imprisoned as soon as possible. [8] I will do it to enable Tanzanians to live comfortably in their country. [9] This country is rich but corrupt people and thieves have impoverished us. [10] I want to assure you I will deal with them effectively and make them know that Tanzania is a place for people to live in peace for the development of the people, particularly the poor citizens.

[11] I will observe good governance and the country will be led based on principles of democracy and human rights, together with freedom of worship and living. I am aware that our country is a multiparty state so I will respect even the views from other parties if they are sound. [12] I will do so to accelerate the development of our country, for what I want is 'work only'. Tanzania hurrah...!

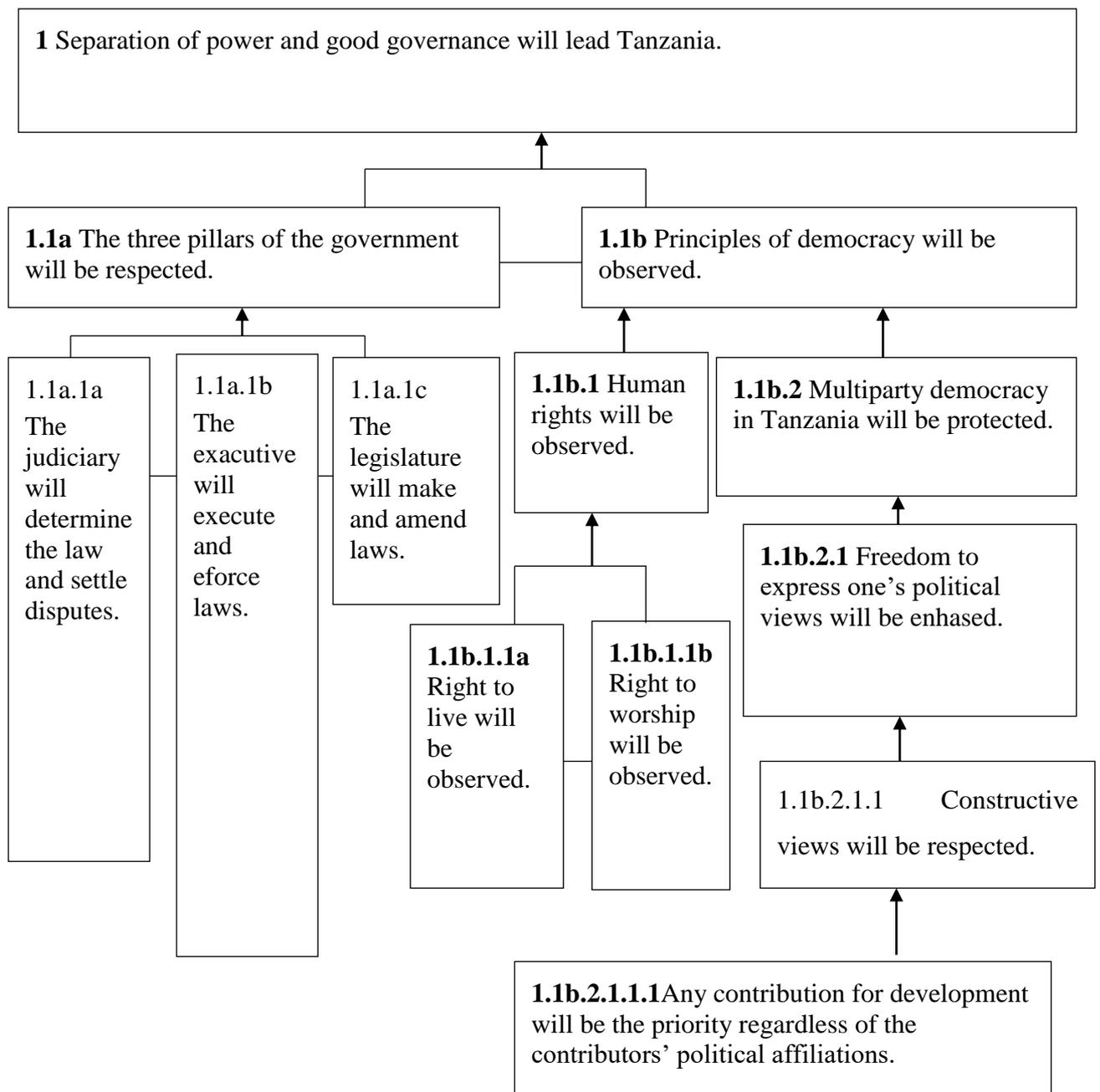


Figure 4.17: Reconstructed argumentation structure on separation of power and good governance

The argumentation represented in Figure 4.17 demonstrates different argument schemes. The first is a pragmatic argumentation scheme. Magufuli pledges that good governance will prevail in the fifth-phase government in the United Republic of Tanzania to enhance equality, freedom and democracy. Since all that good governance embraces are what the majority want, implicitly, Magufuli suggests the citizens ought to vote for him. The second scheme is argumentation by analogy. Magufuli comments that, wherever good governance obtains democracy, multiparty dispensation can be realised. Magufuli promises to enhance power

separation. In any country claiming to have good governance, power separation is necessary. Magufuli intends to enhance separation of state powers as a sign of accountability. This is an example of symptomatic argumentation scheme. Thus, since Tanzania is a multiparty state, it requires good governance. Magufuli pledges to be a president observing the principles of good governance.

In the confrontation stage, as represented in Figure 4.17, the arguer strategically selects the topic of power separation and good governance to attract both liberal and conservative presumptions. Magufuli strategically demonstrates the need of the country for a leader who respects democracy. He asserts the role of power separation and good governance in leading a democratic Tanzania. From the Pragma-dialectical perspective, this commitment takes place at the opening stage (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). Arguing from this perspective, in the opening stage, Magufuli assumes the role of a protagonist to defend his standpoint on the need of power separation for good governance in the fifth-phase government. He does not explicitly state which government never observed power separation and good governance, perhaps because he must maintain the institutional constitutions of the ruling party, the CCM. He possibly argues in this regard to dissociate former presidents' legacies from his way of leading the country. In the Appraisal theory perspective (White, 2011), Magufuli indirectly judges his party leaders negatively but strategically suggests there would be improvements in the fifth-phase government. In the argumentation stage, he reconciles by pledging that he would respect public constructive views regardless of political party affiliations. In addition, Magufuli dissociates and distances himself from the fourth-phase government, which to some extent, ignored views from opposition parties. In the conclusion stage, Magufuli emphasizes strategically that democracy can be reinforced if he would be elected president.

In respect to the observation of rules for critical discussion, Magufuli observes the relevance rule. It is a universal principle to respect others especially in the democratic state like the United Republic of Tanzania. He pledges to improve democracy during the fifth-phase government. The standpoint rule is also observed. He introduces a standpoint, and he supports it from the beginning up to the end. Referring to the unexpressed premise rule. The view may hold that Magufuli, despite being a minister for 20 years is not comfortable with the way democracy is managed, otherwise, his standpoint on power separation and good governance would not be compelling. In respect to the identification of derailments of critical discussion rules, the language rule is not observed clearly. Magufuli comments that he would

take constructive views from the public, despite their political affiliations. This can be interpreted that previous government phases were above the law and disregarded people. Since this comes from the candidate of the incumbent political party, his comment can also be construed as a self-defeating move in the deliberative argumentative discourse.

Considering the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, relating to effectiveness, dissociation, appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, reframing the argument, shelving, and association are utilised by Magufuli in the defence of the standpoint on the need of power separation and good government for democracy enhancement. The standpoint is presented reasonably. Democracy is not only necessary in Tanzania but in other countries and in the rest of the world; the standpoint was acceptable. Furthermore, power separation and good governance enhance democracy; therefore, in the Tanzanian context, it is acceptable to think of voting for Magufuli since he supports good governance. It is also a valid view that, in any country with good governance, democracy obtains and vice versa. The argumentation schemes are appropriately used as the argumentation schemes demonstrate, thus, leading the argumentation into better acceptability by the campaign audience, particularly the electorate.

4.8.2 Development without regard to party affiliations and ethnicity

In Figure 4.18 of the CCM speech segment 18, Magufuli pledges to treat Tanzanians impartially since Tanzania respects all people without regard to their political affiliations and socio-economic associations.

CCM speech segment 18

MAFUFULI: (1) Nataka niwaeleze mimi Magufuli pamoja na Samia nitawafanyia kazi Watanzania. (2) Uwe CCM uwe CHADEMA, uwe CUF uwe DC, uwe hata huna chama kwasababu maendeleo hayana chama. (2) Lakini ninaamini maendeleo ya kweli yataletwa na Magufuli, (3) yataletwa na Samia, (4) yataletwa na Shein, (5) yataletwa na wabunge watakao chaguliwa kutokana na chama cha mapinduzi, (6) yataletwa kutokana na madiwani na wawakilishi wanaotokana na chama cha mapinduzi. (7) Tupeni kazi sisi ni kazi tu! (8) Ndugu zangu watanzania mambo ni mengi siwezi nikayazungumza yoote leo nikayamaliza. (9) Nitazunguka, (10) nitaendelea kuyaeleza ili watanzania wote watuelewe. (11) Kwa wana Dar es salaam kwa sababu tuko hapa dar es salaam, ninawaomba sana muwachague waheshimiwa wabunge walioteuliwa na Chama cha mapinduzi na waheshimiwa madiwani na wawakilishi. (12) Nataka niwahakikishie serikali nitakayoiunda mimi Magufuli, itakua serikali ya watu,

yenye lengo la kutatua kero za wananchi. (13) Sio serikali yakusema tuna mchakato..., tuko kwenye nini! (14) Yaani kwangu hakuna mchakato wa waziri wangu atanipatia akiwa sio waziri. (15) Ninawaeleza ukweli na ukweli utasimama kuwa ukweli. (16) Nipo hapa kwa ajili ya kuwatoa Watanzania twende mbele kwa ajili ya maendeleo ya Watanzania wote. (17) Ndugu zangu Watanzania kwasababu usiku unaingia na najua bado mnataka uhondo tutakutana siku nyingine lakini niwashukuru sana Mungu awabariki sana. (18) Twende pamoja tumtangulize Mungu mbele. (19) Tuchague sawasawa na mimi mnichague. (20) Muwachague viongozi wengi. (21) Na kwa heshima kubwa ndugu zangu Watanzania mkiwepo Watanzania wa Dar es salaam wa vyama vyote na makabila yote ninaomba kura zenu asanteni sana na Mungu awabariki sana.

[1] I want to tell you that I, Magufuli, together with Samia, will work for you Tanzanians, no matter you are a CHADEMA partisan, CUF partisan, DC partisan or even if you are not affiliated to any political party, because development has nothing to do with political party affiliations. [2] I believe that real development will be brought by Magufuli; [3] it will be brought by Samia; [4] it will be brought by Shein; [5] it will be brought by the members of parliament who will be elected from the CCM party. [6] True development will be brought by the councillors and representatives who come from CCM. [7] Assign us the work to do, to us, it is work only. [8] My comrades, Tanzanians, there are a lot of good things yet to say. [9] So, I can not exhaust all of them today. [10] I will move around and continue to talk about them so that all Tanzanians can understand them. [11] For the residents of Dar es Salaam, since we are here in Dar es Salaam, I beg you to elect honourable members of parliament who have been appointed by the CCM party and the honourable councillors and representatives from CCM. [12] I want to assure you that the government, which Magufuli will form will be the government of the people. [13] It will be the government which will be there ready to solve problems facing people and not the government of saying that we are in a process. [14] To me, if my minister will say that he is in a process, he will say so while he has been expelled. [15] I am telling you the truth, and the truth will stand as the truth. [16] I am here to push all Tanzanians towards true development. [17] My dear relatives, the Tanzanians, since it is becoming dark and I know that you still want to continue getting the sweet stuff, we will meet some other day, but let me thank you very much, may God bless you so much! [18] Let us go together by giving God the first priority, let us elect well, please do not forget to elect me as well, elect many leaders, and with great honour, my relatives, the

Tanzanians including the Tanzanians of Dar es Salaam from all political parties and tribes, I beg your votes! I am very grateful to you all! May God bless you so much.

In respect to the first dimension of the argumentation structure, Figure 4.18 of the CCM speech segment 18 represents a complex argumentation structure. It comprises coordinative argument structure 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3, and arguments 1.3, 1.3.1, 1.3.1.1, and 1.3.1.1.1. It is in a form of deductive reasoning. Magufuli argues that development does not rely on political parties. Since Magufuli pledges to enhance development for all citizens, and development for all is a project people in the United Republic of Tanzania strongly want, Magufuli qualifies to be the president.

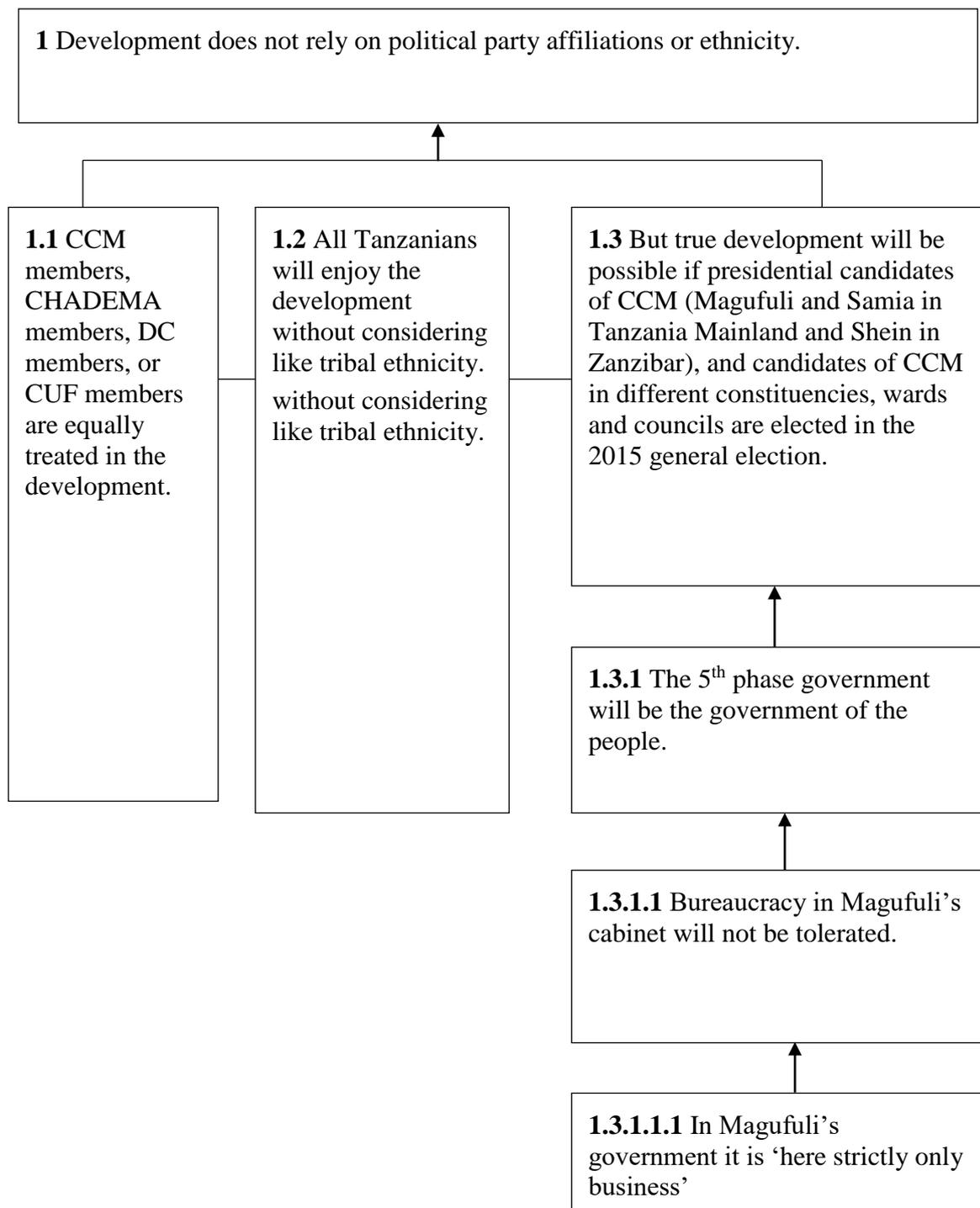


Figure 4.18: Reconstructed argumentation structure on development without regard of political party affiliations

Magufuli's speech segment exemplifies several argument schemes. In his argumentation, he demonstrates argumentation based on analogy. Magufuli provides several examples showing how development projects do not depend on ethnicity or political party affiliations. Supporting his standpoint, Magufuli argues development projects benefit all people without

regard to affiliation. People can be CCM members, DC members, CUF members; or non-party members, nevertheless, development benefits everyone in Tanzania equally. Another scheme exemplified in the speech segment is a causal relation. Magufuli states that true development is possible if CCM candidates win the election from the presidential level to the village level. He mentions the names of CCM presidential candidates starting with himself (Magufuli), his running mate (Samia) and the presidential candidate for the Revolutionary government of Zanzibar (Shein).

According to van Eemeren *et al.*, (2014), arguers strategically select topics according to the target they want to meet in the argumentative discourse. In the case represented in Figure 4.18, Magufuli selects a topic on development in the confrontation stage. He asserts development does not rely on political party affiliation. The speech act of assertion (Searle, 1979b) implies a speaker believes something to be true. The audience demand is fundamental in the success of the argumentation in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). In the confrontation stage where development is highlighted as the target of the speaker speech segment represented in Figure 4.18, appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions is employed. Magufuli identifies the need for development without regard, thus he appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions.

In the opening stage, Magufuli assumes a role of defending his standpoint that development does not rely on political party affiliations. As already stated in the confrontation stage, Magufuli commits himself to defend his standpoint. He strategically demonstrates a need for Tanzanians to think of the national development rather than party interests. Furthermore, equality is implied, and thus Magufuli associates himself with people holding political party affiliations and people who do not have allegiance to political parties. Magufuli assumes the responsibility of defending the standpoint that development does not rely on political party affiliations, thus dissociating himself from the implication that opposition party candidates are not capable of delivering services without implicating their political party interests.

In the argumentation stage, the topic is maintained that development benefits Tanzanians supporting CCM, CHADEMA, CUF, and non-partisans. He thus appeals to both liberal and conservative presumptions. Magufuli argues that, apart from thinking of development to all Tanzanians, a party that would do so if it would win the election is the CCM and its candidates. Thus, he dissociates himself from other parties that do not value equality according to the view he implies. Magufuli states that true development will take place as an

appreciation of his plan. Thus, a positive self-evaluation refers to judgement (Iedema et al., 1994). In his conclusion, Magufuli presupposes that for attaining national development for all, the potential electorate would vote for him. Magufuli emphasises that only candidates can implement development plans without having the conflict of interest between national development and the party interests. He concludes asking for votes because he would bring development without thinking of political party affiliations.

Concerning the fourth dimension, Magufuli observes several critical discussion rules. The freedom rule is observed. Magufuli argues development does not depend on political party affiliations. This is a sign that people are free to support parties they wanted. Relevance is also observed. In dealing with the people's welfare, it does not matter which party one supports but what the government does to support people's welfare. The schemes of analogy and causal relation were appropriately applied. Unexpressed premises that the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate has allegations of corruption and thus would not serve the country impartially is appropriately presented. Magufuli provides reasons why he believes development does not rely on political party affiliations. This is meant to implement a burden of proof.

Regarding the fifth dimension, there is a violation of language rule. Magufuli overgeneralises as if CCM is not a political party, ignoring the fact that all political parties are competing to get or to remain in power. An assertion that development does not rely on a political party is not clear as Magufuli does not give freedom to other parties to take over CCM if that were the case. This is a strawman's fallacy of interpreting CCM as a neutral entity and other political parties biased.

In respect to the sixth dimension, the argumentation in Figure 4.18 is plausibly valid. Magufuli, as an experienced minister in the three ministries has had a good hard-working record leading him to gain public trust despite his party performing questionably because of corruption. With acceptability, it can be argued social services, such as education and health services are desired by all Tanzanians regardless of who enhances them. Therefore, the argumentation is plausibly acceptable. Pragmatically, Magufuli, especially in the infrastructure ministry, manages to supervise different road constructions in Tanzania. That is a sign of treating Tanzanians without regard to their ethnicity. On the side of effectiveness, Magufuli presents different presentational devices, such as dissociation, association, and appeal to conservative and presumptive assumptions making his argumentation persuasive

and thus effective. According to the Pragma-dialectical perspective (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014), it can be concluded that argumentation in Figure 4.18 is effective and reasonable.

4.9 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON PEACE, UNITY AND DEVELOPMENT

4.9.1 Peace and unity

Seif Salum Mwela, a chairperson of entrepreneurs at the Ilala business centre and a CCM supporter presented his argumentation as represented in Figure 4.19 of the CCM speech segment 19. He claims the CCM is the only party treating all Tanzanians equally and is the party that enhances peace in the United Republic of Tanzania.

CCM speech segment 19

MWELA: (1) “Lakini mheshimiwa mwenyekiti naomba nimalizie jambo moja. Sisi Waislam tunasema., (2) Mimi Muislam. (3) Katika Uislam huwezi kumtaja Mtume Swalla Allaahu ‘alayhi wa aalihi wa sallam bila ya kutaja kwamba ameacha athari. (4) Unapomsema Mtume Muhamad kwenye msaafu, Muhamad ameacha athari. (5) Unapomsema Yesu kwenye Biblia, Yesu amecha athari. (6) Mheshimiwa mwenyekiti nikuhakikishie kwamba wapo watu wamecha athari kwenye nchi hii na vyama vya wafanya biashara wanatambua, mfano, mheshimiwa Nyerere. (7) Mwalimu Nyerere Mnyazi Mungu amlaze mahali pema! (8) Amecha athari kubwa. (9) Mimi leo Mndengereko, mfanya biashara mdogo mdodgo, (10) ninaeuza kuku soko la Ilala, (11) nikienda zangu Monduli, naenda kuoja mke. Uongo ukweli? (12) Hizo athari ameziacha nani kama sio Nyerere? (13) Lakini leo wapo viongozi, mheshimiwa mwenyekiti, wanasema kwamba wao wana ukaskazini. (14) Sisi wafanya biashara tuna akili timamu, (15) tunajitambua na (16) tutahakikisha kwamba hilo linakwisha.”

[1] Moreover, honourable chairperson, may I finalise my speech with something. [2] We Muslims normally say that the Muslim in my faith as a muslim, you cannot mention the Prophet and claim that he has not left a mark. [3] When you mention Prophet Muhammad Swalla Allaahu ‘Alayhi wa aalihi wa sallam in the Quran, Muhammad has left behind a mark. [4] When you talk about Jesus in the Bible, Jesus has left behind a memorable history. [5] Honourable chairperson, let me assure you that there are people who have left a special history in this country and that we, as the members of the business people associations, are

aware of such people. [6] Honourable Nyerere, may God Almighty rest Mwalimu Nyerere in eternal peace, has left a special history. [7] Today, as a Ndengereko petty trader selling hens at Ilala market, I may go to Monduli and marry. True or not? [8] Such are memorable marks that Mwalimu left. [9] Who can we compare with Nyerere? [10] But today, honourable chairperson, we have leaders who claim that they are in favour of the northern zone. [11] We, traders have sanity, and [12] we are self-conscious, [13] therefore, we will make sure that this habit comes to an end.

In order to do a systematic analysis of the argumentative reality in the Pragma-dialectical perspective, argumentations are first categorised according to their structures, and then there are reconstructed to make unexpressed premises explicit (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 63). The argumentation represented in Figure 4.19 falls under the category of inductive reasoning in the sense that theoretical insights are gained by way of empirical observation (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993: 52; Hurley, 2012). The structure of the argumentation is complex, combining a coordinative argument structure (1.1a, 1.1b, and 1.1c) and a subordinative argument structure (1.1c, 1.1c.1a, 1.1c.1a.1, and 1.1c.1a.1.1). Each argument (alternative) is strong enough to stand on its own (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 68). The reason that arguers provide more alternatives relates to reasonable assumptions that antagonists may raise other concerns against one argument, making antagonists' prior move of resolving a difference of opinion unsuccessful (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 68). This can be schematically represented with reconstruction transformations as Figure 4.19 demonstrates. Reasons for identifying an argument inductive reasoning include that the conclusion is drawn from examples. Since the arguments in 1.1a, 1.1b, 1.1c are regarded plausibly correct, the conclusion should support the arguments. The unexpressed standpoint should be that peace and unity of the United Republic of Tanzania must be maintained.

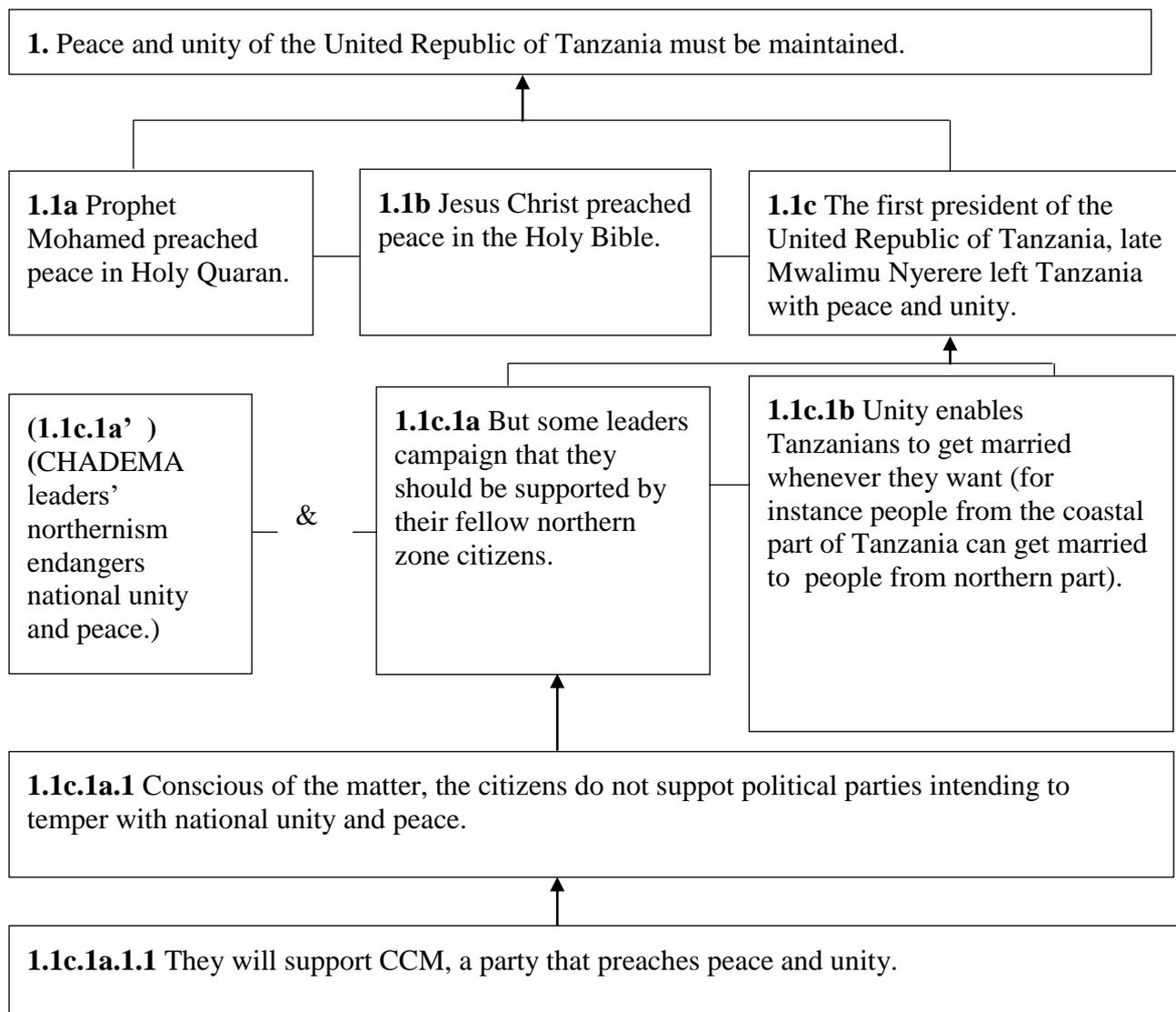


Figure 4.19: Reconstructed argumentation structure on peace and unity

In Figure 4.19, the argument from the analogy is manifested from the reconstruction that Mwalimu Nyerere (CCM chairperson) left people with peace; people should vote for Magufuli to maintain that peace. The basic question is strategically answered in the sense that Magufuli is an incumbent ruling party candidate, a party Nyerere belonged to when he was a president. In 1967 Tanzania adopted an ideology of socialism and self-reliance (Blommaert, 2014). In 1977 ASP and TANU amalgamated to form the CCM. Still, the United Republic of Tanzania kept embracing the ideology of socialism and self-reliance. Even though Magufuli belongs to the CCM, the party Nyerere belonged to, socialism is not stated as the ideology of the current CCM ideology.

Salum Mwela appropriately demonstrates argumentation by analogy, although he does not state other similarities, especially the ideological perspective. As far as peace and unity are concerned, the CCM has for the past 50 years managed to keep alive the 1964 union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Furthermore, there have not been civil wars, implying peace obtains in absence of war. This segment demonstrates a form of successful strategic maneuvering by the speaker.

As represented in Figure 4.19, the campaigner's speech segment demonstrates in the confrontation stage a standpoint of maintaining peace and unity in the United Republic of Tanzania. This topical potential was selected strategically because it is easy to defend a desire for peace and unity. The CCM supporter makes a commitment to making sure that peace and unity are maintained in 1.1c.1a.1 whereby commissive is employed as a speech act (Searle, 1979b: 22). Peace and unity a phenomenon that appeals to Tanzanians like many other people in the world. The speaker expresses this speech act with several presentational devices. The first device appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions. People from the opposition party and people from the ruling party can support CCM because of the topic that was raised. In the opening stage, the CCM supporter assumes the role of the protagonist. He does so strategically because maintaining peace and unity appeals to the audience. Contextually, Tanzania has been a peaceful country particularly referring to the absence of civil, religious or political wars within the country.

In the argumentation stage, the campaigner strategically maneuvers by pointing out religious books (the Holy Bible and the Holy Quran) and by pointing out Jesus Christ and Prophet Mohamed to support and consistently maintain his topic. He strategically explains that, as religious teachings capitalise on peace and unity, so did Mwalimu Nyerere (the First President of the United Republic of Tanzania and the first CCM chairperson) as shown in Figure 4.19 in arguments (1.1a, 1.1b, and 1.1c). Since Magufuli is a CCM candidate, and the speaker was one of the campaign speakers in the inauguration of campaigns of the ruling party, it can be suggested that Magufuli will maintain peace and unity. Therefore, the topical potential is maintaining peace and unity in the argumentation stage. Although the speaker does not mention names of people alleged of preference or bias towards the North of Tanzania, by implication, some people from the northern part of Tanzania are CHADEMA leaders (particularly the chairperson whose home region is Kilimanjaro) and, the presidential candidate, honourable Edward Ngoyai Lowassa, from Arusha region in the northern part of

Tanzania. This is typical strategic maneuvering to select a topic with the public interest for maximising several supporters in the general election campaigns and finally getting enough votes from the audience. In a more detail manner, a study on maintaining a delicate balance between reasonableness and effectiveness reveals that, apart from topical potential as one the aspects of strategic maneuvering, audience demand must be adopted in order to suit the readerships' sense of the topic being discussed (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002: 140). The challenge lies in understanding the audience who have mixed attitudes about the topic being discussed. At this point, strategic maneuvering exists (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002: 140). Speakers or writers must reframe from giving views in a way that readers or listeners will find appropriate in the resolution process (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 554). As indicated in Figure 4.19 in the arguments 1.1c.1a, (1.1c.1a'), 1.1c.1b and 1.1c.1a.1, the leader of the informal small traders' association conscientised the audience on the importance of appreciating what the ruling party, CCM, has done for the country and suggesting that they would still appreciate by voting for the CCM presidential candidate, Magufuli whose argument 1.1c.1a.1.1 demonstrates. Generally, the supporter of the CCM strategically employs several presentational devices as a means of making his argumentation as effective as possible. Apart from audience demand and topical potential, the third aspect of strategic maneuvering is the use of presentational devices (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 554). It is from the presentational devices that arguers get their effective presentation in the argumentative reality (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002: 140).

In addition, to accomplish well-balanced strategic maneuvering that observes the macro-context of arguers, scholars have postulated categories of fair and unfair strategic maneuvering (Van Laar & Krabbe, 2016). From the argumentation the reconstruction in Figure 4.19 demonstrates that presentational devices are manifested in a way that the intended audience in the general election campaign could side with what the speaker intended to communicate. Relevant examples can be considered. The first example relates to a rhetorical question (who we can compare Nyerere with?). The CCM supporter uses the question to imply the potential of the CCM in maintaining peace and security. Stating that some political leaders want to divide Tanzanians by making speeches on how they expect much more support from the people of northern Tanzania, has the unexpressed premise that the CHADEMA chairperson and presidential candidate (Mbowe and Lowassa, respectively), if they win, will lead the country with partiality, something that the speaker knew would not be supported by the citizens. The second device employed is the use of influential books like

the Holy Quran and the Holy Bible. In addition, like Jesus Christ and Prophet Mohamed in the role of preaching peace in the world, calls attention to citizens to support the CCM as the party that associates with the public interest of peace and unity. Mwela evaluates the opposition party leaders and candidates as nepotists. Nepotism, regionalism, zone biases in the context of Tanzania are said to be avoided to maintain peace and unity of the country. The mentioned interpreted behaviours or tendencies are generally regarded as socially unacceptable and they are generally judged negatively (White, 2011: 16). On the other side, the supporter of CCM appreciates the governance of CCM for keeping peace and unity in the country. According to Martin and White (2005), such appreciations are positive. The CCM supporter states that the ruling party since independence has had a series of good leaders. This added to the status of CCM and the presidential candidate. In the conclusion stage, the speaker pledges to make sure those people who intend to divide the country do not win the general elections. He judges the opposition party as enemies of peace. Therefore, he suggests the electorate should vote for Magufuli and other CCM candidates to maintain peace and unity in the United Republic of Tanzania.

The ideal critical discussion requires arguers to abide by the critical discussion rules as discussed in the research methodology in section 3.3 of Chapter three. The freedom rule is observed from the confrontation stage to the concluding stage. With the expressed standpoint, the supporter of CCM raised his concern against opposition parties that the ruling party would still be a party to vote for as a way of maintaining peace and unity. He does so, not suggesting that the opposition parties were in support of peace and unity violation but criticising the strategies of getting the potential electorate based on zones, particularly, the northern corridor. The supporter of the CCM observed the burden of proof rule by providing evidence that Tanzania has maintained peace and unity for so long because of the good governance under the ruling party leaders especially the first president, the late Mwalimu Nyerere. The standpoint rule is observed, as given from the confrontation stage to the concluding stage, the arguer focusses on the need to vote for the CCM candidates to sustain peace and unity in the United Republic of Tanzania. The relevance rule is clearly observed. As far as peace and unity are concerned, the first president of the United Republic of Tanzania had a central contribution in making sure that the country remains peaceful and united. The unexpressed premise rule is observed especially through inductive reasoning that religious teachings from the Bible, the Quran, Jesus Christ, the Prophet Mohammed, and Nyerere's legacy enable the sustainability of peace. Therefore, it is reasonable to support the

CCM for such sustainability. The starting point rule is observed too. The speaker focused on the need to maintain peace by avoiding zonal tensions that could lead to the division of the people and the violation of peace in the country. The supporter of the CCM employs analogy argumentation scheme articulating that Nyerere was from the ruling party, the CCM, and he advocated peace and unity. Therefore, he argues Magufuli would maintain the same spirit of peace and unity because of the CCM constitution and its manifesto. The validity rule is observed. Since independence, Tanzania has never experienced campaigns based on geographical locations, the reason why peace has existed among Tanzanians. Thus, if any party entertaining segregative moves won, it would lead the country into trouble in this regard. The closure rule is clear. The supporter of the CCM advises the electorate to vote for the ruling party candidate, Magufuli.

The language of the supporter of the CCM represented in Figure 4.19 is not very clear about the opposition party supporters who implied that the votes would be mainly obtained from the northern part of Tanzania because the presidential candidate of the opposition party was from the northern part of Tanzania.

Figure 4.19 provides details concerning the soundness of the argumentation, given that the three aspects have been met. The Holy books are acceptable. Thus, the reasoning is valid as argumentation schemes are appropriately used. Salum Mwela effectively argues by modifying the relevant audience, selecting a topic on peace, and capitalising on what the audience wanted. It can, therefore, be suggested that in such a context where a speech was delivered, the arguer strategically maneuvers successfully.

4.9.2 Development and national unity

In the argumentative discourse represented in Figure 4.20 of the CCM speech segment 20, Magufuli pledges to maintain national unity. Since Tanzania comprises people from different ethnic backgrounds, national unity is necessary to keep the country together.

CCM speech segment 20

MAGUFULI: (1) Nataka niwaeleze ndugu zangu watanzania kiu yenu ya mabadiliko. (2) Nimepanga kufanya mengi lakini nataka nitaje baadhi. (3) Kwanza suala la umoja wa kitaifa ukitaka kuleta mabadiliko ya kweli ya kimaendeleo lazima taifa liwe na umoja. (4) Lazima watanzania wote wawe wamoja, hakuna mtanzania Mkristo au Muislamu au mpagani. (5) Hakuna ukabila, hakuna ukanda, hakuna uzanzibari au Utanzania bara. (6) Tukijenga taifa

lililo moja hapo ndipo tutajenga taifa bora kwa ajili ya maendeleo ya Watanzania wote kwa ujulma. (7) Nimejiandaa kwa hili ndugu zangu kuulinda umoja wa watanzania wa taifa lote. (8) Bila kubagua hata hapa makabila yapo mengi. (9) Ukitaka kuja kuzungumza Kijaruo ‘uleyangimachimadala’ watajibu hapa.... (10) Ukitaka kuzungumza Kichaga ‘shimbonishafo’ watajibu najua... (11) Ukitaka kusema Kikurya ‘amang’ana mbuya.....watajibu hapa.... (12) Ukisema Mpare urewedi.....watajibu hapa.... (13) Ukisema hapa Mtwara ‘kuchele’ ndugu zangu wa Mtwara wanajibu hapa.... (14) Ukisema ‘olemora’watajibu hapa.... (15) ukisema ‘ngwagubu’ watajibu hapa.... (16) Ukisema mbukwenu...watajibu hapa.... (17) Ukitaka hata kusema ‘supai ... epa’ watajibu hapa... (18) Ukitaka kusema ‘saita aidoma aidori ’watajibu hapa.... (19) Huu ndio Utanzania ninaotaka kuujenga kama nitachaguliwa kuwa raisi. Tanzania ooyeee....

[1] I want to tell you fellow Tanzanians that I have planned to do many things in order to satisfy your thirst for changes. [2] Let me mention some of those plans. [3] The first thing is about national unity. [4] If you want to bring true changes that brings development, it is a must for the nation to be in unity. [5] It is a must for all Tanzanians to be in unity without discrimination of a Tanzanian who is a Christian, Muslim or pagan. [6] There should not be tribalism, favouritism based on zones, no Zanzibarism or Tanzania mainlandism. [7] If we build a unified nation, it is when we will manage to build a better nation for the development of all Tanzanians in general. [8] I am prepared for this matter, my fellow citizens; [9] I am prepared to defend the unity of all Tanzanians across the country. [10] I will not discriminate any tribe, even here many tribes have been represented. [11] If you want to speak the Luo language, they greet each other, ‘uleyangimachimadala’, they may respond here.... [12] If you want to speak Chagga, ‘shimbonishafo’..... they will respond.... [13] If you want to speak Kurya, ‘amanga’nambuya’.... they will respond.... [14] If you speak Pare language, urewedi..... they will respond.... [15] If you speak the language of ‘Mtwara, kuchele my relatives from Mtwara will respond.... [16] If you say ‘ulimola’.....they will respond.... [17] If you say, ‘ngwagubu’.....they will respond.... [18] If you say mbukweni.....they will respond here....[19] even if you want to say ‘supai epa’.....there are people here who will respond to it.... [20] if you want to say ‘saita aidoma aidori’.....they will respond here.... [21] This is the Tanzanian patriotism which I want to build if elected president. Hurray Tanzania!.....

In Figure 4.20, the argumentation is represented as deductive reasoning, since the conclusion is drawn from the premises (Van Eemeren et al., 1993: 52–54). The speech segment has a complex argumentation structure. It comprises a subordinative argument structure ((1.1,1.1.1, 1.1.1.1a, and 1.1.1.1a.1), (1.1,1.1.1, 1.1.1.1b, 1.1.1.1b.1), (1.1,1.1.1, 1.1.1.1c), (1.1,1.1.1, 1.1.1.1d)), and a coordinative argument structure (1.1.1.1a, 1.1.1.1b, and 1.1.1.1d) (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008).

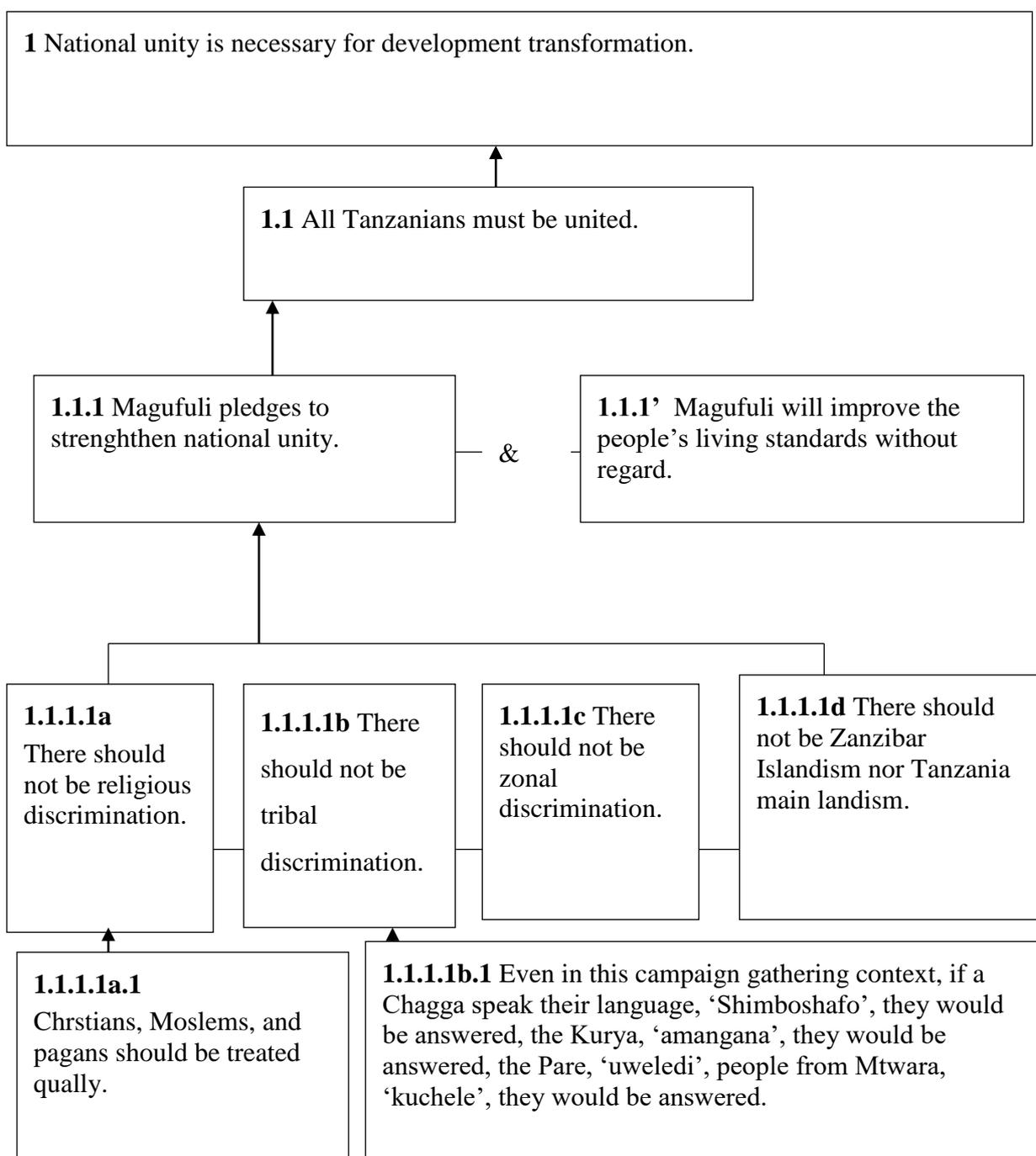


Figure 4.20: Reconstructed argumentation structure on development and national unity

Figure 4.20 demonstrates the employment of pragmatic argumentation in the sense of the majority rule and symptomatic argumentation. Through pragmatic argumentation, Magufuli pledged to enhance unity among all Tanzanians. Since there cannot be development without peace, peace is a prerequisite for development. In addition, because development is the project the majority wants, unity should be advocated. Magufuli provides examples of how important unity is in Tanzania, referring to numerous languages spoken by people in the campaign audience. He wanted to justify the claim that a country like Tanzania, with over 120 languages, is in need for unity (LoT, 2009).

In the confrontation stage, Magufuli selects the topic of unity as a necessary factor for development transformation. The audience in the 23rd of August CCM inaugural campaigns had many expectations from the CCM candidate. The electorate was generally tired of CCM as they associated it with deprivation and poverty. Thus, Magufuli presents himself as an institution within an institution. Strategically, because of his persuasive persona of having a 20 year experience as a minister in different ministries, he presents himself as a committed presidential candidate to enhance peace and thus development transformation.

In the confrontation stage, when Magufuli advocates peace for development transformation, he implies other candidates from the opposition parties could not effectively accomplish peace as a prerequisite for development transformation. Association is employed as the presentational device at the confrontation stage. Magufuli associates himself with peace and development transformation. In the opening stage, he assumes the role of a protagonist claiming the need for intensifying peace. Magufuli commits himself to defend the national unity, a speech act referred to as a commissive (Searle, 1979b: 14). Strategically, he selects peace because that is what the majority want. Secondly, he aims to persuade the audience that there is a need to elect Magufuli as president. Also, he aims to associate himself with many other Tanzanians who like peace and development for all. In the argumentation stage, Magufuli elaborates on the context in which peace can be compromised. Some factors which he identifies are religious affiliations, tribal ethnicity, 'zonism', 'Zanzibar Islandism', and 'Tanzania Main Landism'. The assertions implied that the opposition camp embraces tribalism, and religious based decisions were presented as if these were facts.

Magufuli highlights the potential of peace for the development of the country. Although not explicitly stated, the opposition party is accused of religious segregation in the Tabora region when Lowassa (the opposition camp candidate) said the the fifth-phase government was to

get a representative from the Lutheran church the domination he belonged to. In addition, he strategically appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions implying there were people among the electorate in the 2015 election who did not like CCM; still they liked development. Also, reframing the subject is employed. The citizens, during the 2015 election campaign, did not blame the fourth-phase government for failure to advocate peace and unity but for poor governance that led to limited accountability of office bearers, especially in public sectors. Magufuli concludes his claim that Tanzania can enhance development if he becomes the fifth-phase government president. Magufuli asks for votes implying that he will rescue the electorate from electing religiously and zonally biased opposition candidate, Lowassa. Magufuli evaluates the opposition party negatively by associating them with tribalism and nepotism. According to White (2011), this could be regarded as a negative judgement as Magufuli disapproves the unacceptable behaviour of tribalism and nepotism. At the concluding stage, Magufuli employs the persuasive persona. He institutionalises his personal identity to transfer credibility to CCM, a party that had, in 2015 to some extent, lost its reputation. That is his conclusion, using the first person singular 'I' to strategically present his argumentation as if he were an independent candidate.

In respect to the fourth dimension, that is, the observation of critical discussion rules, the argumentative discourse segment represented in Figure 4.20, indicates freedom rule is employed. Magufuli asks for votes implying that the electorate has choices of electing whoever they want. Secondly, the burden of proof is observed. Magufuli explains how necessary it is for a country to enhance peace to facilitate development for all. The relevance rule is also observed. Providing examples of different languages spoken in Tanzania, Magufuli demonstrates the need for development for all to maintain national solidarity.

In examining the fifth dimension, the usage rule is violated. Magufuli emphasizes on his personal identity at the expense of the party identity, something that could raise questions from active citizens on his eligibility to run the government without referring to the party constitution and the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. Moreover, the unexpressed premise rule was violated. Magufuli does not explain why he employed his persuasive persona, instead of the party identity.

Concerning the sixth dimension, Magufuli's standpoint on the necessity of peace and unity for development transformation is logically consistent. Generally, it is not easily possible to implement development plans in a country where there is no peace. Secondly, the

argumentation is pragmatically consistent. Tanzania has over 120 local languages, a context that embeds groups. Thus, if not carefully managed, this situation may lead the country to tribalism or tribal conflicts. Concerning acceptability, all Tanzanians must be treated equally by the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania according to the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania³. The argumentation schemes are appropriately used, especially the symptomatic argumentation scheme where the arguer highlights numerous languages and their speakers in the audience, claiming that they need to be maintained. The arguer in the argumentative segment represented in Figure 4.20 effectively presents his standpoint which is strategically supported by arguments. Dissociation, appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions and reframing the arguments are among the presentational devices Magufuli employs in presenting his argumentation effectively. It can thus be concluded that according to the Pragma-dialectical perspective, the standpoint represented in Figure 4.20, is effectively and reasonably argued, maintaining a delicate balance between reasonableness and effectiveness in the argumentative discourse.

4.10 SUMMARY

The 2015 inaugural campaigns of CCM that took place at Jangwani on 23rd August 2015 is mainly dominated by proving what CCM has done since independence, and why it claims for the trust for another term as the ruling party. Analysis based on the six dimensions of argumentation, the argumentation generally comprises complex argument structures. Deductive reasoning is presented strategically by the candidate and his campaigning team as if the CCM will implement all they pledge. CCM campaigners employ pragmatic and majority argumentation in most of their argumentation. On the dimension of topical potential, audience demand, presentational devices, and evaluative language, CCM campaigners commemorate Mwalimu Nyerere and the success the CCM has achieved, hence persuasion based on popular appeal. The standpoint rule, the burden of proof rule, and the argument scheme rule are among the rules observed in the argumentative discourse. Concerning the dimension of identifying derailments, the language used by the CCM campaigners is often ambiguous. As far as reasonableness and effectiveness are concerned, argumentation by CCM campaigners is generally strategically presented.

³ Article 20 (1) The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania 1997 (as amended from time to time)

CHAPTER FIVE

STRATEGIC MANEUVERING BY OPPOSITION ORIENTED CANDIDATE, PARTY MEMBERS AND CAMPAIGN TEAM MEMBERS IN THE 2015 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN SPEECHES OF CHADEMA/UKAWA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five investigates strategic maneuvering in the inaugural CHADEMA/UKAWA⁴ presidential campaign speeches delivered on 29th of August 2015 at Jangwani Field in Dar es Salaam. The chapter comprises ten sections. It examines how the opposition party camp (CHADEMA/UKAWA) strategically maneuvers to persuade or convince the audience of their presidential candidates' abilities to lead the state, pledges stipulated in the 2015 election manifesto, and the abilities of CHADEMA/UKAWA members and supporters to run government offices in case they win general elections.

