

A TALE OF TWO NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PARTIES: A STYLISTIC AND  
RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE 2014 ELECTION MANIFESTOS OF SWAPO AND  
DTA

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## Abstract

During the election campaign period in Namibia, different political parties attempt to use all means possible to convince the electorate. Political discourse is one of the most crucial means of persuasion that political parties employ to woo voters. Political parties design their election manifestos through the use of stylistic features and rhetorical devices as means of persuasion. This qualitative study examines and explains how stylistic features and rhetorical devices were used in the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) election manifestos during the 2014 Namibian presidential elections. The two parties were purposely selected because the SWAPO party won elections in 2014 while the DTA came second as the official opposition party and the stylistic and rhetorical components used in the manifestos may have contributed to their success. This study employed the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory to examine the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in selected manifestos and used Aristotle's three proofs of persuasion, *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* to explain the rhetorical significance of the language techniques identified. The study revealed that the SWAPO party manifesto mainly used its past achievements to persuade the voters while the DTA focused on promises and future plans for persuasion. Both manifestos made use of multi-modal aspects, lexical, syntactic and semantic literary devices and deviations to persuade voters. *Pathos* was used in the manifestos to stir up the emotions of voters for respective parties and their presidential candidates. *Ethos* was employed through constant reference to individuals who are respected by voters. The manifestos made use of *logos* through the presentation of facts, mainly on what has been achieved and the country's economic and social situation as well logical arguments on what should be done to develop the country. This study provides an understanding of how stylistic features and rhetorical devices may be used in political discourse to persuade people and the important role rhetoric plays in a democracy. In

addition, this study contributes to the political discourse, rhetoric as well as the stylistics body of knowledge in Namibia.

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**DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to my two rocks, Teopolina Amunyela and Foibe Amunyela. Thank you for your unconditional love, sacrifice and support.

**DECLARATIONS**

I, Petrina Niipindi Batholmeus, declare hereby that this study is a true reflection of my own research, and that this work, or part thereof has not been submitted for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. Orientation of the study

This study focused on the analysis of the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in the 2014 manifestos of selected Namibian political parties. The political parties selected for this analysis are: the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the official ruling party in Namibia, and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), the current official opposition party in Namibia. The SWAPO party has been the official ruling party for six consecutive five year terms, since the country's independence in 1990 and the DTA's status as the official opposition party has fluctuated since independence. The language in the manifestos of the two political parties and the choice of all political discourse is deliberate with the aim to persuade and influence the readers.

Before Namibia gained its independence in 1990, the SWAPO and DTA political parties were the two major political parties in Namibia fighting for the independence of the country. The SWAPO party was formed in April 1960 while the DTA came into existence in November 1977. The apartheid government was the official ruling government. The SWAPO party efforts as the official opposition during that time were not only for the purpose of gaining power but to free the Namibian people from the oppression of the apartheid government. After independence, the SWAPO party gained its ruling position, which it has held since then. The arguments in the SWAPO manifesto are, therefore, based on the issue of maintaining peace and doing everything possible to not allow oppression and colonialism in the country. Correspondingly, the DTA party aimed to liberate the country before 1990 and be voted into power after independence. The 2014 DTA manifesto, therefore, through promises, communicates the future of the Namibian country if DTA is voted into power.

In linguistics, political discourse is analysed to determine how language is used to either express the writers' plea for support and votes, or to convince the supporters of their leadership strategies. According to Staugaitė (2014), "rhetorical strategies are the ways that writers and speakers use words and language in order to persuade the audience" (p. 9). Staugaitė further states that "speakers who truly want their words to be memorable employ a variety of stylistic devices to figuratively illustrate their ideas" (Staugaitė, 2014, p. 13). The stylistic features and rhetorical devices examined from the manifestos include, amongst others; the presentation of the SWAPO and DTA party colours and slogans, and the design of the manifestos in the form of various images displayed, font sizes and the style of catch words. This study also analysed lexical components like the repetition of words and phrases like 'we will', 'will continue', 'our promise'. Other lexical components studied are collective pronouns like: 'we', 'us', 'our' and collocation sets such as 'advancement', 'improve', 'equip', and 'adjust'. Syntactic and semantic deviations are other features that were analysed in this study and these deviations can occur in different forms; for example, a metaphor found in the DTA Manifesto, "Women: Mothers of our souls builders of our nation