As already stipulated in Chapter Four in the introduction (see section 4.1), the study presents six necessary dimensions basic for a reasonably and effectively presented argumentation in the perspective of the Extended pragma-dialectical perspective. They are presented in an order, even though it does not mean they work chronologically without overlapping. A schematic representation of the six dimensions is demonstrated in the introduction section of Chapter Four (see 4.1, Figure 4.1). Therefore, analysis starts with identifying what type of argumentation structures are employed. The other dimensions are analysing the argumentation schemes, analysing how topical potential, adaptation to audience demand, presentational devices, and evaluative language (appraisal) are utilised, evaluating the success of the observation of critical discussion rules, identifying the derailments of the critical discussion rules, and evaluating the extent to which effectiveness and reasonableness are maintained in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches as a communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili.

Chapter Five comprises ten sections; some of which have sub-sections. Section 5.1 is an introduction of what Chapter Five focusses on. Section 5.2 examines strategic maneuvering in arguments on social services. Sub-section 5.2.1 illustrates arguments concerning free

⁴The People's Constitution Alliance comprises four political parties namely CHADEMA, CUF, NLD, CUF, and NCCR-Mageuzi. The four parties allied to oppose the constitutional reforms that were deliberately maneuvered by the government to favour the ruling party, CCM in 20014.

education from basic levels to the university level. Sub-section 5.2.2 focusses on improving health services. Section 5.3 focusses on strategic maneuvering on rehabilitating air infrastructure. Section 5.4 illustrates strategic maneuvering on arguments on development transformation. Sub-section 5.4.1 analyses strategic maneuvering on commemorating Mwalimu Nyerere's comment on development outside CCM. Sub-section 5.4.2 analyses arguments on criteria for development transformation. Section 5.5 examines strategic maneuvering in arguments about gender equality. Sub-section 5.5.1 focusses on women marginalisation. Sub-section 5.5.2 demonstrates gender balance in politics. Sub-section 5.5.3 analyses arguments on women dignity. Section 5.6 examines strategic maneuvering in arguments on good governance

Sub-section 5.6.1 focusses on arguments about the observation of human rights. Sub-section 5.6.2 demonstrates the influence of good governance on sports. Section 5.7 examines argumentation on the reliability of political parties. Sub-section 5.7.1 analyses arguments about the need for a new constitution. Sub-section 5.7.2 analyses arguments about double standards of CCM on peacekeeping during election campaigns. Sub-section 5.7.3 demonstrates double standards on the personality of Lowassa. Sub-section 5.7.4 examines arguments about CCM members' contradictions in executing multiparty democracy. Sub-section 5.7.5 illustrates argumentation about health issues of presidential candidates. Sub-section 5.7.6 presents arguments about false accusations on opposition party rallies (so called 'photoshopped rallies'). Sub-section 5.7.7 demonstrates argumentation about inclusiveness and clarity of the opposition party camp (CHADEMA/UKAWA). Sub-section 5.7.8 analyses arguments concerning the economic status of presidential candidates and good leadership. Sub-section 5.7.9 demonstrates arguments about research findings indicating qualifications of Lowassa. Sub-section 5.7.10 presents arguments about strength and wisdom of political party members. Sub-section 5.7.11 illustrates argumentation on unity, language usage, and beliefs of political party members. Section 5.8 summarises strategic maneuvering in argumentation by the opposition oriented candidate in the 2015 Presidential Election Campaign Speeches of Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) and Peoples Constitution Alliance (UKAWA).

5.2 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON SOCIAL SERVICES

Social services such as education and health facilities are basic to humankind. CHADEMA/UKAWA campaigners and candidates in 2015 general elections identify a need for serious investment in education and health sectors as currently, services provided are not promising sustainable socio-economic wellbeing of the people of the United Republic of Tanzania.

5.2.1 Free education

Lowassa, a former Prime Minister (2005-2007) in the fourth-phase government is a presidential candidate of a coalition of four opposition parties, namely CHADEMA, CUF, NLD, and NCCR-Mageuzi. Still, in CCM, he showed interest in the presidential race, but his party did not nominate him, a scenario that led to his defection to CHADEMA. Constitutionally, in the United Republic of Tanzania, one cannot contest as a private candidate. Qualifying for presidential candidacy, one must be a member of, and a candidate nominated by, a certain registered political party. In CHADEMA/UKAWA speech Segment 1, Lowassa pledges to prioritise education in Tanzania.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 1

LOWASSA: (1) Mnanipunja! (2) Mmenipunja sisikii vya kutosha! Peolpesssss..... (3) Ebu koroga koroga koroga koroga koroga koroga peoplesssssss.....(4) Asalamaleikum.....(4) Bwana yesu asifiwe...(5) Tumsifu Yesu Kristo. (6) Sasa nina matatizo kidogo saa zimekwenda sana, na maaskari wale wa Dar es salaam hawanipendi sana watapata sababu. (6) Kwahiyo tumekubaliana na Chairperson, Mbowe hotuba ambayo nilitakiwa nitoe iko kwa maandishi itawekwa wenye website ya chama. (7) Ninyi ni wasomi mtaipata kwenye website. (8) Website yenyewe ni www.chadema.or.tz. (9) Mmenielewa? (10) Sasa niseme kidogo. (11) Niseme kidogo mambo ambayo nilitarajia kusema. (12) Kwanza nianze kwa kuwashukuru viongozi walionitangulia kwa kunisemea vizuri sana. (13) Nawashukuru sana! (14) Ahsante sana. (15) Namshukuru sana ndugu yangu Sumaye, ameeleza historia na amewapa vidonge vyao asante sana. (16) Hiza nakushukuruni pia kwa vidonge ulivyotoa. (17) Niliahidi siku ile kwamba sisi tutafanya kampeni safi, kampeni ya kistaarabu, kampeni ambayo haina matusi, lakini wameanza na wakianza basi ndio hivyohivyo watakavyovipata.

(18) Ndugu zangu jambo la kwanza katika ilani ni elimu. (19) Kipaumbele cha kwanza elimu, cha pili elimu na cha tatu elimu. (20) Na maneno haya nimeyaazima kwa aliyekua waziri wa Uingereza Tony Blair. (21) Aliulizwa utakapokuwa waziri mkuu utafanya nini kwa Waingereza. (22) Akasema priority number one education, number two education, number three education. (23) Na mimi kwa uhakika nasema kwa Tanzania yetu ili tuendeleo kwa kasi na kwa speed inayitakiwa ni kipaumbele cha kwanza elimu, cha pili elimu, na cha tatu elimu. Peoplessss.....peoplessss..... (24) Kwahiyo tutafanya kila liwezekanalo kuboresha elimu. (25) Cha kwanza elimu itakuwa inagharamiwa na serikali kutoka darasa la kwanza mpaka chuo kikuu. (26) Mtu asiniambie hatuwezi, tunaweza sana tunapoteza mabilioni ya pesa kufanya mambo ambayo hayana maana. (27) Tupeleke kwenye malezi ya watoto wetu. Peoplessss.....peoplessss.....

[1] You are swindling me.... [2] You are swindling me... [3] I do not hear clearly! Peoples'..... please, [4] stir, [5] stir, [6] stir, [7] stir, [8] stir, [9] stir! People's... [10] May peace be with you.... [11] Praise the Lord Jesus..... [12] Let us praise Jesus Christ. [13] I am now facing some challenges since we are running short of time, and the Dar as Salaam police force do not love us. [14] They may get a reason for mistreating us. [15] So, we have agreed with Mbowe, the chairperson, that the speech, which I was supposed to give is in written form; we are going to put it on the party's website. [16] You are educated, you will find it on the website. [17] The website is www.chadema.or.tz. [18] Have you understood me? [19] Okay, let me say a few things briefly. [20] Let me say briefly the issues which I expected to say. [21] First of all, let me start by thanking the leaders who have spoken here before me for saying good things about me. [22] I thank them very much! [23] Thank you very much. [24] I express my profound thanks to my fellow Sumaye for giving a history. [25] He has given them their 'tablets'. [26] I thank you Hizza for giving them their 'tablets'. [27] I promised on that day that we are going to conduct good campaigns, civilized campaigns, the campaign which does not involve insults, but they have started to annoy us so if they conduct uncivilized campaigns, they will get the same from us.

[28] My friends, the first issue in our manifesto is education. [29] Our number one priority is education, our second priority is education, and our third priority is education. [30] I have borrowed these words from the former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair. [31] When he was asked what he could do after winning the election, he answered them that the number one priority is education, the second one is education, and the priority number three is education.

[32] Me too, I say with certainty that for our Tanzania to develop in a fast speed, and for the required speed, we need education as our number one priority, the second one, education and the third priority should be education. People's... People's... [32] Thus, we will do whatever possible to improve our education. Fundamentally, the education will be funded by the government from standard one up to the university level. [33] Nobody should tell me that we cannot do it. [34] We can do it very well. [35] We waste billions of Tanzanian shillings by spending them on useless matters. [36] We will utilise all such public funds for the upbringing of our children.

Concerning the dimension of argumentation structure, as represented in Figure 5.1 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 1, Lowassa emphasizes the need for prioritizing education. He asserts education will be free from basic levels to University. Free education would enable many children to access education. The current government does not provide free education because it spends money on unnecessary issues. The government under CHADEMA/UKAWA pledges to utilize the national income for betterment of Tanzanians through education. Thus, it is worth voting for Lowassa to implement free education as stipulated in the CHADEMA/UKAWA manifesto (CHADEMA, 2015). The argumentation in Figure 5.1 is deductively presented as premises which suggest a true conclusion. It is impossible for true premises to have a false conclusion (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993; Hurley, 2012). The argumentation structure is complex (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008) due to a presence of subordinative argument structure such as 1.1, 1.1.1, and .1.1.1.1a, and coordinative argument structure (1.1.1.1a, 1.1.1.1b, and 1.1.1.1c).

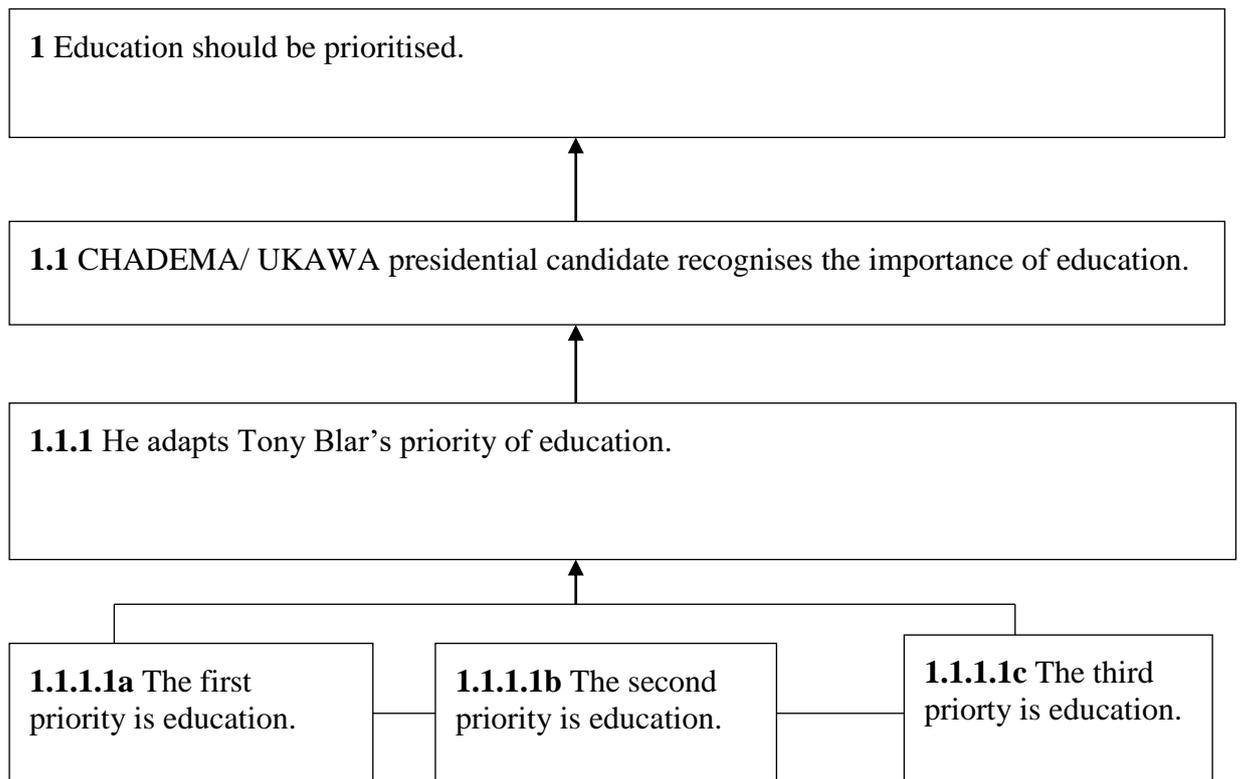


Figure 5.1: Reconstructed argumentation structure on free education

Schemes presented in Lowassa's argumentation implement the second dimension. As the former Prime Minister under the government of Kikwete, Lowassa knows which priorities are needed. He adopts the view of Tony Blair, the former British Prime Minister who said during campaigns that in his leadership priority number one would be education, number two would be education, and three would education. This is an argument by analogy. If Tony Blair managed to prioritise education in that capacity, why should it be impossible for Lowassa in the United Republic of Tanzania? Moreover, citing Tony Blair is a sign of authority? If the British voted for Tony Blair, why should Tanzanians not vote for Lowassa who pledges same priorities in the fifth-phase government? Such implied rhetorical questions are the justification to convince the audience to support Lowassa.

In respect to topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, Lowassa selects his topic strategically. In the confrontation stage, Lowassa claims education should be prioritised. He strategically appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions because everybody likes quality education. In the opening stage, he supports a move to prioritising education. He keeps his commitment to the views he asserts in the confrontation stage. In the perspective of Appraisal theory (Martin & White, 2005), Lowassa criticises the education

system in Tanzania as a way of judging negatively what the CCM has done since independence. Therefore, there is a strategy of consistency in giving priority to education. To get the audience support, he employs a bandwagon propaganda technique (Shabo, 2008) where the audience feels responsible to vote for Lowassa and other CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates as the way of supporting quality and free education in Tanzania. In the argumentation stage, as in the first two stages, Lowassa capitalises on the need for quality education.

Citing Tony Blair (see arguments 1.1.1.1a, 1.1.1.1b, and 1.1.1.1c) Lowassa asserts that his first, second and third priority would be education. He employs a stylistic device of repetition to make the audience remember what he focusses on. Selecting education as the priority is appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions. In deliberative argumentative moves, the arguer presents premises depending on the audience demands. As represented in Figure 5.1, Lowassa pledges to promote quality education to attract voters' support, as the education sector in Tanzania, especially in public primary and secondary schools still faces challenges in terms of the quality of education pupils and students get. Free education from primary school to the university is mentioned to counter argue the pledge by the CCM of free education up to the secondary school ordinary level. Strategically, Lowassa shelved the inability of the government to offer free education, as there are still several other public sectors that need attention. Making the argumentation on free education, he dissociates himself from the interpretation referred to about education for the sake of quality education. Lowassa pledges free education strategically in a sense that it is in a glittering generality. Emphasising needs on education, Lowassa evaluates negatively the ruling party pledges and evaluated positively the undertakings which CHADEMA/UKAWA pledge. The CHADEMA/UKAWA pledging more services in education than the pledges of the CCM is a sign of delegitimising the CCM, given that free education implies caring for the citizens. Lowassa concludes that if the citizens would vote for him, challenges of paying tuition fees would be solved.

In respect to the rules observed for the critical discussion in Lowassa's argumentation, the freedom rule is observed as Lowassa challenges a standpoint of the CCM on free education from standard one up to form four. To demonstrate a difference, he pledges free education from primary school to university level of education. This is meant to take responsibility for the burden of proof. Lowassa sites Tony Blair to emphasise the need to prioritise education in

Tanzania. This demonstrates appropriate use of the argumentation scheme based on analogy. If Tony Blair realises the importance of education to the extent that it becomes a priority, why can it not in Tanzania where education quality is questionable. In Lowassa's views, if the government of the United Republic of Tanzania spends money on unnecessary items, then it is possible for the government to spend money on education from standard one up to the university. Therefore, the arguments provided are deductively valid (Walton, 1987).

Evaluating derailments in the speaker's argumentation represented in Figure 5.1, the language usage rule is violated. The comment on extravagancy is vague. No explanation is provided on how extravagant the government is. Although, corruption allegations in Kikwete's government were significantly known. Lowassa possibly does not want to explain something that is known. On the other hand, when sworn in as a Prime Minister, Lowassa made an oath of never disclosing government confidentialities. That might be the reason as to why some information is concealed. In addition, pledging too much is an unfair strategic maneuvering. There are several cases where private schools have shown better performance than public schools. The reason has always been that private schools invest better than public schools. Tuition fees in private schools are higher than those in public schools. Therefore, making education free may worsen the matter even though it sounds politically attractive. In October, the Tanzanian annual budget is already decided on not pledging free education. This amounts to shelving as Lowassa does not state sources of income for free education.

Concerning the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness of the arguments represented in Figure 5.1, the argumentation is logically and pragmatically consistent as Kikwete's government is alleged of corruption, especially about undertaking visits outside the country, instead of improving social services like health care. It is logically consistent in the sense that much more money is allocated on luxury goods to an extent that if Kikwete had prioritised education, the government would have benefited the education sector tangibly. In terms of acceptability, free education would be of more help to the country than spending money on luxury goods. In respect to effectiveness, the argumentation on free education comprises strategic techniques, such as appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, positive self evaluation and negative evaluation of opponents. In addition, dissociating CHADEMA/UKAWA from CCM, priority is given to education that begins from primary to university level. Given the reasoning in the second dimension, argumentation based on

analogy is employed. Thus, Lowassa strategically maneuvers in supporting free education level from basic education up to the university level.

5.2.2 Improving health services

Apart from free education, Lowassa promises to improve health services, especially constructing hospitals in rural areas. According to CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 2, Lowassa states that referrals to hospitals in foreign countries are signs of inequality, where economically and politically disadvantaged groups do not access such health services.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 2

LOWASSA: (1) Eneo la tatu, tumeweka umuhimu sana kwenye afya. (2) Afya iwe bora kwa kina mama na watoto wadogo. (3) Lakini tuhakikishe vijijini kunajengwa hospitali za kutosha za kisasa. (4) Tunapoteza pesa nyingi sana kupeleka watu wetu nje ya nchi. (5) Hapana! (6) Tulete hizo pesa zifanye kazi hapa nyumbani. (7) Wanaokwenda nje ya nchi sio watu wadogo, ni watu wakubwa kubwa. (8) Tujenge hospitali ambazo zitajibu mahitaji ya watu hapa nyumbani. Peoplesssss.....Peoplesss.....

[1] The third area, we have emphasized health. [2] There should be good health for women and infants. [3] But we must make sure that an adequate number of modern hospitals are built in rural areas. [4] We waste a lot of money by sending our people abroad for medical treatment. [5] We must re-allocate that money to the health sector, so, it can be used here at home. [6] Those who normally go abroad are wealthy people, not the poor. [7] We must build hospitals which will meet the people's needs here in Tanzania. People's...People's....

Regarding the structure of the argumentation on improving health service, the argumentation structure represented in Figure 5.2 is complex. It is a combination of the multiple structure (1.1 and 1.2), subordinative (1.2, 1.2.1b, 1.2. 1b.1.a) and (1.2, 1.2.1b, 1.2.1b.1.b). Currently, due to poor health services, people are deprived of their basic rights to access good health services. The privileged class get opportunities for referrals abroad while the lower class depend on poor health services in the country. Money spent outside the country is more than the money that could have been spent on improving local hospitals. Therefore, it is reasonable to facilitate local hospitals especially in rural areas, instead of depending on foreign and expensive medical services. This makes argumentation on improving health services deductively valid (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993).

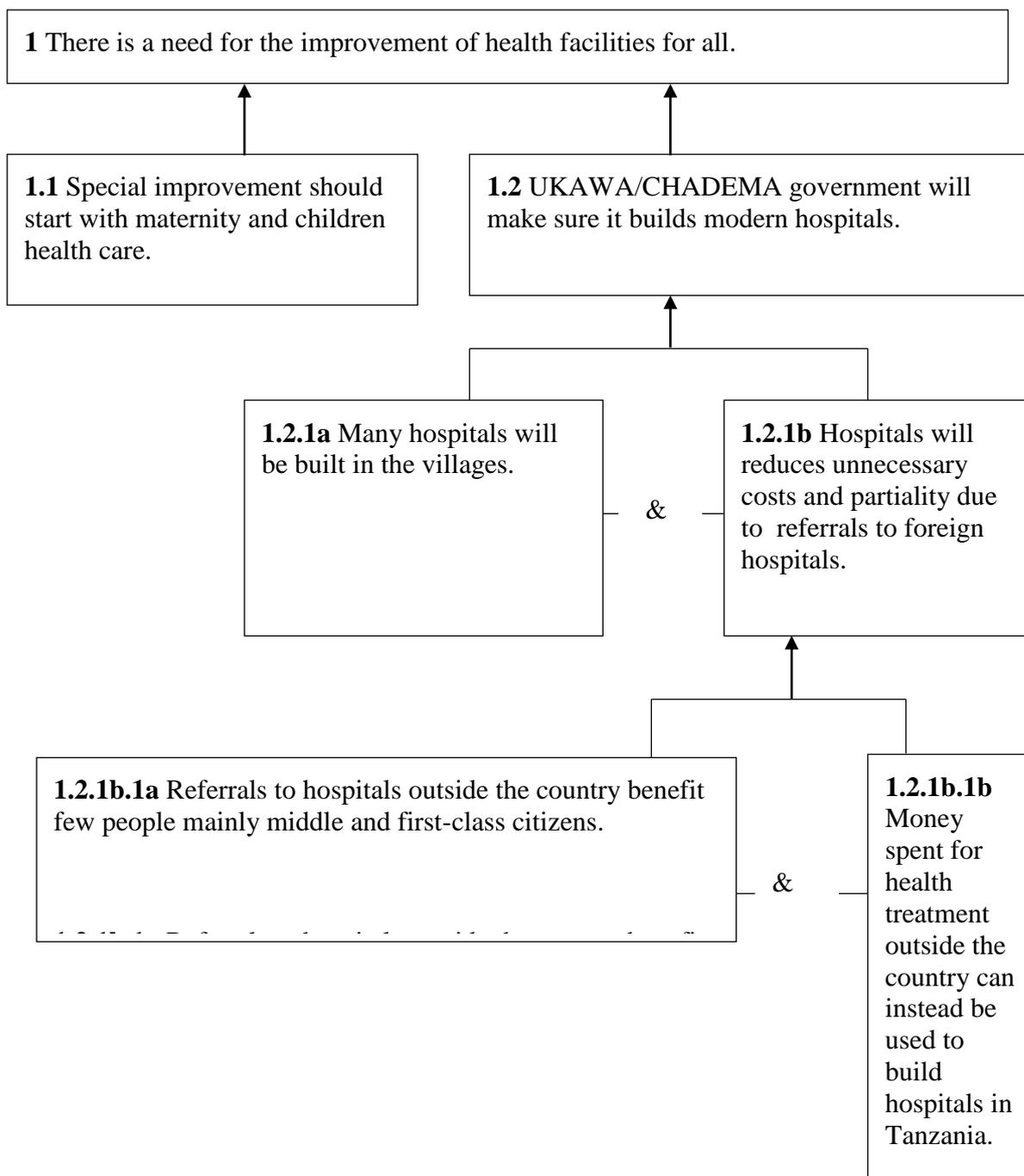


Figure 5.2: Reconstructed argumentation structure on health services

The dimension on argumentation schemes is demonstrated when Lowassa emphasizes a need for the improvement of health facilities for all. Lowassa provides scenarios where women and children face challenges due to poor health services. The situation in hospitals is not conducive for pregnant women and children. This is a sign of how the government of the fourth-phase did not prioritise health services for women. Such examples are categorised as symptomatic argumentation scheme. Lowassa was the Prime Minister in the first term of the fourth-phase government before he resigned due to a corruption scandal. He knows the

strengths and weaknesses of the fourth-phase government. Therefore, he is arguing from authority. The referrals to foreign hospitals are results of poor governance as much more money is spent than investing in local hospitals. This is a causal relation argumentation scheme.

In respect to the examination of the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, the argumentation focusses on the claim of the need for an improvement of health facilities for all. In the confrontation stage, Lowassa comments that there are inequalities in the United Republic of Tanzania. Inequality is undesirable. This is a negative evaluation (Iedema *et al.*, 1994), but in terms of strategic maneuvering, it is meant to notify the audience that CCM is not worth voting for in the 2015 general elections; since the party has failed to perform up to standard. As the former Prime Minister, Lowassa asserts the presence of inequality among citizens in services by the government, although without any supporting argument, but he implies inequality in Tanzania exists and voters should be aware of it. In the perspective of speech act theory, Searle (1979b) refers to such statements as assertive. In the opening stage, Lowassa assumes a position of a protagonist. Strategically, it is somehow easy to persuade the audience, since corruption allegations during Kikwete's government were common. Lowassa shows a desire to control public funds allocated to health services. From a critical perspective, when the Prime Minister, Lowassa, was a major member implicated in the Richmond corruption scandal that led to his resignation in 2007. Since then, no tangible legal action has been taken against Lowassa. Thus, this situation can result in the audience believing Lowassa was victimised.

In the argumentation stage, Lowassa pledges to build hospitals in rural areas to make health services available and accessible (see argument 1.2.1b.1b). The selection of the topic of health in rural areas appeals to the relevant audience. The population of more than 75% of the Tanzanian population is targeted so that CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate can attract votes from rural areas. Lowassa states that health services were for all Tanzanians without regard. Health care is a basic human need. Since every Tanzanian would like to get that basic need, Lowassa's argument on health services is provided for the universal audience. From the confrontation stage to the concluding stage, Lowassa identifies areas of weakness that the fourth-phase government had on the health sector. The way of getting those weaknesses sorted out, Lowassa asks for the electorate to vote for him. Lowassa, in making sure he gets support, uses the bandwagon propaganda technique. All Tanzanians who have had problems with health care may feel obliged to vote for CHADEMA/UKAWA to get

health services well improved. Furthermore, Lowassa utilises presentational devices in his argumentation. Dissociation is one of the presentational devices. Lowassa's strategies to health services are identified as projects of benefiting all Tanzanians, especially from rural areas. Moreover, the pledge of building hospitals to rural areas modifies the relevant audience. Glittering generality is reflected in Lowassa's argument to build hospitals in rural areas without specifying which sources of the fund he would use to get his plans done.

Concerning the successful observation of rules for the critical discussion, in Lowassa's argumentation represented in Figure 5.2, the freedom rule is observed. Lowassa is aware of actions of Kikwete's government to succeed in the provision of the desired health services. Thus, Lowassa identifies improvements that could be done. He assumes a burden of proof in his arguments. The standpoint that health services must be improved and made accessible to those in need is maintained across the argumentation. Referrals to foreign hospitals are identified as the sign of inequality because only a few people access such privileges. This illustrates the symptomatic argument scheme, elaborating the importance of good governance in serving citizens of the United Republic of Tanzania. The closure rule is clear. Lowassa implicates CCM in the failure of the government to support its citizens in providing the desired health services.

In respect to the dimension concerned with the identification of derailments in Lowassa's argumentation, the language used is general. Lowassa does not specify where funds for the improvement of the health sector will be obtained from. Secondly, there is belittlement in his speech as if the ruling party, to which he belonged before he joined CHADEMA/UKAWA, has no plans of improving the education sector.

According to the dimension of the critical argumentation rules, the argumentation is plausibly valid and acceptable. If referring government officials to foreign hospitals results into spending more money and discriminates poor citizens, building hospitals, especially in rural areas would be the best solution. There are validity and logical consistency in the argumentation represented in Figure 5.2, in that pragmatically, the health services in Tanzania to poor people who do not have health insurance is critical. Presentational devices as the third dimension demonstrate that every argument presented may be accepted without conflicting with the reasoning in the argumentation. Therefore, both the dialectical dimension of reasonableness and the rhetorical dimension of effectiveness is observed in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics.

5.3 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN THE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON REHABILITATING AIR TANZANIA INFRASTRUCTURE

As represented in Figure 5.3 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment, Lowassa pledges to rehabilitate Air Tanzania. He claims small neighbouring countries such as Malawi and Kenya have airlines while Tanzania does not have an indication of state airline being rehabilitated or introduced.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 3

LOWASSA: (1) Eneo lingine ni la mawasiliano! (2) Kwenye mawasiliano ni muhimu sana tuwekeze. (3) Ukiangalia uchumi wa Tanzania wanaotuingizia fedha za kigeni ni utalii. (4) Inanufaika kwasababu ya biashara inayofanywa kati ya bandari na nchi za Kongo na Zaire. (5) Kwahiyo jambo la kwanza tutakalofanya kwa kasi inayopasa ni kujenga upya reli ya kati. (6) Tutajenga reli ya kati iende mpaka Kigoma na iende mpaka Mwanza. (7) La nne, tutafufua Air Tanzania! (8) Hatuna sababu ya kushindwa na nchi ndogo kama Malawi, Kenya wana ndege zao sisi tunabaki tu kuhangaika. (10) Hapana! (11) Tutaanzisha Air Tanzania, na itafanya kazi kibihashara.

[1] The other area is communication! [2] It is important for us to invest in the communication sector. [3] If you assess the Tanzanian economy; it is tourism which earns us foreign currencies. [4] We get income from business which is conducted between the Dar es Salaam harbour and countries like DRC. [5] Thus, the first thing which we shall do at a high and reasonable speed is to construct a new central railway line. [6] We will construct the central railway line from Dar es Salaam up to Kigoma and Mwanza. [7] The fourth issue is the revival of Air Tanzania! [8] We do not have any reason of being defeated in that area by small countries like Malawi and Kenyan, which have their aeroplanes. [9] Unfortunately, we keep on being perplexed! [10] I say no! [11] We will rehabilitate Air Tanzania and operate it commercially.

In respect to argumentation structures, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.3 demonstrates a subordinate argumentation structure (1.2, 1.2.1) and (1.2, 1.2.2). In addition, the argumentation is deductively presented (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993). In terms of land coverage and natural resources, Tanzania is potentially richer than Malawi and Kenya, but the latter countries have their own state airlines, whereas the former does not. Lowassa claims there is something wrong in the government which makes Tanzania failing to rehabilitate Air

Tanzania and enable the company to operate commercially as it did since its establishment before it collapsed.

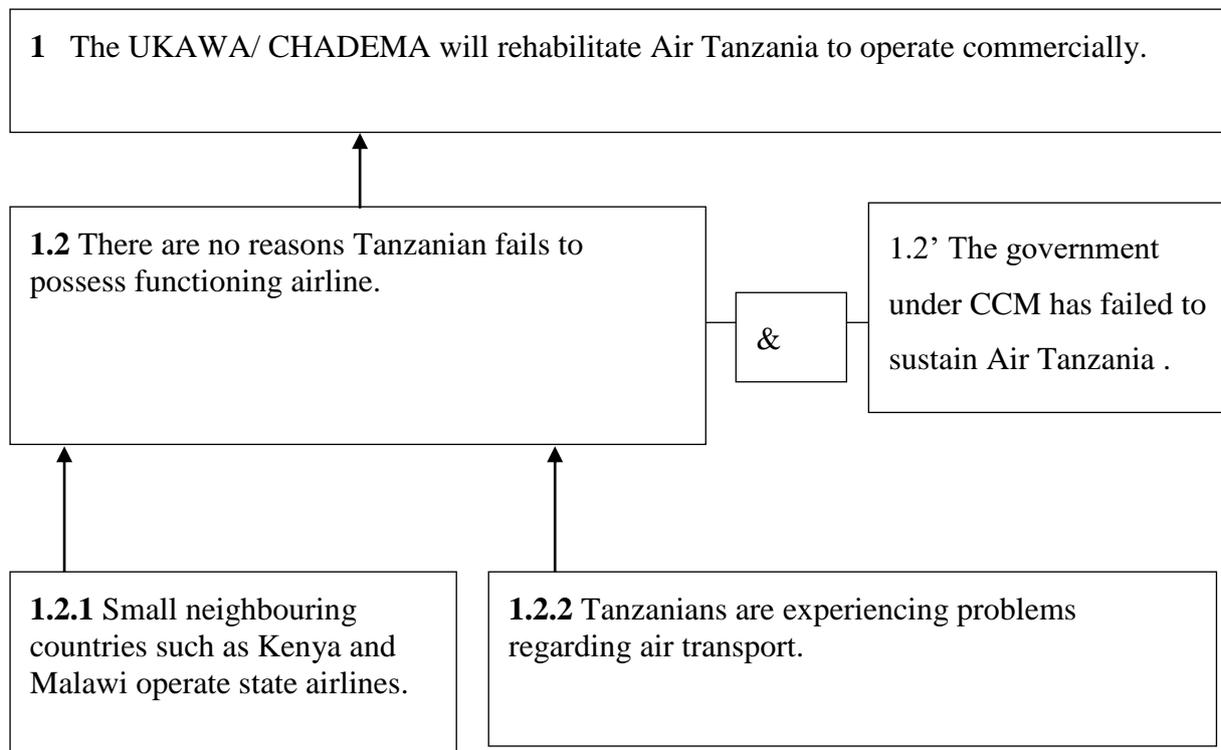


Figure 5.3: Reconstructed argumentation structure on rehabilitating Air Tanzania

In respect to the argumentation schemes, Lowassa presents a standpoint that CHADEMA/UKAWA would resume Air Tanzania to operate commercially. This claim implies CCM collapsed Air Tanzania because of bad governance. If the ruling party led to the failure of the Air Tanzania, it is an appropriate time for the electorate to vote for CHADEMA/UKAWA since Lowassa demonstrates the political will of resuming Air Tanzania to operate commercially. This is the symptomatic argument scheme. Lowassa explicitly refers to Kenya and Malawi, countries with small land coverage compared to Tanzania, but which have their own state airlines. Tanzania fails in this regard because of bad governance. This analogy argument scheme is employed to demonstrate the need for resuming Air Tanzania. It can also be argued that failure to sustain Air Tanzania is a sign of lacking strategies in the ruling party. Therefore, this is a symptomatic argument scheme.

Concerning the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, Lowassa's claim is plausibly true. Air transport in Tanzania is expensive perhaps because the industry is dominated mainly by private companies. In the confrontation stage, it is meaningful Lowassa

to mention the need of the government to re-strategise ways of running public owned companies like Air Tanzania. This is direct disapproval (Martin & White, 2005) in the Appraisal perspective. A speech act of pledging was clear because Lowassa would have the power to implement what he pledges if he became a president (Searle, 1979b). Lowassa strategically utilises locus of irreparable. It means the 2015 general elections period is time for Tanzanians to vote for the CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate, Edward Lowassa, to solve air transport problems. In the opening stage, Lowassa assumes the position to support his standpoint. Strategies such as evaluating CCM negatively and evaluating CHADEMA/UKAWA positively are employed.

In the argumentation stage, Lowassa argues that there are no reasons why Tanzania fails to possess airlines. This is an appeal to liberal and conservative presumptions. Across all stages, Lowassa presents his arguments in a way that it can accommodate the audience demand. Air transport, apart from facilitating transport in the country, it could be a source of generating income for national development. The claim Lowassa capitalises on is not only blaming the government of their failure to sustain such economically potential generating unit but also lack of political will to resume it. All such scenarios could meet the audience demand. Because the inaugural CHADEMA/UKAWA campaigns took place in Dar es Salaam, Lowassa modifies the audience by articulating the need for Air Tanzania in the commercial city of Dar es Salaam. This does not mean other regions in Tanzania do not need air transport but because of the economic muscles, Dar es Salaam is strategically targeted. Lowassa utilises in his argumentation several presentational strategies. He pinpoints the CCM as the enemy of infrastructure. Lowassa sarcastically comments the government has failed to sustain Air Tanzania. Such assertions by Lowassa are presented as facts though there are no details to justify why the government had failed to sustain Air Tanzania. Lowassa, as a former Prime Minister in Kikwete's government, does not accept anywhere in his argumentations that he is part of the problems as seen today. He strategically shelves to avoid public controversy. In his conclusion, Lowassa demonstrates the need for the accountable government implying voting for the opposition party presidential candidate. This is meant to promote civic responsibility (Shabo, 2008).

Regarding the fourth dimension, the argumentation in Figure 5.3 observes argumentation rules. In respect to freedom rule, Lowassa consistently elaborates what his government would do to rectify the situation. This implies that his opponents have rights to contest although they

have not performed up to standard, despite 50 years in power. That is why he assumes the burden of proof explaining how other neighbouring countries have managed to run their airlines commercially and perhaps profitably. Therefore, if Air Tanzania was collapsed by the government under the ruling party, the CCM, then it is plausibly reasonable to evaluate the CCM as the source of such failures. Malawi and Kenya are mentioned as the examples that Tanzania ought to follow in terms of airlines management. The closure rule is observed as Lowassa asks for votes to rescue Air Tanzania.

Apart from different rules that have been observed, there are implied fallacies that need critical evaluation. Accepting that Lowassa was a Prime Minister, and nowhere he quotes himself to have struggled to resume Air Tanzania when he was in power, that discredits his denial of the consequent that he was irresponsible. The language usage is vague as Lowassa does not specify when Air Tanzania collapsed. Moreover, the economy of the country does not entirely rely on on land coverage. Lowassa's comment on Kenya and Malawi is over generalised.

Concerning the sixth dimension, which is rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.3 is both reasonable and effective. Pragmatically, Air Tanzania can be of significant help, but the government under the ruling party up to 2015 had shown no practical steps to resume its operation. It is thus logical that, if opposition parties were of the opinion to resume such government income generating sector, the argumentation would be plausibly valid and reasonable.

5.4 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON DEVELOPMENT TRANSFORMATION

Throughout CHADEMA/UKAWA campaigns, a slogan of transformation dominates. Thus, argumentations on development transformations are strategically selected to match an opposition alliance slogan.

5.4.1 Commemorating Mwalimu Nyerere's comment on development outside the CCM

Taslina is a member of Civil United Front and supporter of CHADEMA/UKAWA. He states nobody can hinder changes. His standpoint represented in Figure 5.4 of the CHADEMA/

UKAWA speech segment 4 focusses on the words of Mwalimu Nyerere, ‘Tanzanians want development. If they don’t get it within the CCM, they will get it outside the CCM.’

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 4

TASLIMA: (1) Haki sawa kwa naniiii....? (2) Waheshimiwa kwaajili ya muda, waheshimiwa wote katika meza kuu, naomba kwanza kabisa naondoa kofia hii, kwa kuonesha kwamba sijawahi kuona umati kama huu, tangu zaidi ya miaka 40 nilioishi hapa. (3) Kwa hivyo nawapongeza sana wananchi kwa kuweza kuitika mwito. (4) Ndugu zangu kinachosemwa hapa ni mabadiliko. (5) Tunataka kubadilika kutoka mahali pabaya kuingia mahali pazuri. (6) Nauliza jambo moja kuna mtu anaweza kuzuia mabadilikoooo? (7) Yupo anaeweza kuzuia mabadiliko? (8) Kama kuna mtu atayesema yupo, nataka kumuuliza yeye mwenyewe mbona amebadilika alikua kijana leo mzee. (9) Alikua mtoto leo amekua kijana. (10) Alikua hana ndevu leo anazo. (11) Alikua ana nywele nyeusi leo yuko kama mimi, kwahiyo ndugu zangu mabadiliko hayazuiliki. (12) Isipokuwa wale waliokua wanafikiri mabadiliko yanaweza kuletwa na CCM peke yake, hayo mawazo naomba uyaondoe kabisa. Kwasababu hata mwalimu enzi zake maskini alisema kwamba watu kama hawapati mabadiliko ndani ya CCM watayafuata nje ya CCM. (13) Hapa sote tuko nje ya CCM na mabadiliko tutayatengeneza, mradi wale viongozi ambao wamepewa kazi ya kuleta hayo mabadiliko ni viongozi ambao wanawapenda watu, ni viongozi ambao wanawaheshimu watu, ni viongozi ambao wako tayari kuwa pamoja na watu, na mimi katika hilo naliona katika mheshimiwa Lowassa, pamoja na team nzima ya UKAWA. (14) Kwa hivyo msiwe na wasiwasi kwamba pengine tutafute mahali flani labda nje ya nchi ndio tupate wataalam wa kufanya mabadiliko hakuna ni hapahapa. (15) Ndugu wote mnaonisikiliza wake kwa waume, ninaomba tarehe 25/10 mniambie kuna mtu ambae ataacha kumpa kura mheshimiwa Lowassa kura ya kumingiza katika ikulu! (16) Yupo? (17) Mtampa? (18) Naomba mikono wale watakaompa. (19) Asanteni sana asanteni sana! (20) Basi tuko pamoja na mimi nashukuru sana kwa kunisikiliza asanteni sana.

[1] Equal rights for whom?[2] Honorables, due to a shortage of time, all the honourables in the high table, first, allow me to take off this cap in order that to appreciate that I have never seen such a crowd of people for more than 40 years I have lived here. [3] Thus, I congratulate you very much for responding to our call. [4] My fellow audience, what is said here is changes, as we want to change from a bad place to a good one. [5] Let me ask you one question! [6] Is there anybody who can prevent changes from taking place? [7] Is

there a person who can impede the changes? [8] If there is a person who says that they can stop changes, I want to ask them why they have allowed changes from youthhood to adulthood. [9] One was a child, but today one is a youth. One did not have beards, but today one has grown beard. [10] One had black hair, but today has hair like mine. [11] So changes are unpreventable. [12] Except for the people who thought that changes can be brought by CCM only, I urge you to get rid of such thoughts because even Mwalimu, during his times, said that if people do not get development within CCM they will seek them outside CCM. [13] Here we are all outside CCM and we are going to make changes. [14] The only condition is to have leaders who have been assigned the task of bringing those changes to be leaders who love the people, leaders who respect people, leaders who are ready to be closer to the people, and as for me, I see such attributes in honourable Lowassa and the whole UKAWA team. [15] Thus, do not worry that we should seek people to bring changes for us from somewhere or from abroad, we can get such people from within our country. [16] All my fellow citizens who are listening to me, males and females, I want you to tell me if there is any person who will not vote for Lowassa on 25 October, so that Lowassa might enter into the state house! [17] Is there anyone? [18] Will you vote for him? [19] I ask those people who will vote for him to raise up their hands. [20] I am very grateful to you all! [21] Together we can! [22] I thank you very much for listening to me. [23] Thank you very much!

Concerning the argumentation structure, Taslima's argumentation represented in Figure 5.4 comprises the multiple structure (1.1 and 1.2), subordinative argument structures (1.2, 1.2.1, 1.2.1.1, 1.2.1.1.1a-c), and coordinative argument structures (1.1.2.1.1a, 1.1.2.1.1b, 1.1.2.1.1c), it follows an inductive form of reasoning (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993; Hurley, 2012). Taking the views of Mwalimu Nyerere argued if Tanzanians do not get development within the CCM, they will get it outside CCM, Taslima implied outside the CCM there are good candidates promising development for Tanzanians. Therefore, for development transformation, CHADEMA/ UKAWA candidates are worth voting for.

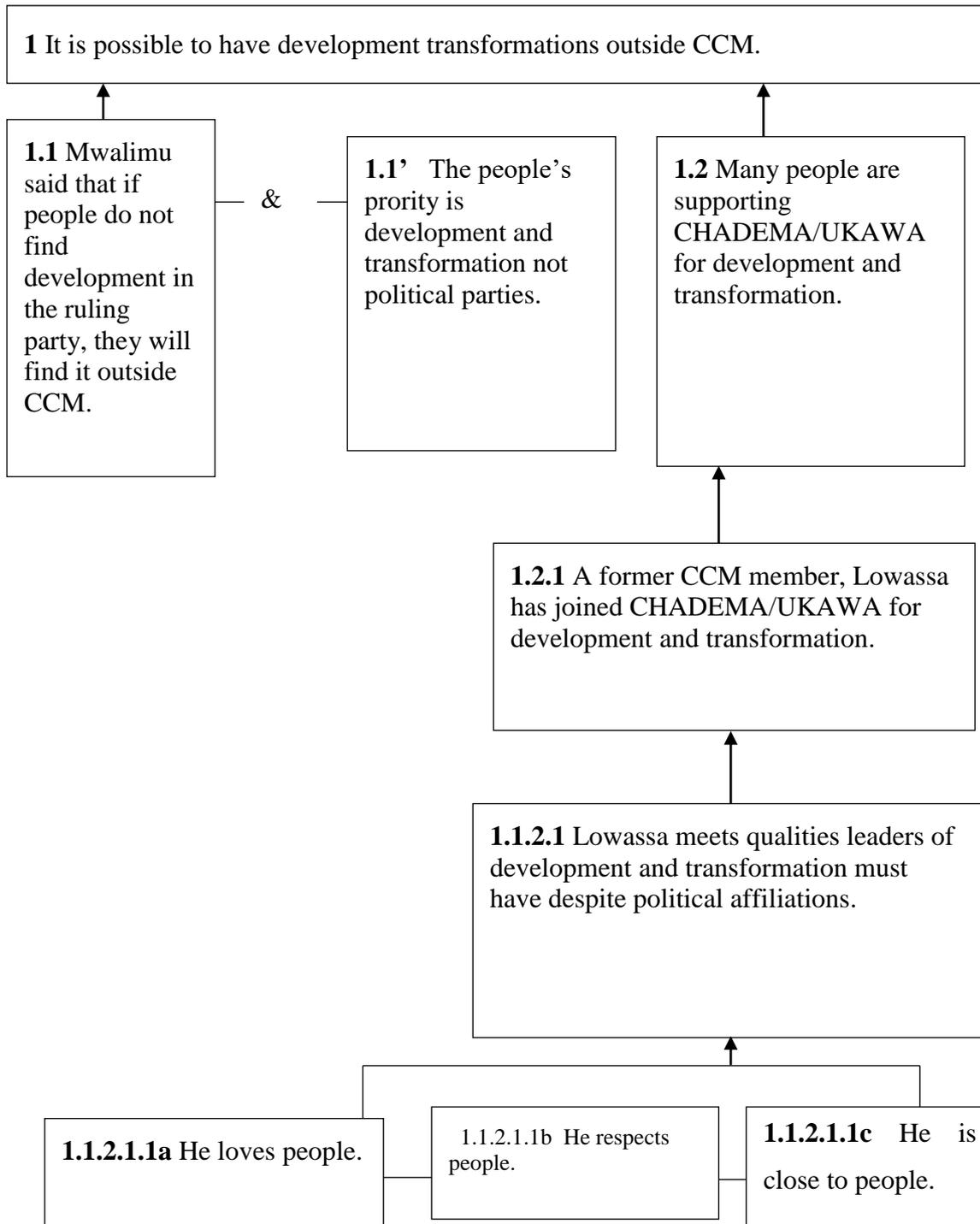


Figure 5.4: Reconstructed argumentation structure on development transformations outside the CCM

Concerning the dimension of argumentation schemes, the speaker from the Civic United Front (CUF) demonstrate the symptomatic argument scheme. The standpoint of the argumentation focusses on the possibility to introduce development transformations outside the CCM. Taslima highlights qualities of leaders capable of executing development

transformations. He argues Lowassa loves the people, he respects them, and he is close to the people. In Taslima's views, Lowassa's characteristics are typical of a leader that can enhance development transformation in Tanzania. Another scheme that Taslima demonstrate is an argument from causal relation. Implicitly, Taslima expresses that love, respect, and closeness to the people one is leading lead to good governance as there can be smooth cooperation between leaders and subordinates, something that Taslima identifies as a gap in the ruling party (CCM). Quoting Mwalimu Nyerere intends to prove an authority of what Taslima claims (see argument 1.1). Therefore, the argument from authority is observed.

In respect to topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, Taslima strategically selects a topic from the available topics related to the multiparty dispensation in Tanzania. His topic is that it is possible to have development transformations outside the CCM. In the confrontation stage, such a highlight is selected perhaps to enlighten Tanzanians who think it is not possible to get development outside the CCM. He thus utilises assertion propaganda technique of stating what he believes in a way that other people should follow his thought. Mentioning development transformations, he tries to appeal to liberal and conservative presumptions since development is the outcome people expect from good governance regardless of political party affiliations and commitments. Like any other general campaign speeches in Africa, CHADEMA/UKAWA campaign speeches seek to win the minds of potential voters. By this view, Taslima's argumentation implies the CCM could not manage to enhance development transformations. Given the particular audience in the United Republic of Tanzania, like in many other developing countries which lack the basic needs, development transformations can be something appealing to voters' minds to support a party capable of sorting out socio-economic problems. For effective argumentation, there are many presentational devices Taslima presents instrumentally the rhetorical dimension. Taslima believes that voting for the CCM is a sign of entertaining poverty in Tanzania. With that implication, Taslima employs another strategy of associating himself to those, according to him, visionary for development transformation in Tanzania. In the opening stage, he assumes the role of a protagonist to support his standpoint. It is a form of strategic maneuvering to take a position too easy to handle in the resolution process. Although the CCM has been in power for over 50 years, living standards of Tanzanians are still questionable. It implies the CCM has been the source of all life hardships.

Strategies demonstrated at this stage include the bandwagon technique that nobody would like to still be part of CCM and cause trouble to the people. Secondly, outside CCM implies joining the People's Constitution Alliance which nominated Lowassa to contest for the presidency mainly to win the opposition rival, CCM. The main propaganda technique with this regard is glittering generality that UKAWA is trustworthy to vote for. Defending his standpoint, Taslima as a representative of CUF in UKAWA is a sign of development transformations. The persuasive technique of transfer was employed especially to members and supporters of the Civic United Front (CUF).

In the opening stage, the decision to support his standpoint of joining the opposition camp as a strategy to enhance development, he pin-points CCM as the source of poverty for over 50 years of independence. In the argumentation stage, two arguments are provided with sub-arguments. The first focus on quoting Mwalimu Nyerere that development can be obtained somewhere else if CCM failed to deliver. Mentioning Mwalimu is a commemorating strategy where politically successful people are mentioned in the political fora, thus people get associated with success with the current situation. Success does not necessarily mean tangible things, it can be good and relevant ideas. The second focus on the belief that many people have defected to opposition parties for development transformations. This strategy is bandwagon as experience show many people would like to join a camp that is liked by many people. The second argument capitalises on the benefits of joining Lowassa, one of the former CCM members who joined CHADEMA. Lowassa is presented as a leader who respects people, loves people, and who is close to people. Such qualities fall under the category of propaganda technique known as glittering generalities as the arguer in example 13 does not specify what such criteria entail in terms of governance. Also, Lowassa is mentioned as the candidate capable tangibly cooperating with people under him as a leader. For that matter, bandwagon technique is employed given that Lowassa was the Prime Minister in Kikwete's government and had a lot of supporters in CCM. Therefore, joining CHADEMA/UKAWA, both CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA members and supporters can think of Lowassa as a better choice than any other candidate with either CCM or CHADEMA political affiliations. The qualities of the candidate of the opposition parties are enumerated in a general manner invoking the technique of glittering generalities in the argumentation. The concluding stage suggests that potential electorate are to support development transformations by voting for Lowassa. Again, strategies of appealing to liberal and

conservative presumptions, and glittering generalities were employed. Taslima on behalf of Lowassa asked votes so as CHADEMA/UKAWA could win the presidential race.

The rules observed in Taslima's argumentation mainly relate to appreciating other people's freedom to express their views. Apart from life hardships that the People of the United Republic of Tanzania are facing since independence, the arguer still provides room for CCM members to campaign for the presidential race. Taslima provides reasons for his claim the possibility of getting better basic needs in the opposition party. Taslima's standpoint was relevant because he is indirectly responding to CCM campaigns that Tanzania was liberated since independence, thus anybody claiming to liberate it is a liar. The arguments and schemes of the arguer's argumentation are appropriate given that Lowassa was a Prime Minister and he knew the hardships of life in Tanzania. Given the plausible explanation in Taslima's argumentation, people's needs are basic regardless of the party that facilitates those needs. Taslima's conclusion is clear that it is time for Tanzanians to commemorate views of Mwalimu Nyerere that if Tanzanians do not get development in the government under the ruling party they can get it from the government under the opposition party. In this respect, Taslima asks for the electorate to vote for Lowassa and other UKAWA candidates.

Concerning the successful observation of the rules for critical discussion, Taslima's argumentation as represented in Figure 5.4 implements many rules. Despite the successful observation of several rules, there are some critical implications that lead to the derailment of some arguments. The first one is the interpretation of Mwalimu's statement. Mwalimu Nyerere did not mean UKAWA, rather he stated that it is possible to get development outside the CCM. In addition, Nyerere stated that many of the parties in Tanzania claiming to be in the opposition were not strong. Nyerere's conclusion was that a better candidate could come from the ruling party, CCM. By so doing, Taslima's interpretation took a risk of strawman's fallacy. Another fallacy committed is depicting CCM as an incapable political party which cannot still be competitive in the presidential race. This follows under the category of personal attack. The manner in which the standpoint in Taslima's argumentation is presented suggests that it was self-evident that quoting Mwalimu Nyerere is a sign of immunising Taslima's argumentation since Mwalimu is regarded as the father of the nation, the United Republic of Tanzania. Furthermore, *argumentum ad populum* was revealed because Mwalimu Nyerere's status in the country is unquestionable in the pragmatic sense, therefore, quoting him is to avoid further discussions.

In respect to rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, Taslima's argumentation represented in Figure 5.4 is clear in regard to reasonableness. Pragmatically, the CCM has been in power for over 50 years, thus the claim that to some extent it has failed to solve people's socio-economic problems is valid. Logically, it is consistent that if the CCM failed to have good governance for the past 50 years, can it do so in the duration of the next term of five years. It is not that much true that because Lowassa likes people, respects them, and is close to them, that this fact guarantees him to be a good leader. However, since he belongs to the opposition party it could be easy for the members of that party to promote the implementation of development programmes under Lowassa. Effectiveness entirely depends on how the dialectical dimension of reasonableness is presented to meet the demands of the audience, maintaining the topic established in the argumentation and utilising the available presentational devices. As represented in Figure 5.4, the arguer's argumentation employs dissociation effectively. He states that the CCM members are the source of the backwardness in the country. To enable Tanzanians to enjoy the national wealth, CCM must be uprooted. The pragmatic argumentation strategy is demonstrated. Taslima claims, quoting Mwalimu Nyerere, that what matters is development, regardless of which party supervises the implementation of development projects. Therefore, people joining opposition parties, especially Lowassa, are in support of the development transformations. If development is desirable, and if something is desirable to many people, then the majority must be respected democratically for the betterment of the development of the people in Tanzania. Therefore, Taslima's argumentation, given the appropriate use of argument schemes, demonstrated in Figure 5.4 is effectively and reasonably presented in the Pragma-dialectical perspective of argumentation.

5.4.2 Criteria for development transformations

Mbowe is the Chairperson of CHADEMA/UKAWA (Citizens' Constitution Alliance). In Figure 5.5 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment, Mbowe clarifies the factors that transformation refers to. Transformation does not mean removing the ruling party, CCM, from power but transforming socio-economic lives of the people.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 5

MBOWE: (1) Ahsanteni! (2) Ahsanteni Dar es Salaam! (3) Asanteni! (4) Ahsanteni Dar es Salaam! (4) Ndugu zangu wa Dar es Salaam, kama wenzangu walivyotangulia nitaongea

kifupi sana kwasababu ya muda. (5) Leo hii, tunazindua rasmi kampeni za mgombea wetu wa uraisi, mgombea mwenza na ndio siku rasmi za kuzindua kampeni za UKAWA nchi nzima! (6) Kwa miezi miwili wanachama na wagombea wetu mbalimbali watakwenda mbele ya watanzania kuhubiri neno mabadiliko! (7) Ndugu zangu watanzania! (8) Tunapozungumza mabadiliko maana yake sio tu kuiondoa serikali na Chama cha mapinduzi madarakani. (9) Mabadiliko hayana maana kama hayataleta maisha mapya kwa watanzania. (10) Mabadiliko yatakua hayana maana kama hayatarudisha haki katika utawala wa taifa letu. (11) Mabadiliko yatakua hayana maana kama hayatakua ni ustawi wa ushindi wa serikali. (12) Mabadiko hayatakua na maana kama watanzania wataendelea kuishi kwenye nyumba za tembe, wataendelea kupata umaskini. (13) Tunataka mabadiliko haya ambayo wote tunayahubiri leo, yakaleta maisha mapya yakaleta matumaini mapya, yakaleta mwanga mpya kwenye maisha ya watanzania wote.

[1] Thank you very much Dar es Salaam! [2] Thank you very much Dar es Salaam! [3] My fellow Tanzanians from Dar es Salaam, as my colleagues have already said, I will talk very briefly because of limited time. [4] Today we are launching our campaigns for our presidential candidate, his running mate, and this is a special day for launching the UKAWA campaigns across the country. For two months, the members and our different contestants will go to Tanzanians to preach the word “changes”. My fellow Tanzanians! [5] When we talk about changes, this does not merely mean to pull out the government and CCM from power. [6] These changes will be meaningless if they will not bring new lives to the Tanzanians. [7] The changes will be meaningless if they will not bring the welfare of the government. [8] The changes will be meaningless if the Tanzanians will continue to live in thatched cottages. [9] And changes will be meaningless if Tanzanians will remain poor. [10] We want the changes that we preach today to bring new lives, new hopes and new light to the lives of all Tanzanians.

Concerning Mbowe’s argumentation represented in Figure 5.5 of the speech segment 5, the argumentation structure is complex. Mbowe supports his standpoint with multiple arguments (1.1 and 1.2), thus, this speech exhibits a multiple argument structure. He advances his argumentation by providing more details (1.2, and (1.2.1a, 1.2.1b, 1.2.1c)), the argumentation thus forming a subordinative structure, and coordinative structure (1.2.1a, 1.2.1b, 1.2.1c). The argumentation is inductively valid (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993; Hurley, 2012). Mbowe identifies criteria for transformation (1.2.1a, 1.2.1b, 1.2.1c). According to Mbowe,

the transformation includes observation of human rights, facilitating housing, eradicating poverty, and improvement in the welfare of the government.

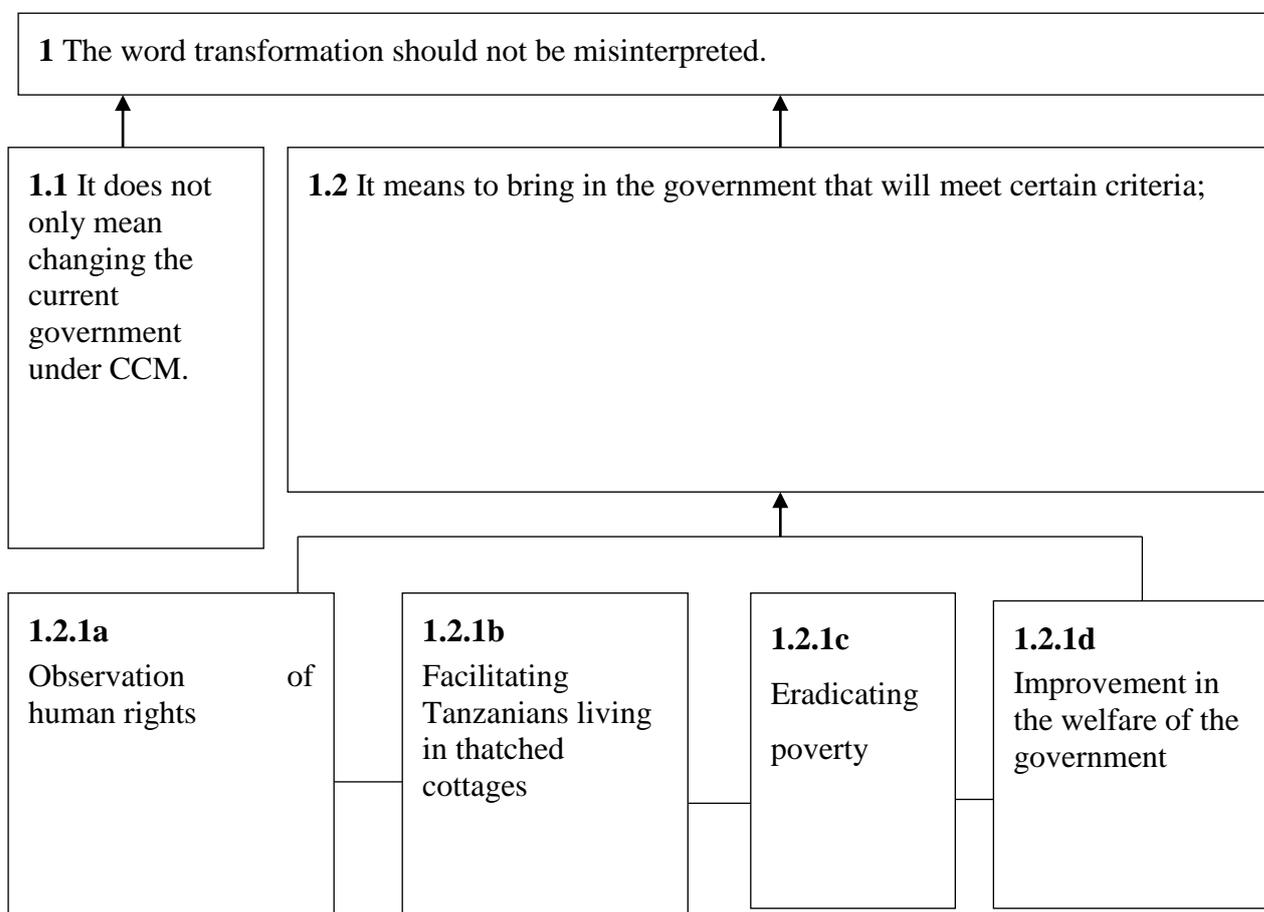


Figure 5.5: Reconstructed argumentation structure on the meaning of transformations

Concerning argumentation schemes, Mbowe's argumentation represented in Figure 5.5 demonstrates two schemes. He cautions the Tanzanian public on the interpretation of the political transformations. Mbowe illustrates that the CHADEMA/UKAWA do not define transformations meaning to remove the CCM from power, but rather make tangible changes that can transform people's welfare, eradicate of poverty, and stop violation of human rights. Mbowe implies that the CCM has characteristics of a typical ineffective government. Therefore, the symptomatic argumentation scheme is employed. In addition, Mbowe presupposes that eradication of poverty and observation of human rights are desirable in a country with good governance; and because good governance is the kind of leadership the

majority want, it is the right moment to remove CCM from power. In this regard, a pragmatic argumentative pattern is employed. According to the argumentation in example 5, bad leadership leads to poverty and the violation of human rights. Thus, a causal relation is employed in Mbowe's argumentation. As a chairperson of CHADEMA, and UKAWA, Mbowe had the authority to interpret the meaning of the party slogan, '*mabadiliko*' literally translated as 'transformations'.

Concerning the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Mbowe identifies the factors through which some people understand the political transformation. He specifies that it does not only mean removing the ruling party from power. His assertion is strategic because, given the campaign propaganda, it can be a shame if a CHADEMA /UKAWA supporter or member is interrogated on the topic, and perhaps responds in a way Mbowe alerts the public not to do. Mbowe negatively judges CCM supporters, members and candidates who deliberately want to distort what CHADEMA/UKAWA mean by transformation. Appraisal scholars comment that speakers may do so to evaluate their opponents negatively (Martin & White, 2005). Thus, Mbowe's argumentation represented in Figure 5.5 meets the audience demand. In the opening stage, Mbowe defends his standpoint as a protagonist. Strategies of glittering generalities are demonstrated. He focusses on his claim to remain consistent. Therefore, he employs a commissive speech act (Searle, 1979b). He does not really mention the way CHADEMA/UKAWA are going to make social economic transformations. Appealing to the emotions of the audience was thus employed. Also, as the chairperson of CHADEMA, and the chairperson of the People's Constitution Alliance (UKAWA), he has full obligation to provide clarity on what transformation meant in the 2015 political moves. He thus utilises a strategy of rationalisation in relation to why their campaign slogan was transformation. Mbowe assumes a protagonist to prove his way of viewing political transformation where he presents a fair strategic maneuvering technique of shelving. Politics, in general, engages in getting into power and control people and resources.

In the argumentation stage, Mbowe argues that transformations would make sense if poverty can be eradicated and human rights observed. *Ad missericordiam*, and evoking sympathy and inspiring generosity techniques were demonstrated as an appeal the public want to hear. He uses a technique of pinpointing CCM as the source of all problems. Mbowe argues that real political transformations should engage in facilitating Tanzanians living in soiled plastered

and thatched roofs houses. Strategies of *misericordia* are employed to emotionally attract those who could sympathise with such groups. The CCM is presented as the source of all the problems, and CHADEMA/UKAWA as the solution of all the problems. This exemplifies glittering generosity because Mbowe as an experienced politician is aware that it is not easy to solve all the problems that he mentioned in his arguments, but he said so to attract supporters through evoking sympathy and thus inspiring generosity to the opposition camp. In the concluding stage, Mbowe suggests CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates be voted for in order to get problems of human rights violation and poverty solved. The strategy he employs is civic responsibility, that is, citizens can feel fulfilling their duty by voting for the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates.

In respect to the successful observation of rules for critical discussion, the freedom rule is observed. Mbowe responds to the performance the CCM claimed to have done for over 50 years, criticising the ruling party for the failure to improve living standards of the people. The burden of proof also is implemented as Mbowe must demonstrate what political transformation refers to. Schemes that are used in the argumentation are relevant particularly focussing on the poverty in Tanzania as a typical sign of bad governance. The standpoint is that CHADEMA/UKAWA could not have made any change if poor living standards could prevail as it is under CCM. Therefore, the practical meaning of transformation is to be reflected in the people's development. The argumentation is valid because if political transformation meant removing the CCM from power but letting living standards remain unchanged in the country would not mean practical life transformations.

In respect to the identification of derailment in Mbowe's argumentation, Mbowe evaluates the CHADEMA/UKAWA as better politicians than their opponents. As represented in Figure 5.5, Mbowe pin-points the CCM as the source of all problems in Tanzania. Given the reality that some problems can be beyond the ruling party's will, but Mbowe states all country's problems are associated with the CCM, he derails by attacking the other side, though indirectly.

Concerning the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.5 is sound. It employs a pragmatic argumentative and majority pattern to justify why 2015 is time for political transformation. Development transformation is something desirable, and that is the project the majority want. Thus, it must be supported. The argumentation is also pragmatically consistent because if people think development transformation means

changing the party, thus there is no need to waste time to support CHADEMA/UKAWA since people want tangible development. The reasoning in the argumentation is also acceptable, and plausibly true. Different presentational devices are employed. Mbowe, for instance, dissociates CHADEMA/UKAWA from CCM in terms of what development means. Other strategies are appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, pinpointing the enemy and asserting what one believes to be true as true knowledge for an entire group. Given the connection that Mbowe 's speech demonstrates in Figure 5.5 between persuasive devices and reasoning strategies, it can be concluded that the argumentation is reasonable and effective in the perspective of Pragma-dialects.

5.5 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON GENDER EQUALITY

Generally, gender inequality needs constitutional support to achieve inclusive politics in the United Republic of Tanzania. CHADEMA/UKAWA take the gender inequality as an opportunity to communicate to the public a failure of CCM to value women in politics.

5.5.1 Women marginalisation

In Figure 5.6 representing the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 6, Halima Mdee, a former member of the parliament in Kawe constituency and a supporter of CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate and running mate argues that the CCM marginalises women, particularly on health services.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 6

MDEE: (1) Mheshimiwa Mwenyekiti wa CHADEMA taifa, waheshimiwa wenyeviti wenza wa Ukawa, mheshimiwa raisi mtarajiwa na makamu wa raisi mtarajiwa, mimi niseme mambo machache. (2) Kwa kipindi kirefu sana, wanawake wananchi hii tumekuwa wateja wa Chama cha Mapinduzi. Ni kipindi kirefu sana sisi ambao tumekuwa wahanga katika huduma za afya, ni sisi wanawake tunaofungulia chini. (3) Mwaka 2010, mwaka 2010 kwa dharau kubwa serikali ya Chama Cha Mapinduzi iliwaambia wanawake nchi nzima kwamba tutanunua bajaji zikawabebe ziwapeleke hospitali mkajifungue miaka 5 baadae. (4) Kwasababu ya ahadi ya kifedhuli, kila siku ya Mungu inayopotea wanawake 22 wanapotea kwasababu zinazotokana na kukosa huduma bora za afya. (5) Wakati wanawake tunaangamia kwenye bajeti iliyopita wanawake wenzangu, rais Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, amejitengea shilingi

bilioni 50 kwenda mamtoni kula bata. (6) Fedha hizo pekee zingetosha kwenda kununua ambulance 500. (7) Tunasema nini wanawake tunakabiliwa na changamoto kwenye afya, kwenye elimu, uchumi duni. (8) Wanawake walemavu wametelekezwa. (9) Wakati ni sasa tunataka tuonyeshe Chama cha Mapinduzi kwamba kama walifikiria sisi ni wateja wao imetoshaaa... (10) Naomba nimalizie kwa kupiga kile kibwagizo nataka mpige hivi siooo...! (11) Na nataka wanawake mpige kwa nguvu ili kutuma ujumbe kwa mafisadi sawasawa? (12) Nikisema mabadiliko mnasema niniiii?, Na Lowassa niniiii? (12) Haya tupige hiyo swaga tuagane Lowassaaaaa.....

Honourable CHADEMA national chairperson, honourable UKAWA chairpersons, honourable prospective president and prospective vice president! [1] Let me say a few things. [2] For quite a long time, the women of this country have been the customers of the CCM. [3] It is a very long time, for us who have been the victims of the health services. [4] It is us; women who deliver on the floors. In 2010, with great scorn, the CCM government told the women of the whole country that they were going to buy 'Bajaji' (tricycles) that could be taking women to hospitals during labour. [5] Five years later, because of an insolent promise, in every single day of God as goes by, 22 women die due to poor health services. [6] While women die due to limited health services, in the previous budget, President Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete has allocated for himself 50 Tanzanian billion shillings and has used it to fly abroad for enjoying life. [7] That amount of money could suffice to buy 500 ambulances. [8] We ask ourselves why we women face health challenges, educational challenges, economic challenges! [9] Women with disabilities are ignored. [10] This is the right time we must show the people of Chama Cha Mapinduzi that if they thought that we are always their customers, it is enough. [11] Let me conclude by saying that chorus. [12] I want you to say it in this way... (showing the fist, folding fingers of the right hand), and [13] I want you, women, to say it with emphasis to send the message to the corrupt people, okay? [14] If I say changes, what do you say? [15] And if I say Lowassaaa, what will you say. Okay! [16] Let us say that chorus to conclude and say goodbye to one another, Lowassaaaaa....

In respect to argument structure, as Mdee's argumentation represented in Figure 5.6 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 6, employs different argument structures to ensure she supports clearly her standpoint on how the government under the ruling party marginalizes women. The argumentation structure is thus complex. It comprises multiple structure (1.1, 1.2, and 1.3), and subordinative argumentation structures (1.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.1.1, and 1.1.1.1.1.1) and 1.2, 1.2.1, and 1.2.1.1). The argumentation is inductively

presented (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993; Hurley, 2012). Mdee provides empirical observations suggesting that the government under the ruling party CCM marginalizes women (1.1, 1.2, and 1.3).

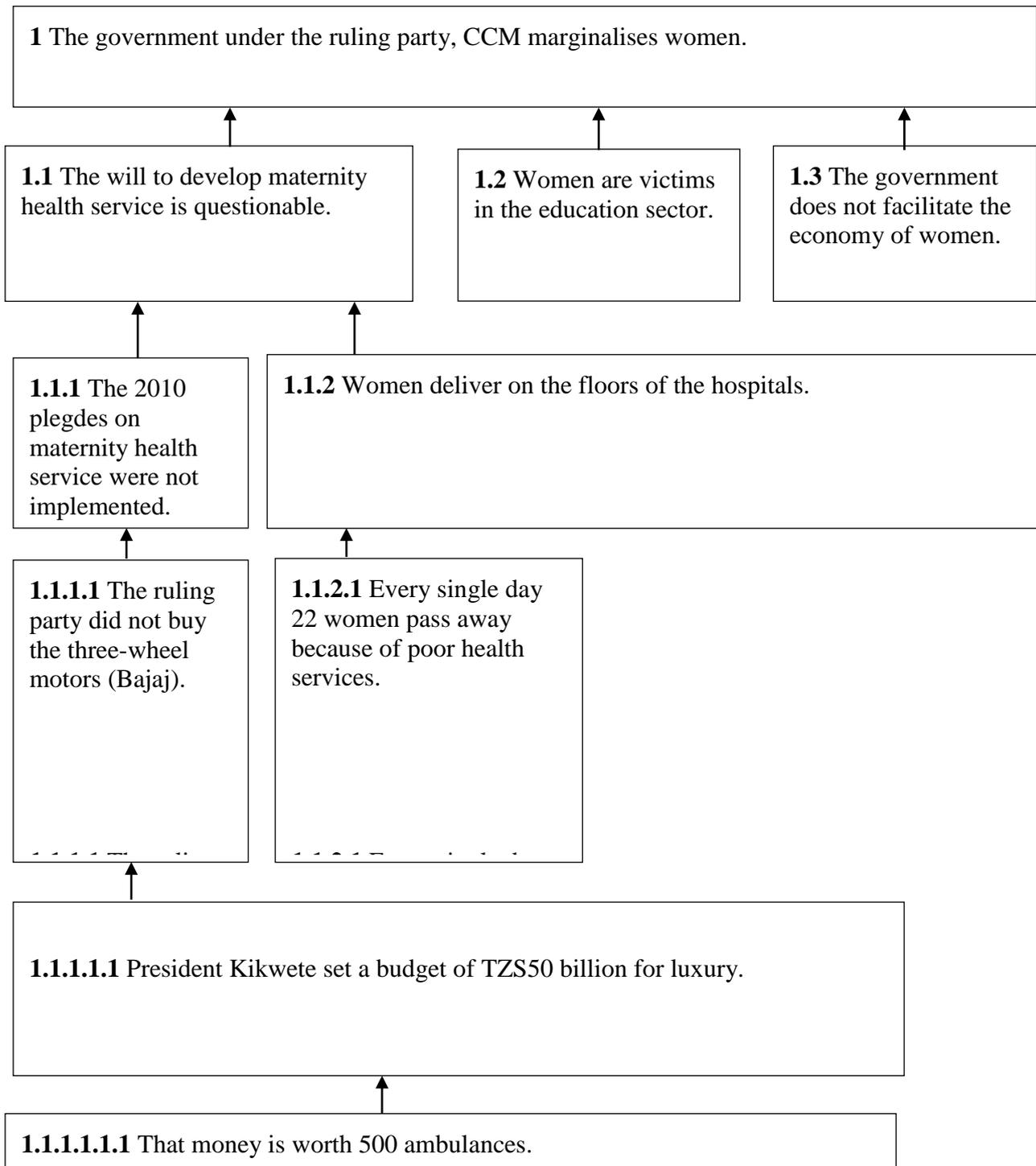


Figure 5.6: Reconstructed argumentation structure on women marginalisation

Concerning the schemes in Mdee's argumentation as represented in Figure 5.6, the causal relation argumentation scheme is demonstrated. Misuse of public fund by the president leads to poor health services. Such a huge amount of money can be enough to rescue women who die during labour. Hon. Halima Mdee is a Member of the Parliament of Kawe Constituency since 2010 in the opposition party, CHADEMA. She is the authority because of her experience as an opposition MP, her claims must be scrutinised in case those claims are dominated by political interest. Corruption allegations against the ruling party is an indication that the government under CCM misuses public offices. In the Pragma-dialectical perspective, this falls under the category of symptomatic argumentation scheme.

Regarding the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Mdee strategically presents a positive standpoint, '*the government under the ruling party, CCM marginalises women.*' In the Appraisal theory perspective (White, 2011), Mdee judges the CCM negatively to engage women to think of supporting the CHADEMA/UKAWA. Capitalising on women has a lot of meaning in the politics of Tanzania. Health services are not prioritised. She appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions since both the CCM supporters and opposition party supporters experience the same problems when in need of health services. Understanding arguments Mdee makes in defence of a standpoint on how Kikwete's government undermines women, depends on the type of audience Mdee was addressing. Such kind of topic was selected because the health sector has been a big problem in Tanzania. Mdee's argumentation in Figure 5.6 has many presentational devices. Expressing personal feelings on poor health services especially for women during labour had in it strategies of *Ad missercordiam* and appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions. A speech act of expressive (Searle, 1979b) was strategically chosen to evoke feelings that the government mistreats its citizens. In the opening stage, taking the role of a protagonist, Mdee can easily win the minds of voters. She appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions. She decides to be a protagonist to get support from those who do not support the embezzlement of public funds at the expense of national development. Also, issues of gender to women was mentioned to modify the relevant audience. Other strategies are the use of figures and tropes argumentatively. Three-wheel motors are used as a sign of poor priority to the health sector.

In the argumentation stage, Mdee supports her standpoint with strong arguments. Evidence from the 2010 general election is provided indicating that Kikwete's government promised to

improve health sector particularly supplying three-wheel motors but up to 2015 nothing was in place. Three-wheel motors have been used metaphorically symbolising poor health services. Mdee compares a huge amount of money (TZS50 billion) that is spent on travelling for luxury by Kikwete could buy 500 ambulances. Other strategies are employing locus of irreparable as what Mdee comments imply 2015 general election is time for political transformation. Moreover, the education sector is mentioned as another point of reference where women are marginalised. A propaganda technique of pinpointing the enemy is employed because of all people in the country, the president referred to as a corrupt leader. With the argumentation stage, arguments gave reasonable account to both particular and universal audience. Corruption is mentioned as a source of poor living standards. This is a strategy of assertion. What Mdee believes to be the case is presented as if everybody believes so. A comparative strategy is employed when Mdee mentions 50 billion Tanzanian shillings that Kikwete spent on luxury and a pledge of buying three-wheel motors claiming that such billions are worth 500 ambulances. Strategies employed are trivialisation and belittlement. A conclusion like other stages demonstrated how women are marginalised by the government. Mdee expresses her feelings to all who still thought CCM had implementable policies on women. She selects strategic diction that women are like customers for voting but after general elections, they are neglected by CCM leaders. She explicitly shows that Kikwete is extravagant despite Tanzania having limited health facilities such as beds in hospitals suggesting that only opposition parties could rescue Tanzanians.

Regarding the successful observation of rules for the critical discussion, there are certain criteria stated in Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014). As Mdee's argumentation represented in Figure 5.6 demonstrates, the speech act employed by the speaker is expressive (Yule, 1996). Mdee expresses her feelings of dislikes on how women are marginalised by the government of the CCM. She abides by the burden of proof rule indicating grand corruption rates in the country as a source of poor living standards. For instance, misuse of 50 billion Tanzanian shillings is a relevant example to disqualify the CCM. In respect to unexpressed premise rule, this would imply CHADEMA/UKAWA are better qualified than their rival CCM. The evidence stated in the argumentation stage are signs of corruption. Thus, symptomatic argumentation scheme was appropriately used. Validity in the context of Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation bases on plausible reasoning (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992b), somewhat that Mdee observes especially the arguments that supported her standpoint. It is plausible to improve health services if those

in power use their offices lawfully. Mdee makes a foundation for her conclusion that the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate is a must-vote-for candidate, thus implementing the closure rule.

Concerning the derailments of the critical discussion rules as represented in Figure 5.6, although Mdee's argumentation sounds persuasive, it violates some rules of the critical discussion in the argumentative move. Sticking to the theory and threat to the resolution process of a dispute is regarded as an incorrect move, and must be avoided from the confrontation stage to the conclusion stage (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992a). There were exaggerations in Mdee's arguments, for instance, an amount of money that she claimed Kikwete budgeted for personal recreational trips in foreign countries. Strawman's fallacy is implicated. Freedom rule is also compromised as Mdee's expressive speech acts of deep feelings are presented as an authority without crediting sources of such information. All that leads to violation of language usage rule in her conclusion where women were cautioned of the inequality the government presses on them without articulating with evidence how much successful the government has facilitated men's economic development.

In respect to the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.6 is reasonable. To start with the pragmatic consistency, health situation in Tanzania, especially for women during labour is still tense and needs serious evaluation for actions to take place. Together with pragmatic consistency, it is logically consistent to accept that if Kikwete spent 50 billion Tanzanian shillings on personal recreational trips, the development sectors in the country are compromised by such corruption. On the side of effectiveness, persuasive devices, propaganda techniques, and stylistic devices were appropriately employed in Figure 5.6. Therefore, the supporter of CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate presents her argumentation reasonably and effectively in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics.

5.5.2 Gender balance in politics

Anatopia Theonest is a CHADEMA member and supporter of CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate and running mate. When introducing herself in the inaugural campaigns, she emphasises on, ' *this year is for women*' as represented in Figure 5.7 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 7.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 7

ANATROPIA: (1) Naitwa Anatropia Theonest, CHADEMA jimbo la Segerea. (2) Ni mwaka wa wanawakeeee...!

[1] *My name is Anatropia Theonest, CHADEMA, Segerea constituency.* [2] *This is the year for women...!*

Given the context where the speech took place, Anatropia is among few ladies at CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential inaugural campaigns. There are many contestants for different constituencies under the four political parties of the coalition of the UKAWA. Thus, there is little time for constituencies candidates to introduce themselves. That is why she cannot fully express her views. She thus leaves much information for the audience to infer. Anatropia is not satisfied with the representation of women in politics. If the majority are men, then it is wise to think of women in CHADEMA/UKAWA. The argumentation in Figure 5.7 is inductively presented (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993), and it has a single argument structure (1.1) with the unexpressed premise (1.1') (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008).

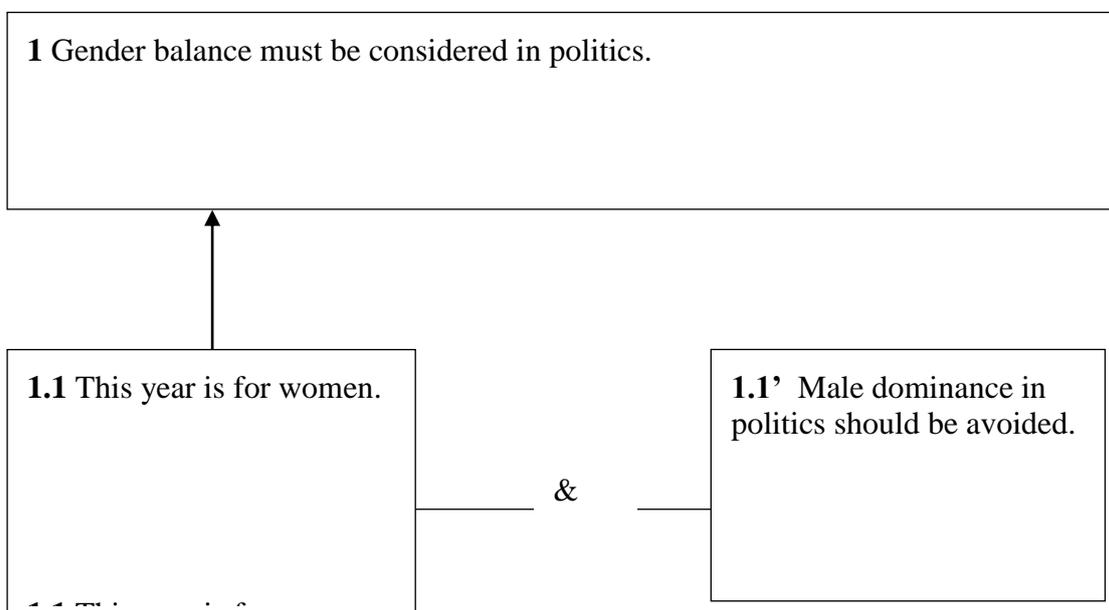


Figure 5.7: Reconstructed argumentation structure on gender balance in politics

Regarding the second dimension, Anatropia, a lady contesting for a political position, to become a Member of Parliament, claims that 2015 is for women. The agreement was that the four parties that form UKAWA would nominate one strong candidate in every constituency to compete with the CCM candidate, among others for a parliamentary seat. In her constituency, there are two candidates, herself from CHADEMA, and Julius Mtatiro from the Civic United Front. Both wanted to contest. They attended university education in the same university (Dar es Salaam), doing education studies, though in different cohorts. That context could be one of the reasons the nomination became typically competitive. Secondly, given the political positions he has served in Civic United Front, Mtatiro is politically more popular than Anatropia, but considering gender CHADEMA might have influenced her position. Regarding her standpoint, there are many more men nominated than women in that opposition camp alliance, UKAWA. An unequal number of nominated candidates is a characteristic of gender imbalance. Thus, in her unexpressed premise, symptomatic argumentation scheme is employed. There is the realisation of argumentation by analogy that if other constituencies like Kawe, had Halima Mdee as their nominated candidate why not Segerea nominating Anatropia, Theonest.

Concerning the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, the standpoint is politics must consider that gender balance. The confrontation stage demonstrates how women are marginalised in politics, a feeling that was presented in an evaluative manner in the Appraisal perspective (Martin & White, 2005). Appealing to liberal and conservative presumption is employed as gender balance is a claim to many people. In a unique way, Anatropia's comment is strategic and tricky in a sense that if UKAWA did not finally nominate Anatropia, Mtatiro would not win the election because of the move she already initiated. UKAWA nominated Mtatiro as the candidate for Segerea constituency. Unfortunately, during the general election day, two names appeared, Mtatiro and UKAWA. They lost that constituency, and the CCM candidate won. Audience demand according to Figure 5.7 is given a priority by the speaker. Anatropia pin-points CHADEMA/UKAWA leaders as enemies of women empowerment in politics. This propaganda techniques could evoke sympathy and thus inspire generosity by voting for her. In the opening stage, Anatropia supports her standpoint as a protagonist. Strategically, she presents *argumentum ad missericordiam* technique invoking public sympathy to inspire generosity. This again can be construed and promoting civic responsibility of valuing human beings without gender regards.

In the opening stage, she takes a position of the protagonist because gender balance in politics is a current issue in African politics. In the argumentation of a single argument structure, Anatropia argues that 2015 is a year for women with the unexpressed premise that male dominance in the politics of Tanzania should be avoided. She reframes the argument to suit the context of nominations at party levels. She also pin-points leaders in charge of nominating candidates as a source of the problem. Moreover, when defending her position, she illustrates that 2015 is a year for women in Tanzanian politics. She employed the locus of irreparable where they had to support her without waiting for any other moment as 2015 was special. For the effectiveness of the argumentation, there are several presentational devices in Figure 5.7 that she demonstrates from the confrontation stage to the concluding stage.

Anatropia shows her awareness of how female candidates are marginalised in politics. An assertion she makes is to make the audience believe that women are marginalised. In a pragmatic perspective (Searle, 1979b), one can comment that assertive as a speech act of what she believes is really meant because on the context where the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates for different constituencies, the majority were men. She shelves some information of why she thinks so. Perhaps that is to avoid public controversy. She also employs *ad missercordiam* in seeking sympathy from the CHADEMA/UKAWA leadership, so she can be rethought in the nomination process suggesting Mtatiro could let her remain the only Segerea constituency candidate. In the concluding stage, she implies leaders and other politicians should avoid gender bias. She concludes strategically, with a bandwagon technique that everybody was in the opinion that 2015 is a year for women. Therefore, she implies citizens should consider voting for women in situations where there are two candidates. She evokes sympathy in that sense.

Regarding the successful observation of rules for the critical discussion, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.7 observes rules such as the freedom rule. Anatropia realises that everybody has right for voting for a candidate they want. She also took time to prove why she believes women are marginalised in politics. Thus, she observes the burden of proof rule. The scheme of symptomatic argumentation is relevantly employed. The number of men in the list of candidates is higher than that of women. Thus, the plausible reasoning makes her claim valid. The interpretation is that having more men than women is a sign of male dominance in politics.

Concerning the identification of rules derailed, although Anatropia observes many of the rules for critical discussion, her language is ambiguous. She argues that 2015 is the year for women without clarifying why not men. Moreover, what matters in nominations at party level does not entirely rely on a single factor of gender. Thus, there is an implication of the strawman's fallacy as there can be other stronger arguments than those based on gender. The validity of the arguments represented in Figure 5.7 explained in the second dimension. The argumentation has plausibility of acceptability given that a democratic party ought to be gender inclusive, not male-dominated. In the context of Tanzania, especially during party nominations, women are still underrepresented. Thus, the argumentation is pragmatically consistent. Given the way Anatropia argued, the argumentation is logically consistent. The issue representation must not be male-dominated if political parties really execute democratic rights. Figure 5.7 demonstrates an argumentation with different persuasive devices especially dissociation. Anatropia dissociates herself from those who still think men are better than women in leadership. Moreover, evoking sympathy to the audience was a strategy to show that political leaders are not doing fair to women who want to contest at different political levels. Argumentation in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics is reasonably and effectively argued. Therefore, a delicate balance of rhetorical dimension and dialectical dimension are strategically maintained (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002).

5.5.3 Strategic maneuvering on women dignity

Haji the Duni is the running mate of a presidential candidate nominated by CHADEMA/UKAWA. More importantly, his defection from CUF to CHADEMA is to meet constitutional requirements which only recognises candidates belonging to parties and who nominated by their parties. Given a coalition of the parties, the decision was to have one presidential candidate who could be supported by four parties. Thus Duni joined CHADEMA.

DUNI: (1) Na la mwisho nililisema nimpishe mheshimiwa Lowassa. (2) Nilisema duniani kumetokea vita vingi sana. (3) Pamoja na vita vya dunia, lakini hakuna kazi ngumu na hakuna vita ngumu kama vita za chumba cha kuzaa. (4) Labour room, anapokwenda mama kuzaa anakwenda kwenye vita kuliko vya dunia. (5) Maana aidha azae apone au afe mtoto apone, au wote wafe ,sasa vita vile ni vikubwa mno kuliko vita vya dunia. (6) Na tangu dunia ilipoanza kina mama waliokufa katika chumba cha uzazi ni wengi kuliko walokufa katika vita vyote vilivyopita. (7) Kwa hivyo hakuna mtu ambaye anastahiki heshima kubwa kama

mama. (8) Na tunawaahidi na nyinyi mbele yenu mnaotusikiliza kina mama Tanzania nzima. (9) Tutawaheshimu. (10) Boss kikwete alikwambieni atakununulieni bajaji iko wapi? (11) Sisi tunachosema tutahakikisha angalau mnapata haki zenu. (12) Mkienda kujifungua mnaheshimika, watoto wanalindwa, wanapata lishe nzuri ili ninyi nanyi mkubalike kwamba mchango wenu tunauheshimu. Baada ya hapo Lowassaaaaa.....mabadilikooooo..... (13) CCM kwishaaaaaa.....kwishaaaaa.....kwisha kabisaaaaa..... yang'anyang'aaaa.....ndembendembeeee.....kifo cha mendeeeee.....chaaaliiiiiiiii..... asanteni sana tutakutana kwenye mikutano mingine tutasema zaidi.

[1] I should say one thing before Lowassa gives his speech. [2] I said in the world, so many wars have occurred, including the world wars, but there is no tough war like the war in a labour room. When a woman goes to the labour room, she goes to a tougher war than the world wars since she can give birth to a child and remain alive, or die, or an infant can die or both, the mother and an infant can die. [3] Thus, that war is harder than the world war. [4] Since world creation, the number of women who have died in the labour ward is larger than the number of women who died in all conventional wars. [5] Thus, nobody deserves greater honour than a mother. We promise to respect all women in this gathering listening to us and every woman in Tanzania. [6] The boss, Kikwete promised to give you a bajaj. [7] Where is it? [8] Actually, what we are saying is that we will make sure that at least you get your rights. [9] When you go to the hospitals for delivery, we will make sure that you are respected. We will make sure that the children are protected, and good nutrition provided to them so that you are valued, and your contribution respected. Lowassaaaaaa..... changes..... [1] CCM is finished..... finished..... finished totally..... battered..... easiness..... dead like a cockroach..... it has lied on the back..... thank you very much! We shall meet in the other political rallies where we will talk more.

As represented in Figure 5.8 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 8, Duni argues that the dignity of a woman is unmeasurable. He supports his standpoint with different arguments, and thus the structure becomes complex. Figure 5.8 comprises coordinative argument structures (1.1a and 1.1b), (1.1b.1a, 1.1b.1b, 1.1b.1c, 1.1b.1d), (1.1a.1.1a and 1.1a.1.1b), (1.1a.1.1a.1a, 1.1a.1.1a.1b, and 1.1a.1.1a.1c), and (1.1a.1.1b.1a and 1.1a.1.1b.1b), and subordinative argument structures (1.1a, 1.1a.1, 1.1a.1.1a, and 1.1a.1.1a.1a-c), (1.1a, 1.1a.1, 1.1a.1.1b, 1.1a.1.1b.1a, and 1.1a.1.1b.1b), 1.1b, 1.1b.1a-d, and 1.1b.1d.1). Given arguments presented in Figure 5.8, Duni demonstrates that women do not get the dignity they deserve. Thus, the argumentation is inductively presented (Walton, 1987; Hurley, 2012).

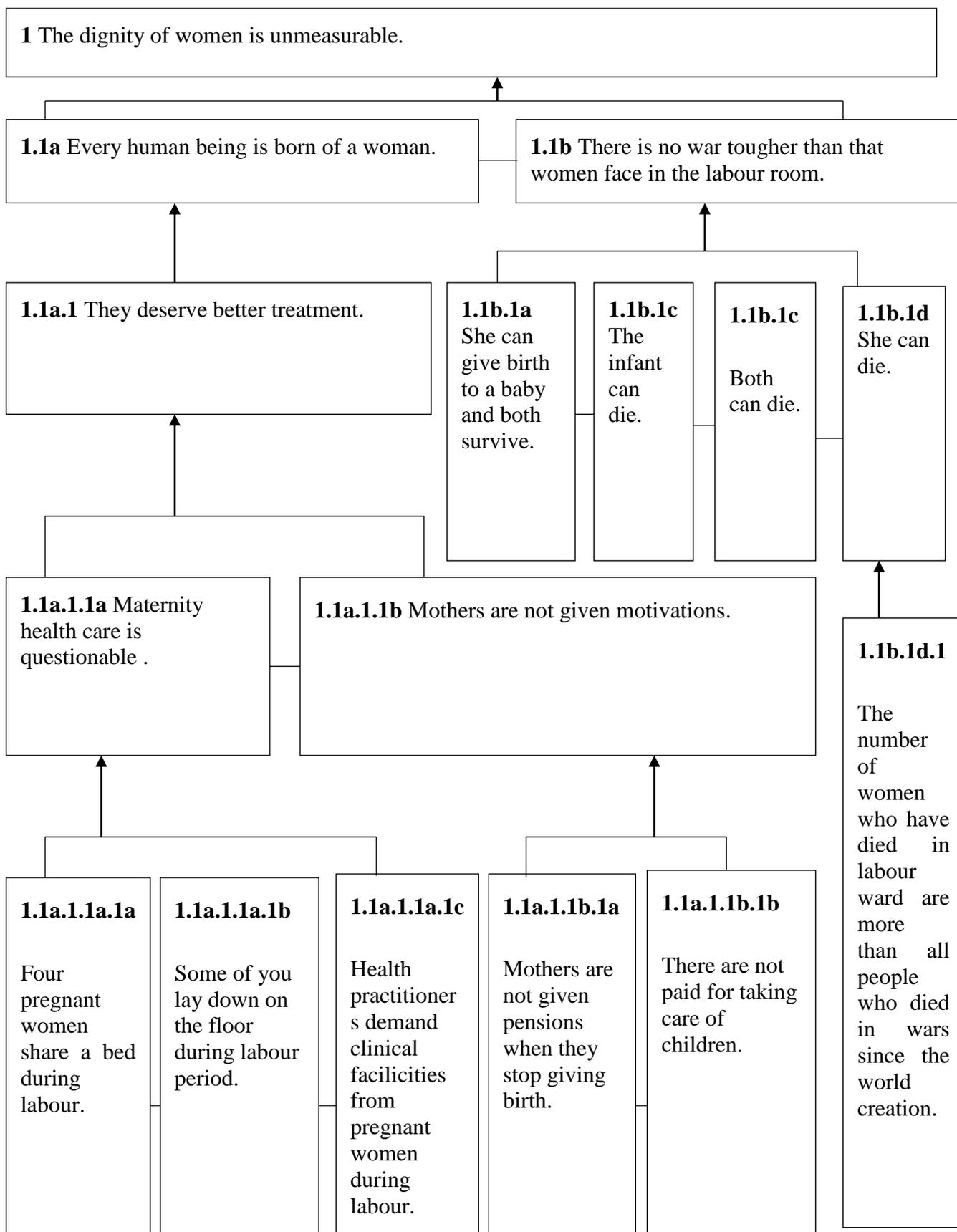


Figure 5.8: Reconstructed argumentation structure on unmeasurability of the dignity of a woman

Considering the argumentation schemes, a difference of opinion focuses on the way the CCM government does not credit women in the manner any government ought to. The running mate of Lowassa, Duni elaborates scenarios of labour wards where four pregnant women sleep on one bed. This case portrays a sign of poor maternity health services which falls under the symptomatic argument scheme. Secondly, because the government pays little attention to women health care, that has led to serious consequences to women and children. This trend falls under causal relation argumentation scheme.

Concerning the topical devices, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Duni stages a standpoint that the dignity of a woman is unmeasurable. Analysing this topic in the Appraisal perspective (Iedema *et al.*, 1994), Duni uses an evaluative language that explicitly indicates women deserve better treatment. He stages a need for the government to measure and at the same time Duni convinces the audience that CCM has not performed up to standard. In the opening stage, Duni Haji assumes the role of a protagonist to question why the government does not pay attention to the maternity health care. Strategies such as appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, modifying the relevant audience, and assertion were realised. In the argumentation stage, Duni claims that every human being is born by a woman. This argument is strategic as nobody could claim to be outside this category unless in sophisticated technology, which does not apply in Tanzanian laws. For that matter, Duni suggested women should be treated with special care in terms of health services. He, moreover, pin-points CCM as a stumbling block to women health care.

Another major argument is that there is no tougher war than the suffering women go through in the labour room. In that room an expectant woman, together with an unborn can both survive, can both die, one of them can survive or one of them can die. These four possibilities are strategically mentioned to remind the electorate of how CCM has ignored women to the extent that women deliver on floors in hospitals. Such circumstances strategically can evoke feelings and thus inspire generosity to CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates who demonstrate a desire for improvement of maternity health care. Moreover, sarcastically Duni blames CCM for not fulfilling the implementation of pledges in the 2010 party manifesto. In a peculiar way to capture an audience demand, Duni modifies his audience by focussing on the challenges women face in hospitals. From the confrontation stage to the concluding stage, Duni employs belittlement on the side of the ruling party. He explicitly highlights what CCM has failed to

do, thus suggesting to voters to support CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates. Assertions that Duni presents can be correct but that cannot be a generalised belief that CCM has totally ignored maternity health care. More importantly, Duni talks of corruption in hospitals when he claims health practitioners seek bribery from the expectant women before giving health services. For the campaigner and running mate of Lowassa to change attitudes of the audience, he dissociates CHADEMA/UKAWA camp from the ruling party in terms of how they prioritise maternity health care. The former positively evaluates as being considerate to maternity health care while he judges negatively the latter as being negligent to maternity health care. This comparative approach in politics can imply that it is undesirable to vote for CCM candidates because since the multi-party dispensation began they have not performed up to standard. Another presentational device employed in the argumentation in Figure 5.8 is evoking sympathy to inspire generosity. Generosity means in this context voting for CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate, Lowassa whose running mate was Duni, the arguer in this deliberative move. In the concluding stage, Duni Haji asks for votes as a way of getting power to solve maternity health care problems.

Considering the observation of rules for critical discussion, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.8 implements many rules in resolving the difference of opinion. Duni responds the unexpressed standpoints from CCM campaigners that the government under CCM has improved health care for women. He questions why the situation in hospitals is still terrible. Secondly, he presents evidence why he thinks CCM must not claim to have performed up to standard. Delivering on the floor is a typical sign of lack of priorities in maternity health care. If every human being is born by a woman, then anybody devaluing the woman must be neglected. That being the case, the argumentation was valid suggesting that CHADEMA/UKAWA was to get votes to rescue women.

Even though the campaigner represented in Figure 5.8 implements several rules for critical discussion, there is a lot of appeals to audience emotions, a violation known as *argumentum ad hominem*. Secondly, the campaigner creates a false dichotomy of CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA while there are other political parties that were in the election. The principal competitive parties were CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA, but other parties have candidates too. Whether the speaker does this intentionally or accidentally, in a multi-party democracy, such a belittlement is illegitimate.

As far as the aspect rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness is concerned, the argumentation is valid. The schemes of causal relation and symptomatic argumentation schemes are employed in the proper manner. Logically, the argument that human beings are born by women through labour is consistent, specifically in the Tanzanian context where the technology of test tube babies is under normal circumstances unlawful. The argumentation is pragmatically consistent because there have been several complaints on how the government treats the maternity health service. Public hospitals face a lot of challenges thus sharing beds or delivering on the floor could be possible. In that case, the argumentation in Figure 5.8 is acceptable. Effectively, with the employment of dissociation, association, false dichotomy, and pin-pointing CCM as the enemy of maternal health care, the arguer can persuade his audience in the CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaigns. Given an overall analysis in Figure 5.8 of CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 8, it can be concluded that the argumentation is effectively and reasonably presented in the perspective of Pragmatics-dialectics.

5.6 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON GOOD GOVERNANCE

Good governance manifests itself in different aspects such as separation of power, observation of human rights, and accountability of those in power. CHADEMA/UKAWA accuses CCM of not willing politically to run the government in a democratic perspective that would result in good governance.

5.6.1 Observing human rights

Considering Figure 5.9, the CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate argues that in the fourth-phase government there is no good governance; thus, human rights are violated.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 9

LOWASSA: (1) La mwisho wako mashehe wa Zanzibar ambao wako jela kwa muda mrefu hapa. Peoples'.....peoples'.... (2) Nimesikia habari ya babu Seya! (3) Nimesikia, na hisia zenu naziulewa! Peoplessss.....peoples'..... (4) Naelewa hisia zenu kuhusu babu seya. (5) Kwake na kwa mashehe wale tutatumia utawala bora kuwatoa kwa wakati muafaka. (6) Kuna bango hapa, linasema mzee ukifika ikulu tulettee Ba lali! (7) Nimewasikia peoplesss.....peoplessssss

[1] Finally, there are certain Zanzibarian Sheikhs who are in jail for a very long time. People's.....people's.....[2] I have heard news about Babu Seya. [3] I have heard it, and I understand your feelings!.....People's.....people's.....[4] I understand your feelings about Babu Seya! [5] His case and that of Sheikhs, we will use good governance to release them from jail at an appropriate time. [6] There is a placard here which says, ' [7] Elder if you get to the state house, please, bring Ballali to us.' [8] I have heard you! People's.....People's...

Regarding the dimension argument structures, Lowassa uses subordinative argument structure (1.1, 1.1.1a-c), and coordinative argument structure (1.1.1a, 1.1.1b, and 1.1.1c). Thus, the argumentation structure is complex. Echoing the audience, Lowassa claims cases of sheikhs, famous musicians (Babu Seya and his son), the former governor of the Bank of Tanzania (Daudi Balali) are not. His argumentation is inductively presented given that empirical observations suggest the conclusion of the need for good governance in the United Republic of Tanzania.

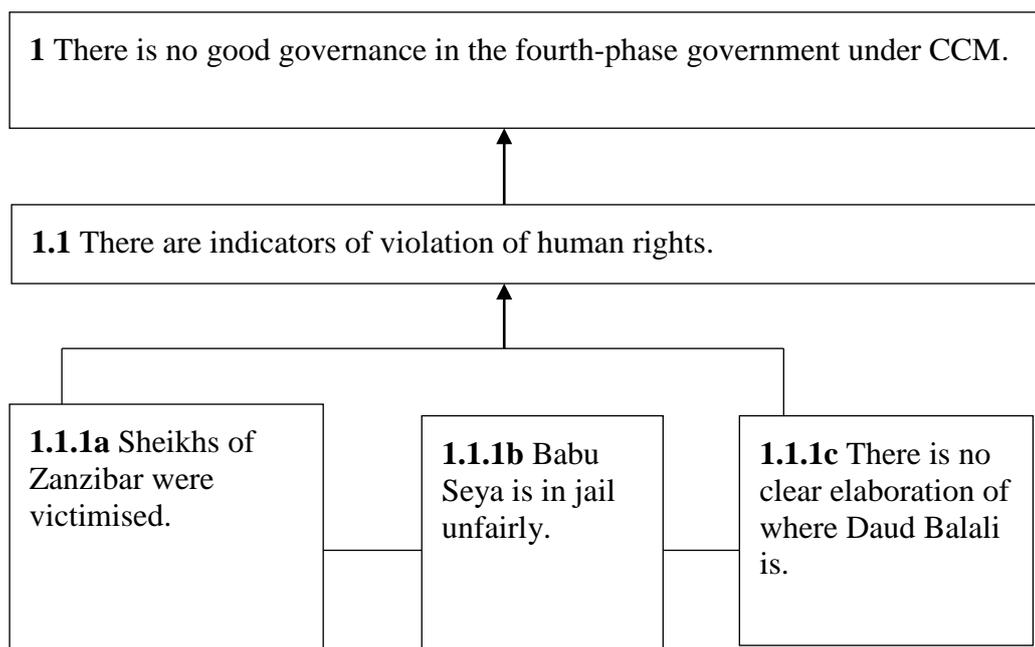


Figure 5.9: Reconstructed argumentation structure on need for good governance

Regarding the schemes, argumentation based on analogy is employed when Lowassa mentions that the government under Kikwete claims to have good governance but there are people who have been mistreated by law, specifically the Sheikhs of Zanzibar. Moreover, the

causal relation is another scheme that Lowassa expresses. Bad governance has led to the violation of human rights. In the same way, it could be the symptomatic argumentation scheme. The government that does not fairly treat its citizens has symptoms of bad governance.

Considering the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Lowassa finds that there is no good governance in the fourth-phase government under CCM. In the Appraisal perspective according to White (2011), this comment would mean Lowassa suggests his government would be better. This token appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions since good governance is formed by several factors, proper accountability of the government included. Employing presentational devices in the argumentation stage, dissociation is utilised in the confrontation stage. Lowassa claims Kikwete's government did not practically execute good governance. To have good governance, Lowassa suggests Tanzanians would vote for the CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate, Edward Ngoyai Lowassa. In the opening stage, Lowassa maintains his topic. For that case, he utilises bandwagon technique as every active citizen would like to see not only hearing accountability of the government but also equal access to national wealth.

To meet the audience demand in the opening stage, Lowassa mentions human freedom. Human freedom is something desirable, and since many people like it, thus it is logically consistent to vote for Lowassa, so he can restore human freedom in Tanzania. In the argumentation stage, Lowassa provides examples where the violation of human rights is revealed. Thus, Lowassa states nobody can tolerate such illegal actions. Thus, Tanzanians are advised to vote for the CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidates, especially Lowassa to execute human rights in the United Republic of Tanzania. Audience demand comprises several interests. With the religious perspective, Lowassa perhaps captures the minds of Moslems by mentioning that he would release Sheikhs from Zanzibar who were unfairly arrested. Moreover, Babu Seya together with his two sons would be released. That being the case supporters of Babu Seya can feel satisfied by getting that family back. Daud Balali had the public interest because of the scandals by the time he was serving the position of the governor of the Bank of Tanzania (BOT). All these argument schemes ensure that Lowassa can get enough supporters from the CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaigns. For the purpose of making his argumentation effective, in the argumentation stage where series of

victimisation are portrayed, Lowassa employed fair strategic maneuvering of *argumentum ad missericordiam* so that he could evoke sympathy and inspire generosity of voting for Lowassa to rescue the situation. In the concluding stage, Lowassa rhetorically wants to know from the audience more other people the government had victimised, so he would take charge of bringing them back in case they voted for him. That way, he asks for votes from the potential electorate.

Regarding the successful observation of rules for critical discussion, the arguer implements the freedom rule. Lowassa does not restrict voters from supporting CCM but he pledged what he would do in case he won. He assumes a burden of proof to explain how the ruling party has failed to observe good governance. The examples Lowassa provides are relevant especially the issue of Sheikhs. In this regard, whether they were victimised or not, Lowassa defends his standpoint with such know examples in the country.

In respect to derailments in the argumentative discourse, there is a strawman's fallacy in the argumentation represented in Figure 5.9. Lowassa does not mention what made Sheikhs get arrested. Secondly, the language used is vague, Lowassa does not clearly elaborate where Balali is. The government announced that Balali died and he was buried in the country he went to. In one way or another, even the burden of proof rule is violated.

Considering the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, Lowassa argues clearly and reasonably. Lowassa wants a clear separation of power where the judiciary, the legislature, and the executive should work as independent bodies different from what is felt by politicians that the executive interferes the other pillars. Secondly, pragmatically, Balali's case was doubtful to many citizens because it is not common for senior government officials, such as the governor of the Bank of Tanzania to be buried in foreign countries. More, importantly, human rights in general as the public claims are being violated by those in power. Referring to effectiveness, there are several presentational devices such as assertions (Shabo, 2008), dissociation (Van Rees, 2009a), fair strategic maneuvering of *argumentum ad missericordiam* (Van Laar & Krabbe, 2016), knowing the audience demand (Lakhani, 2005), evaluating the opponent negatively and self evaluating positively (Partington & Taylor, 2018), and appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions (Zarefsky, 2008). Maintaining the delicate balance of effectiveness and reasonableness depends on how the arguer, strategically, presents their presentational devices without affecting the reasoning in the argumentation (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). Therefore, the argumentation is effective and reasonable.

5.7 STRATEGIC MANEUVERING IN ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ON RELIABILITY OF POLITICAL PARTIES

It is constitutionally stipulated (URT, 2008) that political candidates must belong to registered political parties. Thus, there is no permission for independent candidates to legally contest in the political competition. It is from such background that CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates have argumentations on why they consider their parties, manifestos, members, candidates, and particularly presidential candidates better than the incumbent party (CCM) candidates.

5.7.1 Need for a new constitution

Haji Duni explicitly states Tanzania needs a new constitution that is acceptable to Zanzibar and Tanzania mainland.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 10

DUNI: (1) La kwanza hakuna kitu muhimu kama kuwa na katiba iliyokubaliwa na wanachi wote. (2) Na ukishakuwa na katiba na ndio maana likaja neno UKAWA, ni umoja wa katiba ya wananchi. (3) Kwa hivyo na mambo mengi tutakayofanya lakini kwa miaka 50 hatuijawahi kupata katiba ya muungano inayotunganisha kwa ridhaa ya upande wa Zanzibar na upande wa Tanganyika. (4) Mungu akitujaalia hilo limoja tutakalolifanya tukiwa ikulu. (5) Lakini kwasababu ya uhasama na kuonewa makundi mbalimbali kuna makundi mengine yamefika hadi hata kuandika vitabu vinasomwa, na vitabu vikisomwa *vinabaki kurithiwa ni hatari*. (6) Kwahiyo, tutalolifanya mimi na mwenzangu tukishirikiana na wazee wetu wa chama lazima tukafanye kama walivyofanya wale wenzetu wa Afrika ya Kusini. (6) Tutaunda tume ya maridhiano ambayo tutakuja tuzungumze kwa pamoja tusameheane yalopita si ndwele tujenge nchi yetu tutizame mbele badala ya kutizama nyuma. (7) Vinginevyo itakuwa utawala mmoja unachukua hasama za utawala uliopita unaendeleza hasama hizo kwetu katu tutafunga kitabu cha uhasama mabadiliko yatakapotokea.

[1] The first thing is that there is nothing important like to have a constitution which has been agreed upon by all citizens when you have the constitution. [2] This is what led to the word UKAWA, it is the Peoples' Constitution Alliance. [3] Thus, we are going to do other things, but because for our 50 years of independence, we have never managed to have the

union constitution which unifies us by getting the consent of the Zanzibarian side and the Tanganyikan side, this will be the priority. [4] If God wishes, this is one of the things which we shall do when we get in the state house. [5] However, due to enmity and oppression exercised to different groups, there are certain groups which have reached a stage of writing books which are read, and once read, they remain to be a dangerous inheritance. [6] Therefore, we, my colleague and I, are going to do something in collaboration with our party elders. [7] We must do like what our colleagues in South Africa did. [8] We will form the commission of peace and reconciliation in which we shall come together to talk, and to forgive one another for the past mistakes by saying let bygones be bygones to build our country by focusing on the future and not on the past. [9] Otherwise, one phase of administration will be taking the antagonism of the previous administrative systems and perpetuating such hostilities. In our case, we will close the book of animosity when changes occur.

Considering the dimension of argument structures represented in Figure 5.10 of CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 10, Haji Duni claims there are reasons why Tanzania needs a new constitution. His argumentation consists of multiple argument structure (1.1 and 1.2), and subordinate structure ((1.1,1.1.1, and 1.1.1.1) and 1.2, 1.2.1, 1.2.1.1, 1.2.1.1.1, and 1.2.1.1.1.1)). Duni identifies that since independence Tanzania does not have the constitution that is acceptable by both groups (Zanzibar and Tanzania-Mainland). The current constitution lacks necessary matters. Thus, a new constitution would solve such problems facing the people of the United Republic of Tanzania. The reasoning in Figure 5.10 is deductively presented.

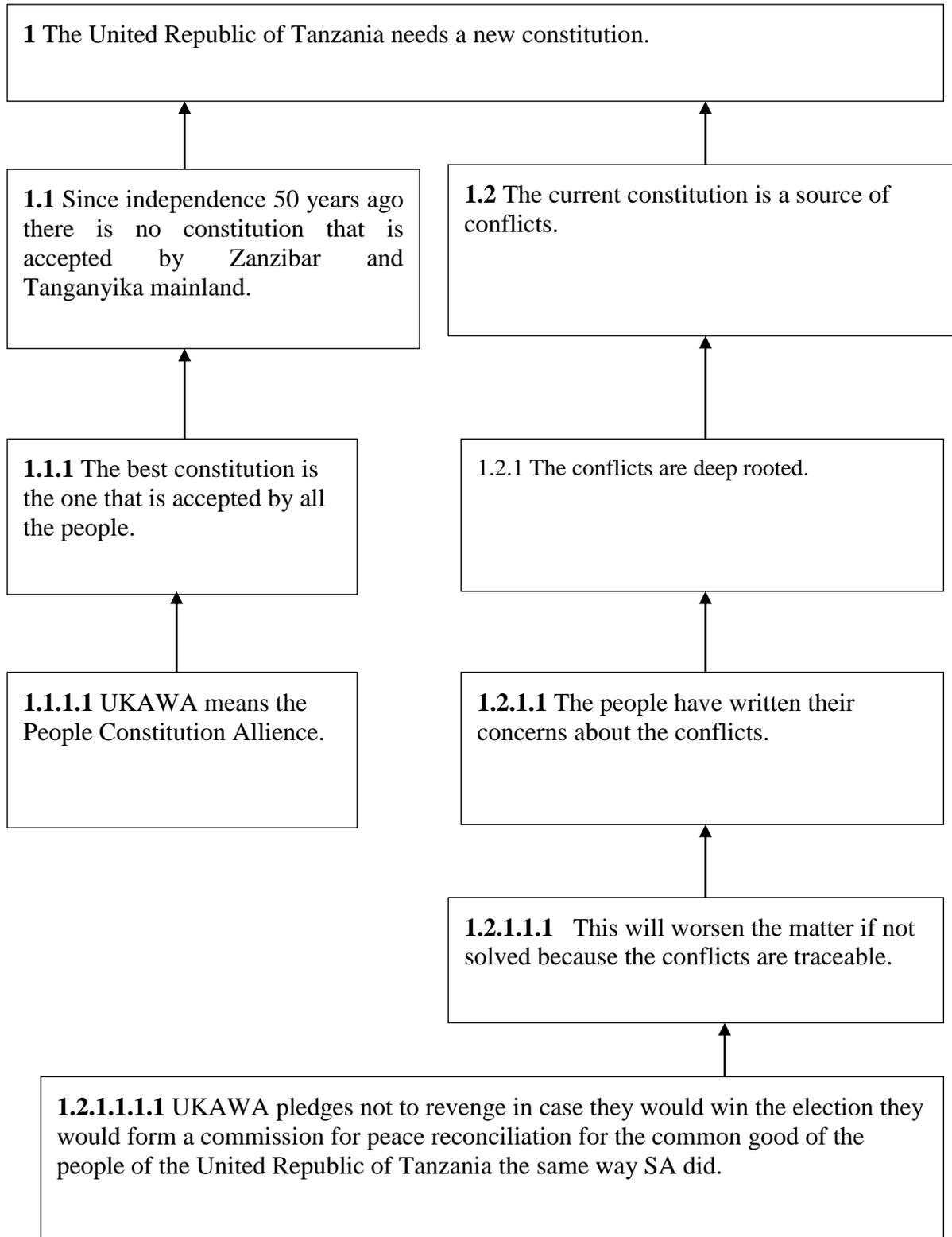


Figure 5.10: Reconstructed argumentation structure on the need or a new constitution

Regarding the schemes, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.10, comprises several argument schemes. The standpoint on the need of a new constitution raises issues of the

unacceptability of the current institution as people from Tanzania mainland and people from Zanzibar. Since it does not meet the demands of the people of the United Republic of Tanzania, then it has signs of weakness. This is a symptomatic kind of argumentation. Secondly, Duni demonstrates in his arguments that the current constitution has led to conflicts that are deep rooted, and they may one day cause trouble to the country. For that case, Duni's argumentation comprises causal relation argument scheme. The argumentation also articulates the example of South Africa where people had to reconcile their differences after they had new a constitution and new governance. This is in a form of argument by analogy.

Considering the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, a topic selected is the United Republic of Tanzania needs a new constitution. The speech act in Duni's speech implies a command in perspective of pragmatics (Searle, 1979a). Given the background of the move for a new constitution in 2014 when the need for constitutional reforms was raised, there appeared an alliance popularly known as UKAWA (The People's Constitution Alliance). Highlighting it in the campaign, the speaker wants to get support from the universal audience in the United Republic of Tanzania as both sides from the ruling party and the opposition parties had shown interest in forming the new constitution. From the confrontation stage to the concluding stage, Duni gives reasons as to why the new constitution is necessary. The necessity is a strategy to view CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates better than CCM candidates who do not much focus on the new constitution. It has been a need for Tanzanians to have a new constitution, therefore supporting a constitution was a sign of being a responsible citizen. In the perspective of Pragma-dialectics, presentational devices are as central as dialectical issues. With that regard, a running mate of Lowassa strategically selects a standpoint that can evoke sympathy to the victims of the constitution of the URT. Doing so it could inspire voting for the opposition party as a sign of generosity to the victimised. In the opening stage, Duni has a greater possibility of getting supporters from Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar. That has a strategy of appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions. Supporting the standpoint, the assertion is presented as if every citizen is in a mood to fight for the lost freedom because of the constitution. This is a strategy of deciding on behalf of the undecided. In the argumentation stage, Duni claims that since independence, over 50 years ago, Tanzania has no constitution that is acceptable by Tanzania mainland and Zanzibar. This assertion is presented as if every Tanzanian is aware of constitutional matters, but the aim is to get supporters in the 2015

elections. Another argument was that the current constitution is the source of conflict. Because nobody likes conflicts, that could be the time to support CHADEMA/UKAWA president to get the constitution in place.

Mentioning conflicts would evoke negative attitudes towards the current Tanzanian constitution. This is an evaluative language in the perspective of Appraisal theory (White, 2011). Strategies employed were creating a sense of emergency, known as locus of irreparable and glittering generalities that CHADEMA/UKAWA leaders would solve all political conflicts by forming a new constitution. Referring to audience demand, the mentioning of conflicts caused by the current constitution can be modifying the relevant audience especially the opposition party camp, UKAWA because the leaders and members believe the electoral commission is not trustworthy. Secondly, the people of Zanzibar in several instances have shown a distrust of the constitution requesting the government to initiate moves of a new one. Among other issues that make Tanzanians think that they need constitutional reforms are powers of the president that citizens have for so long questioned, but the government under the ruling party, CCM has kept quiet on the issue. Therefore, Duni employs a strategy known as promoting responsible citizenship as a strategy of winning the minds of those who really like amendments in the constitution. Moreover, in the argumentation stage, capitalising on the tortures caused by the constitution, CCM is depicted as the public enemy for peace and equality in the government of the United Republic of Tanzania. More importantly, a division of power was criticised in Duni Haji's argumentation in a sense that Tanzania could be construed as a country that entertains one-party democracy because the executive interferes the judiciary and the legislature for that case. Ad misericordia fair strategic maneuvering is demonstrated in making citizens feel emotional that opposition party leaders and all those who like democracy are unfairly treated by the government. In the concluding stage, Duni insists to vote for CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates if the Tanzanians wanted good governance. Therefore, Haji Duni was implicated in the struggle for the new constitution, a strategy that could attract those with the activist mentality to vote for CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates.

Concerning the success of implementing rules for critical discussion, rules for critical discussion are observed in diverse ways. The freedom rule is implemented by questioning the unexpressed premises of the 2014 constitutional parliament of which CCM members do not like the Warioba's draft, which is supported by the People's Constitution Alliance, UKAWA.

Moreover, Duni defends his position that Tanzania needs a new constitution, one of the arguments was that the constitution is not accepted by two sides that form the United Republic of Tanzania. The starting point rule is observed since from the beginning up to the end, the speaker focusses on the need for the new constitution. The relevance scheme rule is also implemented. South Africa is cited as a good example after forming the new constitution, a reconciliation took place and people could come into consensus. Tanzania, in that regard, could as well keep its peaceful atmosphere after the new constitution. With validity rule, the speaker questions the possibility of having good governance under the current constitution which allows the president to appoint the director of the National Electoral Commission. The same president contests as an incumbent candidate. Therefore, the closure rule is that there is a need to vote for the opposition party candidate who had a desire to make a new constitution.

Considering the derailment of the argumentative discourse represented in Figure 5.10, with exception of not showing which matters are good in the constitution, in the Pragm-dialectical perspective, there is no noticeable fallacy given the context that the Tanzanian public has shown a desire for the constitutional amendment.

In respect to the sixth dimension, the argumentation is consistent. Pragmatically, the demand for the constitution started several years ago before the 2015 election campaigns. More particularly, in 2014 the issue was raised, and processes began though it did not materialise because of the two antagonistic groups mainly the one that claimed for a two-government structure and the other that claimed for the three-government structure. Logically, the claims that opposition parties are victimised are plausibly true. The incumbent government party chairperson, the president of the United Republic of Tanzania is the one who appoints the directors of the electoral commission. With that line of reasoning, those directors are entitled to supervise and announce winners of the election. It is from that angle, the reasoning of arguing against the current powers of the president is plausibly true. Therefore, Duni Haji's argumentation is true. Presentational devices of assertion, dissociation, ad missercordia fair strategic maneuvering, dysphemism, and sarcasm are employed in the argumentation. Therefore, it is presented effectively. It can be concluded that in the perspective of Pragm-dialects that Figure 5.10 is effective and reasonable.

5.7.2 Double standards of CCM in peacekeeping during campaigns

As represented in Figure 5.11 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 11 portrays, Mbatia, a contestant of a position of the Member of the Parliament in Vunjo Constituency claims the government peace plans during the 2015 general election are controversial.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 11

MBATIA: (1) Leo hii nasema haya kwa uchungu mkubwa kwasababu kwetu sisi tunafanya siasa za kiungwana, wakuu wa wilaya, wakuu wa mkoa pamoja na vyombo vya ulinzi na usalama, wanakutana Ngurudoto kupanga uovu ndani ya Taifa la Tanzania. (2) Mheshimiwa Lowassa tunakuhakikishia umma wa watanzania utakulinda. (3) Mheshimiwa Maalim Seif umma wa watanzania utakulianda. (4) Mheshimkiwa Juma Duni umma wa watanzania utakulinda. (5) Mithali 26 mstari wa 20 unasema; pasipo na kuni hakuna moto na pasipo na uchochezi hakuna vita. (6) Namwambia kaka yangu na rafiki yangu Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, asilete uchochezi ndani ya Taifa la Tanzania.

(7) Tanzania ni mali ya watanzania wote. (8) Tanzania ni yetu sote. (9) Tanzania sio ni ya kikundi cha wachache. (10) Mlishuhudia nyie wenyewe tarehe 23 mkuu wa mkoa wa Dar es Salaam anaagiza watu wafuate sheria, na kamati ya ulinzi na usalama na akawa kwenye uwanja huu huu anavunja sheria na Kova ana msalute. (11) Hatutakubali! (12) Hatutakubali! (13) Hatutakubali. (14) Namaliza kwa kusema wao wanachochea vurugu sisi tunawatakia Watanzania na tunaleta matumaini yenye kheri kwa watanzania.

[1] Today, I say this with great sorrow since we practise civilized politics, but the district commissioners, regional commissioners together with the security and defence forces meet at Ngurdoto to plan wickedness in our nation, Tanzania. [2] Honourable Lowassa, we assure you that the Tanzanians will defend you! [3] Honourable Maalim Seif, the Tanzanian population will protect you! [4] Honourable Juma Duni, the Tanzanians will protect you. Proverbs, chapter 26 verse 20 says “where there is no fuel a fire goes out and where there is no gossip, arguments come to an end”. [5] I warn my friend and brother Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete not to bring provocation in our nation, Tanzania. [6] Tanzania is a property of all Tanzanians. [7] Tanzania belongs to us all! [8] Tanzania is not a country of a group of few individuals. [9] You witnessed yourselves on 23 that the Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner was ordering people to obey the laws and he was here on the same ground with the security and defence committee violating the laws, and Kova was greeting him with a

salute, we will not accept this kind of situation, we won't accept it, we won't accept it. [10] I conclude by saying that they intend to cause a commotion, but we wish the Tanzanians felicity, and we bring hope and prosperity to the Tanzanians.

Regarding the first dimension, Mbatia presents multiple arguments to support his standpoint (Figure 5.11 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 11). He emphasizes on contradictions the government makes on peacekeeping during elections. The structure of the argumentation is complex. It has subordinative argument structures ((1.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.2.1, 1.1.2.1.1), 1.1, 1.1.3, 1.1.3.1)), and multiple argument structures (1.1.1, 1.1.2, 1.1.3). The argumentation is deductively presented. If the Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner orders peaceful campaigns in Dar es Salaam but other government officials and other police officers are meeting at Ngurugoto planning to violate the elections, then what the government instructs is not real. Thus, the citizens are advised to vote for the opposition party candidates.

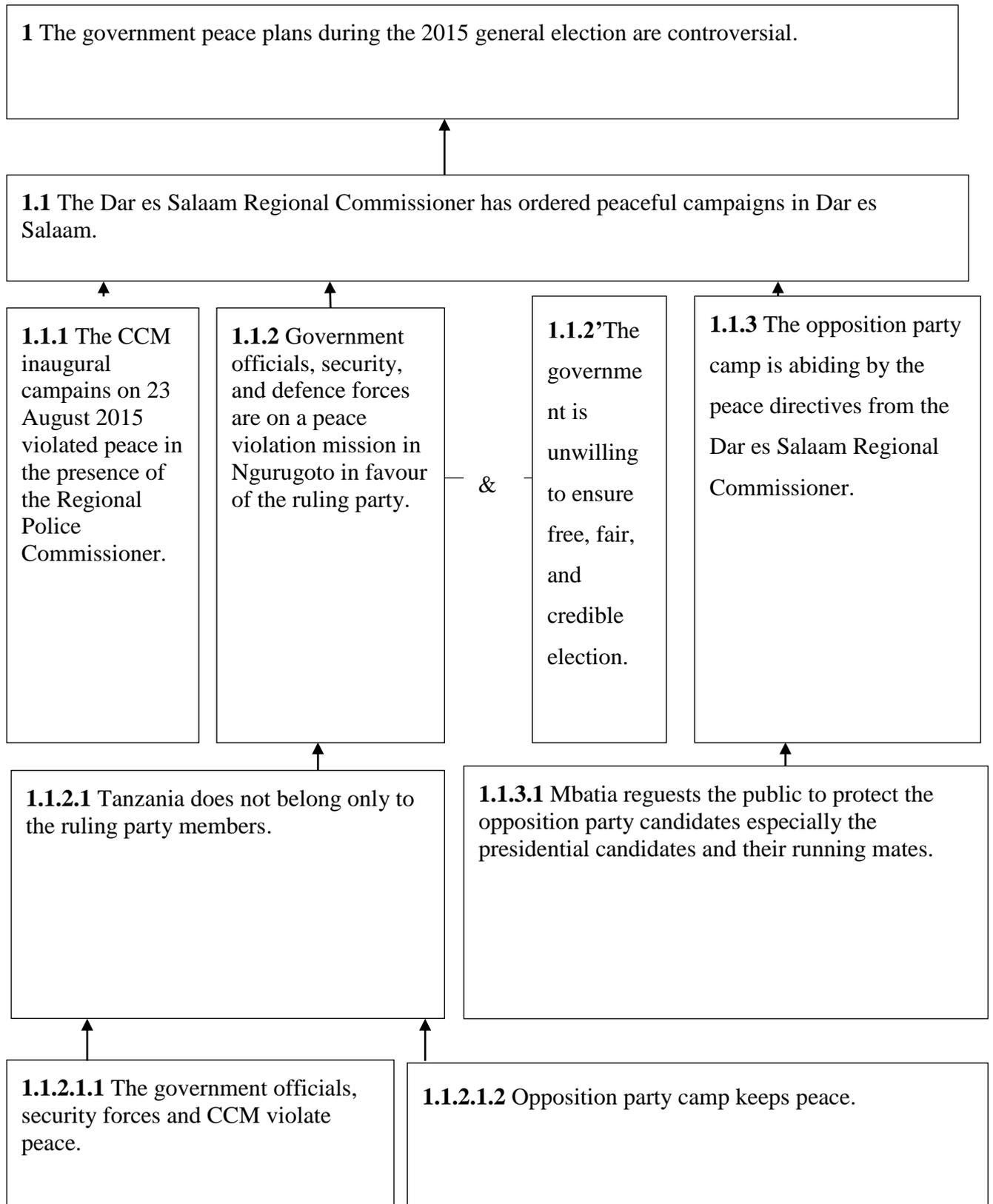


Figure 5.11: Reconstructed argumentation structure on contradictions of the government on peace keeping during the general elections

Regarding the dimension of schemes, from the perspective of Pragma-dialectics, a well-argued standpoint must demonstrate appropriate use of argumentation schemes (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). In selecting the topical potential, 'the government peace plans during the 2015 general election are controversial.' Mbatia employs symptomatic argumentation scheme. In his arguments to support a standpoint, he explains how police officers and other government officials are planning to violate the election procedures contradicting the order from the Dar es Salaam Regional Commissioner, that peace and tranquillity should be observed. This is a typical sign of contradiction among those in power. Another argument scheme is quoting the Bible that fire is the result of setting firewood on fire. That being the case, peace and tranquillity is the result of observing equality and order in the election procedures. Therefore, the violation by CCM and other misuses of government officials could lead to a violation of peace and tranquillity. Therefore, causal relation argumentation scheme was employed in the argumentation represented in Figure 5.11.

Concerning the dimension of topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, from the confrontation stage, the selection of the topic represented in Figure 11 is strategic. Mbatia, an experienced politician is aware of what people do not accept. Controversial decisions in the ruling party are criticised because they diminish a reputation of the ruling party and supporters of the ruling party candidate. Therefore, many people would not like to support a party that supports controversial leadership. The techniques that Mbatia demonstrates are appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions.

Moreover, in the Appraisal analysis, this is a negative judgement because CCM is portrayed as unreliable (Iedema *et al.*, 1994). Audience demand in Mbatia's argumentation is clearly illustrated. Mbatia highlights the controversy that it is not worth embracing in the multi-party state like Tanzania. By doing so he utilises a propaganda technique of pin-pointing CCM as the enemy of peace and tranquillity in the 2015 general election. Because the majority need peace, the pragmatic argumentative pattern is reflected in Mbatia's speech. In his argumentation, in the confrontation stage, Mbatia engages in expressing how citizens ought to be aware of peace violation mission of the ruling party, and the way they are tabled by government officials and police officers. *Argumentum ad missericordiam* fair strategic maneuvering is used to seek sympathy to opposition party candidates, and thus inspire generosity in the sense of voting for Lowassa.

Another technique is the use of *argumentum ad baculum* implying that if the government were not ready to protect the opposition party candidates, the public would do it on behalf of the government. This is a strategy to threaten the government as it is not safe to allow the public to protect their candidates. In the opening stage, it is a strategic move to support that plans for peace and tranquillity in the election procedures are controversial. In the context where CCM candidates employed abusive language, the potential electorate is advised to support CHADEMA/UKAWA as a way of joining a political camp with well mannered supporters and members. This is a comparative strategy. Moreover, he strategically assumes that position to promote civic responsibility of not engaging in corruption and favouritism in political matters in public and private offices. In the argumentation stage, a topic is maintained. Mbatia provides circumstances of controversies where government officials including the police officers show strategies of violating peace. By so doing Mbatia evokes sympathy and inspires generosity that the electorate could be convinced to vote for Lowassa and other CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates. He requests God and the public to protect the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate. Bandwagon propaganda technique is manifested. The government plans for peace are questionable, that is why Mbatia thought of another alternative. Many Tanzanians believe in God, for that matter one would feel honoured when called for prayers to support Lowassa and other CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates.

Another argument, he states that Tanzania is a multi-party state not because the audience is not aware of that but because the police in Dar es Salaam and the ruling party leadership are trying all means possible to violate the general election in the United Republic of Tanzania. Condensation symbols of CHADEMA/UKAWA as a sign of peace is employed. And because peace is what the majority want, CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates should be voted for. The concluding stage demonstrated how unprincipled CCM is and thus suggesting the people join the principled parties in the UKAWA camp. The strategy in this sense is promoting civic responsibility. Mbatia asks for votes to support the principled opposition camp that could ensure rule of law in the government.

In respect to the dimension of successful observation of rules for critical discussion, Mbatia states a necessity of freedom of expression, and he mentions how the Regional Police Commissioner had good strategies for peacekeeping in the 2015 general elections. The problem he identifies is that other police officers cannot implement an order the RPC declared, especially in Dar es Salaam region. Mbatia must take the burden of proof

explaining that peace violation mission is held in Ngurdoto to enable the ruling party to win the general election illegally. The starting point is reflected when Mbatia appreciated the RPC's strategy of peacekeeping. Examples of CCM cadres and other police officers who went to Ngurdoto for peace violation mission are relevant schemes in the argumentation in Figure 5.11. Unexpressed premise rule that Tanzania is a multi-party democratic state but the leaders of CCM do not like to execute democracy is relevantly comprehended. CCM members side with the police are struggling to weaken the opposition campaigns. The argumentation is plausibly reasonable. If multi-party democracy allows different opinions then it was not right for CCM to violate that principle of democracy.

Regarding the fifth dimension, Mbatia commits a fallacy of *ad hominem* by depicting the CCM as the peace violation strategists without clearly mentioning the names. It is an exaggeration because not all CCM cadres went to Ngurdoto to plan such moves. *Argumentum ad populum* is another strategy that led the argumentation to be fallacious in some respect. Requesting the audience to protect Lowassa is unlawful, there are legal procedures that Mbatia could have followed to combat unacceptable behaviour during campaigns. Public engagement in security matters could have implied serious peace violation. The language usage is violated. Mbatia assumes that Lowassa is in danger but there were no incidences where Lowassa before the 29th August 2015 is threatened by police forces.

Concerning the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, Mbatia's arguments are relevant. If the police have a duty to protect the public without regard, it is not right for the police officers to have a meeting with CCM cadres. That is a typical sign of favouritism in public security. Therefore, Mbatia's argumentation that peacekeeping strategies during the 2015 general elections were controversial is reasonable. Pragmatically, the situation Mbatia claims is relevant in Tanzania. There have been many serious allegations made against the police forces especially mistreating opposition parties in favour of the ruling party, CCM. The argumentation is plausibly valid given that Mbatia, an experienced politician, is aware of unfair elections in the country that is why he focusses on a topic of controversy. In the case of presentational devices, dissociation is clearly presented to make the argumentation effective. Multi-party dispensation includes opposition parties that Mbatia claims CCM does not really execute. That is why they plan to apply coercive means to suppress opposition. Binary opposition and false dilemma are other means of strategic maneuvering that Mbatia presents.

He argues as if there are no other political parties that had nominated their candidates. The focus of his arguments relied on CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates. This is a strategy to make potential audience decide and those not yet decided to make their decisions on binary ties. In Pragma-dialectical perspective, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.11 maintains a delicate balance of reasonableness and effectiveness in argumentative discourse.

5.7.3 Double standard on the personality of Lowassa

In the argumentation represented in Figure 5.12, Sumaye claims CCM has double standards on Lowassa. Kikwete appointed him a Prime Minister, but the same president and CCM supporters now regard Lowassa weak. The reason can be traced from his defection from CCM to CHADEMA.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 12

SUMAYE: Ahsante sana! (1) Sasa niseme kidogo juu ya mgombea wetu kwasababu ya muda ninayo mambo mengi sana lakini niseme tu kidogo. (2) Leo Lowassa ametoka CCM anaonekana hafai hana hili hana lile, lakini ni Kikwete aliyemfanya kuwa waziri mkuu wake katika serikali ya Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania. (3) Kuna raisi anawekaga waziri mkuu ambaye hafai? (4) Lakini ndio Lowassa huyu huyu aliyemuingiza Kikwete ikulu. (5) Kwahiyo kwamba wananchi wa Tanzania wanampenda Lowassa hili halina mjadala. (6) Kwamba Lowassa ni mchapa kazi halina mjadala. (7) Kwamba Lowassa anawapenda pia Watanzania halina mjadala. (8) Kwamba Lowassa ndio ataongoza haya mabadiliko.

[1] Thank you very much! [2] Let me talk briefly about our candidate due to the shortage of time. [3] I have so many things to say but let me say a few things. [3] Today, because Lowassa has left CCM, he is regarded worthless and directionless, [4] but it is Kikwete who appointed him his Prime Minister in the government of the United Republic of Tanzania. [5] Is there any president who appoints a useless Prime Minister? [6] In addition, it is this very same Lowassa who assisted Kikwete to go to the state house. [7] The fact that Tanzanians love Lowassa is unquestionable. [8] The fact that Lowassa is a hardworking person is unquestionable. [9] The fact Lowassa loves Tanzanians is unquestionable. [10] The fact that Lowassa will lead these transformations is unquestionable.

Regarding the argumentation structure, Sumaye argues Lowassa is worth voting for the presidency, but Kikwete tarnishes Lowassa's image for political reasons. Sumaye provides different structures in his argumentation. There are coordinative argument structures ((1.1a,

1.1b, 1.1c) and (1.1b.1.1.1a, 1.1b.1.1.1a, 1.1b.1.1.1a, 1.1b.1.1.1a)), and subordinative argument structure (1.1b, 1.1b.1, 1.1b.1.1, and 1.1b.1.1.1a-d). The argumentation is inductively presented. If Lowassa is a hard worker, he loves Tanzanians and vice versa, and he is promising to lead Tanzanians to development transformations, therefore, he qualifies to be a president.

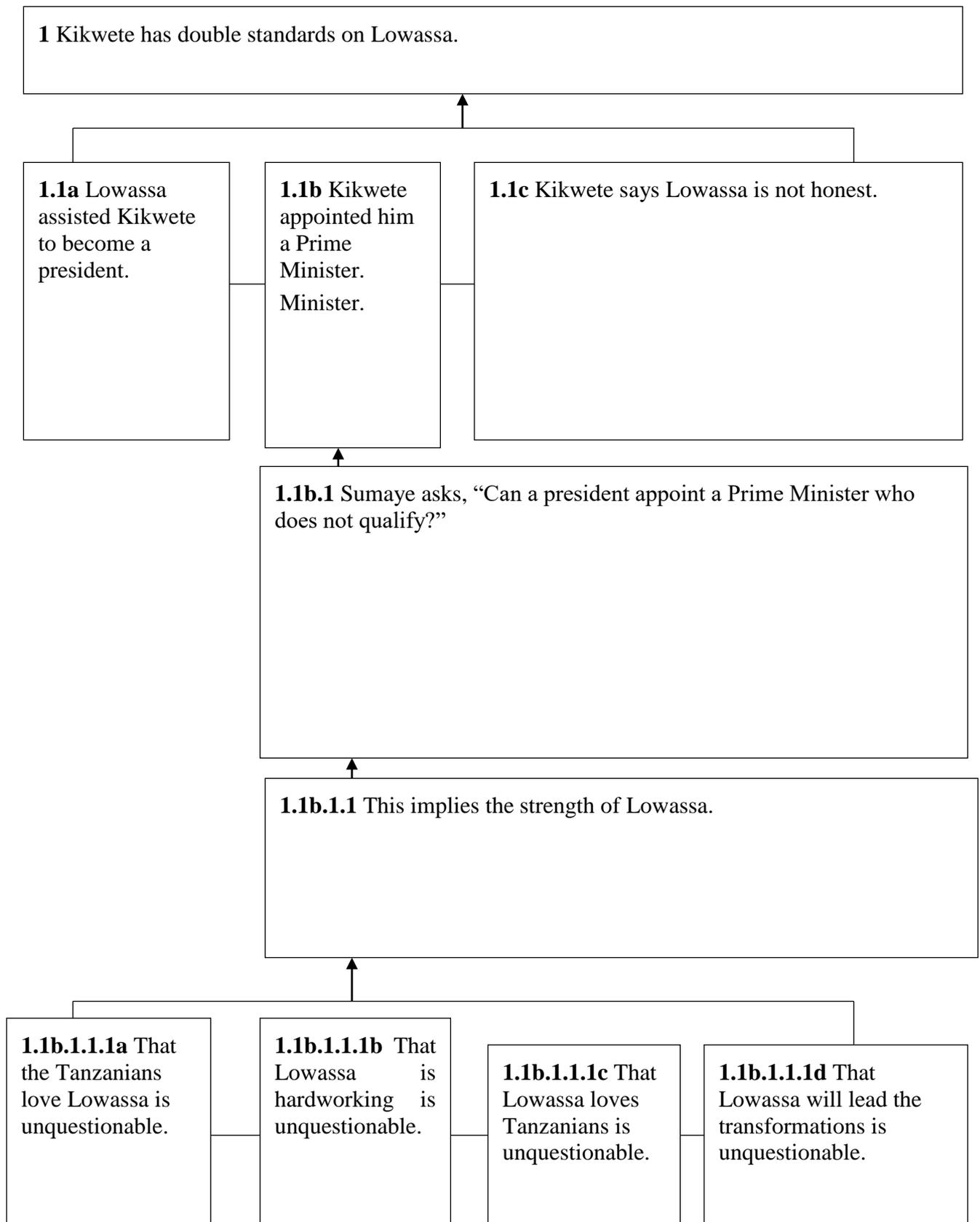


Figure 5.12: Reconstructed argumentation structure on Kikwete’s double standardness on Lowassa

In respect to argumentation schemes represented in Figure 5.12, Sumaye rhetorically questions the reality of Kikwete appointing Lowassa a Prime Minister if Kikwete does not like someone smart. In a standpoint claiming Kikwete has double standards on Lowassa, symptomatic argumentation scheme is revealed. Additionally, Sumaye asserts Lowassa has public support given that Tanzanians love him, Lowassa loves Tanzanians, and Lowassa can lead people to political transformations. Thus, if Tanzanians like the president with similar characteristics Lowassa has, then Lowassa qualifies to be the president.

Considering the topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices, the topic is strategically selected. The public is aware of how Lowassa was actively engaged in making sure that the 2005 CCM campaigns went smoothly in which Kikwete won. In the argumentation stage, Sumaye pin-points Kikwete an enemy, a strategy perhaps to help supporters of CHADEMA/UKAWA realise CCM supporters are not genuine, and thus whatever they present should not be accepted unless scrutinised. This is a negative judgement in the appraisal perspective (Iedema *et al.*, 1994). Relating to audience demand in the confrontation stage, Sumaye presupposes CCM candidate is supported by people who are not consistent.

The supporter of CCM appreciated Lowassa when he was appointed a Prime Minister in Kikwete's government, but the same people have turned against him. Such inconsistency is a sign of poor governance, and it implies that CCM is not worth supporting. The Tanzanian public has preferences they expect the government to reciprocate after the electorate has voted for the candidates. Thus, it could not be meaningful to vote for the candidate of the unpredictable party. Presentational devices in the argumentation represented in Figure 5.12 are highlighted from the confrontation stage to the concluding stage. In the initial stage, double standards of Kikwete is a strategy of delegitimising what Kikwete claims to be the case especially allegations of fraud scandals on Lowassa. Secondly, belittlement is presented to advise the public to ignore accusations staged against Lowassa and other CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates. In the opening stage, Sumaye supports his standpoint explaining how Kikwete appointed Sumaye a Prime Minister, a person Kikwete claimed is weak. The strategies employed in this scenario are dissociation where CCM supporters are regarded as inconsistent in what they present. The audience demand in the opening stage is also observed. Sumaye selectively decides to support his claim as a comparative technique evaluating Lowassa positively and evaluating Kikwete negatively. In this way, evaluation on

Kikwete is used as an identity transfer technique. Kikwete is a chairperson of the ruling party CCM. Therefore, from a level of party nomination in electoral procedures, Sumaye presupposes an inconsistent leader in the inconsistent party, most likely nominates an unreliable candidate to fit the interests of the party. Sumaye explicitly states his belief and supports a decision of CHADEMA/UKAWA opposing CCM. The inclusive technique is employed. Whatever Sumaye believes to be true, he presents it as if it were universally accepted.

In the argumentation stage, Sumaye indicates criteria that qualifies Lowassa for the presidency. Sumaye provides opinions as facts, for instance, love of Lowassa to Tanzanians is unquestionable. Whether Lowassa really loves Tanzanians or not, questioning could stand as the proof of Lowassa's love for Tanzanians. Given an advantage of a need of the audience for transformations, Sumaye generalizes to make people believe without questioning. This is because of the type of the speech act Sumaye uses. According to Searle (1979a), Sumaye can be categorised to command in making sure the electorate can believe Lowassa is a must vote for a candidate. The audience demand in the argumentation stage is implemented in different ways. Overgeneralisation is manifested to attract feelings of the audience that Lowassa's is a likeable and lovable person is unquestionable. In the argumentation stage, a series of glittering generalities could be identified in the argumentation as explained in the opening stage. In the concluding stage, Sumaye suggests it is better to vote for a candidate who loves the Tanzanian public implying Lowassa. Since good leaders with characteristics like those of Lowassa are preferred, then Lowassa is a preferable candidate.

Regarding the dimension of the successful observation rules for critical discussion, the freedom rule is presented as Sumaye respects Kikwete had a right to express his beliefs although Sumaye criticises what is expressed. Sumaye provides arguments to support his standpoint as the way of implementing the burden of proof rule. Secondly, the standpoint rule is observed, Sumaye maintains his topic of criticising Kikwete's double standardness on Lowassa from the confrontation stage to the concluding stage. Unexpressed premise rule is observed as Sumaye expressed that Kikwete is victimising Lowassa because Kikwete wants a candidate from CCM to win the election. The argumentation comprised of schemes such as causal relation and the symptomatic argument scheme. Given that Tanzanians want a committed president from a reliable party, then the argumentation is valid in the perspective of pragmatic argumentative patterns.

Concerning the derailments of the rules for critical discussion, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.12 portrays the *tu quongue* fallacy. Sumaye comments that because Kikwete appointed Lowassa a president, then Lowassa is clean. It could be a mistake by Kikwete that is why they did not like to repeat the mistake by rejecting his name at the party nomination level. The second fallacy is *argument ad hominem*. Sumaye appeals to what the public wants to hear on political transformations. *Ad vericudiam* is also demonstrated. Sumaye blames Kikwete of not providing reasons for appointing Lowassa a Prime Minister.

Considering the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, sound criteria of the argumentation are clearly observed. The argumentation is plausibly acceptable from the explanation in Figure 5.12. Secondly, symptomatic and causal relation argumentation schemes are appropriately demonstrated. Lastly, but not in an order of importance, pragmatically, presidents appoint to the position of prime minister, smart people. Thus, Sumaye is contextually correct to criticise Kikwete's claim that Lowassa does not qualify for a presidential position. With that regard, the argumentation is logically consistent. Different presentational devices, such as appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, modifying the audience and employing the locus of irreparable are employed. Additionally, Sumaye dissociates himself and CHADEMA/UKAWA members and supporters from the politics that cannot accommodate views from other people. Relating to propaganda technique, Sumaye uses bandwagon that everybody in the audience is aware that Lowassa can lead Tanzanians to political transformations. Therefore, according to the Pragma-dialectical perspective, argumentation in Figure 5.12, maintains a rhetorical dimension of effectiveness and a dialectical dimension of reasonable in deliberative argumentative discourse.

5.7.4 CCM members contradictions in executing multiparty democracy

As represented in Figure 5.13 of the CCM speech Segment 13, Sumaye argues that the CCM government does not believe in the multiparty dispensation. CCM propagate that if the electorate vote for the opposition party candidates, it is likely Tanzania will fall into war. They also claim those defecting to opposition parties do so due to immorality.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 13

SUMAYE: Ahsanteni sana! (1) Kwaajili ya muda nitasema kwa kifupi sana, nilikua na mambo mengi ya kusema lakini naamini tutapata muda siku nyingine ya kuyazungumza. (2) Mimi nimetoka Chama cha Mapinduzi. (3) Katibu mkuu wa Chama cha Mapinduzi alisema

sisi ambao hatukuteuliwa tulikuwa na matatizo ya maadili. (4) Mimi nasema kama kipimo cha maadili ni mheshimiwa Kinana katibu mkuu wa CCM, kama kipimo ni yeye mimi nitakuwa mtakatifu. (5) CCM wamekua wakiendesha siasa ya chama kimoja walikuwa wamejifunika ngozi ya vyama vingi kwa miaka mingi sana. (6) Kwahiyo wananchi watanzania mmekuwa mkipunjika miaka yote. (7) Tulitaka kuleta mabadiliko kuanzia kulekule ndio wakafanya waliyoyafanya, basi mimi na mheshimiwa Edward Lowassa kila mmoja kwa wakati wake, alitambua kwamba watanzania hawa walitaka mabadiliko jana sio leo. (8) Lakini kukawa na tatizo ndani ya CCM ukitaka kufanya lolote wamekuzingira. (9) Wanawajaza watanzania kitu kinachoitwa uwoga wa wasilolifahamu, au uwoga wa usilolijua. (10) Kwahiyo kila siku watawaambia Watanzania mkiwapa wapinzani nchi itaingia kwenye vita. (11) Mkiwapa wapinzani wataharibu nchi, (12) watafanya hiki na kile. Sasa kila binadamu anakitu kinachoitwa uwoga wa usilolijua. (13) Mheshimiwa Lowassa baada ya kuona hilo akasema kwasababu mimi Watanzania wananifahamu nimekuwa waziri wao kwa miaka mingi, nimekuwa waziri mkuu kwa vyovyote wananifahamu nikienda kuwasaidia katika kuleta mabadiliko haya, ambayo wanayataka uwoga wa wasilolijua hautakuwepo. (14) Na mimi nimekuja kwasababu hiyo nimekuja kwasababu nataka nisaidiane na UKAWA nisaidiane na LOWASSA, (15) lakini kubwa zaidi nisaidiane na ninyi wana mageuzi wana mapinduzi wana mabadiliko tuweze kuleta mabadiliko ndani ya Tanzania. Ili watanzania muanze kufurahia maisha ambayo ni bora. (16) Sio maisha ya kudanganywa kila siku. (17) Mnaambiwa maisha ni bora. (18) Maisha ni mazuri lakini hali za watanzania wa kawaida zinazidi kushuka na kuharibika. (19) Watanzania leo elimu yetu inashuka sana, badala ya kuboresha elimu tunashusha alama za kufaulu wanafunzi, ili ionekane waliofaulu ni wengi. (20) Afya halikadhalika wakina mama hawa wajawazito wakienda hospitali hawapati dawa za bure kama tulivyokua tumekubaliana kwenye sera. (21) Tunataka tuondokane na hali hiyo na ninyi ndio mko mstari wa mbele sisi tumekuja tu kusaidia msirudi nyuma, mabadilikooooo.....

Thank you very much! [1] Due to the time limit, I will talk very briefly. [2] I had so many things to talk about, [3] but I think we will get some other time to talk about them. [4] I have left CCM. [5] The CCM General Secretary, Honourable Abdullahman Kinana claims those who joined opposition parties were rejected by the CCM because of their immorality. [6] However, I say that if the measure of morality is Honourable Kinana, then I am a saint. [7] Having covered itself with a multipartism skin, CCM has been practising monopartism for a long time. [8] Thus, the citizens of Tanzania have been being swindled all these years. [9] We

wanted to make changes while still being CCM members, they weakened us. [10] Honourable Lowassa and I, each one of us in his own time realized that these Tanzanians needed changes yesterday, not today. [11] Problems started within CCM. [12] If you want to do something, they restrict you from doing it and they threatened the Tanzanians with the fear of the unknown. [13] So, everyday they threaten Tanzanians that if they give the country to the opposition parties, the country will enter into wars, the opposition will spoil the country, or they will do this or that. [14] Okay, every human being has what is known as the fear of the unknown. [15] So when Honourable Lowassa saw this he said, 'since the Tanzanians know me as I have been their minister for many years, and I was their Prime Minister, so in whatever the case they know me; if I go there to help them in bringing to them the changes they need, hopefully, they will no longer have the fear of the unknown.' [16] Me too have come for the same reason of helping one another within UKAWA and with Lowassa. [17] But the greatest of all is to help one another with you, the transformationalists, revolutionists and development change supporters, in order to enhance changes in the country so that you may start to enjoy better living standards and stop being deceived daily. [18] You are told that you have good lives, [19] you have better lives while the lives of the ordinary low-income Tanzanians decline and become spoilt. [20] Our education declines every day. [21] Instead of improving the education, they lower the pass marks to increase the number of students who pass examinations. [22] The same applies to the health sector when pregnant women go to the hospitals, they do not get medicines for free as we agreed in our policy. [23] We want to get rid of that situation. [24] You are in the frontline. [25] Do not turn back, as, for us, we have just come to give you support! Changes...

In respect to the argumentation structure as represented in Figure 5.13, Sumaye supports his standpoint with different forms of argument structures, such as multiple structures ((1.1, 1.2), and (1.1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.1.2), subordinative argument structures such (1.1, 1.1.1, 1.1.1.1, 1.1.1.1.2, 1.1.1.1.2.1, 1.1.1.1.2.1, 1.1.1.1.2.1.1b, 1.1.1.1.2.1.1b.1b), and coordinative structures, such as (1.2.1a, 1.2.1b), (1.1.1.1.2.1.1a, 1.1.1.1.2.1.1b). The argumentation in Figure 5.13 is inductively presented (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993; Hurley, 2012). Sumaye claims if CCM claim opposition parties should not be supported and voted for because they can lead the country into war, while in 1992 a law was passed stipulating multiparty democracy in Tanzania.

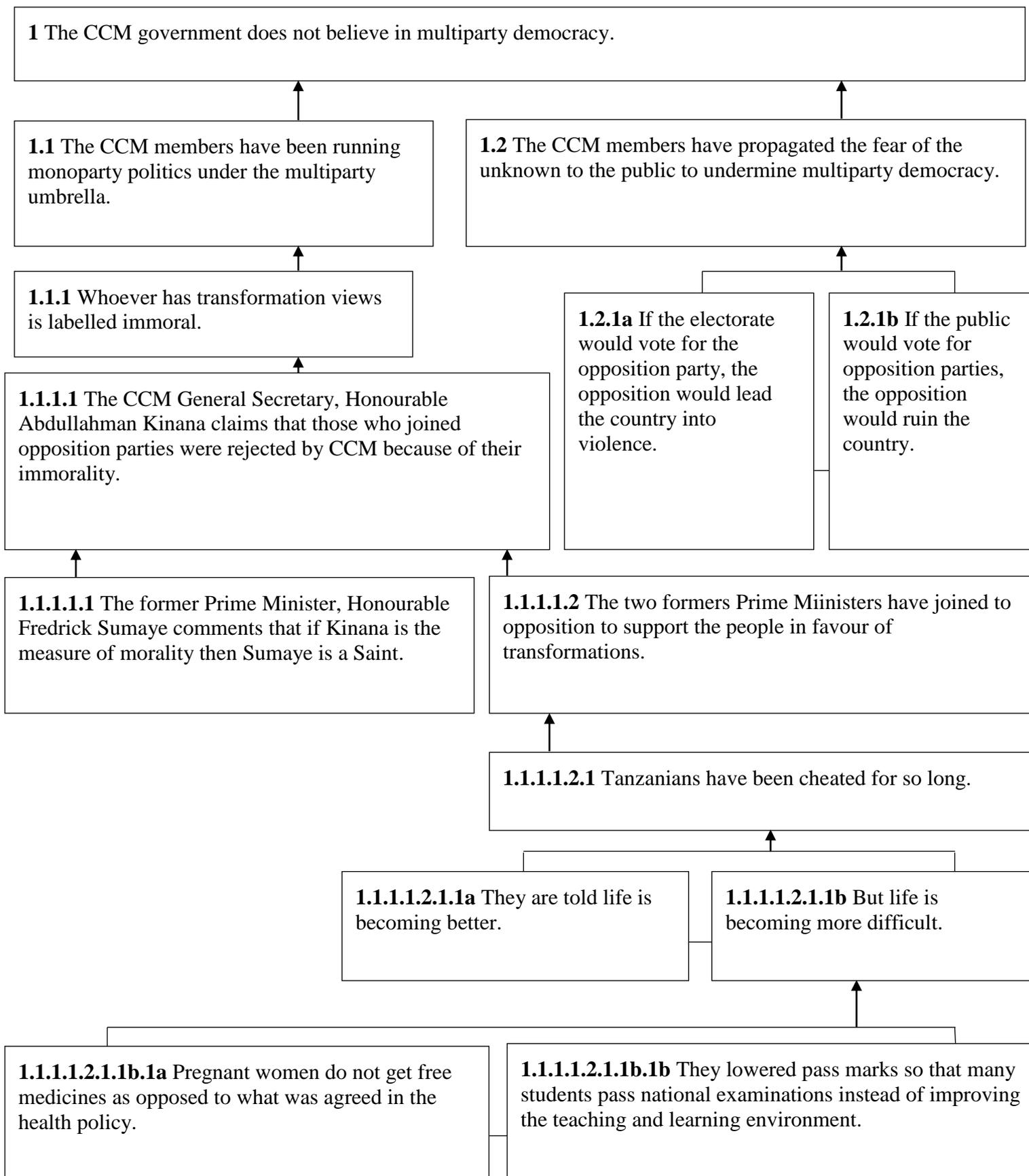


Figure 5.13: Reconstructed argumentation structure on CCM disbelief in multiparty democracy

Regarding the argumentation scheme, in a context of mobilising public support for political purposes, speakers may use all possible examples to attract the potential voters. A supporter of CHADEMA/UKAWA and former Prime Minister (1995 to 2005), questions the way CCM claims to facilitate multiparty democracy. Sumaye disagrees with false allegations by the CCM Secretary General, Kinana, that those who join opposition parties from CCM are rejects. Sumaye comparing himself with Kinana, he adds that if the standards of morality were Kinana, then Sumaye could be a Saint. This is an ironical comment implying Kinana was not clean either. This is an argument by analogy. Additionally, Sumaye criticises better living standard slogans CCM talk about while living standards are worsening every now and then. Worse still, instead of maximising the quality of education, the government has been lowering marks for the sake of gaining cheap popularity as students pass exams. This is done at the expense of competences and skills they are expected to acquire after completing their studies. Therefore, Sumaye employed the symptomatic argumentation scheme (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008).

In respect to topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, Sumaye transparently comments that the CCM government does not believe in the multi-party dispensation. In the confrontation stage, he strategically decides to identify that multiparty in Tanzania is practically still difficult. Sumaye wants to create a sympathetic context in which in case CHADEMA/UKAWA faces some problems the Tanzanian public would recall what Sumaye says at the inaugural campaigns.

In Appraisal theory perspective, the move is referred to as affect because it makes the audience feel as if what is being said is happening at the moment (Martin & White, 2005). Secondly, Sumaye ironically elevates his concern that Kikwete is not doing fair to democracy in Tanzania since constitutionally Tanzanians are free to join any political party they want. He implies Kikwete is mistreating the opposition. This evaluation can lead potential electorate to feel some responsibility of supporting the opposition. Sumaye raises doubt on the practicality of multiparty democracy in Tanzania. This is a strategy of appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions because CCM has been in power for over 50-years, people are still living in poor conditions. Moreover, Sumaye pinpoints CCM an enemy of better living standards, and thus creating an awareness that voting for CCM is a continuation of supporting poverty. Presentational devices demonstrated in Figure 5.13 are particularly reflecting the CCM government misuses of power. Another scenario of depicting CCM as the dictatorial

party is a strategy of bad naming (Shabo, 2008). Sumaye comments CCM does not really want multiparty democracy. Secondly, by questioning the governance of CCM, Sumaye promotes civic responsibility of awakening citizens on weaknesses of CCM. In the opening stage, Sumaye assumes a position of the protagonist to support a claim that multi-party democracy in Tanzania is questionable. It is somehow easier to defend his position given that the opposition camp and all those who want political changes can feel accommodated by Sumaye's position.

To meet audience demand Sumaye capitalises on the topic that the government under CCM does not provide equal chances of exercising politics to opposition parties. The claim is made with the *argumentum ad missericordiam* that when Sumaye and Lowassa joined opposition parties, CCM leaders labelled them immoral. The audience demand is getting to know what takes place in the ruling party. That is why they could easily support the two Prime Ministers who joined the opposition party. Sumaye dissociates CHADEMA/UKAWA parties from CCM members and supporters who do not like to implement the constitutional dictates of democracy especially multipartism in Tanzania. In the argumentation stage, Sumaye comments that the CCM has been running monoparty democracy under the umbrella of multiparty propaganda. Sumaye euphemistically presupposes CCM is a dictatorial party. Since the Tanzanian public believes in democracy, they can perhaps think of supporting CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates to resume democracy in Tanzania. Moreover, Sumaye opposes the notion by the CCM Secretary General, Abdulrahman Kinana, that whoever supports political transformation is immoral. He adds that if Kinana were a criterion for morality then Sumaye could be a saint. Strategically, he leaves a premise unexpressed that Kinana is immoral. If Kinana is immoral, then the people in CCM support immorality. And if they support immorality something that is bad, then voters can dissociate themselves from CCM and perhaps vote for CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates. The strategies of the lesser evil and false dilemma are manifested. Sumaye argues further that, himself together with Lowassa, joined CHADEMA/UKAWA, not because of misconduct in the ruling party but because they wanted political transformations.

Given the political positions they held in the government, a positive persona technique is presented. The public could transfer the experiences Prime Ministers had in the government to CHADEMA/UKAWA government in case they win the election. If CCM had good governance, that would be reflected in the living standards of the people something that

Sumaye claimed to be lacking. Sumaye employs a locus of irreparable strategy commenting that, instead of maximising quality education, the CCM government lowered pass marks so that students could pass exams but without skills. This is a sarcastic way of criticising the government. Strategically, this type of plausible reasoning suits the universal audience. Issues of better living standards for all Tanzanians, and supply of health services are demonstrated as the pledges CCM failed to implement though they were in the 2010 to 2015 manifesto. The strategies of identifying weaknesses of opponents and providing alternatives are manifested. The CCM status is belittled whereas CHADEMA/UKAWA status is elevated all aiming at justifying why CHADEMA candidates ought to be voted for. Sumaye furthers his arguments that Tanzanians had been cheated for so long creating among them the fear of the unknown that opposition parties can ruin the country and cause violence. Being cheated is a sign of not being able to reason appropriately or lacking some right information. Fundamentally, Sumaye does so to promote civic responsibility among Tanzanians not to accept without meditating what the ruling party supporters say as facts while they were just propaganda techniques.

In the argumentation stage, CCM is portrayed as a party failing to implement pledges. A question in this regard is credibility if they failed to implement all sorts of pledges in the 2010 manifesto, how would they manage the 2015 ones. It is from such perspective that Sumaye uses belittling in the argumentation. Moreover, the mentioning of women as a group that has been marginalised by CCM is meant to modify relevant audience. In the context of Tanzania, women are more loyal to the ruling party because of threats that CCM campaigners make that if you vote for opposition parties the country may fall into war. Therefore, given the notion of peace refers to the absence of war, CCM perhaps gets more votes from women. Sumaye wants to disambiguate it by promoting active citizenship of understanding multiparty democracy and good governance. In the concluding stage, Sumaye suggests that Tanzanians who are for development for all and support democracy it is a right time to support CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidates. Sumaye strategically elevates the status of the opposition parties commenting that he and Lowassa, both former Prime Ministers in the United Republic Tanzania, joined the opposition because of the need for political transformation in the country.

In regard to successful observation of rules for critical discussion, to enable the argumentation to take place freedom rule, Sumaye observes the freedom rule. He criticises

the way CCM construes multiparty democracy, but he is ready for opposite views, thus argumentation can take place. Sumaye implements burden of proof rule too. He argues that joining opposition parties is constitutional, and he criticises all those who do not like stipulations of the constitution to prevail. Moreover, Sumaye maintains the standpoint of questioning CCM of their intention of minimising democracy in the United Republic of Tanzania. The relevance rule is observed as Sumaye expresses circumstances of CCM Secretary General that claimed those who join CHADEMA/UKAWA are rejects of the ruling party. Moreover, unexpressed premises from the claims of CCM are taken into considerations. CCM threatens the Tanzanian public that if opposition parties were to win the general election, the country would fall into war, and the government under opposition parties would ruin the country. The starting point rule is implemented. From the confrontation stage to the concluding stage, Sumaye focusses on what he calls execution of monoparty politics under the umbrella of multi-party democracy. The argument schemes were clearly applied. Also, the closure rule is observed as Sumaye clarifies why CHADEMA/UKAWA wants to lead the fifth-phase government.

Concerning the identification of derailments in the argumentative discourse, many of the critical discussion rules in the argumentation in Figure 5.13 are observed. However, Sumaye commits a fallacy of *tu quonque*. He claims that because the Secretary General of the ruling party CCM is not clean, criticising Sumaye, Lowassa and other former CCM candidates who joined the opposition party is not right. Basically, two wrongs do not make it right (Partington & Taylor, 2018). Therefore, the language usage in Sumaye's arguments is to some extent equivocally formed.

Regarding the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, the soundness criteria for the success of any argumentation are numerous but referring to the Pragma-dialectical perspective, the acceptability of the standpoint, pragmatic consistency, logical consistency, appropriate use of argument schemes, and the validity of the argumentation must be critically observed. Sumaye's standpoint was acceptable. If Tanzania is executing multiparty democracy as stipulated in the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, then any bonafide citizen of the United Republic of Tanzania is free to exercise that freedom of active citizenship in the political sphere. Pragmatic consistency is demonstrated in the argumentation from CCM campaigns where it is claimed that rejects of CCM are the ones who joined the opposition party. Therefore, Sumaye must counter argue such claims

especially referring to the constitutional rights to exercise multiparty democracy. Logically, Sumaye's standpoint is consistent. If it is constitutional to join any legitimate political party, why could Abdulrahman Kinana dysphemistically label Lowassa, Sumaye and other former CCM members and supporters rejects because they joined opposition parties, particularly the CHADEMA? The schemes are critically and appropriately employed. The argumentation focusses on the dictates of the constitution in relation to multiparty democracy. Therefore, whether those who joined CHADEMA/UKAWA are rejects or not, that cannot deprive Tanzanians of their right to support parties they believe can be an alternative to the ruling party. Therefore, the argumentation is plausibly reasonable. The presentational devices, propaganda techniques, the political means of strategic maneuvering, and the stylistic devices are extensively employed in the argumentation in Figure 5.13. Therefore, the argumentation is effective as well as reasonable in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics.

5.7.5 Health issues of presidential candidates

As represented in 14 of CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 14 Sumaye comments that in the age above 50 nobody can be hundred per cent healthy. He makes such a comment because CCM supporters claim Lowassa does not qualify to be a president because of health issues.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 14

SUMAYE: (1) Jambo la pili ambalo wanamsema nalo ndugu yetu! (2) Wanasema mgonjwa! (3) Mi nataka niwaulize! (4) Nataka niwaulize, kwani Magufuli mzima? (5) Wanaendaga kufanya nini ulaya kama ni wazima. (6) Mtu yoyote ukishavuka miaka 50 huwezi kuwa mzima asilimia 100. (7) Lakini hivi raisi Mkapu alipokua madarakani hakwenda kufanyiwa operation kubwa ulaya? (8) Kwani nchi ilidondoka? (9) Alikwenda kwasababu alikua anaumwa akatibiwa akarudi akaikuta nchi salama. Mabadilikooooo.... mabadilikoooo..... Lowassaaaa.... Lowassaaaaasante sana. (10) Haya kwani raisi Kikwete alipokuwa madarakani hakwenda kufanyiwa upasuaji mkubwa wa tezi dume Marekani? Haya... (11) Ahsanteni sana! (12) Jamani nataka niwaambieni, uraisi si kazi ya kubeba zege ikulu. (13) Raisi anachotakiwa aweke timu nzuri ya kazi ili imsaidie yeye ni meneja tu! (14) Na Lowassa hiyo kazi anaiweza. (15) Kichwa chake ni kizuri sana na ana nia njema kwa watanzania. (16) Naomba sana tumchague itakapofika tarehe 25 Oktoba. (17) Naona hata ndege inatushangilia! (18) Ebu naomba watakaomchagua Lowassa wanyooshe mikono juu! (19)

Watakaompigia Lowassa, asanteni sana nawashukuru mimi niko pamoja na Lowassa niko pamoja na UKAWA niko pamoja na nyinyi wanamabadiliko na tutahakikisha safari hii CCM inakaa bench. Mabadilikooo.....

[1] The second issue which they use to attack our fellow is that they say that he is sick. [2] I want to ask them! [3] Is Magufuli well? [4] Why do they go to Europe frequently if they are well? [5] Anybody above 50 years old cannot be well 100% healthwise. [6] Additionally, when president Mkapa was in power, didn't he go to Europe for a major medical operation? [7] Did the country collapse? [8] He went there since he was sick; he was treated. [9] He found the country safe. Lowassaaaaa.... Lowassaaaaa..... [10] Thank you very much! [11] Okay, when president Kikwete was in power, didn't he go to the United States of America to do a major medical operation of prostate cancer? [12] Okay... thank you very much. [13] My friends, I want to tell you that presidency is not a work of carrying concrete in the state house, [14] but the president is required to appoint a good team for the work so that that team can help him. [15] The president is a manager, and Lowassa can do that work. [16] His brain is smart, and he has a good intention for the Tanzanians. [17] I beseech you that we should elect him on the 25 October general elections. [18] I can see that even an aeroplane is cheering us (an aeroplane passed over the crowd during the campaign). [19] Please! Those who will elect Lowassa, please raise up your hands! [20] Those who will elect Lowassa should raise up your hands! [21] Thank you very much! [22] I am with Lowassa and UKAWA, [23] and I am with you for changes! [24] We will make sure that this time CCM is benched!

Changes...

Considering the argumentation structure, Sumaye claims that the `health issues of the CHADEMA presidential candidate are common to people above 50 years, not specific to Lowassa as a disqualification for the presidency. He provides different argument structure to support the claim, for instance, coordinative and multiple argument structures (1.1a, 1.1b) and (1.2). The argumentation is inductively presented. Sumaye provides several empirical pieces of evidence of government officials who go abroad for medical treatment but still the government does not collapse because of the absence of those government leaders.

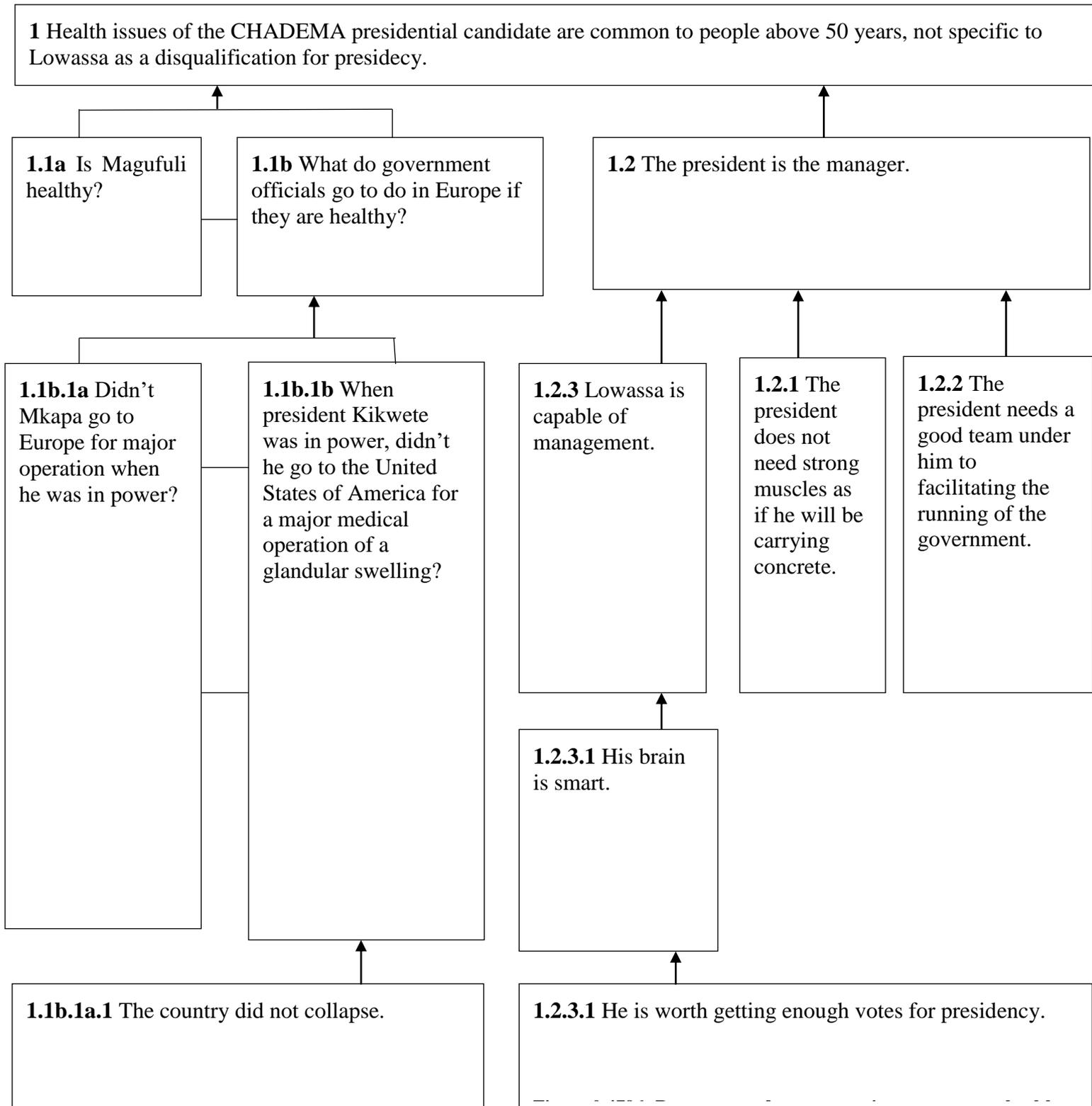


Figure 5.14: Reconstructed argumentation structure on health issues of presidential candidates

Regarding the dimension of schemes, in the argumentation in Figure 5.14, Sumaye specifies cases of Mkapa and Kikwete. He justifies that presidents are like any other human beings, they may fall sick. The role of the president is to manage other people and not doing manual work. Therefore, Lowassa despite his sickness he would manage the country. This is an argument by analogy. Sumaye furthers the argument that Lowassa's brain is smart so he would be a good leader. That being the case, Lowassa's smartness is a sign of a good leader. This is a symptomatic argument scheme. Ever since Sumaye was a Prime Minister in Mkapa's government, his argument was of authority, thus, implying an argument from authority.

As far as topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices are concerned, Sumaye expresses his feelings on how Lowassa should be valued like any other human being. The speech act of expressive is implicitly exemplified (Searle, 1979b). Sumaye associates Lowassa's case with the cases of Mkapa and Kikwete to neutralise the claim of Lowassa's sickness. Sumaye shelves the intensity of the problem. Lowassa's case was critical during campaigns, but to strategically argue in a way that favoured the arguer's position in resolving the difference of opinion, the disease is generalised. Across all stages of argumentation in the Pragma-dialectical perspective, Sumaye targets the audience demand. In the first two stages, Sumaye focusses on the ability of Lowassa to become a president. Contextually, the popularity of Lowassa was high regardless of corruption scandals that led to his resignation in 2008. There a claim that Lowassa's support was influenced by corruption, again no evidence has been presented for legal follow-ups. For that matter, Sumaye presents Lowassa as a must vote for a candidate. Persuasion devices amalgamate to make the argumentation effective from the perspective of Pragma-dialectics.

In the confrontation stage, the association is employed in a way that Lowassa's illness is staged as if it is caused by age. In the opening stage, Sumaye maintains his topic of criticising those who think health problems are specific to Lowassa only. He emphasises that age is a source of illness in Lowassa's case. He uses shelving fair strategic maneuvering because no clarity is provided on how age causes Lowassa's health deterioration. In the argumentation stage, he provides cases of former presidents who fell sick, but the country did not collapse (see arguments 1.1b.1a and 1.1b.1b). Strategically, Sumaye aims at evoking sympathy and inspiring generosity. In the Appraisal perspective, sickness may lead to feelings of pain (White, 2011). Possibly, the use of *argumentum ad missericordiam* fair strategic maneuvering could increase desire of an audience to vote CHADEMA/UKAWA

presidential candidate. An assertion that the president is a manager implied Lowassa would lead the country accordingly despite his illness. It is a technique of presenting opinion as the fact. In a context where CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaigns took place, shelving of the real problem could be possible. Like many other African countries, campaigners know the literacy rate of their audience especially an aspect of active citizenship. The claim that presidents do not carry concretes is used metaphorically implying Lowassa can perform up to standard regardless of health problems.

Another strategy is glittering generalities like Lowassa's smartness. It is just mentioned with any backup. Strategically, in the process resolving a difference of opinion, Sumaye plays his part in persuading the audience not to rely on what CCM supporters present as a disqualification for Lowassa to become a fifth-phase president. To maximise the potential electorate in a way of meeting the audience expectations, he mentions Lowassa's case to be caused by age, and not otherwise. Age is strategically selected since whether one belongs to opposition party camp or to the ruling party, they would feel unfair stigmatising someone because of illness resulting from old age. Moreover, Sumaye comments that Lowassa is smart, and he would do his job properly serving the nation as a president. One of the presentational devices applied is appealing to the emotions of the audience. He concentrates on how Lowassa had been victimised due to the illness. Given that the audience wants a quick economic solution, they would think of voting for Lowassa to remove the CCM government from office. Citizens claimed CCM had been the source of life hardships since independence. In the concluding stage, aware of the slogan of change in the 2015 general elections, the speaker states Lowassa is the right candidate for the future of the Tanzanian public. Therefore, Sumaye concludes requesting the by then potential electorate to vote for Lowassa. In a conclusion, a locus of irreparable is employed highlighting that it was time for Tanzania to get good governance which could only be possible by voting for CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates in the 2015 general elections.

In respect to the rules for critical discussion represented in Figure 5.14, Sumaye tries to argue in defence of his position that Lowassa's health case is caused by age. That is an indication of abiding by freedom rule, argument scheme rule, the burden of proof rule, and the standpoint rule. Carefully, Sumaye responds to unexpressed premises that Lowassa does not qualify for a presidential seat because of his sickness. Therefore, Sumaye exemplifies similar cases of former presidents who fell sick while serving as presidents. With validity, there is no

scientific evidence that was presented that Lowassa would not manage to lead the country. Thus, Sumaye presupposes that it is not fair to deny him a chance of being elected. The closure rule is well put that Lowassa qualifies for the presidency, therefore, the electorate are advised to ignore rumours of disqualifying him.

Regarding the derailments represented in Lowassa argumentation represented in Figure 5.14, Sumaye violates some rules from the confrontation stage to the concluding stage. The first one is *tu quonque* justifying that because former presidents fell sick, but the government did not collapse, that would be a case to Lowassa. But he never appreciates the time they fell sick since the former experienced that when they already started serving the presidential seat while Lowassa is still a presidential candidate. Attacking Kikwete in Sumaye's argumentation is a sign of infringing the argumentative move, thus falling under the category of *argumentum ad hominem*. The interpretation of Lowassa's illness has no evidence of the intensity of the disease that led to strawman's fallacy in the argumentation.

Considering the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.14 has features of soundness in Pragma-dialectical perspective. Pragmatically, Lowassa is sick but that does not mean according to Sumaye he cannot be a president. Logically, if being a president is managing other people and then Lowassa would appoint smart ministers in his cabinet to assist him. Acceptability of the standpoint is plausibly true that age is the source of Lowassa's illness and thus that would be the reason for disqualifying him. Effectively with association technique, Sumaye relates Lowassa's case with cases of Mkapa as a justification that presidents like other human beings fall sick but they can still fulfil their duties up to standard. Stigmatising sick people is a taboo in the Tanzanian public unless one suffers from a communicable disease, for example, cholera, TB, etc., and in such circumstances, there are ways of dealing with patients without directly showing stigmatisation. Therefore, Sumaye evaluates indirectly negatively those CCM supporters and members who mention Lowassa's health problem in campaigns.

Moreover, Sumaye employed the locus of irreparable that Lowassa is the right candidate to rescue the economy of the United Republic of Tanzania. Therefore, the argumentation in Figure 5.14 maintains a delicate balance of effectiveness and reasonableness by observing the rhetorical dimension of effectiveness and the dialectical dimension of reasonableness in the perspective of Pragma-dialects.

5.7.6 False accusations on opposition party rallies

Mrema is the Director of Protocol, Communication, Ideology and Foreign Affairs. He counterargues that CHADEMA/UKAWA campaign rallies are not photoshopped. As represented in Figure 5.15 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment, CCM members and supporters claimed on 23rd August 2015 that CHADEMA/UKAWA has less number of people in the campaign rallies, thus CHADEMA/UKAWA decided to photoshop.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 15

MREMA: (1) Tuwaambie malofa ndo sisi, (2) na yule raisi wa malofa anaongea na malofa wenzake..... (3) anaetaka nimshauri atafute helikopta aone raisi wa malofa na yule wa kwao waliomleeta hapa nani ana watu. (4) Wana Dar es Salaam, asanteni sana, mmejibu kwa vitendo naomba tujipongezeeeee...., kwa umoja wetu kwasababu kwa taarifa nilizozipata ni kwamba umati huu upo mpaka Magomeni.....(5) umati wa watu upo mpaka Magomeni na huku umejaa sana na huku nyuma wanaelewa kwa sababu hata magari barabarani zimesimama. (6) Rais wa malofa yuko uwanja huu na wenzake sasa, asanteni sana Dar es Salaam.

[1] We must tell them that we are loafers, [2] and a president of the loafers is talking to his fellow loafers... [3] if one wants my advice, [4] let them take the helicopter for him/her to see who has more people between the president they brought here and the loafers' president. [5] I am very grateful to you the citizens of Dar es Salaam. [6] You have answered by actions. [7] Let us congratulate ourselves on our unity since based on the information I have received, this rally extends up to Magomeni... [8] The multitude of people has spread up to Magomeni area, and this area is also full of people. [9] They understand because even the cars on the roads have stopped moving, the president of the loafers is here on this ground with his fellow loafers. [10] Thank you very much Dar es Salaam.

The argumentation represented in Figure 5.15 is inductively presented (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993). Mrema details how many people are gathering to listen to CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaign speeches to an extent that it caused heavy traffic jams in the roads in Dar es Salaam. Thus, premises suggest a conclusion that CHADEMA/UKAWA have many supporters. Moreover, Figure 5.15 comprises complex argumentation structure as there are coordinative argument structure (1.1a and 1.1b) and subordinative argumentation structure (1.1a, 1.1a.1, and 1.1a.1.1).

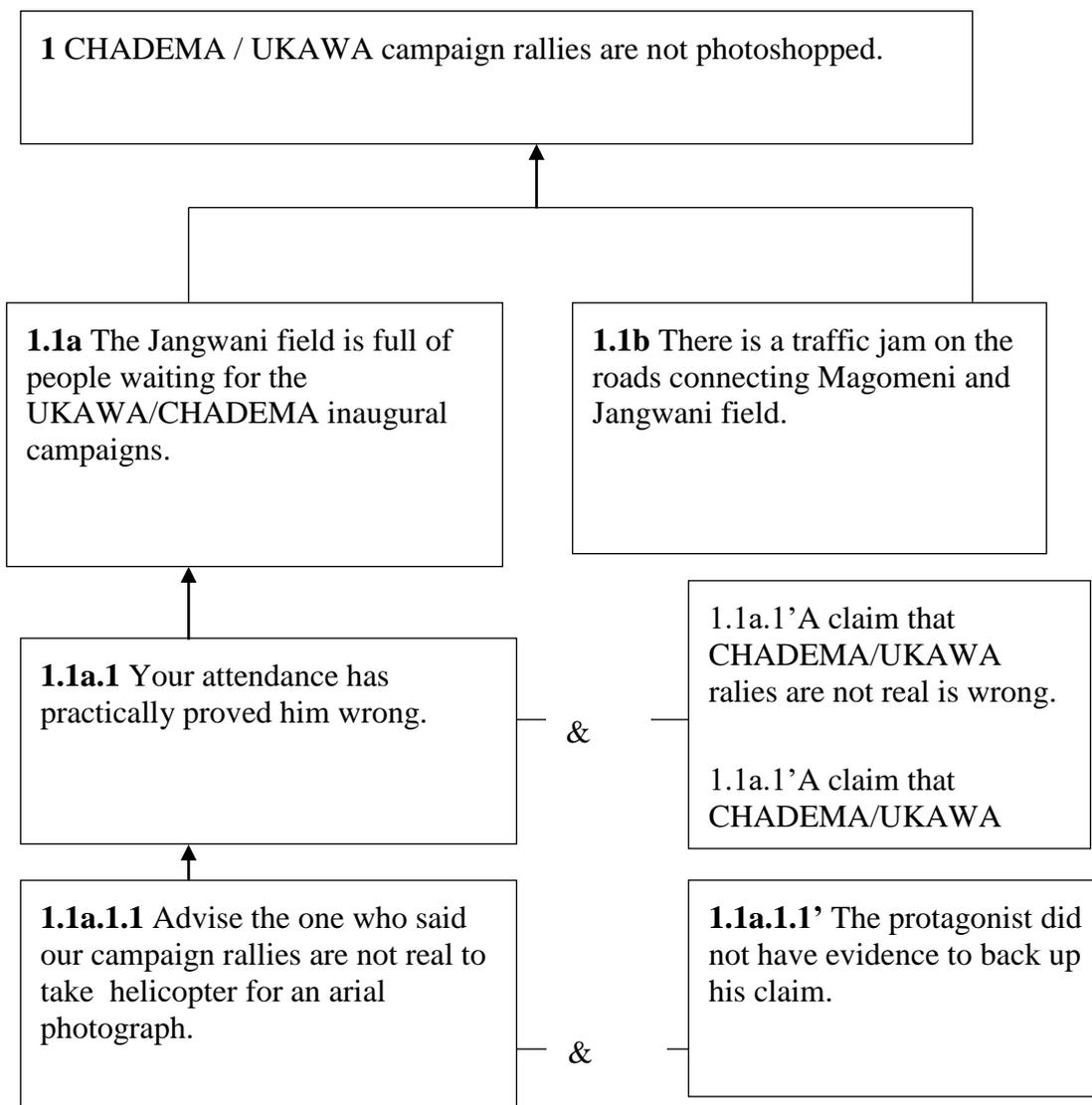


Figure 5.15: Reconstructed argumentation structure on photoshopped rallies

The argumentation represented in Figure 5.15 includes different argumentation schemes. The first scheme is symptomatic argumentation scheme. Mrema identifies that there are a lot of people at Jangwani Field during the CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaigns which is taking place on 29th August 2015. The reasoning for using this scheme is that a week before at the same place, CCM, the ruling party had their inaugural campaigns on 23rd August 2015. The by then president of the United Republic of Tanzania, His Excellency Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete made a comment that the CHADEMA/UKAWA rallies are photoshopped. The second argumentation scheme manifested is argumentation based on analogy. The arguer claims that the heavy traffic jam of vehicles on the way to attend CHADEMA/ UKAWA at Magomeni is an indication that the opposition parties camp had a lot of followers.

Regarding the third dimension, Mrema selects the stylistic devices available to meet the objective intended by his party. Because the word LOAFER suggests a time-wasting person, it is used as a presentational device to make the audience feel they were insulted by the CCM candidate. Specifically, the device is called simile, in the sense that two things are regarded as equal or synonymous. Therefore, the speaker strategically maneuvers (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2014: 554).

In the confrontation stage in Figure 5.15, the supporter of the presidential opposition camp candidates identifies a need to clarify the claim by the ruling party that the rallies of CHADEMA/ UKAWA in 2015 campaigns are not real. In the Appraisal perspective (Martin & White, 2005), Mrema evaluates negatively those CCM members undermining the campaigns of UKAWA. He judged them as liars. According to (Yule, 1996) such an assertion needs a proof because the party campaign spokesperson, Mrema has to provide reasons why he believes so. His decision is strategic because the followers can be sceptical in case nothing is elaborated. They spend time attending to the campaigns, something that is a sign of commitment.

In the opening stage, Mrema assumes a role of the antagonist to argue against a claim that opposition camp presidential campaign rallies were photoshopped. This indicates the need to justify why what Kikwete said was not true. Strategically, Mrema provides evidence in the sense that he tells the audience to look at the mass that had attended to the campaigns to counter argue the ruling party supporter's claim. Such an approach met the felicity conditions because the supporter of the opposition party is in charge of speaking on behalf of the CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential campaigns (Yule, 1996), (Searle, 1979). Given the context of the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaigns, the opposition camp had gained much more supporters because the two former Prime Ministers had joined the opposition party. In that situation, the audience wants to belong to the majority who identified themselves as liberators who started in the 2014 People's Alliance Constitution. This propaganda technique where a speaker wanted to make audience feel better when included in the majority group is called bandwagon (Shabo, 2008). Capitalising on his claim in the argumentation stage, Mrema articulates that what a CCM supporter claims is wrong. By so doing, dissociation was employed (Van Rees, 2009a). The CHADEMA/UKAWA supporter, Mrema dissociates himself from those who tell lies implying CCM campaigners.

Apart from dissociation, another presentational device of strategic maneuvering in Figure 5.15 is the use of the pronoun, specifically, the third person singular (he) to let the audience infer the meaning the speaker implies. Even though there was a possibility of mentioning the name of H.E former president of the United Republic of Tanzania, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, strategically the topic was magnified by using the pronoun to allow many people to talk about it in finding who said it. Moreover, by asserting that the supporter of CCM is wrong, pragmatically mistrust is created among the audience at Jangwani Field and the rest of who were either watching or listening to the speech. According to (Yule, 1996), Mrema as one of the main campaigners in the CHADEMA/UKAWA election camp had the authority to provide such a comment thus his assertion was felicitous.

In the argumentation stage, in counter arguing the claim, Mrema asserts that people that attended to the inaugural campaigns of CHADEMA/UKAWA at Jangwani field on the 23rd of August 2015 are the clear indication that Lowassa and other opposition party candidates have great support. In the perspective of Searle (1979a) the assertion by the CHADEMA supporter entails what was claimed by CCM supporters was not true. Mrema states strategically what the audience wants to hear.

In regard to presentational devices, the speaker proves to the audience that CHADEMA/UKAWA rallies are real thus implying Kikwete's comment is invalid because it contradicts the indicators of having many followers, especially when at Jangwani a lot of people come to attend to the opposition camp inaugural campaigns. According to Van Eemeren *et. al* (2014), presentational devices are central in convincing the opponents to accept a standpoint. In the same line of thinking, Shabo (2008) argues that propaganda techniques help in delivering a message according to the need of a propagandist. Particularising the case, Zarefsky (2008) comments that in political argumentation, there are several means that enables a protagonist or an antagonist to succeed in the argumentation. Persuasion as well may be of great importance in making sure certain arguments are maintained (Lakhani, 2005). All strategies, techniques are possible if appropriate conditions of speech acts are met in a given context, otherwise, they misfire, and thus becomes meaningless (Yule, 1996).

Concerning presentational devices, it is a must that both dimensions of reasonableness and effectiveness are maintained in order to meet the demands of argumentation in the Pragmadi-lectical perspective (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). Arguing in support of his claim,

Mrema maintains his claim that CHADEMA/UKAWA campaign rallies are real as opposed to photoshopped rallies the CCM chairperson Kikwete talked about. With limited evidence, especially on the traffic congestion at Magomeni road connecting to the Jangwani field where CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaigns are taking place was a strategy to inform the audience how popular Lowassa as a presidential candidate was. Another presentational device is an exaggeration in the sense that Jangwani is flooded meaning there were a lot of people who came to listen to CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaign speeches. In the concluding stage, the claim staged by Kikwete misfires because he said what he was not sure of. In counterarguing the claim of the CCM supporter, Mrema suggests that in case there are some doubts on his counter-argument, the ruling party supporters, especially Kikwete would take an aerial photograph to come up with scientific evidence that CHADEMA rallies are real. This suggestion seems to me ironical because whether CHADEMA/UKAWA rallies are real or not, it is not a target of Kikwete's claim. Kikwete wants to communicate that CHADEMA has no such supporters as CCM. At this stage, in the speech event of CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaign speeches, belittlement is employed to counterargue that photoshopped rallies the chairperson of CCM said was minor.

In the respect to the successful observation of rules for critical discussion, there are several rules that are met in argumentation. In the confrontation stage, the arguer observes freedom rule. He, though ironically, demonstrates that there is a need for the CCM supporter to take an aerial photograph of the audience that came at Jangwani field during the CHADEMA inaugural campaigns. Mrema is aware that Kikwete's claim has no interest in taking empirical evidence of whether opposition camp campaign rallies had more people than those of CCM or not, but Mrema wants to provide a room to Kikwete in case the latter insists. In the opening stage, Mrema assumes the burden of proof to convince the audience that CHADEMA's rallies are not photoshopped. In the argumentation stage, the arguer in Figure 5.15 observes a standpoint rule. He appropriately responds to the claim that was advanced by CCM supporter during the CCM inaugural campaigns at Jangwani on 23rd August 2015. Other rules which are observed are relevance rule, argument scheme rule, and standpoint rule.

Apart from implementing freedom rule, validity rule and argument scheme rule for critical discussion rules, Mrema is not clear with some rules which in one way or another may lead to the argumentation sounding fallacious. In the Pragma-dialectical perspective, any move that frustrates the argumentation is regarded as a fallacy (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002).

From that angle of reasoning, Figure 5.15, Mrema violates a standpoint rule. He misrepresents the standpoint of Kikwete. Instead of concentrating on the standpoint of why the opposition camp photoshops Dr Slaa's 2010 campaign rallies in their 2015 campaign rallies, he does not mention Dr Slaa in his argumentation. Specifically, this falls under the category of the strawman fallacy. In addition, an argument scheme rule is violated. The speaker overgeneralises that traffic jam at Magomeni junction is because of the CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaigns at Jangwani. Given the context of Dar es Salaam in the aspect of infrastructure, traffic jams are not uncommon regardless of campaign movements. It makes some sense that they are caused by CHADEMA/UKAWA followers, but it should not be a conclusion without contextualising it with the daily traffic jam situation.

Regarding the sixth dimension, the effectiveness of an argument depends mainly on the use of well balanced presentational devices. Mrema employs different strategies like reframing the argument. Instead of comparing the rallies of Dr Slaa in 2010 and Honourable Lowassa in 2015, he focusses on advising Kikwete to take an aerial photograph. He does this strategically to avoid losing followers who perhaps do not agree with CHADEMA's decision to nominate Lowassa their 2015 presidential candidate. Other devices that are reflected are the use of the third personal pronoun. Mrema does not mention Kikwete, but given the context in which the speech took place, he means Kikwete. Also, propaganda techniques such as bandwagon and assertion are manifested. Thus, everybody feels appropriate for joining a party with many followers given the claim that CHADEMA/UKWA rallies are real. With respect to reasonableness, Figure 5.15 demands both logical consistency and pragmatic consistency. The speaker's argumentation is logically consistent because there are a lot of people at Jangwani waiting for the inaugural campaigns of CHADEMA. Pragmatically, the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign is consistent because the opposition party candidate is a former Prime Minister in Kikwete's government. The second aspect of evaluating reasonableness is the acceptability of the standpoint. Basically, Figure 5.15 shows the acceptability because of the timing of the opposition party to nominate the former Prime Minister the presidential candidate. Moreover, many youths in 2015 are supporting the opposition party because of life hardships in the country. The final aspect of evaluating reasonableness is validity. According to the CHADEMA/UKAWA supporter in example 1, the argumentation is valid. Considering the audience that the speaker confirms to have attended to the CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaigns, it is quite valid that the rallies are real.

5.7.7 Inclusiveness and clarity of the opposition party camp (CHADEMA/UKAWA)

Mbowe argues that the 2015 CHADEMA/UKAWA election manifesto is clear and inclusive. He claims it comprises four political parties, namely CUF, NLD, NCCR-Mageuzi and CHADEMA itself as represented in Figure 5.16 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 16. He counterargues Kikwete's claim that CHADEMA/UKAWA do not have a written manifesto.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 16

MWANYEKITI (MBOWE): DJ tafadhali! (1) DJ tunaomba utupe utulivu tufanya kazi iliyokusudiwa. (2) Ndugu wananchi nikitambua sana na nikitambua itifaki ya viongozi wote walioko meza kuu, naomba kwa sababu ya muda nizungumze kwa kifupi sana. (3) Kwanza naomba niwatoe hofu, niwatoe hofu wananchi mnapoona icho kidudu kinachoruka huko juu ni mitambo ya kupiga picha ya kiukawa ukawa. (4) Ni mitambo inapiga picha za live kupeleka kwenye luninga mbalimbali, ambazo leo zinatusikiliza mahali hapa. (5) Ndugu zangu wana Dar es Salaam kama nilivyosema kwa interest ya muda nitakwenda moja kwa moja kuzindua ilani yetu. (6) Lakini kabla ya kuizindua nizungumze maneno machache. (7) Ilani tunayoizindua leo, tunaizindua kama CHADEMA. (8) Lakini ni ilani ya CHADEMA, (9) ni ilani ya CUF, (10) ni ilani ya NCCR Mageuzi, (11) ni ilani ya NLD, kwasababu vyama vyote vyenye ushirika kwenye ukawa, pamoja na wagombea wote wetu wa uraisi na makamu, wametoa michango yao na mawazo yao kutengeneza jambo moja ambalo wote kwenye vyama vyetu tutalibeba kwa pamoja. (12) Kwahiyo, niwaambie Watanzania, ilani yetu imejaa maslahi mapana ya wananchi. (13) Nisimalize uhondo wagombea wetu wa uraisi watazungumza kwa maudhui ya yalioko ndani ya ilani yetu. (14) Katika hatua ya sasa ili kuwaisha muda nikupishe mimi nisizungumzie ilani ila kwa kifupi sana niweze kuizindua kisha niwakabidhi wagombea wetu kwa niaba ya vyama vyetu vyote na wenye viti wenzangu vilevile niwatawakabidhi nakala kwaajili yao ili na hatimaye tuweze kuendelea na hatua ya pili ya kuwatambulisha wageni. Samahani ya kuwatambulisha wagombea wetu wa ubunge wa mkoa wa Dar es Salaam.

(15) Nitaomba wagombea wetu watatu kwa maana ya mgombea uraisi wa Zanzibar, Maalim Sharif Seif Hamad, mgombea mwenzwa wa Jamhuri ya Muungano wa Tanzania Babu Juma Duni, na mheshimiwa raisi wetu mtarajiwa mheshimiwa Edward Ngoyai Lowassa, msimame mbele pale niweze kwa niaba ya wenye viti viongozi wenzangu na wananchi wa Tanzania kuwakabidhi nakala ya ilani yetu ambayo baadae mtaisimamia, katika kuleta mabadiliko

ambayo watanzania wanayaomba sana. Ndugu zangu wananchi wa Dar es Salaam! (16) UKAWA umetayarisha ilani ambayo ni rafiki, ilani *ambayo itawajalia wananchi wote, wa dini zote na kuleta ustawi kwa watanzania.* (17) Kwahiyo, kwa heshima kubwa sana naomba nikakabidhi nakala hizi za ilani. (18) Halafu tutapiga picha ya pamoja na viongozi hao, kisha tutakwenda hatua ya pili na ningomba viongozi wakuu, mara baada ya picha ya kwanza ya kukabidhi ilani na wagombea wetu, viongozi wenyeviti wenzangu watakuja kujiunga na sisi tupige picha ya pamoja kisha twende kwenye hatua ya pili, kwa haraka haraka kidogo naomba radhi kwaajili ya tatizo la muda.

Please DJ! [1] We would like to have silence, so we proceed with our meeting agenda today. My fellow citizens! [2] Because of shortage of time, by recognizing well the protocols of all the leaders seated at the high table, let me speak very briefly. [3] First, let me say this to stop you from fearing on that object that is flying in the sky; that is the sophisticated equipment (a drone) for taking UKAWA photos. [4] Those are machines which are taking the live photos to transmit to different TV stations for the audience watching and listening to us. [5] My fellow citizens of Dar es Salaam as I have said due to the interest of time, I will straight away go to launch our manifesto. [6] Before I launch it, let me speak a few words. [7] The manifesto we are launching, is launched as a CHADEMA's manifesto, but it is the CUF 's manifesto, NCCR's manifesto and NLD's manifesto since all UKAWA parties and our candidates for the presidential post and vice-presidential post have contributed their ideas and their contributions in making one which will be carried by all our parties together. [8] Thus, let me tell you Tanzanians that our manifesto contains wider interests for citizens. [9] Let me not finish the whole sweet stuff. Our presidential candidates will explain the contents of the manifesto. [10] To save time at this moment, let me not talk about the manifesto, but very briefly let me launch it and then give it to our candidates on behalf of all our parties and my fellow chairpersons. [11] Likewise, I will give copies to chairpersons of other UKAWA parties so that we might proceed to the second stage of introducing our guests, or not guests, but introducing our contestants for the posts of members of parliament for Dar es Salaam region. [12] Let me request our three candidates; Zanzibar presidential candidate, Maalim Shariff Seif Hamad, the running mate of the United Republic of Tanzania, Babu Juma Duni and his excellency, our prospective president Edward Ngoyai Lowassa to stand on behalf of my fellow chairpersons and the citizens of Tanzania so I give you copies of our manifesto which you will use as guide later in bringing changes Tanzanians are earnestly praying for. [13] My fellow citizens of Dar es Salaam! UKAWA has prepared the manifesto which will be

user-friendly, and useful to all citizens from all religions to enhance welfare for Tanzanians. [14] Therefore, with great honour, let me hand over these copies of the manifesto. [15] Then we will take a group photo with those leaders. [16] After that we will proceed to the second step. [17] And let me ask the chief leaders, after taking the first photo of handing over the manifesto with our contestants, the leaders, my fellow chairpersons, will come to join us for us too to take a joint photo, and then proceed to the second step, let us do it very quickly. [18] I am sorry for that as we run short of time.

Considering the first dimension, Mbowe presents his standpoint with different arguments. The argumentation includes of multiple argument structure (1.1 and 1.2) and coordinative argument structures (1.1a,1.1b,1.1c and 1.1d), (1.2a and 1.2b), and subordinative argument structure (1.1, and 1.1a-c), and (1.2 and 1.2a-b). The line of reasoning is deductive. If the manifesto of CHADEMA comprises the needs of all groups of people, then is inclusive and thus worth supporting candidates from CHADEMA/UKAWA.

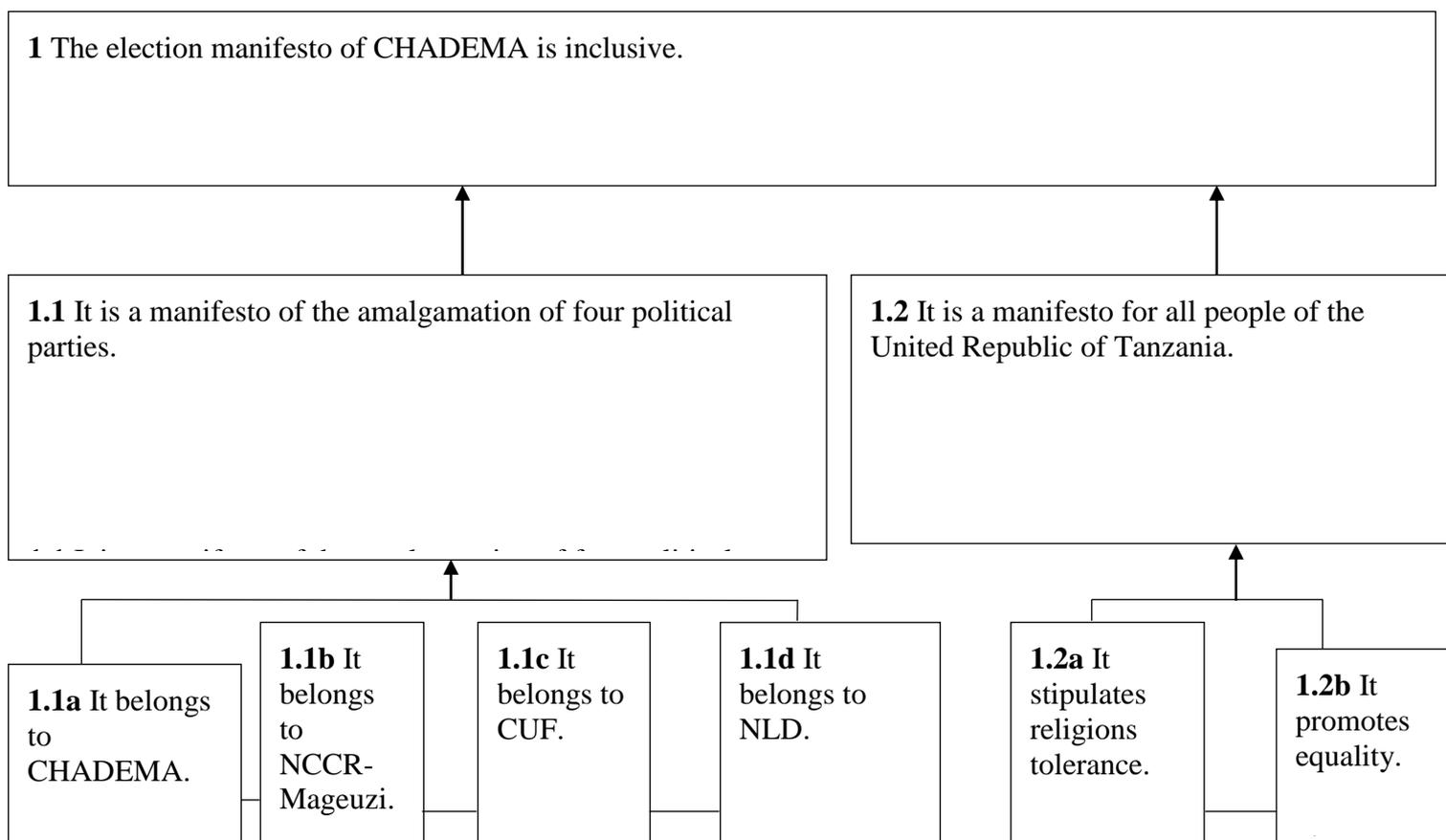


Figure 5.16: Reconstructed argumentation structure on inclusiveness and clarity of CHADEMA/UKAWA manifesto

In respect to the dimension of schemes, there are many argumentation schemes exemplified in Mbowe's speech. Symptomatic argumentation scheme is reflected through the use of words like 'inclusion' and 'for all people'. For instance, CHADEMA's manifesto is for CUF, NLD, and NCCR-Mageuzi. Mbowe adds that CHADEMA's manifesto is for all people. Such grounds are signs of a better manifesto. Argumentation from authority has been implicated in Mbowe's speech. A week before CHADEMA's inaugural campaigns, CCM claimed that CHADEMA did not have a manifesto. Showing it to the audience was a sign of authority. The speaker is the chairperson of the CHADEMA and a chairperson the UKAWA.

Regarding the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, the assertion, 'the election manifesto of CHADEMA is inclusive.' is selected strategically. Mbowe explicitly asserts what he believes to be true, and as a chairperson of opposition camp, People's Constitution Alliance, he has authority to do so in relation to felicity conditions (Yule, 1996). In the confrontation stage, Mbowe expresses a need to explain to address the audience that the manifesto he is presenting is inclusive. Reframing the argument different from what CCM claim is a strategy that helps Mbowe to defend his position successfully in the resolution of a dispute. He employs a technique of redefining what manifestos entail. Contextually, he must explain it that way because the ruling party, CCM members and supporters accuse CHADEMA of not having a written manifesto. He manifests the association technique. There are numerous presentational devices in Figure 5.16.

In the confrontation stage, the association of redefining a party manifesto was employed. Mbowe interprets a better manifesto as the one that includes political agenda of people. Thus, he dissociates CHADEMA's manifesto from that of CCM; the latter entails only the agenda of the single party. In the opening stage, assumes a position of an antagonist. CCM claim CHADEMA do not have the manifesto. He does that strategically by counterarguing with the manifesto in his hands. He employs rationalisation explaining in depth that the manifesto comprises ideas from other political parties. Another strategy is shelving where Mbowe does not explain how, according to CHADEMA's constitution, having such an inclusive manifesto could operate in the government. Mbowe aware of his audience demand he takes a position of the antagonist. It is bandwagon techniques in a sense that every potential voter would feel isolated in case they were not supporting CHADEMA. Arguing against the claims of CCM that CHADEMA does not have a manifesto is a strategic answer because all people heard the ruling party supporters claim so.

In the argumentation stage, Mbowe gives details his assertion entails. An inclusive manifesto means all parties of the alliance, UKAWA are included, namely NLD, NCCR-Mageuzi, CUF, and CHADEMA. More importantly, he argues that the manifesto belongs to all people of the United Republic of Tanzania. Association is employed as in the confrontation stage. Fobbing off as a fair strategy of maneuvering. Mbowe provides a simple response for a difficult question. The speaker in the deliberative speech presupposes potential electorate are advised to support CHADEMA/UKAWA in the ballot box. Therefore, he uses a strategy of appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions. At this stage, he highlights the political parties that were included in the manifesto. Doing so, the audience could feel they were in safe hands joining the political party that has political tolerance and inclusiveness. He also mentioned that the constitution was for all the people of all religions without discrimination. From that angle, Mbowe implied the government would reciprocate if the electorate supported CHADEMA in the ballot box. With the argumentation stage, vivid examples of inclusiveness are presented as a strategy of ‘evidence presentation’. Because Tanzania has such experience strongly executed for the first time, Mbowe strategically changes the subject of what really is CHADEMA’s manifesto to inclusive manifesto. This is meant to avoid public controversy, the strategy referred to as shelving. In the concluding stage, Mbowe advises the electorate and the rest of the audience to avoid considering rumours from the ruling party. This implies they would get better leaders by voting for the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates.

Considering the successful observation of rules, to a considerable extent, rules for critical discussion are portrayed. The freedom rule is implemented across all argumentation stages. The assertion Mbowe made is an indication that he is clearly taking into consideration his argumentation patterner, a protagonist. Mbowe defends his position as the antagonist providing what it means by a CHADEMA/UKAWA manifesto. Rationalisation as a fair strategy of maneuvering is articulated. The standpoint rule is also observed though strategically Mbowe reframes the argument to attract minds of voters. Examples provided in the argumentation stage are relevant in the context where CHADEMA’s manifesto has views and agenda from other political parties that amalgamated to form UKAWA. The unexpressed premise rule is implemented. The ruling party members and supporters disqualify CHADEMA of lacking a party manifesto, with unexpressed premise from CCM that people are to vote for the CCM makes Mbowe explain why CHADEMA had a better political party

than CCM. The conclusion of Mbowe in Figure 5.16 was that the potential electorate were to support CHADEMA for an inclusive government.

Apart from implementing many other rules, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.16, equivocal language is implicated. It is not clear who would be held responsible in case CHADEMA's government fails to meet pledges after elections. Mbowe's speech interprets inclusiveness in a very general way. Thus, it is a fallacy of interpreting in a way that Mbowe what everybody to understand, a category under strawman's fallacy.

Considering the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, the argumentation presented in Figure 5.16 is reasonable. In respect to pragmatic consistency, UKAWA was formed in 2014 when there was a move of writing a new constitution. The four parties united to argue against many agenda including maintaining a two-government state. UKAWA claimed that the three-government state would be preferable. The argumentation is logically consistent. If CHADEMA's manifesto got ideas from other three political parties, could be better than that of CCM with ideas from a single party. Regarding the acceptability of the argumentation, manifestos are not national constitutions that cannot be amended in a way political parties want. Thus, CHADEMA's decision to include other parties is acceptable. The symptomatic argumentation scheme is appropriately employed in the argumentation. Therefore, according to the Pragma-dialectical perspective, the argumentation in Figure 5.16 is valid. Apart from being reasonable, the effectiveness of the argumentation is clear. Persuasive devices, schemes, and propaganda techniques are employed in Figure 5.16.

5.7.8 Economic status of presidential candidates and good leadership

Mbowe argues poverty is not a criterion for good leadership. This is to respond to CCM claims that Lowassa has much wealth which has no explanation as represented in Figure 5.17 of CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 17.

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 17

MBOWE: (1) Naomba nimjibu Mzee Warioba, (2) Mzee Warioba umasikini sio sifa. (3) Wala sisi katika umoja wa ukawa hatuutamani umaskini, (4) Tunatamani Watanzania wote wawe na utajiri wa kutosha. (5) Wakati wa kuamini viongozi masikini ama umasikini ni sifa ya uongozi hapana. (6) Tunatamani katika ukawa kila mtanzania apate uwezo aishi maisha bora, (7) watoto wake waishi maisha bora, (8) waishi nyumba bora, (9) wapate elimu bora,

(10) wapate matibabu bora tunataka nchi yetu iondoke kwenye umaskini kwasababu umasikini ni laana.

[1] *Let me answer the elder Warioba! Our elder Warioba, poverty is not a qualification for leadership.* [2] *Even in our alliance UKAWA, we do not covet poverty.* [3] *We wish all Tanzanians to have adequate wealth.* [4] *This is not the time to accept that poverty is an attribute for good leadership.* [5] *We wish in UKAWA every Tanzanian gets an ability to live a better life,* [6] *we wish his children live a better life,* [7] *we wish children live in better houses,* [8] *we wish children get better education,* [9] *we wish children get better medical treatment.* [10] *We want our country to get rid of poverty since poverty is a curse.*

Regarding the structure of the argument, Mbowe supports his standpoint with several arguments. The argumentation is complex. It consists of multiple argument structure (1.1 and 1.2), coordinative argument structure (1.1.1.1a, 1.1.1.1b, and 1.1.1.1c) and subordinative structure (1.1, 1.1.1, and 1.1.1.1a-c).

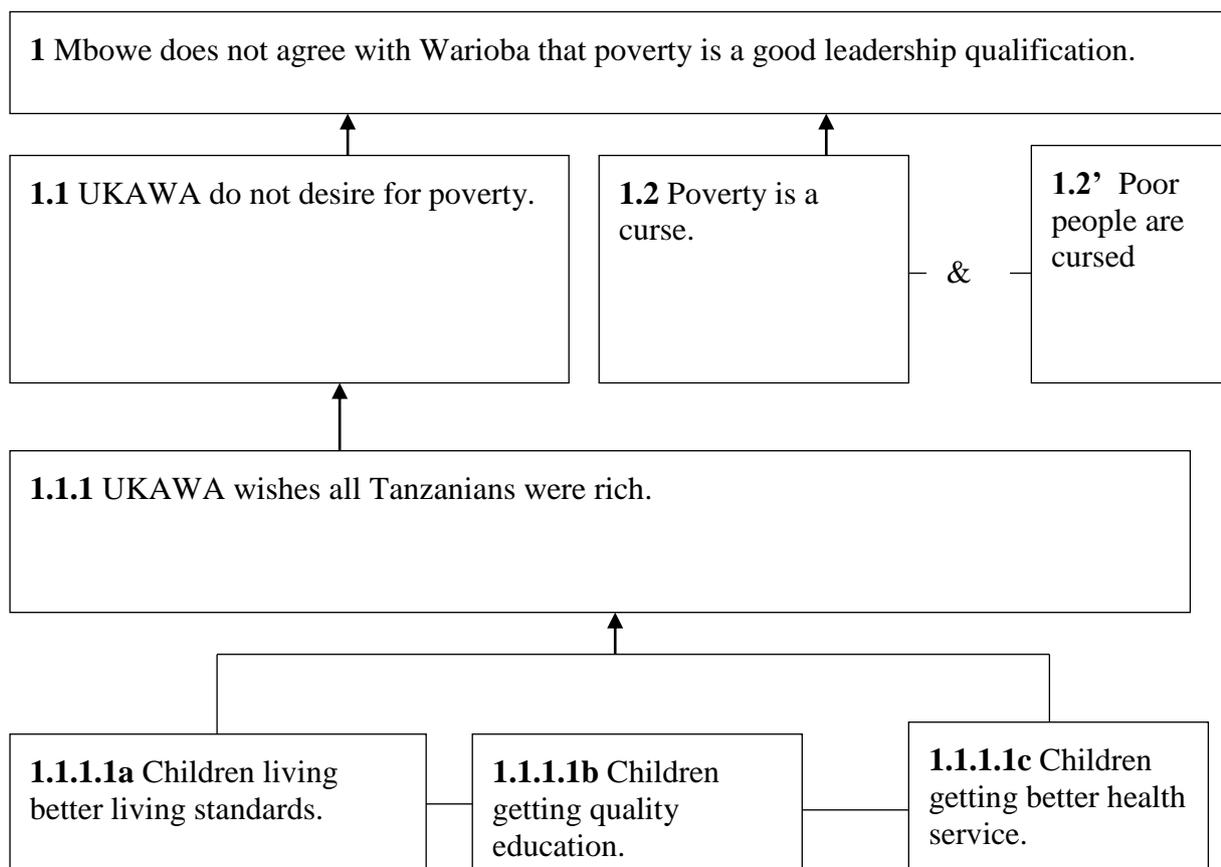


Figure 5.17: Reconstructed argumentation structure on presidential economic status and good leadership

Argumentation schemes are basic criteria for a successful argumentation. The first scheme is a causal relation. Mbowe argues poverty is caused by a curse. Since every person culturally in Tanzania does not like to associate themselves with curses, then that would be a reason for the electorate to support CHADEMA to get out of poverty. Although causal relation is a common phenomenon in political campaigns, there may be no direct relation between the two phenomena (Partington & Taylor, 2018: 89). The argumentation contains symptomatic argument scheme. Poor education and the economic wellbeing of the Tanzanians is a typical sign of poverty. Moreover, Mbowe is the chairperson of CHADEMA as well as UKAWA.

Based on the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Mbowe selects a topic that poverty is not a qualification for a good leader. This is a reaction to the Former Prime Minister, Joseph Sinde Warioba who claimed in the CCM inaugural campaign that Lowassa is too rich to qualify for a presidential race. The strategies Mbowe applies were a euphemism, and dysphemism, referring to a technique of discrediting a person or by exaggerating it in a way that favours the arguer's side (Partington & Taylor, 2018). The audience as a target of the deliberative speech of CHADEMA/UKAWA in the 2015 inaugural campaigns, speakers must meet the expected audience demands. In the confrontation stage, stating that poverty should not be a criterion for a good leader, Mbowe strategically reframes the argument to meet the demands of the audience because Lowassa had several corruption allegations when he was still in the ruling party. So, his wealth is regarded unjustifiable. From the confrontation stage to the concluding stage, the argumentation in Figure 5.17 shows various presentational devices.

In the confrontation stage, identifying that poverty is not a criterion for a good leader, dissociation is presented. Moreover, rationalisation is demonstrated by stating that Lowassa is to be supported despite his wealth without crediting Warioba for questioning Lowassa's wealth. In the opening stage, Mbowe assumes the position of the antagonist strategically because the audience culturally does not like to associate themselves with poverty and poor living standards. He moreover applies shelving as Lowassa is accused of wealth accumulation that cannot be justified. Consistently, Mbowe disagree with the notion of poverty as a criterion for good leadership. Depending on the level of literacy of Tanzanians, Mbowe's interpretation is done strategically though Warioba implies Magufuli's wealth is justifiable in comparison to that of Lowassa. Mbowe employs a strategy of dissociation articulating the dangers of poverty in the wellbeing of the country.

In the argumentation stage, Mbowe maintains his standpoint providing reasons why he does not regard poverty as a criterion for good leadership. Poverty is a result of the curse according to Mbowe. This belief is asserted as if it is a scientific finding. This is a propaganda technique known as an assertion (Shabo, 2008), and in Appraisal perspective (White, 2011), it is a negative judgement that Warioba could not construe criteria for good governance. Moreover, stating that the UKAWA does not have a desire for poverty, Mbowe strategically utilizes dissociation technique which perhaps appeals to the potential electorate to vote for CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate, Lowassa, as a way of detaching themselves from poverty. Poor health services and poor-quality education are identified as signs of poverty in the government under the ruling party, CCM. The strategies of appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, *argumentum ad missericordiam*, and evoking sympathy and inspiring generosity were employed. Such indicators of poverty could emotionally convince voters to think of CCM as the sources of such hindrances of the economic wellbeing of Tanzanians especially the children. In the argumentation stage, Mbowe illustrates how poverty leads to poor education and poor health services. He employs argumentation by appealing to the emotions of the audience (Partington & Taylor, 2018). In the argumentation stage, dysphemism is used by discrediting the claim of justifiable wealth as the criterion for good leadership.

Another strategy is trivialisation by presenting what Warioba said as minor and not be put into considerations for making decisions before voting for presidential candidates. Changing the subject is another strategy. A concern by Warioba is not on poverty but justifiable wealth. Mbowe changes the subject strategically to win the minds of the audience and increase the number of CHADEMA/UKAWA supporters. In the concluding stage, the electorate is advised not to agree with mentalities that the poor are good leaders. Mbowe suggests that CCM candidates are to be ignored given that they are sources of poverty, poor education the poor economic well being of the people. False dilemma propaganda technique is demonstrated that voting for CCM is voting for poor living standards and voting for CHADEMA/UKAWA is siding with the struggles against poor living standards.

In respect to the observation of rules, Mbowe observes the freedom rule. He accepts that Warioba has the right to express views on the qualifications of good leaders but criticising Warioba of citing poverty as one of the criteria. Secondly, Mbowe explains why he does not accept that poverty is an attribute of a good leader. He assumes the burden of proof.

Concerning the argumentation scheme of causal relation, the symptomatic argumentation scheme is employed appropriately (refer to section 5.4.2.2). Unexpressed premise that Magufuli qualified to be a president of the United Republic of Tanzania because he is poor is as well appropriately considered. Mbowe uses pragmatic argumentation pattern stating that if better living standards are what Tanzanians claim they want, and Lowassa could solve their problems, thus the argumentation of Mbowe is plausibly true. Mbowe commits a strawman fallacy. He makes intentionally an interpretation of the claim of Warioba in a way that could favour him. Accusations that Lowassa has fraud scandals are not new in Tanzanian politics. Before Lowassa joined the opposition, Mbowe is one of the politicians who accused Lowassa of being corrupt, but because he joined his party, Mbowe has changed his way of viewing corruption. Although shelving of some information is used as a way of strategically maneuvering to get votes but concealing information about unjustified truth that is a fallacy. The language Mbowe uses in explaining qualities of a good leader was not clear, thus he made another fallacy of equivocal formulations. In another obvious context, instead of responding to the arguments raised by Warioba, Mbowe attacks Warioba as he portrays him as a person thinking poverty is the criterion for good leadership.

The argumentation represented in Figure 5.17 uses pragmatic argumentation pattern to justify why it is advisable to vote for CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate to combat poverty. In the context of Tanzania, quality education is still a problem. Thus, voting for CCM, a party that has been in power since independence and the first multiparty election in 1995, is siding with those who do not like development for the whole country. With logical consistency, Mbowe means if the aim of the opposition in the 2015 general election is to have a political transformation, voting for opposition party candidates is preferable. The CCM handles the source of poverty, thus symptomatic argumentation scheme is employed. Moreover, poverty as a source of poor living standards can be regarded as the causal relation argumentative pattern. The presentational devices such as appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, changing the subject, shelving, fobbing off, and dissociation are mainly used in the argumentation in Figure 5.17. Given rhetorical skills of employing different presentational devices and propaganda techniques, and given the dialectical skills of persuasion by reason, the argumentation maintains a delicate balance of reasonableness and effectiveness in the deliberative argumentative speeches of the opposition parties' camp in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaigns.

5.7.9 Research findings indicating qualification of Lowassa

Mbowe demonstrates that CHADEMA/UKAWA conducted research and findings reveal Lowassa qualifies to be a president. He claims Magufuli does not sympathise with the poor especially the residents of Kigamboni as represented in Figure 5.18 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 18.

MBOWE: (1) Huyu tuliambiwa Kikwete nae akasema ni mtetezi wa wanyonge. (2) Huyu mtetezi wa wanyonge aliwaambia wanyonge kama hamna nauli ya kulipa feli piga niniiiiii? (3) Kama hauna nauli ya kulipa feli piga mbizi. (4) Leo mnatuambia ni mzalendo! (5) Lakini nimalizie kwanini Lowassa, kwaniiiiii...? (6) Sisi tulifanya utafiti kwasababu taifa letu limeendeshwa na propaganda kwa muda mrefu. (7) Sisi kama chama tulifanya utafiti tukagundua wako watu wanateswa, (8) wako watu wamefungwa minyororo wako ndani ya serikali na ndani ya chama cha mapinduzi. (9) Hawana uhuru wa mawazo wanaminywa haki zao wanasingizia majina.

(10) Mheshimiwa Lowassa kwa zaidi ya miaka 10 alikua ni muhanga wa propaganda na makundi ndani ya CCM. (11) Sasa hapa leo wenyewe watazungumza wakubwa zangu wakifika hapa. (12) Mimi niseme jambo moja la msingi kwamba tuliridhika Lowassa anaweza kuwa chachu ya mabadiliko ya kuunganisha watanzania na vyama vyote, wa dini zote, wa makabila yote, tuweze kujenga mabadiliko ambayo alama yake ndioooo. (13) Kwahiyo nitamalizia kwa kusema Lowassa (14) Nipe hivi tuuu (15) Asiyefanya mchawi! (16) Kuna mchawi leo hapa...? (17) Kama kuna wapiga picha hii picha muipige mumpelakee kikwete mbona sijaona mikono. (18) Wote tuweke mikono hapa. (19) Watanzania wote, Dar es salaam yote, tuweke mikono hapa, mabadilokooooo.....

[1] We were told by Kikwete that their candidate sympathises with the poor people. [2] This supporter of poor people told the poor people "[3] if you do not have fare for the ferrying services then you should do what...? [4] if you do not have the ferry fare, then you must swim. [5] Today you are telling us that he is a patriot. [6] However, let me complete my speech by explaining why Lowassa! [7] We conducted research since our nation has been led by the propaganda of one party. [8] As a party, we conducted research, and realized that some people are tortured. [9] There are people who have been chained though they are in the government and within CCM. [10] There is no freedom of thought. [11] Their rights are neglected, [12] and they are bad-named by false accusations.

[12] Honourable Lowassa had been a victim of the propaganda and the groups' politics within CCM. [13] This is enough for today. [14] My bosses will talk about it when they come here. [15] Let me say one basic thing that we were satisfied that Lowassa could be the catalyst of changes, for uniting the Tanzanians from all parties, from all religions, from all tribes so that we might make changes whose symbol is (showing the fist)... [16] Thus, I will conclude by saying Lowassa... and you direct your fist to me this way (showing the fist)...[17] The one who does not do so is a sorcerer! [18] Do we have a sorcerer here today? [19] If we have photographers, take a photo here and send it to Kikwete! [20] Why haven't I seen hands here? [21] We should all put our hands here! [22] All Tanzanians and all the citizens of Dar es Salaam, put your hands here! Changes....

Regarding the argumentation structure, Mbowe argues Lowassa is a better presidential candidate than Magufuli. Mbowe further supports his standpoint with different arguments making the argumentation structure complex (Figure 5.18 of speech Segment 18). It consists of multiple argument structure (1.1 and 1.2), and subordinative argument structure ((1.1, 1.1.1), and 1.2, 1.2.1)). The argumentation is deductively presented. Research findings indicate Lowassa suits presidency better than any other candidate. If Lowassa is contesting for the presidential race, then he is more likely to win.

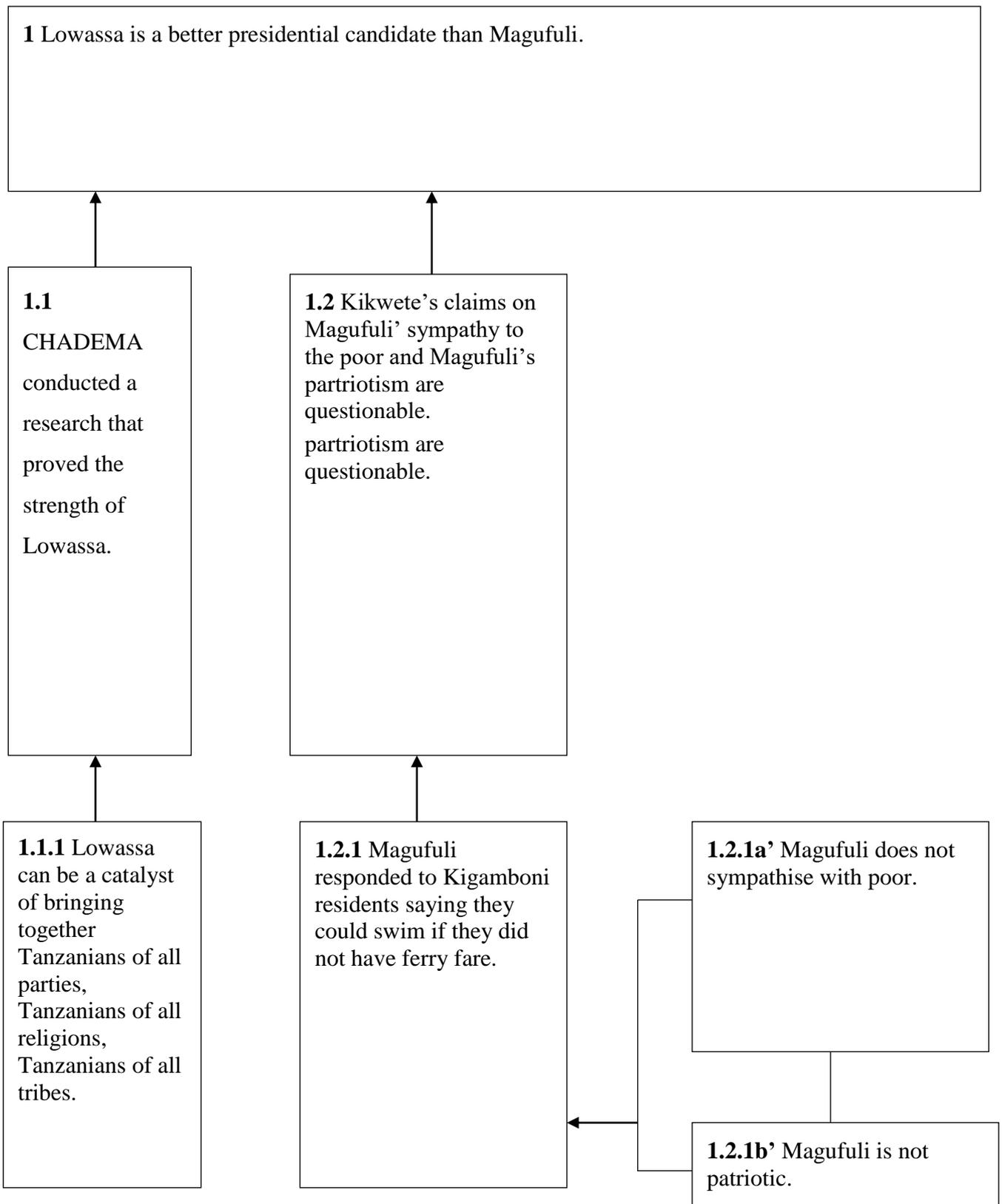


Figure 5.18: Reconstructed argumentation structure on research findings showing qualifications of Lowassa

In respect to schemes, Mbowe, a chairperson of CHADEMA, and the chairperson of the People's constitution Alliance (UKAWA) highlights several incidences that indicate Lowassa as a preferable candidate to Magufuli. According to Mbowe, a typical incidence is that when the people from Kigamboni district complained that ferry fare was too high for them, Magufuli replied that whoever could not afford was advised to swim from Dar es Salaam harbour to Kigamboni. Such a reply is typical of a person that does not sympathise with the Tanzanian poor public. This approach is of symptomatic argumentation scheme. Secondly, Mbowe has worked with Magufuli in the National Assembly as Members of the Parliament in the United Republic of Tanzania, so he has the authority of what he is saying. Thus, it is argumentation from authority.

Considering the topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, a topic Mbowe selects is strategic to reflect what Magufuli had failed to do in favour of the people when serving the position of a minister for works in the Kikwete's government. Mbowe's argument is meant to ironically send a message to Kikwete that Magufuli's sympathy to the Tanzanian public is questionable. The audience demands in all sorts of persuasion in political domain determine problem solutions the speaker must pledge if the aim is winning majority minds like getting votes (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). In the confrontation stage, Mbowe is expected to disqualify Magufuli for the interest of CHADEMA/UKAWA members and supporters. The standpoint demonstrates what Mbowe believes, and it is presented as if it is unquestionable.

Throughout the entire argumentation in Figure 5.18, a strategy of false dichotomy is employed. From the confrontation stage, Mbowe compares Lowassa and Magufuli as if there are no other presidential candidates. The aim of doing so is to limit choices, and thus increasing the possibility of winning. Another strategy in the confrontation stage is evaluating CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates positively and evaluating the ruling party, CCM, candidate negatively. In the opening stage, Mbowe assumes the position of the antagonist to refute the claim that Magufuli qualifies to be the president of the United Republic of Tanzania. The topical potential kept strategies such as evaluating the other side negatively and evaluating CHADEMA/UKAWA side positively. Contextually, several other people in the United Republic of Tanzania were no longer interested in CCM regardless of the potentialities CCM candidates could have. People of Dar es Salaam, especially Kigamboni district felt ignored when Magufuli could not accept their proposal of decreasing the ferry fare. Another strategy

is pin-pointing Magufuli as an enemy of the struggles of the people to survive as they entirely depend on the ferry means of transport.

In the argumentation stage, Mbowe reveals that CHADEMA/UKAWA members conducted a research and found that Lowassa could unite all Tanzanians without regard in the process of political transformation. Research is mentioned to sound reasonable to a universal audience. In comparison with CCM, Mbowe dissociates CHADEMA from CCM where there is no research communicated to the public that informed the nomination of their presidential candidate, Magufuli. Strategies of modifying the relevant audience are presented in the sense that the intellectual community in Tanzania and those with a general understanding of what research entails can agree with the candidate of CHADEMA/UKAWA because the process of nominating him is scientific. The response of Magufuli to Kigamboni residents is also mentioned among other arguments to disqualify him from enjoying the prestige of qualified presidential candidate. *Argumentum ad misssericordia* fair strategic maneuvering and evoking sympathy to inspire generosity are presented. In the argumentation stage, highlighting the comment that Magufuli does not listen to the people of Kigamboni, is strategically chosen because where the CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaigns took place, was close to Kigamboni district; thus, the argument is reframed to win voters of the Kigamboni district, and Dar es Salaam region in general.

Moreover, Mbowe applies a technique of lesser of the two evils, supporting Lowassa even though he has corruption scandals when he served the position of the Prime Minister under the government of Kikwete. Another strategy is an argument from authority as Mbowe argues that before they nominated Lowassa as a presidential candidate, they made the research the results of which show the ability of Lowassa to lead Tanzanians to a better socio-economic future. Belittlement is reflected in the arguments of Mbowe that Kikwete does not speak the reality on Magufuli. Mbowe comments that Magufuli is not patriotic and does not sympathise with the poor, therefore, dysphemistically discrediting the observation of Kikwete. With the related regard, Mbowe utilises the *quid pro quo* strategy that if Magufuli did not do good to the people of Dar es Salaam when he was a minister, there is no need to vote for him in the 2015 general elections. In the concluding stage, given the comparison, on behalf of CHADEMA/UKAWA, and particularly on behalf of Lowassa, Mbowe asks for the votes from the electorate to enable Tanzania to reach development standards as a unified state. The concluding stage demonstrates CHADEMA/UKAWA leader is concerned with the people of

the United Republic of Tanzania in conscientising them for civic responsibility for the development of the nation. To avoid the public controversy, Mbowe does not really comment anything on the allegations against Lowassa. He concludes Lowassa is better than Magufuli. Therefore, the potential electorate are advised to vote for Lowassa.

Regarding the fourth dimension that is the successful observation of rules for the critical discussion, even though Mbowe does not agree with Kikwete that Magufuli sympathises with the poor, Mbowe acknowledges what Kikwete said. He thus implements the freedom rule of the critical discussion in the argumentative discourse. Secondly, Mbowe assumes the position of antagonist and he gives reasons why he does not think Magufuli qualifies to be a president. Relevantly, Mbowe provides the argument scheme related to authority, and the symptomatic argumentation scheme, especially with the example that Magufuli ironically responded to the Kigamboni district that if they did not have ferry fares, they could dive in the ocean from the harbour to Kigamboni. The argumentation is contextually valid. If Magufuli ironically told the Kigamboni residents to dive, then he did not sympathise with the poor who could not afford ferry fare. The closure rule is clear that people are to vote for Lowassa for political transformation and for the general economic welfare of all people of the United Republic of Tanzania. In respect of the identification of derailments in Mbowe's argumentation as represented in Figure 5.18, strawman's fallacy is committed. Mbowe interprets Kikwete's comment in favour of Lowassa. He also attacks the personality of Magufuli, thus committing a fallacy of argumentum ad hominem. The claims that the nomination of Lowassa as the opposition camp candidate is based on research findings is not clear given what research procedures entail. Therefore, there are some equivocal formulations to conceal the real process Lowassa's name went through at the party level. Contextually, Dr Slaa, the former secretary general of CHADEMA resigned after the nomination of Lowassa as the presidential candidate of CHADEMA/UKAWA.

Concerning the sixth dimension that is the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, given a deliberative argumentative move aiming at getting decisions from the audience, especially through votes, the argumentation that Magufuli ironically ignores the concerns of the people of Dar es Salaam, especially Kinondoni can be acceptable. The validity of the argumentation is realised. With respect to pragmatic consistency, voters in the context of Tanzania includes of the people that can tolerate in the voting queue until they reach the ballot box, different from busy people who may ignore voting because of their businesses even though voting day

is always over the weekend. That being the case, the comment of ignoring the Kigamboni residents, and all those in Dar es Salaam, in general, may have had an impact on the votes. Thus, the argumentation is pragmatically and logically consistent. The aspect of effectiveness reflecting the success of the arguer to win the minds of the potential electorate is sufficient. Mbowe modifies the relevant audience, appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions, and dissociates CHADEMA/UKAWA desire to help people from CCM, a party Mbowe claims that it treats people harshly, especially under its ministers like Dr John Pombe Magufuli. In the Pragma-dialectical perspective, the argumentation in Figure 5.18 is both effective and reasonable and thus the speaker successfully defends his standpoint in favour of CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates in the general election campaigns.

5.7.10 Strength and wisdom of political party members

Salum is the member of CHADEMA and supporter of CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate. He argues CCM campaigners are weak in terms of arguments that is why they use vulgar language (Figure 5.19 of CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 19).

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 19

SALUM: (1) Laiti tungelisema neno moja, tungenesema yametimia, lakini kwakua watu wana shauku ya kusikiliza, hatuna sababu ya kutamka neno moja kwamba yametimia halafu tuondoke. (2) Kwahiyo ni vema tungetoa nafasi kwa viongozi wetu kuwasikiliza, lakini niseme tu mambo mawili muheshimiwa mwenyekiti wa Taifa, wa CHADEMA pamoja na wenyeviti wenzako, kwamba tunakutana hapa kwasababu ya mambo mawili. (3) Jambo la kwanza leo ndio tunazindua rasmi kampeni zetu. (4) Naomba waheshimiwa wananchi tutulie kidogo! (5) Viongozi huko naomba tutulizane kidogo. (6) Jambo letu la kwanza ni hili kwamba leo ndio tunaanza safari ya kwenda kuzungumza rasmi na watanzania kwenda kuomba kura zao, kuelekea katika uchaguzi mkuu tarehe 25 Oktoba mwaka huu. (7) Lakini jambo la pili lililo tukutanisha uwanja huu ambao historia imeandika uwanja huu haujawahi kushuhudia idadi kubwa ya watu kama leo, haijawahi kushuhudiwa nayo ni kuzindua ilani yetu ya uchaguzi mkuu, ilani ambayo pamoja na kwamba inapeperushwa na CHADEMA lakini inaungwa mkono na vyama vyote vinavyounda ushirika wa UKAWA.

(8) Waheshimiwa wananchi na waheshimiwa viongozi, labda nimalizie kwa neno moja ili niweze kutoa muda. (9) Mtu mzima anaposhindwa hufanya jambo moja kati ya manne. (10) Mtu mzima yoyote anaposhindwa ukimzidi kwa nguvu ama ukimzidi kwa hoja ama ukimzidi

kwa namna yoyote, basi atafanya jambo moja au mawili kati ya mambo manne. (11) Jambo la kwanza mtu mzima atakimbilia kung'ata, mtu akizidiwa basi anakimbilia kung'ata. (12) Lakini jambo la pili ambapo mtu mzima akishindwa hoja analoweza kulifanya ni kuokota jiwe na kukupiga. (13) Ukiona mtu anaokota jiwe na kukupiga ujue ameshazidiwa hoja, ameshazidiwa nguvu. (14) Lakini jambo lingine ambalo mtu mzima akizidiwa hulifanya, ni kutoka mbio, atakimbia eneo hili ili kuficha aibu yake. (15) Lakini jambo la nne ambapo mtu mzima akizidiwa hoja hulifanya ni matusi. (16) Ataishia kukutukana kwasababu hana tena hoja za kukujibu. [17] Na hata sisi lazima tumekua na hata jambo moja ulilifanya siku ulipozidiwa.

(18) Lakini tunawahakikishia watazania kwamba kwakuwa wenzetu wameshaonesha kuzidiwa na wamekubali kwamba CHADEMA na UKAWA ndio vipaumbele ambavyo watazania ndio wanazungumza sasa hivi, na ndio wanasubiri kufanya maamuzi tarehe 25. (19) Hatutofanya hata moja kati ya hilo, kuanzia leo mpaka kwenye mikutano yetu yote ya kampeni. (20) Hatutokimbia kwasababu hatuna sababu ya kukimbia, [21] hatutong'ata kwa sababu hatuna sababu ya kung'ata, (22) hatutompiga mtu jiwe kwasababu hatuna sababu ya kumpiga mtu jiwe, (23) na hatutotukana kwasababu hatuna sababu ya kutukana. (24) Tunajua watazania mliokuja leo mnataka kusikiliza sera, (25) mnataka kusikiliza imani, ambayo UKAWA na CHADEMA imeiweka juu yenu. (26) Nasi kama UKAWA tunawaahidi, kwamba imani yenu kamwe haitopotea bure. (27) Mnaweka imani katika mahala palipo sahihi, na sisi tutaisimamia imani yenu. Chademaaaa.....,chademaaaaaaa....., hakiiii....., hakiiii.....,motomotomotooooo....., motomotomotooooo.....NCCR..., NCCR...,Lowassaaaaa.....,Lowassaaaaa.....,

[1] If we were to say one word, we could say that it has been fulfilled, but since the people have strong desires for listening, we do not have a reason of saying one word that has come to be true and then leave. [2] Thus, it is good to give chance to our leaders, so you listen to them. [3] But let me address two issues, honourable national CHADEMA chairperson and your fellow chairpersons! [4] We are gathered here for two matters! [5] The first one is that today we are officially launching our campaigns. [6] Let me request you, honourable citizens, to be quiet a bit. [7] You leaders over there, request them to be quiet a bit. [8] Our first issue is that today we are starting our journey of going to Tanzanians to ask for votes in the 25th October general elections which will take place this year. [9] The second matter which has made us meet here on this ground, in which history has been written that it has

never happened to have many people like the way it is today. [10] It has never been witnessed. [11] The second issue is to launch our general election manifesto, the manifesto which though is owned by CHADEMA, it is supported by all parties which form UKAWA Alliance.

[12] Honorable citizens and honourable leaders, maybe, let me conclude by saying one word so other speakers may give their speeches. [13] When confronted by strong opponents either in physical strength or argumentation, an adult reacts in one of the four ways. [14] They can decide to bite the opponent. [15] They can decide to stone the opponent. [16] They can decide to insult the opponent. [17] They can decide to run away. [18] The same applies to us we must have at least one thing that you did on a day in which somebody defeated you.

[19] Moreover, we assure you today because our competitors have shown the signs of being defeated and that they have agreed that CHADEMA and UKAWA are the priorities which Tanzanians are currently talking about, and this is what they preach for people to make decisions on 25th October 2015, [20]. We won't do any of those things, from today and during all our political rallies for the campaigns. [21] We will not run away since we do not have the reason for doing so. [22] We will not bite anybody as we do not have any reason for biting people. [23] We will not stone anybody because we do not have any reason for doing so. [24] And we will not insult anybody as we do not have any reason to do so. [25] We know that the Tanzanians who have come here today, [26] you want to listen to policies, [27] you want to listen to the hopes which UKAWA and CHADEMA have put on you, and as for us UKAWA, [28] we promise you that your belief will never perish in vain. [29] You have put your trust in the right place, and we are going to keep your trust. CHADEMAAAA.....CHADEMAAAA.... rights.....rights..... fire, fire, fire, fire, fire..... fire, fire, fire, fire, fire.... NCCR.... NCCR.... Lowassaaaa...Lowassaaaa.....

Regarding the first dimension, that is the argumentation structure, Salim Mwalimu argues that some CCM members, for instance the former president, Benjamin Mkapa, use harsh language instead of refuting the standpoints staged by opposition parties. Salim provides different arguments to support his standpoint. The argumentation in Figure 5.19 is complex. It comprises coordinative argument structures (1.1a,1.1b,1.1c, and 1.1d) and subordinative argument structures (1.1a.1,1.1b.1,1.1c.1, and 1.1d.1). His argumentation is inductively presented (Walton, 1987; Van Eemeren *et al.*, 1993; Hurley, 2012). Several empirical pieces of evidence are presented to draw a conclusion that CCM members cannot argue instead they

use vulgar language as represented in Figure 5.19 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 19.

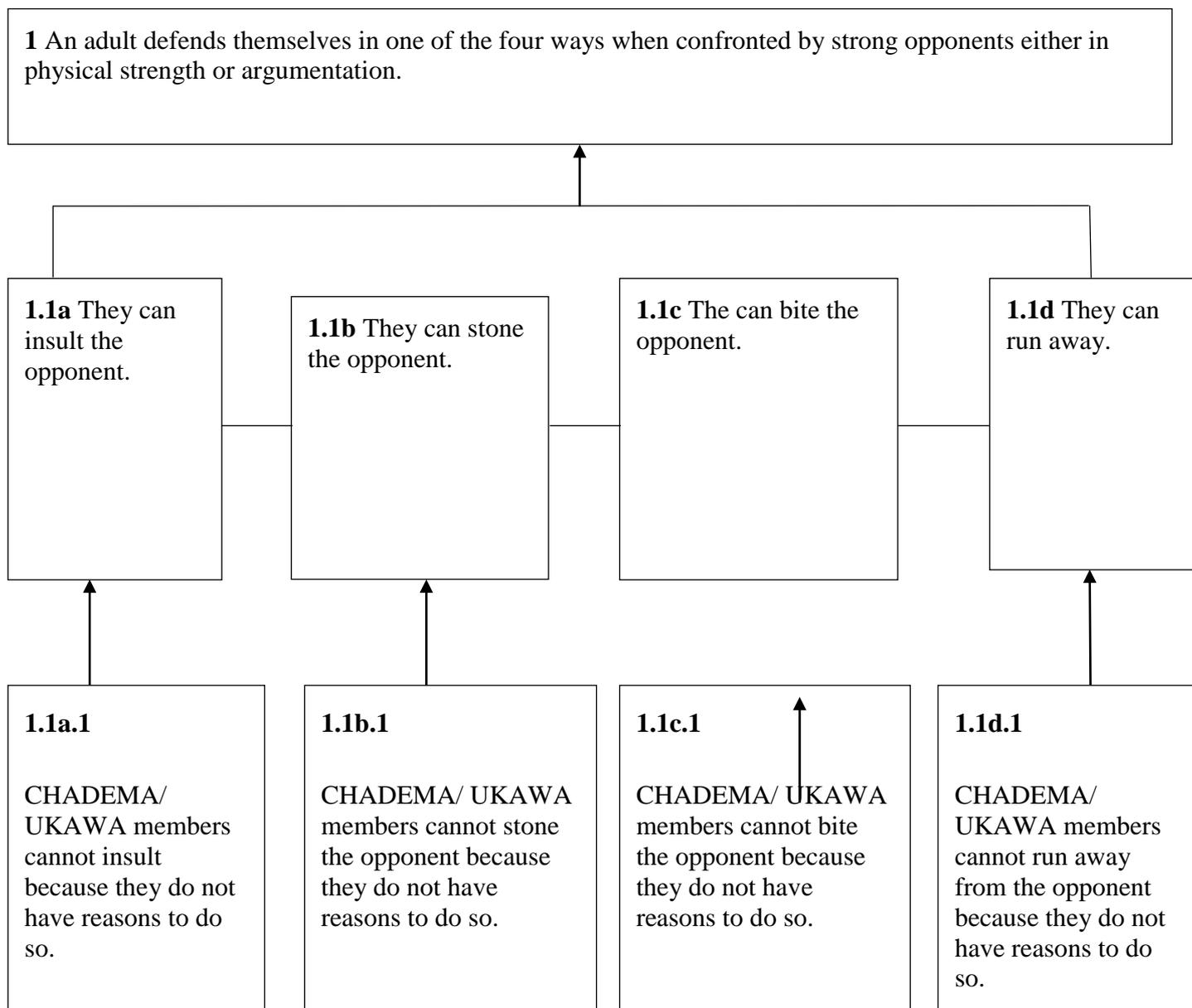


Figure 5.19: Reconstructed argumentation structure on the strength and wisdom of political party members

Salim realises symptomatic argumentation schemes as represented in Figure 5.19. In his standpoint, he identifies how adults react when confronted by strong opponents. This standpoint is a response to the claim that CHADEMA/UKAWA members were fools because they claim to liberate Tanzania, a country that was liberated several years ago during the struggle for independence. In addition, the supporter of CCM who used such a harsh language was not only an old person expected to be wise but a former president of the United

Republic of Tanzania. Such grounds lead Salum Mwalimu to claim that vulgar language is a sign of failure to argue reasonably. Because of the lack of tolerance such kind of a strategy the CCM supporter falls under the category of unfair strategic maneuvering (Van Laar & Krabbe, 2016). Secondly, the argument from authority is another scheme reflected in Figure 5.19. Salum Mwalimu is a deputy general secretary of CHADEMA, so he speaks with confidence because he knows the strength of the party, though that could be political propaganda. The third scheme is an analogy. Adults are regarded as people who cannot fairly argue without insulting biting, stoning, or running away from their opponents. Strategically, Salim portrays CCM as the weak political party to compete with their rival, CHADEMA/UKAWA opposition camp.

Considering the third dimension that is topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices, in the confrontation stage, Salum Mwalimu focusses on ways adults react when confronted with strong opponents, strategically reframing the argument to make a topic easy to defend in the resolution process. Determining what to say is always controlled by the audience. Salum Mwalimu is aware how irritated CHADEMA/UKAWA members were after Mkapa had called them fools and loafers. Irritation is categorised as evaluative language under affect (White, 2011). Presentational devices show how much effective an argumentative move may be successful. Salum Mwalimu asserts that when confronted by strong opponents, ‘adults’ insult, bite, stone, or run away from their opponents. This propaganda technique implied a universal agreement on the behaviour of adults without defining who adults are.

In the opening stage, Salumu Mwalimu takes a position of the antagonist against Mkapa’s claim calling CHADEMA/UKAWA supporters fools and loafers. He thus appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions as socially nobody accepts such kind of vulgar language. That awareness plausibly opens a strategy to take the antagonist position to argue against a claim that CHADEMA/UKAWA members are fools and loafers. Salum declares his interest that supporters of CHADEMA are strong to counter argue claims from anybody claiming CHADEMA/UKAWA does not qualify to lead the country. The implication of such a stand is to pin-point the Mkapa as an enemy of CHADEMA/UKAWA. Instead of dealing with the issue of why CHADEMA claims to liberate Tanzanians in 2015, strategically Salumu decides to deal with Mkapa, a subject that is easier to deal with rather than responding to the claim.

In the argumentation stage, a topic is maintained. Dissociation is demonstrated to portray CHADEMA supporters as different from those of CCM who fight instead of arguing in the resolution process. He provides evidence of why he believes CCM supporters are not strong enough to compete with CHADEMA. He metaphorically labels them weak arguers because of age and lack of competence in argumentation. CHADEMA members are dissociated from the categories of those when confronted by compelling arguments, the resolution is sought through throwing stones. Strategically, this is an irony. Mkapa did use vulgar language but he did not throw stones, nor did he bite anybody, but in the deliberative argumentative discourse, such exaggeration can be applied to intensify any mistake made by an opponent. Apart from the association, stylistic devices and the means of strategic maneuvering, the Salum capitalises on the positive use of propaganda by promoting civic responsibility.

All such circumstances are meant to capture the minds of the potential electorate to increase chances of winning the presidential race. To make his argumentation effective and sound, Salum gives reasons to support his claim. Propaganda techniques such as name-calling are employed. Mkapa is named ironically an adult not referring to age but because he insulted UKAWA supporters and leaders, thus he is regarded as an adult in terms of reasoning. Salum Mwalimu belittles what Mkapa said as a strategy to communicate to supporters of CHADEMA/UKAWA that CCM supporters are liars. In a deeper sense Salum evokes sympathy for the potential electorate to inspire generosity of voting for CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates. Stating that for CHADEMA/UKAWA campaigners, there are no good reasons to insult, bite, stone, or run away from arguments is meant to strategically promote civic responsibility among citizens. There is a four-time repetition in the argumentation that CHADEMA have no reasons to do what adults do when confronted by strong opponents. In the concluding stage, Salum Mwalimu advises CHADEMA/UKAWA members to argue strongly when claims against them are raised, insisting that CHADEMA/UKAWA followers should not, in any case, follow what CCM supporters do. The reason for the advice is that CHADEMA is strong; thus, they have no reason to insult, bite, stone, or run away from the opponents. In his conclusion, Salum comments that claim that CHADEMA/UKAWA members and supporters are fools and loafers were to be ignored. The strategies that are employed are trivialisation and belittlement as the arguer regarded CCM supporters less convincing.

Regarding the fourth dimension, that is, the evaluation of the successful observation of rules for critical discussion, freedom rule, the burden of proof, relevance rule, argument scheme rule, and unexpressed premise rules were realised. Salumu is aware that in political campaigns everybody has the right to speak what they believe but how much of value speakers say is up to the audience to interpret. He proves that Mkapa is wrong to call CHADEMA/UKAWA supporters fools and loafers. Relevantly, he uses schemes of analogy and symptomatic argumentation to support his claim.

In respect to the fifth dimension, although the freedom rule is observed, to some extent Salumu Mwalimu placed limits to CHADEMA/UKAWA supporters. He explicitly interprets why CCM campaigners are to be ignored without allowing other people to think of the matter in a way that they think can be a better interpretation. The language usage is not clear. An adult is regarded as someone who cannot argue appropriately.

Considering the sixth dimension, Salumu Mwalimu effectively meets the audience demand, reframing the argument in a way that suits the audience, selecting the topic appropriately, and employing different strategic maneuvering techniques. Based on the use of relevant schemes in the second dimension, the analogy is employed appropriately whereby Mkapa is regarded weak in terms of making arguments because he insulted all those that have different beliefs from those of CCM. Another scheme is symptomatic argumentation as already explained in the second dimension of this argumentation. Apart from argumentation schemes, pragmatically the argumentation is consistent. A former president of the United Republic of Tanzania is not expected to use such a vulgar language that is the reason why Salumu Mwalimu insists Mkapa failed to argue reasonably. With logical consistency, argumentation in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics, Salumu manages to support his claims with reasons why CHADEMA/UKAWA should not use insults in campaigns saying that there are no reasons for doing so. The acceptability of the argument, though it cannot be accepted that adults cannot reason appropriately, in the context of the 2015 general election in Tanzania, it is unexpected for a senior politician to use a vulgar language. Thus, it can be concluded that the argumentation in Figure 5.19 is presented effectively and reasonably in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics.

5.7.11 Unity, language usage and beliefs of political party members

Mbatia compares CCM campaigners from CHADEMA/UKAWA campaigners based on how both groups talk about unity, a way they use language, and their beliefs. He evaluates CHADEMA campaigners positively and CCM campaigners negatively as represented in Figure 5.20 of the CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 20.

CHADEMA/CCM speech segment 20

MBATIA: (1) Wanaohubiri kutengana kwa taifa la Tanzania, sisi tunahubiri umoja. (2) Tumeitwa malofa na wapumbavu. Watanzania! (3) Tunawaambia Watanzania, matusi hayo, uchochezi huo kuna maandiko yameandikwa kwenye Biblia Takatifu Mhubiri sura ya nne mstari wa 13, inasema, ‘Kheri kijana maskini mwenye hekima kuliko mfalme mzee mpumbavu.’ (4) Naomba nimalizie! Dar es Salaam ooyeeee!... (5) Narudia, ‘kheri kijana maskini mwenye hekima kuliko mfalme mzee mpumbavu ambae hasikii tena maonyo, ambae hasikii tena maonyo.’ (6) Na mtume Muhamad Swalahlah Wasalam alituambia, ‘ukiona uovu unatokea zuia ukishindwa kuzuia kemea ukishindwa kukemea onyesha chuki.’. (7) Mheshimiwa Lowassa uovu wote wanaotaka kukutendea wewe tunajua ni mtu wa maendeleo na Mungu akubariki na ukiona uovu unazidi unataka kukasirika. (8) Basi utembe na tenzi za rohoni na uwe unaimba tenzi wa 116, *wimbo-bwana u sehemu yangu, rafiki yangu wewe, katika safari yangu ntatembea na weweee, pamoja na weweee, pamoja na weee, katika safari yangu ntatembea na weweeee!* (9) Ahsanteni sana kwa kunisikiliza.

[1] They preach disunity of Tanzania as a nation, [2] we preach unity. [3] We have been called loafers and fools. [4] We tell the Tanzanians those insults and incitement, there are scriptures in the Bible from the book of Ecclesiastes, Chapter Four verse 13, says “You may be poor and young, but if you are wise, you are better off than a foolish old king who won’t listen to the advice.” [5] Let me conclude! Dar es Salaam hurray! [6]I repeat ““You may be poor and young, but if you are wise, you are better off than a foolish old king who won’t listen to advise.”. [7] Even prophet Muhamad Swalahlah Wasalam told us that if you see wickedness happening, stop it, if you cannot stop it, rebuke it, if you cannot rebuke it, show hatred towards it. Honourable Lowassa! [8] All the evils which they want to do to you it is because we know that you are a person with the urge of development. [9] May God bless you! [10] And if you see that the evils are increasing then walk with your spiritual songs’

book and you must sing the song from number 116, Oh! Lord! You are part of me, you are my friend, in my journey, I will walk with you, I will be with you, in my journey, I will walk with you. [11] I thank you very much for listening to me.

Regarding the first dimension, that is, the argumentation structure, Mbatia expresses his concerns on how CCM campaigners have failed to enhance unity, appropriate language use, and maintain peace in the general election campaigns. Contextually, Mbatia presents his standpoint on unity, language use, and beliefs of political campaigners reflecting what Mkapa had said on 23rd of August 2015 during CCM inaugural campaign speeches. Claiming that CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA differ in different perspectives, he provides different arguments to support the standpoint. His argumentation is complex given different structures to support his standpoint as Figure 5.20 portrays. There are coordinative argument structures ((1.1a, 1.1b, and 1.1c) and (1.1c.2.1a, 1.1c.2.1b, and 1.1c.2.1c)), multiple structures ((1.1a.1 and 1.1a.2), (1.1b.1 and 1.1b.2), and (1.1c.1 and 1.1c.2)), and subordinative argument structures such as (1.1b, 1.1b.1, and 1.1b.1.1), and (1.1c, 1.1c.2, and 1.1c.2.1a-c). The argumentation is inductively presented. Mbatia provides empirical evidence from which a conclusion is plausibly true.

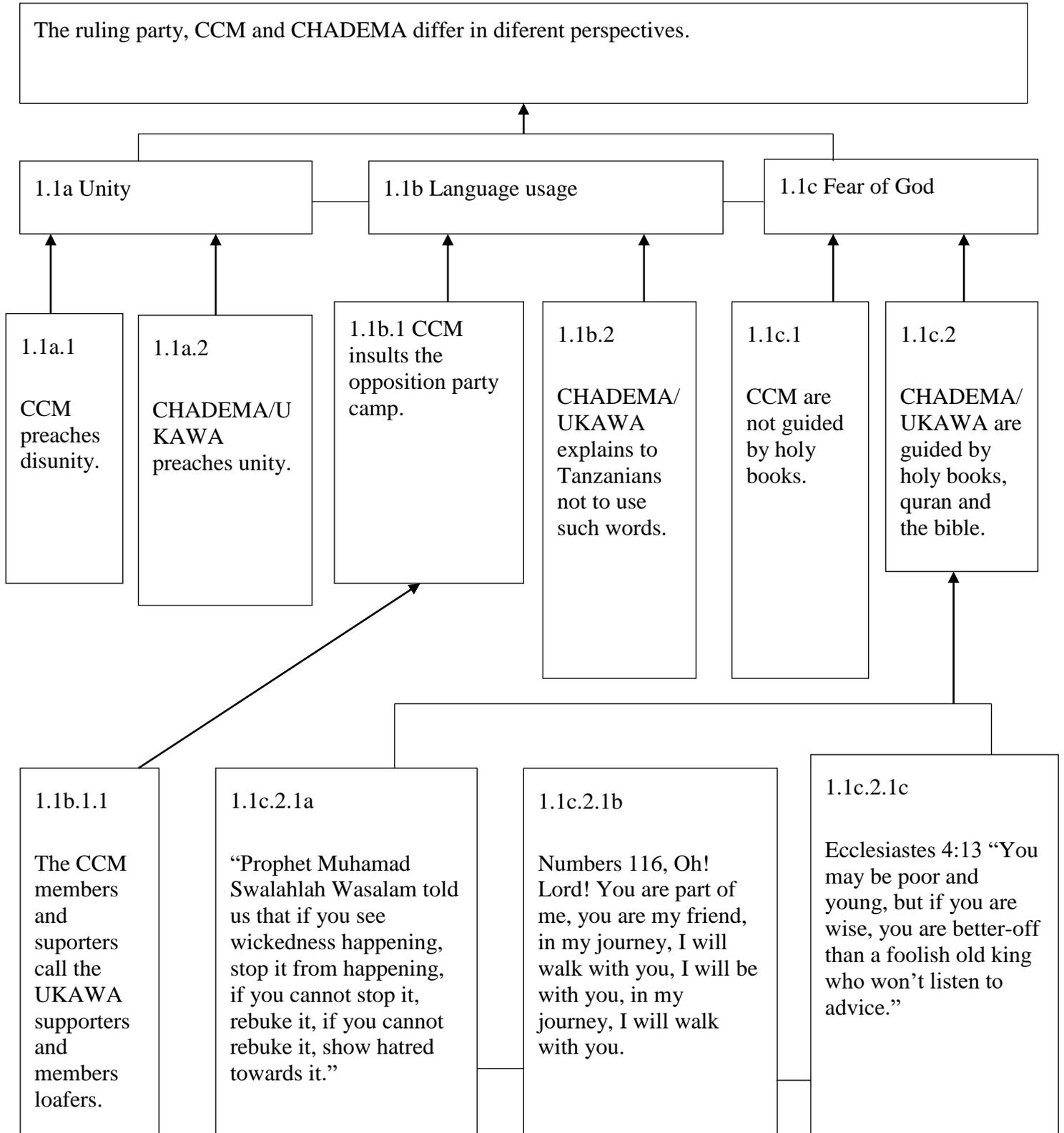


Figure 5.20: Reconstructed argumentation structure on different perspectives on unity, language use, and beliefs between CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM supporters

Considering the dimension of schemes, Mbatia utilizes three argumentation schemes. He explains how Mkapa's insults against opposition party camp are as bad as unwise king, quoting from the Bible, Ecclesiastes 4: 13. This is an argument from analogy. Mkapa is the former president of the United Republic of Tanzania and a former CCM chairperson. None of CHADEMA/UKAWA supporters has had such a rank of being the chairperson of the ruling party, more importantly, none of them ever served a presidential position. Calling CHADEMA/UKAWA fools and loafers is a sign of not being ready to accommodate opposition party opinions. Therefore, Mkapa is interpreted as the politician who is not ready for multiparty democratic state.

Considering the third dimension that is rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness as represented in Figure 5.20, Mbatia focuses on the standpoint that the CHADEMA/UKAWA differ from the CCM in different perspectives. This is mentioned in the confrontation stage where the speaker employs a strategy of comparison, negatively evaluating CCM and positively evaluating the CHADEMA/UKAWA opposition camp. The argumentation meets audience demand. Given a historical background of Tanzania where there have never been civil wars, unity is very important to the people. This strategy of selecting words like unity appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions. Presentational devices are demonstrated across all stages. With respect to the confrontation stage, articulating that the CHADEMA/UKAWA differs from the CCM was dissociating the former from bad deeds and associating the latter to bad deeds. In the opening stage, Mbatia assumes a position of the protagonist to elucidate the point of difference between CCM and the opposition camp. His decision meets a criterion of commissive as a speech act (Searle, 1979b). Because he believes the CCM is deviating from the norms, such a judgment in the confrontation stage needs clarification in the opening and argumentation stage. He manifested glittering generalities by mentioning that the CHADEMA embraces unity while the CCM entertains disunity in the country.

In the argumentation stage, Mbatia explaining the difference between CCM and the opposition party camp, UKAWA, so that the audience can easily get persuaded. This is because Mbatia claims that CCM has failed to tolerate the views from other parties. Democracy is necessary for good governance, and because many people want good governance, CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates are likely to get support from the potential electorate. That is a strategy known as a pragmatic argumentative pattern in the deliberative

argumentative move. Trying to get demands the audience want, in the opening stage, Mbatia, knowing how much Tanzanians like peace and unity, supports that their differences are based on the perspectives of unity, language use, and believing in God. Strategically, he creates some fear to those undecided which party to side with. Fundamentally, many support CHADEMA/UKAWA not because the opposition is trustworthy but because they sympathise with the situation that CCM is suppressing democracy, especially CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates.

In a critical approach, arguments were presented to elaborate where the difference originates. The first argument was that CHADEMA/UKAWA preach unity, CCM preach disunity. Mbatia judges CCM negatively, his party positively. According to (Iedema *et al.*, 1994), judgment of whatever kind implies an attitude one has towards someone. Mentioning unity, he appeals to liberal and conservative presumptions in a sense that every single individual in the universal audience would expect a party with rational leaders to preach unity. The second is that CHADEMA/UKAWA argue to educate the potential electorate, CCM use vulgar language instead. This again is a propaganda technique of promoting civic responsibility that every citizen is obliged to respect human rights of the freedom of expression. The third is that CHADEMA does their campaigns in the line that God likes, the CCM does not. This again is glittering generality because nobody is sure if CHADEMA is committed to God. In one way or another, the topical potential was strategically selected even to the extent of quoting holy books, the Quran, and the Bible.

To meet audience demand, in the argumentation stage, Mbatia expresses the need for respecting other people. Moreover, he capitalises on the national unity to promote civic responsibility. Insults from the former president, Mkapa, are utilised in a positive way by invoking sympathy that would lead to generosity and thus potential electorate would vote for the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates particularly the presidential race suggested in the concluding stage. In addition, in his argumentation, the two biggest religious groups are mentioned quoting that the Bible and Quran did not match what Mkapa and CCM members and supporters were doing during campaigns. It is from this perspective that the number of potential voters would feel associated to CHADEMA/UKAWA rather than to CCM. The concluding suggestion implied those who want peace, democracy and unity are to vote for Lowassa the representative of CHADEMA/UKAWA opposition camp, and those against peace, unity, and democracy are to vote for Magufuli, the CCM presidential candidate.

To a significant extent, rules for critical discussion in the Pragma-dialectical discussion are realised. Mbatia observes freedom rule that every person in the multi-party democracy has the right to express their views. The question is on the way and what to say. That is why Mbatia criticises the use of insulting language by the supporters and members of CCM. Mbatia, the protagonist of the standpoint, clearly takes the burden of proof explaining why CCM differs from CHADEMA. The standpoint rule is clear namely it is true that Mkaapa used insulting language that could noticeably make a difference between CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA in terms of language use and respect to other people's view in the multi-party-political campaign speeches. The unexpressed premise rule that CHADEMA/UKAWA have no right to claim to liberate Tanzania is clearly construed by Mbatia. Thus, he claims that, given the constitutional dictates of multi-party dispensation, every party has the right to express what they think is important for the development of the country. The schemes are appropriately employed especially, symptomatic argumentation scheme and argument from analogy. The argumentation is plausibly valid. The concern is that if CCM insulted the opposition party camp because of differing in terms of opinions, then multi-partism in Tanzania is not on implementation yet.

Considering the fifth dimension, that is the identification of the derailments in Mbatia's argumentation represented in Figure 5.20, apart from the well utilised rules for the critical discussion in the deliberative argumentative move, Mbatia attacks the personality of the former president. He as well refers him to a fool though he strategically quotes the bible to avoid being held responsible for what he says. Therefore, the language usage rule is violated. Regarding the rhetorical effectiveness and reasonableness, the argumentation represented in Figure 5.20 is reasonable. The arguments presented are contextually acceptable. The vivid evidence is that on the 23rd of August 2015, during the CCM inaugural campaigns, Mkaapa commented that those claiming development transformations are fools and loafers because Tanzania was liberated years ago from the colonialists. Pragmatically, because Mkaapa was a president and he was one of the leaders that politicians alleged to have damaged the economy, that is why the argumentation he raised manifested the use of insults. Logically as already stated in terms of validity, the CCM do not value views from the opposition party camp. Finally, schemes demonstrated in Figure 5.20 are relevant and appropriate in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics. Referring to the presentational devices, Mbatia utilises various presentational devices, thus, the rhetorical dimension of effectiveness is appropriately credited in deliberative argumentative discourse.

5.8 SUMMARY

The argumentative discourse in the 2015 inaugural campaigns of CHADEMA/UKAWA that took place at Jangwani on 29th August 2015 focussed on the failure of the ruling party, especially capitalising on the fact that the CCM has been in power for over 50 years, yet the people of the United Republic of Tanzania are still living in deprived circumstances. Like the CCM campaigners, the CHADEMA/UKAWA campaigners and candidates support their standpoints with different arguments, thus making argumentation structures complex. The flow of arguments presentation is mainly deductive. Most premises align with the conclusion of the CHADEMA/UKAWA campaigners' speeches. It is strategic to present arguments in a way that if CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate wins the election, development transformations will be introduced. Considering the schemes, symptomatic argumentation schemes are dominant in CHADEMA/UKAWA supporter's argumentation. In regard to the dimension of topical potential, audience demand, presentational devices, and evaluative language, CHADEMA/UKAWA campaigners select topics on poverty eradication, good governance, the definition of development transformation, and related topics. All topics appeal to the audience demand as arguments about life hardships in Tanzania would attract voter audience to support CHADEMA/UKAWA. Campaigners use different presentational devices especially highlighting failures of CCM and giving alternatives that CHADEMA/UKAWA would do if they are given chance to lead the country. Regarding the ruling for a model of a critical discussion, freedom rule, standpoint rule, argument scheme rule, relevance rule, and unexpressed premise rule are realised compared to language rule which seems to be derailed. Arguments made to support the standpoints are ambiguous sometimes in respect to understanding what campaigners really want to communicate to the audience. Generally, argumentations are strategically presented given that CHADEMA/UKAWA campaigners maintain a delicate balance of effectiveness and reasonableness.

CHAPTER SIX

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF STRATEGIC MANEUVERING BETWEEN CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA IN MAINTAINING EFFECTIVENESS AND REASONABLENESS IN CROSSCUTTING THEMES IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN SPEECHES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapters Four and Five presented argumentations of supporters, campaigners, members, and candidates from CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA respectively. In a trend of making argumentations in the two chapters, it is demonstrated that arguers of CHADEMA/UKAWA respond to what is presented in campaigns of CCM and vice versa. Therefore, it is thus possible to have merged dialectical profiles economically presented, instead of putting two different argumentation structures. Basically, a comparative approach in Chapter Six enables analysisists of political campaign speeches to think of possibilities of making unexpressed premises explicit by merging argumentations that have argumentative indicators of correspondence.

Thus, Chapter Six focusses on strategic maneuvering in CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential campaign speeches made on 29th August 2015 at Jangwani Field in Dar es Salaam, and 24th October 2015 at Kirumba Stadium in Mwanza respectively. In this chapter, two speech segments have been purposefully selected given that the one on 29th August 2015 was made by the former Prime Minister, Fredrick Sumaye, in the fourth-phase government under Benjamin William Mkapa, and the speech segment on the 24th October 2015, is made by the incumbent CCM national chairperson and the president of the United Republic of Tanzania (2005-2015), Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete.

Sumaye joined the opposition party camp in 2015 during the general election campaigns, a few days later after another former Prime Minister, Edward Lowassa's defection to the opposition camp (UKAWA). The CHADEMA/UKAWA camp nominated Lowassa for the presidential race.

Kikwete argues that Tanzania needs a presidential candidate with no corruption scandal profile. Given that Magufuli has no corruption scandal profile, then Magufuli qualifies to be the president. Kikwete furthers his argument implicating Lowassa to have a portfolio in the Richmond corruption scandal. In refuting what Kikwete claims, Sumaye argues corruption

allegations against Lowassa are false since scandals of corruption are rampant even after Lowassa's resignation in 2008.

Chapter Six comprises six sections. Section 6.1 introduces the chapter. Section 6.2 describes on separate argumentation structures of CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM. Sub-section 6.2.1 presents a reconstructed argumentation structure on false accusations on Lowassa. Sub-section 6.2.2 presents the reconstructed argumentation structure on examples indicating Lowassa's involvement in the Richmond corruption scandal. Sub-section 6.2.3 presents merged dialectical profiles of CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM campaigners on the presidential candidates' identities. Section 6.3 explores the argumentation schemes and prototypical argumentative patterns on CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential candidates' identities. Section 6.4 analyses topical potential, audience demand, presentational devices, and appraisal of CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidates' identities. Section 6.5 analyses asymmetrical settings and institutional preconditions during campaigns on CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential candidates' identities. Section 6.6 identifies successful observation of rules for critical discussion on CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential candidates' identities. Section 6.7 identifies derailments of critical discussion rules on CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential candidates' identities. Section 6.8 investigates maintaining effectiveness and reasonableness on CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential candidates' identities. Section 6.9 summarises findings of argumentations on CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential candidates' identities.

Given the nature of the Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation, which requires the maintaining of delicate balance, the issue of corruption is almost among other argumentations predominantly instrumental on both political camps. CCM claim Lowassa is corrupt; that is why they did not nominate him the presidential candidate, while CHADEMA/UKAWA claim CCM, as a party, is corrupt, and no one can control corruption within CCM. Therefore, different argumentations focus on corruption as the source of maladministration in the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania. The concern of this study is on the ability of campaigners to present their arguments to the audience and particularly the potential voters in a way that effectiveness and reasonableness are maintained in the campaign activity type deliberative argumentative discourse.

6.2 RECONSTRUCTED ARGUMENTATION STRUCTURES ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES

Argumentation may consist of a single argument, but in many other cases, there are several arguments supporting a standpoint making an argumentation structure complex (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008: 63). This section presents structures reconstructed from speech segments. Both CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential candidates' supporters provide their standpoint with several arguments; thus, the structures in 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 are complex.

6.2.1 Reconstructed argumentation structure on views of CCM supporter on CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidates' identities

CCM speech segment 6.2.1

KIKWETE: (1) Magufuli ni muadilifu na muaminifu. (2) Amefanya kazi wizara ya ujenzi, wizara ya mifugo. (3) Amefanya kazi ardhi. (4) Hizi wizara zote hizi hasa wizara ya ujenzi na ardhi ni wizara zenye ushawishi mkubwa. (5) Huku kwenye ujenzi ni kwenye ukandarasi wa matrilioni ya mapesa. (6) Magufuli hajashukiwa kula rushwa kwa mtu yoyote. (7) Nani kamsikia anamnyooshea kidole Magufuli kwa rushwa mmeshasikia popote? (8) Maana kingekuwapo wale jamaa wangechonga sana. (9) Wanashindwa kuchonga kwasababu Magufuli mtu muaminifu ni mtu muadilifu. (10) Alikua waziri wa ardhi angejirundikia viwanja kama alivyokua bwana flani. (11) Mnamjua eeh...,eeh. (12) Hata juzi juzi aliuya kiwanja kimoja ilia pate hela za kampeni kapata bilioni moja na milioni mia nne. (13) Magufuli hayuko hivyo. (14) Katika nchi ambayo tuna matatizo makubwa ya rushwa tunahitaji mtu ambaye yeye mwenyewe ni muadilifu ili aweze kuongoza mapambano hayo bila ya hofu. (15) Atakaposema atakapofanya na kuchukua hatua hamna kitu kinachomzuia.

(16) Sisi katika chama tulitambua katika jambo linalowasumbua sana Watanzania, linawachukiza ni vitendo vya rushwa. (17) Tukasema bwana hatutaki mgombea mwenye makando kando ya rushwa. (18) Kama sasa hivi wanavyo kaa kaa..., maana sasa hivi wana kazi kubwa ya kumtetea. (19) Richmond sio yeye.... sio yeye.... eti Richmond ya Kikwete, uongo mtupu. (20) Jana Mwakyembe kaeleza vizuri. (21) Tatizo kwenye Richmond tulikubaliana kweli kwamba kwasababu mabwawa yetu yamekauka tukodishe mitambo yetu nje ili kuzalisha umeme. (22) Hili tumekubaliana wote na mimi nimehusika. (23) Mimi sikuhusika kwenye kampuni gani ndio ilete hiyo mitambo. (24) Na kwenye kikao cha Baraza la Mawaziri tulipokua tunajadili nilieleza wazi kanuni za manunuzi ziheshimiwe zizingatiwe. (25) Tatizo kwenye Richmond kanuni hazikuzingatiwa. (26) La kwanza lililovunjwa, badala ya shughuli ile kufanywa na TANESCO, Waziri Mkuu aliunda kamati yake ya makatibu wakuu, akiwepo yeye wafanye hiyo kazi. (27) Inatoa taarifa kwake na ndio maana tume ya bunge ikamwambia

wewe mzee ndio chanzo cha tatizo hili. (28) Matokeo yake ikapatikana kampuni ambayo haikua na uwezo wa kutimiza ule wajibu. (29) Nchi ikawa kwenye mgogoro. (30) Leo wawe wakweli tu! (31) Tundu Lisu akasema hivi, ndio maana siku moja akaniuliza nikasema usiniulize mimi mwenye Richmond unae wewe. (32) Kuamua kwamba tupate mitambo ya kukodisha ili kuzalisha umeme hiyo nimeshiriki kuamua, lakini sikushiriki kuamua kama kampuni ya kuleta mitambo hiyo iwe Richmond. (33) Maagizo yangu yalikua kwamba taratibu za kisheria za kupata manunuzi kanuni zizingatiwe. (34) Zilikiukwa ndio chanzo cha mgogoro huu. (35) Mgogoro mpaka ukatufikisha pale tulipofikia na kumwambia bwana mkubwa hapa tulipofikia jiuzuru tuunde upya serikali. (36) Kama Richmond ingekua ni yangu, Msabaha aliyekua Waziri wa nishati alishakuja kwangu akiwalalamikia watu wa Wizara ya fedha kwamba raisi nisaidie watu wa wizara ya fedha wanakataa kutoa malipo ya kwanza kwa hii kampuni ili iweze kuleta mitambo. (37) Mimi nikamwambia mimi nawaunga mkono watu wa wizara ya fedha. (38) Na nilimwambia Msabaha mtu yoyote akamuulize. (39) Waziri kampuni ilitoa neno la Kingereza 'this is the Phantom company'. (40) Neno la Kingereza Phantom company maana yake ni kampuni hewa. (41) Nikasema hawa ukiwapa hizo pesa dola milioni 10, wataondoka na dola milioni kumi na mitambo hutaiona. (42) Nikamwambia hapana, nikamwambia hivi kama wanauwezo walete mitambo wakishaleta tutawalipa. (43) Hawakuweza kuleta na ndio maana nchi ikapata matatizo. (44) Sasa ingekua kampuni yangu si ningejilipa, ningezuia kweli wasilipwe. (45) Maneno hayana kichwa wala miguu limewakaba rohoni kama kijiba cha samaki.

(46) CCM imeridhika kwamba John Joseph Pombe Magufuli anatosha. (47) Anazo sifa na simuoni mgombea mwingine yeyote wa chama chochote anayefanana nae. (48) Mmemsikia Magufuli kila mahali amelaani amekemea rushwa. (49) Ameahidi atashughulika nao. (50) Na atanzisha mahakama maalum ya rushwa. (51) Ninyi mmeshamsikia yule mgombea mwingine akatamka hata neno rushwa mdomoni mwake. (52) Hata juzi juzi alipohojiwa na BBC hapa akasema wanamuonea. (53) Akaambiwa mzee wewe tunasema rushwa unasema tu ooh mimi hizi rushwa ndogo ndogo ntashughulika nazo kuhusu rushwa kubwa vipi? (54) Mimi sasa mnanionea haya. (55) Nilidhani ndio mahali pake sasa pakujinasibu kwamba wala rushwa kubwa watanikoma. (56) Magufuli haogopi kusema hivyo. CCM ooyeeyeee. (43) Nani kama Magufuli?

[1] Magufuli is morally upright and honest. [2] He has worked in the Ministry of Works and construction, in the Livestock Ministry and in the Land Ministry. [3] These ministries are full of temptations, particularly the Ministry of works and construction which receives trillions of money. [4] Magufuli has not been implicated in any kind of corruption. [5] Have you heard of any corruption scandal against him? [6] If there were scandals, those guys would have talked a lot. [7] They have nothing to gossip on because Magufuli is morally upright and honest. [8] He was the Minister for Land where, if he were corrupt, he would have reserved several plots for himself like that Mr. [9] Recently, he sold a plot at one billion and four

hundred Tanzanian shillings for campaign funds. [10] Magufuli is not of such kind. [11] In the country where we have corruption problems, we need someone morally upright who can firmly lead us to fight in the battle of corruption. [12] When he/she promises to take measures, they have no corruption backups to hesitate for actions.

[13] At the party level, we realized that what mainly Tanzanians hate is corruption. [14] We said we would not recommend a presidential candidate with corruption scandal profile. [15] Just think of what is happening! [16] They are trying to cleanse his name in their campaigns. [17] They claim he is not responsible for the Richmond scandal, but Kikwete. [18] That is a sheer lie. [19] Yesterday, Mwakyembe put it clearly. [20] With regards to Richmond, it is true we had a consensus due to the drying of our electricity water reservoirs; we had to hire foreign companies for the alternative electricity power plants. [21] We all agreed on that and I was also involved. [22] I was not involved in what company could take a tender of a power plant. [11] Even in the cabinet on this matter, I explained that procurement regulations must be observed and respected. [23] The problem in the Richmond issue is that procedures were not observed. [24] The first violation was that, instead of TANESCO forming a committee, the Prime Minister created his committee of Chief secretaries and himself to work on the matter in which the committee was accountable to him. [25] That is why the parliamentary committee formed to investigate the Richmond scandal told him he was a source of that problem. [26] Consequently, the company, unable to provide alternative power plant, won the tender which led a country into problems. [27] They should be honest! [28] Tundu Lissu asked me about Richmond, but I told him their party has the owner of Richmond. [29] I participated in deciding to get electricity power plants from other companies, but I did not participate in determining Richmond a winner of the tender. [30] I recommended that legal procedures for procurement regulations were to be considered. [31] Legal procedures and regulations were violated. [32] That is what culminated to my decision of telling the big boss that at that point he was to step down as a prerequisite for government reshuffle. [33] If the Richmond were mine, Msabaha who was the Minister for Energy, came to me and appealed that the Ministry of Finance could not authorise down payments to the company for the electricity power plant. [34] I replied to Msabaha that I support the ministry of finance. [35] You can ask Msabaha. [36] I told him, “That is a phantom company, an English word referring to a ghost company”. [37] If you pay them 10 million USD, they will take that money, and you will never see the power plant. [38] I said, No! [39] I said if they can bring the power plant, let them do it and we shall pay them after that.’ [40] They did not bring the

power plant; that is why the country experienced problems. [41] If Richmond were mine, couldn't I have paid myself? [42] Their words do neither have legs nor the head, it is like a piece of fish bone has stuck at their throats.

[43] CCM is satisfied that John Pombe Magufuli qualifies. [44] He has all qualifications. [45] I do not see any presidential candidate, from any other party, that has similar qualifications. [46] You have heard of him warning corruption tendencies. [47] He has promised to fight against corruption. [48] More importantly, he will establish a court for corruption cases. [49] Have you heard of that other candidate articulating the word corruption from his mouth? [50] Even recently, when he was interrogated by the BBC, he said they are mistreating him. [51] They wanted him to talk about grand corruption, but he replied the same way. [52] What he said was that he would deal with petty corruption. [53] I thought that was the time for him to defend himself of the corruption allegations. [54] He could have said that he would deal with grand corruption too. Magufuli does not hesitate to talk about corruption. Hurray CCM!

In the Pragma-dialectical perspective, the representation in Figure 6.1 includes different argumentation structures. There are multiple arguments (1.1, 1.2), (1.2.1, 1.2.2), (1.2.2.1.1, 1.2.2.1.2), (1.2.2.1.1.1, 1.2.2.1.1.2), coordinative arguments (1.2.1.1.1a, 1.2.1.1.1b), and subordinative arguments (1.1, 1.1.1), (1.2, 1.2.1, 1.2.1.1, 1.2.1.1.1a), (1.2.1.1, 1.2.1.1.1b, 1.2.1.1.1b.1), (1.2.2, 1.2.2.1, 1.2.2.1.1, 1.2.2.1.1.1), (1.2.2.1.1, 1.2.2.1.1.2, 1.2.2.1.1.2.1, 1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1, 1.2.2.1.1.2.1.1.1), and (1.2.2.1, 1.2.2.1.2, 1.2.2.1.2.1, 1.2.2.1.2.1.1, 1.2.2.1.2.1.1.1). The form of reasoning is deductive. Kikwete claims Tanzania needs a presidential candidate with no corruption scandal profile. Magufuli has credibly served different ministries. The opposition camp (CHADEMA/UKAWA) candidate is implicated in the Richmond perceived corruption scandal. Thus, Lowassa is not worth for presidency. Specifically, Kikwete identifies TANESCO as a unit that is responsible for finding solutions for electricity supply in Tanzania. Given that Lowassa is not credible; he interfered the process of getting alternative electricity power plants (Kikwete, 2015). Therefore, Lowassa is corrupt.

Arguments 1.1, 1.1.1 and 1.1.1.1 belong to a subordinative argumentation structure. Moreover, 1.1.1.1 is supported by two arguments, 1.1.1.1.1 and 1.1.1.1.2, which are known as multiple argumentation structures because every other argument can stand on its own without any doubt of being defeated. This kind of structure refers to a convergent argument

meaning that one standpoint is supported by two separate arguments and every argument can stand independently (Walton, 2006: 140). 1.1.1.1.1 is also supported by two independent arguments, 1.1.1.1.1.1 and 1.1.1.1.1.2, thus making it multiple. 1.1.1.1.1.2 is supported in a serial manner by 1.1.1.1.1.2.1, 1.1.1.1.1.2.1.1, and 1.1.1.1.1.2.1.1.1 leading its category to be subordinative argumentation structure (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008) or a serial argument structure (Walton, 2006: 146). 1.1.1.1.2 with an argument, ‘I did not participate in determining a company to win the tender.’ is supported by arguments in the serial manner 1.1.1.1.2.1, 1.1.1.1.2.1.1, and 1.1.1.1.2.1.1.1. This also is the subordinative argumentation structure. It can thus be concluded that Figure 6.1 is a complex argumentation structure (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008).

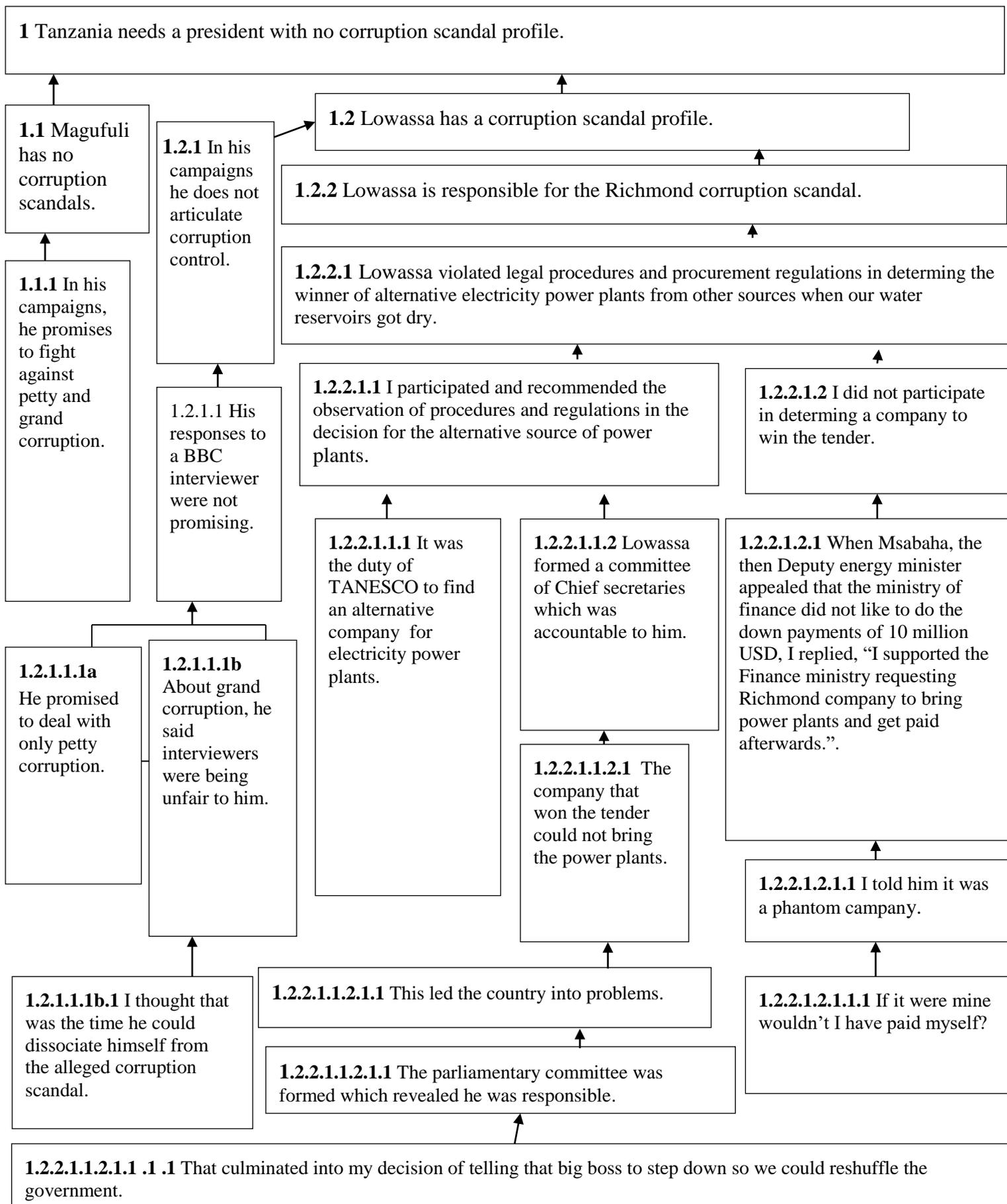


Figure 6.1: Reconstructed argumentation structure on corruption scandals on Lowassa

6.2.2 Reconstructed argumentation structure on views of CHADEMA/UKAWA supporter on CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidates' identities

CHADEMA/UKAWA speech segment 6.2.2

SUMAYE: (1) Kuna mambo mawili wanamsema anayo. (2) Nataka niwaelezeni wazi. (3) La kwanza mmewasikia kwenye kampeni zao wanasema fisadi mkubwa huyoooo. (4) Anapenda rushwaaa. (5) Amechukua hela za matajirii. (6) Sasa kwanza Lowasa kama ni mla rushwa ametoka madarakani mwaka 2008 alikimbia hii nchi ama alikua nchini? (7) Angekuwa mla rushwa angekua nje anatembea? (8) Angekuwa fisadi si wangesha muweka mahali. (9) Lowassa amechukua ustarabu wa kujiwajibisha baada ya lile tatizo kuingia katika serikali. (10) Hivi ni nani mkubwa wa serikali? (11) Tangu lini Waziri mkuu akawa mkubwa wa serikali? (12) Waziri mkuu anabebeshwa mzigo ili kumuokoa raisi na serikali yake. Mabadilikoooooo.....mabadilikoooooo.....

(13) Asanteni sana, naomba tuendele. (14) Ndio, Mwalimu Nyerere wakati anastaafu kwenye kikao kimoja nafikiri cha halmashauri kuu, alilia machozi akasema, hajawahi kuona mtu mvumilivu kama Mzee Kawawa, alikuwa akibeba mizigo ambayo nilitakiwa niibebe mimi lakini alikuwa anabeba yeye ndio kazi aliyofanya Lowasa.

(15) Leo mnamhukumu. (16) Angekuwa mtu mchafu watu wote mngekuja kufanya nini hapa. (17) Lakini mimi nataka niwaulize hao ambao wanamshambulia, mheshimiwa Lowasa ametoka serikalini miaka minane imepita. (18) Hivi wale twiga waliopandishwa kwenye ndege Lowasa alikuwepo? (19) Mbona hayo hawayasemi? (20) Asante sana! (21) Haya tuendele... (22), Tuendele..., (23) Hivi...hivi EPA waliposamehe wezi wa mabilioni na mabilioni ya fedha Lowassa alikuwepo? (24) Hivi madawa ya kulevya yanapopita kwa magunia 18 pale airport, eti hakuna mtu aliyeyaona mpaka yanakamatiwa South Afrika Lowasa alikuwepo? (25) Mbona hawayasemi ya kwao? (26) Hivi vichwa vya treni, vichwa vya treni vibovu vilivyonunuliwa Lowasa alikuwepo? (27) Hivi feri zinazonunuliwa, kama mpya halafu inakutwa ni ya zamani Lowasa alikuwepo? (28) Leo wajenzi wa barabara nchi hii wanaidai serikali... (29) Ahsante asante, tuna tatizo la muda. (30) Naomba nimalizie nitarudi tena niongee mara 20 ya haya. (31) Wajenzi wa barabara katika nchi hii wanaidai serikali sijui sasa hivi itakuwa mia ngapi ila ilikuwa trilioni 1.4. (32) Lakini sasa kudai sio tatizo katika hizo fedha bilioni 900 ni fedha zinazodaiwa kwasababu serikali imepewa adhabu kwa kutokuwalipa. (33) Sio fedha za kazi, fedha za adhabu, fedha za bure za walipa kodi.

(34) Huo sio ufisadi? (35) Mbona hawasemi? (46) Je wamelamba ESROW, Lowasa alikuwepo? (47) Kile kipande cha Lugemalira tuliwajua waliokula kile kipande kikubwa cha Harbinder Singh Sethi_ alikula naniiiiiiii? (48) Tangu lini bank ikaruhusiwa kutoa fedha kesh kwa mabilioni na Benki Kuu ikanyamaza. (49) Hakuna jambo hapoooo? (50) Kwa sababu Benk Kuu ingeifunga ile benki na kuishtaki na ilipe zile fedha zote kila kitu.

[1] There are two things which they talk about Lowassa. [2] I want to tell you about those matters openly. [3] First, you have heard them in their campaigns calling him a notorious corrupt person; he loves bribery; he has taken the money from the rich people. [4] If Lowassa were fond of corruption, he resigned from power in 2008, did he flee from the country or he remained within the country? [5] If he were a corrupt person, could he be walking around in the streets? [6] If he were a notorious corrupt person, couldn't they have jailed him? [7] Lowassa took a wise decision in making himself accountable for that problem which faced the government. [8] Who is the government's top leader? [9] Since when did a Prime Minister become the head of state? [10] The Prime Minister is forced to be accountable to rescue the president and the government.

[11] Thank you very much! [12] Let us proceed! Yeah! [13] It once happened when Mwalimu Nyerere was retiring, in one of the sessions; I think it was a National executive committee of CCM, he cried and said that he had never seen a patient person like elder Kawawa; since Kawawa was carrying a burden which Nyerere was supposed to carry. [14] And this is what Lowassa used to do. [15] Today, you are condemning him! If he were a corrupt person for what reason could you have come here? [15] But I want to ask those people who attack Lowasa. [16] Eight years have elapsed since Lowasa resigned from his position in the government. [17] When those giraffes were taken into an aeroplane, was Lowasa there? [18] Why don't they comment on such issues? [19] Thank you very much! [20] Okay, let us proceed! [21] Let us proceed! [22] When they forgave the thieves of the EPA, billions of Tanzanian shillings, was Lowasa there? [23] When illegal drugs were transported abroad through our airports and claiming nobody saw them till when they were identified in South Africa, was Lowasa there? [24] Why don't they talk about their scandals? [25] When they bought old ferry engines claiming they were new, was Lowassa there? [26] Today, the road constructors claim their money from the government... [27] Thank you! [28] We are short of time. [29] Let me conclude, but I will come back, and I will talk more than those things 20 times. [30] What I have said, the road constructors in this country demand

their money from the government! I do not know how much money they currently claim, [31] but formerly it was 1.4 Tanzanian trillion shillings. [32] Claiming the money is not a problem. [33] However, 900 Tanzanian billion shillings is the amount which the government must pay as part of the penalty for delaying payments. [34] The issue is not the money for the work done, but a penalty, that is free money collected from tax-payers, is that not corruption? [35] Why don't they talk about it?

[36] The last issue that they talk about our friend..... okay.... they tell me to say more.... okay.....when they took the ESCROW money, was Lowassa there? [36] We knew who ate a portion from Rugemalira. Who ate that big portion of money from Harbinder Singh Sethi which was deposited at Stanbic Bank? [37] Since when could the bank issue the withdrawal of billions of cash money, and then the Central Bank kept quiet? [38] Can't we see a scandal in this transaction? [39] This is because the Central Bank could close that bank and accuse it in order that it might pay that amount of money and everything.

As represented in Figure 6.2 with the standpoint, 'Corruption allegations against Lowassa are false.' is a complex argumentation structure. The standpoint is supported by the three arguments 1.1a, 1.1b (coordinative argumentation structure) and an independent argument 1.2. At this level the argumentation is multiple. 1.1a is supported by 1.1a.1a, 1.1a.1b, 1.1a.1c, 1.1a.1d, 1.1a.1e, 1.1a.1f, and 1.1a.1g. All five sub-arguments are combined to support the same argument 1.1a. The argumentation of this nature refers to the coordinative argumentation structure (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2008). The argument 1.2 is supported by two sub-arguments, 1.2.1a, and 1.2.1b forming another coordinative argumentation structure. From the standpoint, there are three subordinative argumentation structures (1.1a, 1.1a.1a-g), (1.2, 1.2.1a, 1.2.1a.1), and 1.2, 1.2.1b, 1.2.1b.1). The nature of reasoning in Figure 6.1 is inductive. The inductive argument incorporates a claim that it is improbable that a conclusion is false given that premises are true (Hurley, 2012: 33). Arguments of this nature involve probabilistic reasoning. Sumaye demonstrates several scenarios of corruption scandals Tanzania faced after the resignation of Lowassa. Secondly, he clarifies that the head of the state in Tanzania is the president, thus, Lowassa resigned to rescue president Kikwete and the government. This provides a probabilistic conclusion that Kikwete was involved in the Richmond corruption scandal.

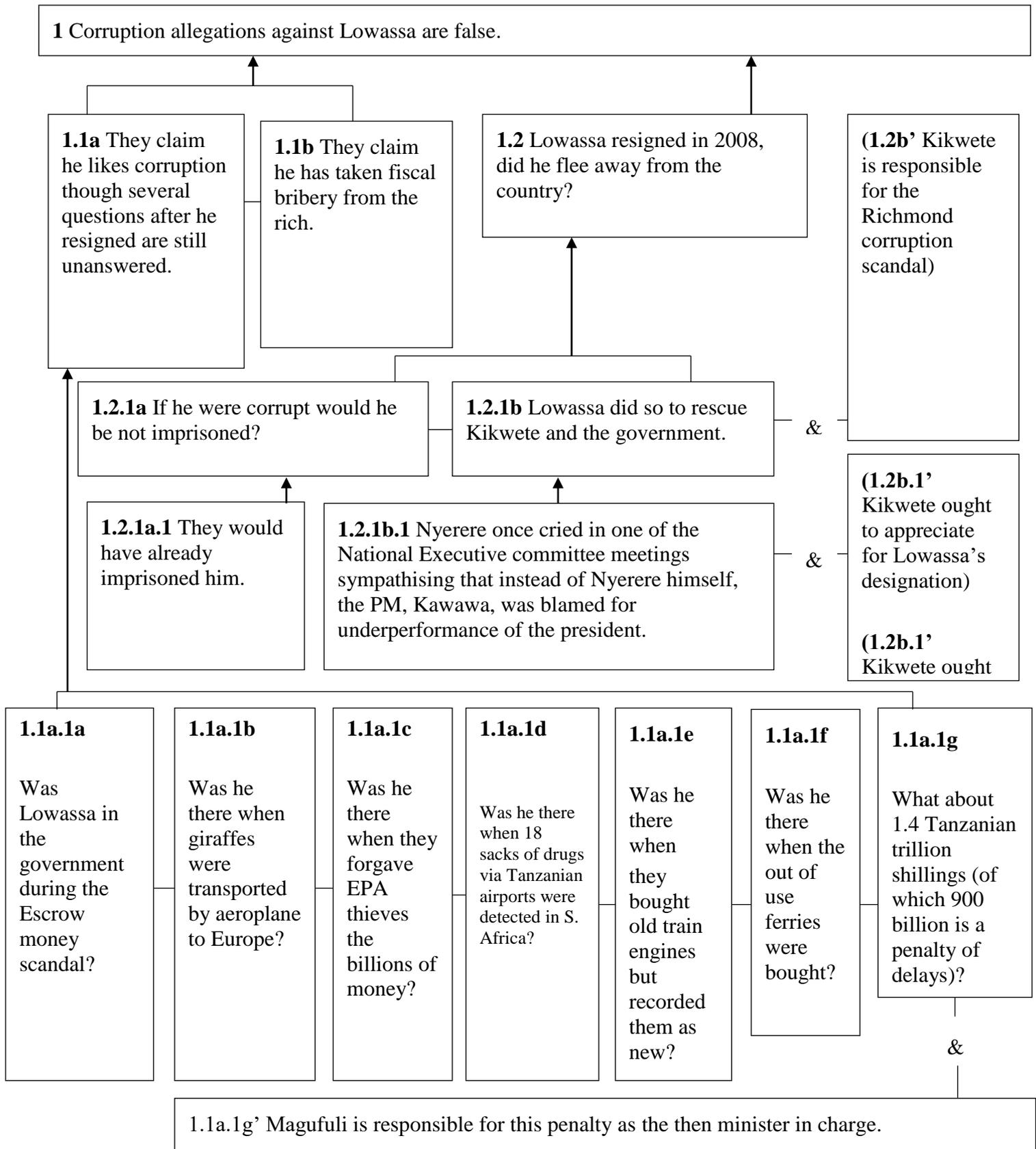


Figure 6.2: Reconstructed argumentation structure on false corruption allegations on Lowassa

6.2.3 Merged reconstructed dialectical profile of CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM on CHADEMA/UKAWA and CCM presidential candidates' identities

Merging the argumentations in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 is a move to realise the role of context in the Pragma-dialectical perspective. Basically, political campaigners project what their opponents will come up with to refute arguments presented. Thus, political campaigners respond to arguments that have already been made and do not have answers yet. In the context of the merged dialectical profile in Figure 6.3, the standpoint claims Tanzania needs a credible president. This is the claim that started a long time ago, especially when Tanzania faced financial problems resulting from Richmond corruption scandal. Rumours that Lowassa would succeed Kikwete intensified the claim given that Lowassa was the Prime Minister under Kikwete when the Richmond corruption scandal emerged. A speech by Sumaye against corruption allegations on Lowassa was made on the 29th of October 2015 during CHADEMA/UKAWA inaugural campaign speeches. Kikwete made a speech in the 24th of October 2015 during CCM closing campaigns speeches. The reason why in the merged dialectical profile Sumaye's arguments preceded those of Kikwete is that, characteristically, arguments in political argumentations have no clear terminus (Zarefsky, 2009). The essence for the dialectical profile is to indicate how in monological speeches, campaigners have in mind the imagined interlocutors that are believed to be responding to the arguments. The unexpressed premises for that matter can be expressed when the predicted interlocutors speak out. In the argumentation theory, Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992b: 21) comment that, if more than one of the propositions lead to doubt or opposition, then the dispute is multiple as Figure 6.3 portrays.

More specifically, apart from doubting and not accepting what CCM members claim, Sumaye provides alternative propositions against what Kikwete claims. Kikwete and CCM members and supporters claim Lowassa is corrupt and thus he does not qualify for the presidency. Sumaye doubts what CCM claim. He provides a different claim that Lowassa resigned in 2008 to rescue Kikwete and his government. In Sumaye's argumentation in defence of the standpoint that corruption allegations against Lowassa are false, is an indication that, in election campaign contexts, particularly in Tanzania, candidates' identities are crucial to voters in making decisions. That is why, in the dialectical profile in Figure 6.3, Sumaye maintains his standpoint despite the challenges that he faces from Kikwete who defends himself as a way of transferring credibility to Magufuli. This move, in the resolution profile,

leads to multiple mixed disputes. To clarify, in this study, a dialectical profile refers to a specification of the sequential pattern of the moves that the parties are allowed to make, should make, in a particular stage or sub-stage of a critical discussion in order to realise a particular dialectical goal (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2007: 18). Figure 6.3 is a merged dialectical profile consisting of different types of argumentation structures. Apart from the multiple mixed disputes, dialectical profiles can be single non-mixed in a way that one party advances a standpoint, while the other party expresses doubt about the acceptability of the standpoint (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2007: 21). In that case, there is no further advancement in proposing an alternative standpoint.

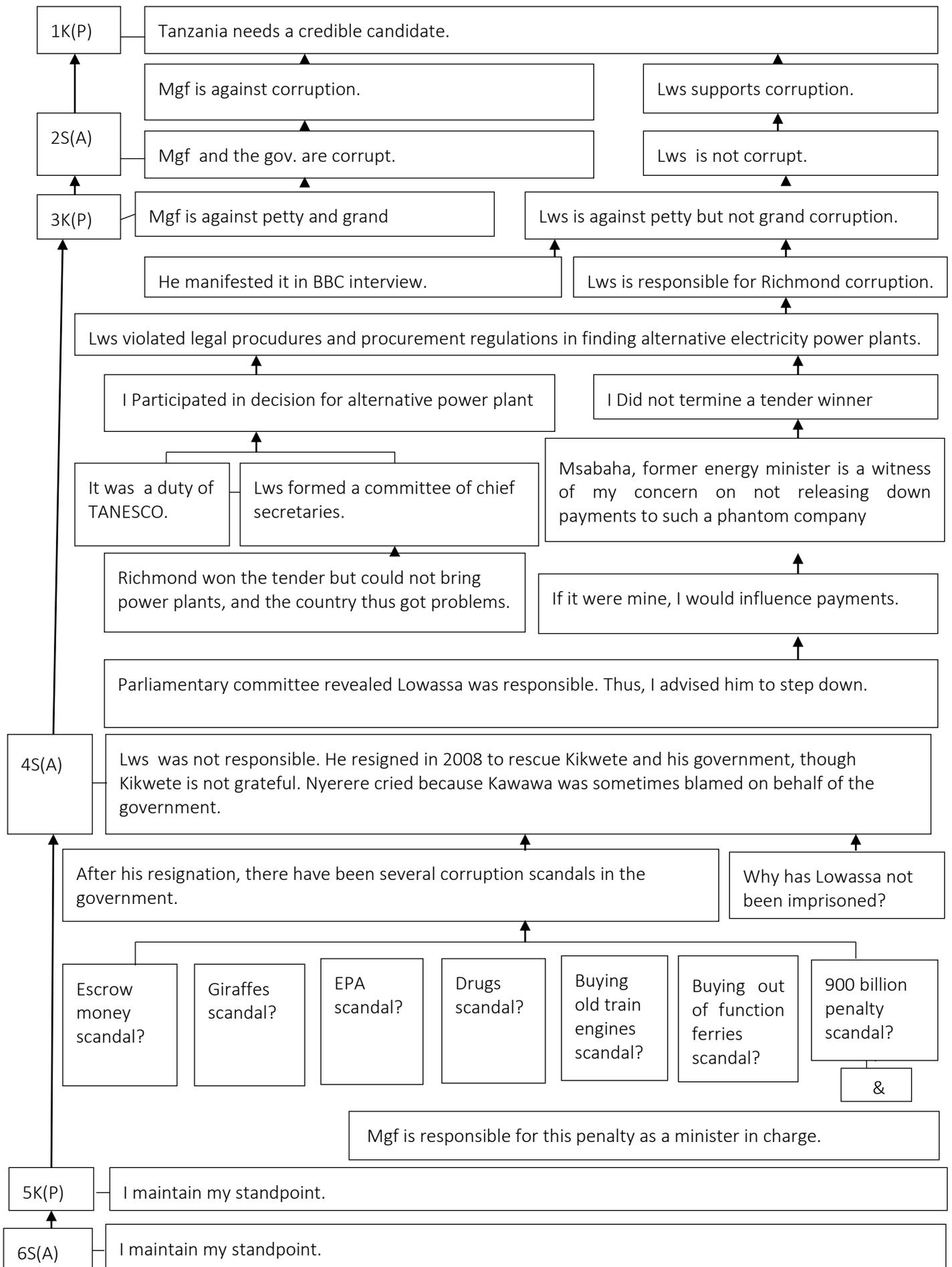


Figure 6.3: Merged reconstructed dialectical profile on CHADEMA and CCM presidential candidates' identities

6.3 ARGUMENTATION SCHEMES AND PROTOTYPICAL ARGUMENTATIVE PATTERNS ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES

Kikwete presents a standpoint that Tanzania needs a credible presidential candidate. Supporting his standpoint, he compares Magufuli with the other candidate whom he refers to as a 'Mr. big boss' implying the opposition party candidate, Lowassa. The two candidates are compared based on corruption scandals that citizens regard as disqualifications for the presidency. Kikwete highlights that corruption led the country into problems. In the Pragmatic-dialectical perspective, given the institutional preconditions that the president as the head of state must protect the state against corruption and, as the chairperson of the ruling party, he has the responsibility of making sure that his party wins the general elections. Apart from the institutional preconditions, the institutional context in which the president is addressing the public in campaigning for the presidential candidate from the ruling party, Kikwete must demonstrate that what the government did in a move to rescue the country from corruption in the Richmond scandal. Both the institutional preconditions and the institutional context conventionalise the patterns to be employed in the 2015 presidential election campaigns activity type (Van Eemeren, 2017b).

In the arguments to support Kikwete's standpoint, different patterns are employed but pragmatic and majority argumentation was dominant. Kikwete makes the audience aware that corruption control is something desirable because of its positive results, and if positive results are what the majority want, then controlling corruption by making the by then Prime Minister, Lowassa resign was to be adopted. According to Andone (2017), something with desirable positive results and something meeting the needs of the majority are complementary in the European parliamentary committees of inquiry. Because in the 2015 general election activity type, like in any other pre-election campaigns, the institutional point is to win the minds of the voters to maximise the number of votes, Kikwete employs the pragmatic problem-solving argumentation when he articulates that he advised 'Mr. Big Boss' to resign so, Kikwete could reshuffle the government. Shuffling the government is a move towards solving the problem of corruption in the county. Referring to Garssen (2017a: 35), certain legislation should be adopted because there is a problem that the adoption of certain legislation should solve that problem; then, that legislation should be adopted. Another pattern that Kikwete employs is argumentation by example. He provides scenarios where

Magufuli has explicitly articulated that he would fight corruption when he gets into presidential office comparing the scenarios where Lowassa the presidential candidate from the opposition party has avoided articulating his desire to fight against corruption especially grand corruption. He provides an example of the opposition party campaigns where Lowassa does not like to talk about corruption and the example where Lowassa responded to BBC interviewer that interviewing him on grand corruption was being unfair to him because he already stated that he would fight petty corruption. This pattern is supported in argumentative move in the legislative debate in the European Parliament (Garssen, 2017b: 113).

The argumentation by example in Sumaye's standpoint on corruption against Lowassa is also the prototypical argumentative pattern. Sumaye presents Lowassa as a candidate who qualifies to become president. Sumaye presents scenarios where corruption in Tanzania has taken place after Lowassa resigned. Such scenarios are as demonstrated in (4S(A)). Sumaye criticises the government for complaining that Lowassa is corrupt but the government does not take actions to sue Lowassa to court for such corruption allegations against him. Apart from the argumentation by example, Sumaye demonstrates similar scenario in (4S(A)) as argumentation by analogy where he argues that during the first phase government, the then Prime Minister, Kawawa used to absorb failures of the government. That being the case, in one of the National Executive Committee meetings, after Mwalimu had stepped down from the presidency, Mwalimu cried sympathising with the wisdom of the former Prime Minister, Rashid Kawawa. In a critical sense, Sumaye advises Kikwete to behave similarly on sympathising with Lowassa since he resigned because of the president, Kikwete, failing to control corruption in the fourth-phase government.

6.4 ANALYSIS OF TOPICAL POTENTIAL, AUDIENCE DEMAND, PRESENTATIONAL DEVICES, AND APPRAISAL ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES IN DELIBERATIVE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE

In the confrontation stage, Kikwete selects a topic that Tanzania needs a president with no corruption scandal profile. This topic is strategically selected because, since 2008 when Lowassa resigned, there have been several claims related to corruption in the executive as the source of poverty in the United Republic of Tanzania. According to speech acts (Searle, 1979b), an assertion that Tanzania needs a president with no corruption scandal profile implies CCM has a clean candidate whereas the opposition, that is, CHADEMA/UKAWA

has the candidate with a corruption scandal profile. Thus, this strategy is judging CCM candidate positively and judging the opposition party negatively (White, 2011). The strategy of power transfer is demonstrated (Lakhani, 2005). Magufuli's identity is associated with CCM given that the Richmond corruption scandal implicated the ruling party, CCM. With the audience demand, Tanzanians have had experience of corruption in the Richmond scandal that made them directly absorb the pain through exorbitant bills from TANESCO that the company had to pay penalties for violating contracts they signed with Richmond Company. Therefore, stating corruption implies the audience would support the candidate who has not been implicated in corruption profiles.

On the side of the opposition party, in the confrontation stage, the topical potential selected is that corruption allegations against Lowassa are false. Strategically, Sumaye claims so at the confrontation stage to evoke sympathy and thus inspire generosity (Shabo, 2008). Another strategy related to sympathy is *argumentum ad missericordiam* because only Lowassa is accused of resigning due to Richmond fraud scandal. With respect to audience demand, in a strategic way, at the confrontation stage, Sumaye selects a topic that can meet the audience demand. Sumaye does not accept the way corruption in Tanzania is interpreted. Lowassa resigned in 2008 since then there have been series of misuse of public offices in the country, but propaganda rumours have depicted Lowassa as the only suspect of corruption in Tanzania. With that regard, Sumaye articulates what the audience expects, especially the refusal of Lowassa's involvement in corruption scandals. He again evokes sympathy and inspires generosity from the audience, especially those who still believe Lowassa is the principal culprit of corruption in the country. Presentational devices at the confrontation stage include dissociation. Sumaye does not accept the allegations against Lowassa that have been rumoured for eight years without a legal follow in court. Secondly, justification is applied when Sumaye questions what happened after Lowassa's resignation.

In the opening stage, the topical potential is maintained. Kikwete takes the position of the protagonist. The topic against corruption is easily defensible, mainly because it is through corruption that peoples' rights are compromised. He thus intends so to increase the number of voters. Sumaye takes a position of the antagonist to refute CCM members and supporters that Lowassa is corrupt. The topic of rule of law is demonstrated given that, if Kikwete the president of the United Republic of Tanzania did not resign, instead Lowassa resigned on behalf, then there was no good governance in Kikwete's government. Focussing on audience

demand, rhetorical questions raised in Sumaye's argumentation appeal to liberal and conservative presumptions suggesting a refusal of negative name-calling Lowassa the alleged corrupt person, a propaganda technique employed to tarnish someone's public image (Shabo, 2008). Secondly, Sumaye modifies the audience because people in Dar es Salaam, the commercial city of Tanzania, are much more literate compared to other people in other regions of the United Republic of Tanzania. If nobody is above the law, then the government would have sued Lowassa to court soon after his resignation in 2008. Reasoning that way, Sumaye perhaps manages to get more CHADEMA/UKAWA supporters.

In the argumentation stage, Kikwete provides scenarios of comparison that Magufuli has no corruption scandal profile while Lowassa is involved in the Richmond corruption scandal. This is a typical evaluative language, especially presenting Lowassa as the corrupt person during the time he served as Prime Minister. Such a strategy is known as delegitimization (Partington & Taylor, 2018). Kikwete delegitimizes a move for Lowassa to become president. The Tanzanians witnessed the parliamentary committee on the Richmond scandal that explained Lowassa was implicated in the corruption of that time. Thus, Kikwete reminds them what perhaps could have been forgotten. Kikwete dissociates himself from what was being doubted on who had a direct connection with Richmond between Lowassa and Kikwete. According to Rees (2009b), this kind of strategic maneuvering allows a speaker to distance himself from something that may seem undesirable. The speakers may define a phenomenon in a way that meets their needs. By doing so, for instance in the case of Richmond, Kikwete wants to prove that he is politically clean and associating his moral authority to Magufuli. This is a strategy known as association (Van Rees, 2009b).

Defending Lowassa, Sumaye raises questions that eight years have elapsed, but the government has not sued Lowassa to court for charges. Secondly, there are serious corruption scenarios which happened before, and others still happened after Lowassa's resignation. Questions are meant to justify Lowassa is not corrupt, but he resigned to rescue Kikwete and the government. Other strategies to make the arguments effective are fair strategic maneuvering of *argumentum ad missericordiam* given the belief that Lowassa is victimised. Another strategy is shelving as Sumaye does not state to what extent Lowassa was engaged in the Richmond scandal. Sumaye furthers his argument that Mwalimu Nyerere once cried as his Prime Minister had accepted blames that ought to be directly addressed to the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, by then Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Meeting the audience

demand, Sumaye enumerates corruption scenarios which happened after Lowassa's resignation from the Prime Minister's office. The audience in a critical sense might, from such circumstances, have started thinking of why the responsible legal enforcement organs did not take initiatives to arrest Lowassa soon after his resignation. *Argumentum ad misericordiam* is fairly employed at this point for the audience to sympathise with Lowassa. Another strategy is depicting Kikwete as a source of corruption because, as a matter of his office, a president could not have any excuse of why he allowed corruption to persist in his regime. Presentational devices are also reflected in the argumentation stage. They made main arguments and sub-arguments that are raised effectively. Some include corruption scandals of EPA (External Payment Accounts), illegal selling of giraffes to a foreign country, 18 sacks of drugs which passed at Mwalimu Nyerere International Airport and finally discovered in South Africa, and several other scandals. Perhaps, this list is meant to appeal to liberal and conservative presumptions because whether one is in support of the opposition parties or of the ruling party, corruption from time immemorial since independence has been identified as the block for sustainable development.

Rhetorical questions are as well a good strategy to highlight the failure of the government to genuinely and effectively control corruption. It is ironical to Kikwete reminding him what his government failed to control yet Kikwete still claims Lowassa is corrupt. The lesser evil propaganda technique is applied. In all what Sumaye claims, the opposition party camp candidate may sound to an audience more acceptable than the ruling party candidate not because of their identities but because the latter is betrayed by the party which has been in power for over 50 years, but the country is still poor.

In the concluding stage, Kikwete implies that for Tanzania's development, it is the time for the electorate to consider Magufuli because voting for Lowassa would demoralise the moves that Kikwete had started of fighting against corruption, especially when he told Lowassa to resign in 2007. Why Kikwete did not advise the legal enforcement bodies to play its role of suing Lowassa to court is still unanswered and Kikwete never mentions it. Perhaps Kikwete does so strategically as a matter of articulating what the audience would like to hear, that is the move against corruption. This generality of a fight against corruption is strategically initiated (Shabo, 2008). On the side of supporting the opposition party candidate, mentioning issues of victimisation of Edward Lowassa suggests voting for CHADEMA/UKAWA candidates would combat corruption and victimisation of innocent citizens. Sumaye

conscientises the audience not to engage themselves in victimising people, implying that they would vote for Lowassa for the fifth-phase presidential race of the United Republic of Tanzania.

A more critical party is of the lack of clear terminus as a characteristic nature of political argumentation. Since the Richmond corruption scandal has been discussed repeatedly, and there has not been a legal verdict from judicial authorities, the conflict of who exactly is the beneficiary of it is not yet resolved.

6.5 ASYMMETRICAL SETTINGS AND INSTITUTIONAL PRECONDITIONS DURING CAMPAIGNS ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES IN DELIBERATIVE ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE

Consistently, Kikwete in (3K(P)) insists that Lowassa is corrupt and cannot control corruption. He explains how he advised his Prime Minister to step down given the Richmond corruption scandal in which Lowassa was involved. In the perspective of the asymmetrical setting, Kikwete is the President of the United Republic and a chairperson of the incumbent political party. Thus, he has the institutional power. Moreover, institutional preconditions do not allow Kikwete to admit that he engaged himself in the Richmond corruption scandal.

In this case, arguing that corruption allegations against Lowassa are false, Sumaye implies the ruling party (CCM) takes advantage of its incumbent party power to tarnish the image of the opposition party camp candidate. If Lowassa were corrupt, it was expected that the government could have sued him to court rather than just claiming Lowassa is corrupt. The asymmetrical setting of the argumentation in this sense, based on the context that apart from the separation of power where the executive, judiciary, and the legislative are independent bodies, still the executive has the power to advise, where necessary steps against corruption and such related scandals arise in the country. Sumaye blames the government for complaining that Lowassa is corrupt without taking him to court for settling the dispute. Such situations where no equal access to address the public on what exactly went on in relation to Richmond can be referred to as asymmetrical setting (Thompson, 2017). Moreover, as the former Prime Minister, Sumaye, is thus not free to express all that he knows due to the oaths Prime Ministers make when they are being sworn in. Despite such complexities during campaigns for Lowassa, Sumaye tries to meet the institutional point of winning the minds of

the potential voters. The contradicting positions are strategically managed by using rhetorical questions. Sumaye capitalises on the corruption allegations that took place after Lowassa resigned as the justification of his party institutional point to outweigh the institutional point of his position as the former Prime Minister.

Focussing on the opposition party arguments as demonstrated in (4S(P)), the asymmetry is reflected in a sense that Sumaye does not have such institutional power different from Kikwete, the president. In the context of the United Republic of Tanzania, the president is entitled to appoint the Prime Minister. Kikwete executed his constitutional authority. Thus, the resignation of Lowassa could be interpreted as a sign of corruption. In the election campaign context, this could be a point of mistrust in Sumaye's argumentation as Lowassa did not finish his term as traditionally expected. Kikwete has the power, and he is protected by the state more than Lowassa. Specifically, as far as the institutional rules are concerned, Lowassa, a former Prime Minister in Kikwete's government had to abide by some rules, especially the oaths he made during swearing-in as the Prime Minister. That being the case, Lowassa cannot explicitly state what exactly took place in the Richmond scandal. Even though he has defected to People's Constitution Alliance (UKAWA), particularly to the main opposition party CHADEMA, he is not legally allowed to articulate confidential information of the government. Such institutional rules do not permit Lowassa to argue in the same capacity as Kikwete does.

Apart from the institutional rules, there are effects of interactive asymmetry in the 2015 general election activity type. Kikwete is the president of the United Republic of Tanzania. Whatever he says can be regarded as final to the audience because of the institutional context in the sense that the president has the final say. More importantly, the president is the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces. Accordingly, all security officers are under the president. In the context of Tanzania like in many other developing countries, such a scenario perhaps makes potential electorate believe Kikwete more than the opposition party campaigners, because he is believed to be morally upright given his position as the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United Republic of Tanzania. This asymmetry cannot be taken for granted. In the Pragma-dialectical perspective, the freedom rule must be executed to have fair chances in the argumentative move.

6.6 SUCCESSFUL OBSERVATION OF RULES FOR CRITICAL DISCUSSION ON CHADEMA/UKAWA AND CCM PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES

Considering arguments presented in favour of the incumbent party candidate, Kikwete observes the Freedom rule. He accepts that he participated in the preliminary stages for seeking the alternative sources of power, but he did not participate in determining which company could win the tender. Kikwete advances his standpoint as the observation of the burden of proof rule. He mentions that Lowassa has a corruption scandal profile and he is responsible for the Richmond corruption scandal. Also, Kikwete's arguments emphasising Lowassa violated legal procedures and procurement regulations are related to Sumaye's arguments that Lowassa resigned not because he was corrupt but because he wanted to rescue Kikwete and the government from the Richmond corruption scandal. Therefore Kikwete observes the standpoint rule 3 that a party's attack on a standpoint must relate to the standpoint that has indeed been advanced by the other party (Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992a). About relevance Rule 4 (a party defending the standpoint only by advancing argumentation relating to that standpoint), Kikwete provides vivid examples demonstrating that Tanzania faces problems because of corruption. Rule 5 of unexpressed premise rule is observed. Kikwete demonstrates that Lowassa violated legal procedures and procurement procedures that is why the country fell into problems of power cuts. Observing Rule 6, the common starting point, Kikwete was the president when the alleged Richmond corruption scandal emerged, Kikwete accepts that to some extent he participated in the decision to seek an alternative source of power. About Rule 7, the argumentation scheme by example is appropriately employed. Kikwete comments that, if Richmond were his deal, he would agree with Msabaha (the then Deputy Minister for Energy and Minerals) who claimed that the Ministry of Finance was hesitating to advance payments to Richmond company. To some extent, validity, rule 8 was observed. Kikwete insists that he advised the cabinet ministers that legal procedures and procurement procedures were to be observed.

Strategically, based on the perspective of Pragma-dialectics, the freedom rule is observed. Sumaye does not agree with what CCM members claims as corruption scandals directly connected to Lowassa's leadership as the Prime Minister, but Sumaye is ready for the arguments as 4S(A) demonstrates under the freedom rule. He assumes the burden of proof as he provides reasons why he thinks Lowassa is victimised through allegations of corruption as

commented by CCM supporters. The unexpressed premise rule that Lowassa was influenced to get involved in corruption is overtly expressed by the comment that Lowassa resigned to rescue the president's office as it could have been embarrassing and expensive to conduct another general election after two years. The standpoint rule is observed. Sumaye from the initial stage to the concluding stage focusses on the topic on allegations that Lowassa is corrupt. Relevantly, Mwalimu Nyerere is mentioned in comparison with Kikwete but in the former scenario Mwalimu Nyerere cried because the public blames were directed to Rashid Mfaume Kawawa, instead of being directed to president Nyerere. In the latter scenario, Lowassa is victimised by his president, Kikwete.

6.7 DERAILEMENTS OF CRITICAL DISCUSSION RULES ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES

Kikwete's argumentation violates Rule 10 of language usage. He does not specify why he did not participate. Secondly, when he admits that he knew that Richmond was a phantom company, but he does not state to have questioned Lowassa about that. More importantly, Kikwete as the president of the United Republic of Tanzania does not demonstrate what prosecutions followed after Lowassa's resignation. That is why in Sumaye's argumentation, it is clearly raised that Kikwete had some interest in the Richmond corruption. Sumaye's concern is that, if there were a serious attention paid to Richmond corruption scandal, Lowassa could be excused. The way Kikwete presents allegations against Lowassa does not reflect the power of the president in protecting public resources. This may lead to some doubts on whether he knows more than he presents. Therefore, other rules violated, are to some extent, avoiding the burden of proof and unexpressed premise rule as the opposition parties claimed Lowassa was involved in the Richmond corruption scandal.

Given cases of generalisations, Sumaye derails in his standpoint that Lowassa is not corrupt, but he resigned in 2008 to rescue Kikwete and the government. Moreover, that there are corruption scenarios after Lowassa's resignation does not justify Lowassa's Richmond corruption allegations. This is a *tu quonque* fallacy, interpreted as two wrongs make it right. In as much as Kikwete's government could remain corrupt, Sumaye had to respond accordingly about the allegations. Most of the arguments Sumaye provides are based on the timing that the ruling party CCM has been in power for over 50 years but living standards are still poor compared to what people expected, especially socio-economic standards. This fallacy is referred to as *argumentum ad populum*. The third fallacy in the argumentation is

argumentum ad hominem where Sumaye directly attacks Kikwete, instead of refuting the argument in the process of resolving the conflict.

6.8 MAINTAINING EFFECTIVENESS AND REASONABLENESS ON CCM AND CHADEMA/UKAWA PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES' IDENTITIES

Considering the arguments presented by Kikwete, several presentational devices are employed such as judging CCM positively. Kikwete claims CCM has nominated honest person, and judging CHADEMA/UKAWA negatively in the sense that the latter has nominated a corrupt person. Other devices are such as glittering generalities, appealing to liberal and conservative presumption, dissociation, and association.

The schemes are appropriately employed, that is, a causal relation and symptomatic argumentation schemes. Moreover, the arguments that are provided to support a standpoint are relevant, given that Lowassa violated legal procedures and procurement regulations. The augmentation is plausibly valid as Kikwete presents his concerns that he played his role as president to allow the Prime Minister to proceed to other stages of seeking alternative power plants. The argumentation is plausibly acceptable as Kikwete decides to react against Sumaye's comments that Lowassa resigned to rescue the nation.

Sumaye's comments are plausibly sound. Sumaye argues in the pragmatic perspective. Because people want good governance, and good governance does not victimise its citizens, then voting for Lowassa would be appropriate. Thus, the argumentation is logically and pragmatically consistent. Lowassa's allegations of corruption to some extent may not seem real because no any legal enforcement has been noticeably taken against Lowassa; thus, that should not be a justification as there can be corruption mechanisms of paralysing the procedures of suing suspects to courts. Moreover, the argumentation is acceptable given the fact that Kikwete was the president, but he failed to make Lowassa legally accountable after his resignation. The presentational devices presented, especially dissociation, comparative approach, evaluating the opponent negatively, and appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions make the argumentation effective. Given the demands for the ideal model of critical discussion, it can be concluded that Sumaye's arguments are effective and reasonable.

The merged dialectical profile 6.2.3 demonstrates a sampled argumentation where premises are made explicit through combining arguments of two arguers in different communicative speech activity types in the deliberative argumentative discourse.

6.9 SUMMARY

As sub-sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.2 demonstrate, complex argumentation structures are predominantly manifested. In the case of the merged dialectical profile, Figure 6.3 is the multiple mixed dialectical profiles given that arguers doubt each other's standpoints and provide alternative standpoints supported by different arguments (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2007). Considering argumentation schemes and prototypical argumentative patterns, arguers in Figure 6.2.3 demonstrate causal relation and symptomatic argumentation schemes. In addition, problem-solving argumentation, pragmatic and majority argumentation are manifested as prototypical argumentative patterns. An aspect of topical potential, audience demand, presentational devices, and appraisal reveal correspondence of features. Zarefsky (2009) presents characteristics of political argumentation comprising of lack of time limits, lack of clear terminus, heterogeneous audience, and open access whereas means of strategic maneuvering include changing the subject, modifying the relevant audience, appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, reframing the argument, using condensation symbols, employing the locus of irreparable, and using figures and tropes argumentatively.

As already identified, in the Tanzanian context, the characteristics are almost the same as Zarefsky (2008) identifies, but the means are broadened, especially in the general presidential campaign speeches. The first means is a commemoration of Mwalimu Nyerere. In every other political campaign speech, politicians commemorate Mwalimu Nyerere as the means to persuade the audience that voting for politicians desiring to lead like Mwalimu Nyerere would have a socio-political impact on the lives of Tanzanians. The second one is overreliance on presidential candidates' identities manifested as recurrent means of strategic maneuvering. Be it the opposition party camp or the incumbent party camp, identities of presidential candidates are demonstrated as fundamental for persuading and convincing the potential electorate at the expense of the manifestos of the parties competing in the presidential race. A third broadened means of strategic maneuvering is a must-win-candidate strategy. Depending on the party the candidate belongs, Tanzanian presidential campaigners portray their respective candidates as a must-vote-for or a must-win candidate. The unmarked situation is that candidates and manifestos are to be evaluated as a criterion for determining the winner. The former strategy of capitalising on the candidate is marked. A fourth strategy is detail avoidance. For instance, there is no evidence to prove who is fully responsible for the Richmond scandal. Even though Sumaye comments that Lowassa resigned to rescue Kikwete with his government, he does not provide details on how directly or indirectly Kikwete and

the government under Kikwete benefitted from the scandal. Moreover, Lowassa does not explain why he volunteered to absorb the underperformance of Kikwete and the government. The fifth strategy is commemorating previous leaders in Tanzanian political campaign speeches. Sumaye commemorates providing an example when Mwalimu Nyerere cried as the government scandals and weaknesses were associated with the Prime Minister, instead of the president. It can be argued that, apart from contextually analysing Sumaye's speech as a campaign speech activity type in the deliberative oratory genre, it is moreover categorised in the epideictic oratory genre because Sumaye praises Mwalimu Nyerere for accepting mistakes he made in the office of the president, and Sumaye criticises Kikwete for not admitting that Lowassa's decision to resign was meant to rescue the government under Kikwete. The third category that has not been directly reflected in Sumaye's speech is forensic oratory for law court. Sumaye argues that, if the government did not sue Lowassa where in that sense forensic oratory would apply, claims that Lowassa is corrupt are unfounded and untrue. In the Aristotelian perspective of Rhetoric for public oratory, every category has its contextualised use (Charteris-Black, 2014b: 7; Billing & Marinho, 2017). Sumaye delegitimises a moral authority of Kikwete as the former presents the latter ungrateful and unable to learn from previous leaders particularly Mwalimu Nyerere. This is because the scenarios were the same that Kikwete ought to apply the wisdom and humility Mwalimu Nyerere demonstrated by crying. Sumaye negatively transfers traits of Kikwete to the candidate Kikwete is campaigning for, that is, Magufuli. This transfer is also furthered to CCM identity in the case of the Greek parliamentary discourse where every party tries to associate one member of the party to the party to which they belong (Tsakona, 2012). Such an approach refers to delegitimation in political persuasion (Partington & Taylor, 2018). A kind of commemoration Sumaye applies matches with Maliyamkono (1995: 67) on the study on the race for the presidency in Tanzania in which series of qualities of a good president Tanzania wants are claimed at least to be those of Mwalimu Nyerere.

Considering the strategies demonstrated in support of incumbent party candidate, Kikwete does not state details on how directly Lowassa benefitted from Richmond. The avoidance of details is not accidental. Both Sumaye and Kikwete are aware of how politically risky it is to disclose what exactly the Richmond corruption scandal is all about. The fifth strategy is narrowing corruption to money. Corruption is reflected in different ways but strategically, in Tanzanian politics, all focus is on fiscal bribery. From the findings, it can be inferred that Sumaye and Kikwete do not have any intention of controlling corruption of whatever kind,

instead, they want to maximize the number of potential voters in the general elections. This leads to a sixth means referred to as magnetisation of political themes. For instance, the way corruption is presented, it is as if it comprises two poles; there is a party that, when elected, there will be no corruption in the United Republic of Tanzania, and there is a party when elected, corruption will be institutionalised in the United Republic of Tanzania. Moreover, in 2010 Tanzanian general elections, the main agenda for CHADEMA in the political campaigns was to control corruption. Lowassa was still in CCM, and he one of the political figures that had a strong influence on the general election. CHADEMA campaigned strongly against tolerating Lowassa to remain in the ruling party and not suing him to court for the Richmond corruption scandal. Kikwete has had a hard time in that general election. In 2015 after Lowassa joined the opposition party camp, that is, CHADEMA/UKAWA, the agenda of CHADEMA on Lowassa changed. That is why campaigners of the opposition try to cleanse the tarnished name of Lowassa. The concern from the findings is that corruption is unacceptable when one does not benefit. That is what can be generated from the campaigners for CCM and CHADEMA candidates.

Finally, the argumentation is represented that there is a means of power transfer from experienced politicians. Campaigners, Lowassa and Kikwete have potential intentions of transferring power. Lowassa was the Prime Minister, and he abandoned CCM to join the opposition party aiming at strengthening the opposition camp, CHADEMA/UKAWA. He served his two full terms from 1995 to 2005. He is a member of CHADEMA. He is an experienced politician; so, he knows what the government does in terms of its political operationalisations. Claims that Lowassa is corrupt are neutralised by Sumaye, as he indirectly comments that the underperformance of CCM has culminated to former ministers and Prime Ministers to abandon CCM and join the opposition party. Thus, identities of speakers are crucial in determining what is meant in the political context (Van Dijk, 2008).

Kikwete is the chairperson of the ruling party, the president of the United Republic of Tanzania, the president who appointed Lowassa a Prime Minister, a long-time close friend of Lowassa, a member of the CCM, the commander in chief, etc. All such could make power and identity transfer to Magufuli. It makes sense for the audience to accept what Kikwete says because of the audience Kikwete targets live in rural areas with poor education facilities though the campaign takes place in Mwanza city. In this context, the president is regarded as an authority. The issue of identity is important in the general election campaign because the

audience listens not only to what speakers say but also to their credible identities in cases where speakers have performed up to standard. Other means are self-evaluation strategies and opponent weakness identification strategies.

Given the asymmetrical setting and institutional preconditions in section 6.5, the incumbent party is privileged given that it is supported by the state, a favour that the opposition cannot get. In respect to the successful observation of rules for the critical discussion, freedom rule, relevance rule, validity rule, standpoint rule, and unexpressed premise rule are reasonably observed. Language rule is not well observed in the entire argumentation in the merged dialectical profile (6.2.3). Kikwete and Sumaye do not provide enough details as to why no legal procedures were taken about Richmond corruption scandal and defamation resulting from those claiming Lowassa had interest and those claiming Kikwete had interest in the Richmond corruption scandal.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This study investigated strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaign speeches from the ruling party (CCM) and the opposition party (CHADEMA/UKAWA) assuming the Extended pragma-dialectical theory of argumentative discourse and a limited Appraisal perspective. It investigated speeches from the ruling party, CCM, and from the opposition party, CHADEMA/UKAWA. The study aimed to identify the type of argumentation structures in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili; analyse the argumentation schemes in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili; examine how topical potential, adaptation to audience demand and presentational devices, appraisal are utilised in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili; evaluate the success of the observation of critical discussion rules in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili; ascertain the derailments of the critical discussion rules in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili; assess to what extent effectiveness and reasonableness are maintained in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili; and investigate the prototypical argumentative patterns and prototypical speech acts in the 2015 presidential election campaign speeches communicative activity type in the deliberative argumentative discourse in Kiswahili. This chapter comprises five sections. Section 7.1 introduces the chapter. Section 7.2 summarises the study. Section 7.3 presents research findings. Section 7.4 suggests other areas for further research in the perspective of the Extended pragma-dialectical perspective. Section 7.5 concludes the study.

7.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

Section 7.2 provides a summary of the study. Chapter One is dedicated to overall issues in the study, such as the background to the study, the statement of the problem and the linguistic situation in Tanzania. Chapter Two has presented literature on political discourse analyses as a field of study. It has elaborated the CDA as one of the fields of analysing discourse. In addition, to strengthen an understanding of critical discourse, discourse historical analysis has been explained given that, apart from the context where spoken or written discourse takes place, the historical background of speakers in the political context is necessary. Also, in Chapter Two, the study elaborated rhetoric and stylistic aspects in the political campaign context. Politicians skilfully select what to say and how to say it to attract listeners who may support their political views. More importantly, characteristics of strategic maneuvering such as lack of clear terminus, open access, and heterogeneous access have been presented. Furthermore, means of strategic maneuvering, such as appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, changing the subject, and employing locus of irreparable, are investigated. Together with such means of strategic maneuvering, positive self-evaluation and negative evaluation of the opponents are examined as reflected in the previous presidential election campaigns in Britain, Roma, and the United States of America. Chapter Two has also demonstrated other contexts where strategic maneuvering, such as in parliamentary sessions, is employed (Nyanda, 2016; Rutechura, 2018). Some scholars have argued that strategic maneuvering can be fair or unfair depending on the circumstances in which they are employed (Van Laar & Krabbe, 2016).

Chapter Three reviewed the theoretical framework to determine the suitability of Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation for the analysis of strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential campaign speeches. The chapter has elaborated several stages through which the Argumentation theory developed since the 1970s and how the theory currently is evolving. The chapter has provided key concepts in the argumentation theory. Such concepts include argumentation, argument, premise, claim, strategic maneuvering, effectiveness, and reasonableness. Furthermore, the rhetoric and dialectic have been examined in the Extended pragma-dialectical perspective. Given the merging of formerly independent fields, scholars of argumentation are able to examine the possibility of balancing effectiveness and reasonableness in resolving differences of opinion on merits (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). This chapter has demonstrated that in the argumentative discourse, there is a tendency

of executing asymmetrical setting among interactants where those in power take advantage of those with less power. It has further explained institutional preconditions that arguers abide by depending on the contexts such as political party affiliations.

Apart from the Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation, Chapter Three has elaborated how judgements are common in argumentative discourse. Thus, the study has employed appraisal perspectives of attitudes that explain how appreciations, judgements, and affect apply in the argumentative discourse. The merging of Pragma-dialectical perspectives and appraisal perspectives have led to the clarifications in analysing the 2015 Tanzanian presidential campaign speeches.

Chapter Four, the first data analysis chapter, focussed on the 2015 inaugural campaigns of CCM that took place at Jangwani on 23rd August 2015 in Dar es Salaam. The chapter mainly demonstrated two main parts of argumentations. The first comprises what CCM has done and the second presents pledges of what CCM will do for the next five years. Both parts were implied in the six questions of the study. Several argumentations were made, such as improving social services, infrastructure, establishing free education policy, and maintaining peace and unity of the United Republic of Tanzania. The arguers employed dominantly complex argumentation structure. It can be argued that politicians use such structures to make sure that they present their arguments in a way that they minimise chances of counterarguments. The data demonstrated deductive and inductive reasoning systems (Hurley, 2012). The use of a deductive approach is strategic in the sense that CCM convinces the mass to believe that what they pledge will be implemented. The data demonstrated that campaigners employ pragmatic and majority argumentation. The strategic means that the CCM candidates employed include selecting areas where social services have been improved, commemorating Mwalimu Nyerere, and evaluating the party positively. Most argumentation rules, namely freedom rule, standpoint rule, and argument scheme rule, among others, were observed. Language usage rule was predominantly violated. In the context of Tanzania where the language of campaign is Kiswahili, most of the argumentations are effectively and reasonably presented.

Chapter Five dealt with the 2015 inaugural campaigns of CHADEMA/UKAWA at Jangwani on the 29th of August 2015 in Dar es Salaam. Unlike argumentations in Chapter four, Chapter Five focussed on what CCM has failed to do since independence. In addition, it has demonstrated what CHADEMA would do in five years. The campaigners for the

CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential candidate demonstrated different arguments in almost every other argumentation. The structures of argumentation are thus complex. The campaigners employed both deductive and inductive reasoning in presenting their arguments. Also, symptomatic argumentation schemes, causal relation schemes, and argumentation by analogy have been demonstrated. Strategies that campaigners of CHADEMA/UKAWA have employed are mainly topics related to poverty, improving social services, and claiming for constitutional reforms. Such topics have been raised to appeal to liberal and conservative presumptions. Different rules for critical discussion were observed. Such rules are the freedom rule, the relevance rule, the burden of proof rule, the standpoint rule, and the unexpressed standpoint rule. Like CCM campaigners, the language usage was violated in almost every other argumentation. Despite the violation of some rules, in the presidential campaign speeches, many argumentations have been presented effectively and reasonably.

Chapter Six was devoted to the comparative analysis of the inaugural CCM presidential campaign speeches and inaugural CHADEMA/UKAWA presidential campaign speeches. The chapter demonstrated a possibility of merging monological speeches into conversations in the perspective of dialectical profiles of argumentative discourse (Van Eemeren *et al.*, 2007). The multiple mixed dialectical profile was portrayed in the chapter. The analyses in Chapter Six demonstrated the causal relation and symptomatic argumentation schemes. In addition, the campaigners of CCM and CHADEMA/UKAWA employed problem-solving argumentation and pragmatic and majority argumentation as the prototypical argumentative patterns on the identities of presidential candidates. The means of strategic maneuvering, such as commemorating Mwalimu Nyerere, overreliance on the presidential candidates' identities and a must win candidate strategy were employed to attract the audience as a way of maximising the number of votes. The chapter portrayed institutional preconditions of both parties. Kikwete did not articulate exactly why Lowassa was not sued to court despite the alleged corruption. On the other hand, Sumaye did not articulate what steps Lowassa has taken against those claiming that Lowassa is a number one culprit of the Richmond corruption scandal. Such circumstances are the preconditions that politicians abide by. Related to the preconditions, the setting of campaigns demonstrated asymmetry in the sense that the CCM presidential candidate is supported by the outgoing president, Kikwete. In the context of Tanzania, where over 80% of the people live in rural areas with limited access to quality education, the thinking that the president is unquestionable is also possible. Thus, the CCM presidential candidate is more privileged than the CHADEMA/UKAWA candidate.

The freedom rule, the unexpressed premise rule, and the standpoint rule among others were observed. The language rule was violated especially when arguers did not provide specifics of who exactly the neficiary of the alleged corruption is. The argumentation in this chapter is generally effective and reasonable.

7.3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

From the findings, the argumentation structures reflected in the reconstructed 2015 presidential campaign speeches can be highlighted depending on the frequency of appearance in the sampled speeches. Thus, the predominant structure is the complex argumentation structure, followed by the multiple argumentation structure, the coordinative argumentation structure, and the last one is single argumentation structure which is rarely used in communicative activity type of the presidential election campaign speeches in the deliberative argumentative discourse. Secondly, in attempting to analyse data based on the second objective, the causal relation argumentation scheme was more recurring than argumentation from analogy and authority. Thirdly, the topics were selected to suit the audience demands/expectations even though the implementation of what was said could be practically difficult in the Tanzanian context. Persuasive devices such as positively self-evaluating and negatively evaluating the opponent were frequently used in the presidential election campaigns. About the fourth objective, there was a great success on the freedom rule, the burden of proof rule, the relevance rule, the standpoint rule, the concluding rule, and the argumentation scheme rule. The fifth finding based on the objectives is that language usage rule was highly violated compared to other rules of the ideal model of critical discussion. The sixth finding is that reasonableness in the sense of quasi-logical argumentation and effectiveness in the sense of skilfully arguing were maintained in the presidential election campaign speeches. The seventh funding that the pragmatic and majority argumentation was demonstrated as the prototypical argumentative pattern of the deliberative argumentative discourse. Perhaps by defending and explaining what party manifestos entail, arguers in the deliberative argumentative discourse justified why they qualified to lead the country. In the eighth finding, the study revealed that the commemoration of Nyerere, the first president of the United Republic of Tanzania, is a predominant persuasive strategy in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential election campaigns. The ninth finding was the magnetisation of corruption agenda. In this context, it refers to creating magnetic poles in the political

campaign discourse. More importantly, campaigners claim the party whose members and presidential candidate had no alleged corruption scandals would control corruption. The party whose members and the presidential candidate had alleged corruption scandals would not control corruption. No party accepts the reality that corruption can reveal itself in different dimensions, not necessarily fiscal corruption alleged to individuals already identified in political parties. The tenth finding is that arguers in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential campaign speeches overrelied on the presidential candidates' identities at the expense of the party manifestos and party constitutions. All CCM and CHADEMA campaigners and party candidates imply that there is a need for constitutional reforms to accommodate private candidates in the general elections. Moreover, this is an indication that political parties do not have clear ideologies that can guide the potential voters in making decisions with informed consent. The last finding is that, though there are bylaws restricting campaigners to use languages other than Kiswahili, some campaigners and candidates greeted and gave brief comments in local languages the audience speak, other than Kiswahili.

7.4 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study has employed the Extended pragma-dialectical theory in investigating strategic maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian presidential campaign speeches. There are different research areas for further investigations in relation to the theory of argumentation and appraisal perspectives. First, an investigation of strategic maneuvering in sermon speeches conducted in other African languages in Tanzania would give insights on how the delicate balance is realised in the Pragma-dialectical perspective. Currently, as election bylaws stand, apart from Kiswahili, other African languages are restricted in political campaigns and other political settings. Thus, the Extended pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation can be applied to explore the rhetorical dimension of effectiveness and dialectical dimension of reasonableness in African languages other than Kiswahili. Research can be furthered to investigate how campaigners other African languages in Tanzania other than Kiswahili as means of strategic maneuvering in the presidential election campaigns, though the law allows Kiswahili only. This would help language policymakers to reconsider other languages in the campaign discourse at least at the hamlet level elections to allow effective communication in the local languages.

Secondly, research should be extended to strategic maneuvering in the presidential campaign speeches in Kenya where Kiswahili is used together with other languages. This will help

explore features of maneuvering different from the ones found in the Tanzanian context where Kiswahili is the symbol for struggle, independence, and unity. The use of Kiswahili embeds also the ideology of self-reliance. Thus, campaigners may be obliged to keep the socio-cultural protocols rooted in the Kiswahili language. For that matter, appraisal perspectives especially judgements can be better utilised as campaigners may not be restricted from historical ties similar ties compared to campaigners in Tanzania.

Furthermore, a study on strategic maneuvering in presidential campaign debates conducted in Kiswahili in Tanzania would enable exploring the rules for critical discussion in dialectical profiles adopting the Pragma-dialectical perspective and the Appraisal perspective. The dialectical profiles of different speeches will help researchers to find the unexpressed premises since campaigners are in the same speech environment.

7.5 CONCLUSION

Campaigners and presidential candidates in the 2015 Tanzanian election campaigns employed complex argumentation structures to give enough information to avoid counter-arguments. They also presented arguments in support of the standpoint in a very chronological manner to win the minds of the potential electorate as if pledges would be implemented as staged in the presidential campaigns. Causal relation argumentation schemes, symptomatic argumentation schemes, and argumentation by analogy were employed effectively in the argumentative discourse of the presidential campaigns. The three aspects of strategic maneuvering in the Pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation were employed. Appropriate topics such as health services, free education policy, infrastructure, security, and good governance were selected. The topics met the audience demand because Tanzanians still need improvement in health services, the education sector, and good governance. Presentational devices such association, appealing to liberal and conservative presumptions, commemorating Mwalimu Nyerere and a must win candidate were employed.

The rules for critical discussion such as the burden of proof rule, the standpoint rule, the concluding rule, and the argumentation scheme rule were to a considerable extent implemented. Derailments were manifested in the freedom rule and the language usage rule, especially equivocal formulations.

The campaigners and presidential candidates kept the delicate balance between the rhetorical dimension of effectiveness and the dialectical dimension of reasonableness in the perspective of Pragma-dialectics.

In the context of Tanzania rules for critical discussion are relevant in the election by laws. Rules such as unexpressed premises in the campaign context were deliberately violated to win the minds of the potential electorate. Both expressed and unexpressed premises led to the strawman's fallacy in the presidential campaign discourse, but the way the campaigners derail informs analysts that language use is more of context-specific, thus, generalisations should be avoided.

Rules for the ideal model of critical discussion may not apply in all situations. In Tanzania, for example, Kiswahili language is the symbol of unity. Since language embeds culture, it dictates how people should interact and treat each other, and sometimes the known and the unknown is not spoken out, for example in the Tanzanian presidential election campaigns. This may be to preserve peace in that context. Candidates and campaigners avoided direct confrontations not because of unwillingness to effective communication, but to keep the political symbols Kiswahili has. Therefore, not all rules listed should be taken in common-sense reasoning to overgeneralise all campaign contexts. There are unique contexts, for instance in Tanzania, Kiswahili is the symbol of unity, hence, the only legitimate language in the campaigns, unless there are interpreters of other languages.

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APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
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Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

Date: 10th August 2016

Regional Administrative Secretary
Dar es Salaam Region

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Mr. Gaspardus Mwombeki** who is a bonafide staff member of the University of Dar es Salaam and a PhD student at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. Mr. Mwombeki is required to undertake research work as part of his PhD studies.

In accordance with government circular letter Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July 1980, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam is empowered to issue research clearances to staff members and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). I am pleased to inform you that I have granted a research clearance to **Mr. Mwombeki**.

I therefore, kindly request you to grant him any help that may enable him achieve his research objectives. Specifically we request your permission for him to meet and talk to the leaders and other relevant stakeholders in your region in connection with his research.

The title of his research is "**Strategic Maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian Presidential Election Campaign Speeches: A Pragma-dialectical Analysis**".

The period of his research is from **August to October 2016** and the research will cover **Dar es Salaam Region**.

Should there be any restrictions, you are kindly requested to advise us accordingly. In case you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact us through the Directorate of Research, Tel. +255 22 2410500-8 Ext. 2084 or +255 22 2410727 and E-mail: research@udsm.ac.tz.

Yours sincerely,

VICE CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
P.O. Box 35091
DAR-ES-SALAAM


Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE CHANCELLOR

QUOTATION OF REF. NO. IS ESSENTIAL

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Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

Date: 10th August 2016

Secretary General
Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA)
Dar es Salaam

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH CLEARANCE

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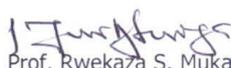
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The period of his research is from **August to October 2016** and the research will cover **Chama cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo**.

Should there be any restrictions, you are kindly requested to advise us accordingly. In case you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact us through the Directorate of Research, Tel. +255 22 2410500-8 Ext. 2084 or +255 22 2410727 and E-mail: research@udsm.ac.tz.

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Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
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Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

Date: 10th August 2016

Secretary General
Chama cha Mapinduzi
P. O. Box 9151
Dar es Salaam

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Mr. Gaspardus Mwombeki** who is a bonafide staff member of the University of Dar es Salaam and a PhD student at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. Mr. Mwombeki is required to undertake research work as part of his PhD studies.

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The title of his research is "**Strategic Maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian Presidential Election Campaign Speeches: A Pragma-dialectical Analysis**".

The period of his research is from **August to October 2016** and the research will cover **Chama cha Mapinduzi**.

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Yours sincerely,


Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
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Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

Date: 10th August 2016

Director General
Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation (TBC)
Dar es Salaam

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Mr. Gaspardus Mwombeki** who is a bonafide staff member of the University of Dar es Salaam and a PhD student at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. Mr. Mwombeki is required to undertake research work as part of his PhD studies.

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The title of his research is "**Strategic Maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian Presidential Election Campaign Speeches: A Pragma-dialectical Analysis**".

The period of his research is from **August to October 2016** and the research will cover **Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation**.

Should there be any restrictions, you are kindly requested to advise us accordingly. In case you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact us through the Directorate of Research, Tel. +255 22 2410500-8 Ext. 2084 or +255 22 2410727 and E-mail: research@udsm.ac.tz.

Yours sincerely,


Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE CHANCELLOR

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P. O. BOX 35091 ♦ DAR ES SALAAM ♦ TANZANIA

General: +255 22 2410500-8 ext. 2001
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Telefax: +255 22 2410078



Telegraphic Address: UNIVERSITY OF DAR ES SALAAM
E-mail: vc@admin.udsm.ac.tz
Website address: www.udsm.ac.tz

Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

Date: 10th August 2016

Managing Director
Independent Television Limited (ITV)
Dar es Salaam

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH CLEARANCE

The purpose of this letter is to introduce to you **Mr. Gaspardus Mwombeki** who is a bonafide staff member of the University of Dar es Salaam and a PhD student at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa. Mr. Mwombeki is required to undertake research work as part of his PhD studies.

In accordance with government circular letter Ref. No. MPEC/R/10/1 dated 4th July 1980, the Vice Chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam is empowered to issue research clearances to staff members and students of the University of Dar es Salaam on behalf of the government and the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH). I am pleased to inform you that I have granted a research clearance to **Mr. Mwombeki**.

I therefore, kindly request you to grant him any help that may enable him achieve his research objectives. Specifically we request your permission for him to meet and talk to the leaders and other relevant stakeholders in your company in connection with his research.

The title of his research is "**Strategic Maneuvering in the 2015 Tanzanian Presidential Election Campaign Speeches: A Pragma-dialectical Analysis**".

The period of his research is from **August to October 2016** and the research will cover **Independent Television Limited**.

Should there be any restrictions, you are kindly requested to advise us accordingly. In case you require further information, please do not hesitate to contact us through the Directorate of Research, Tel. +255 22 2410500-8 Ext. 2084 or +255 22 2410727 and E-mail: research@udsm.ac.tz.

Yours sincerely,


Prof. Rwekaza S. Mukandala
VICE CHANCELLOR

VICE CHANCELLOR
UNIVERSITY OF DAR-ES-SALAAM
P.O. Box 35091
DAR-ES-SALAAM

QUOTATION OF REF. NO. IS ESSENTIAL

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Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

Date: 10th August 2016

Executive Director
Azam TV
Dar es Salaam

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Ref. No: AB3/12(B)

Date: 10th August 2016

Executive Director
Star TV Tanzania
Dar es Salaam

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH CLEARANCE

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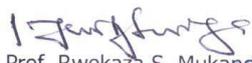
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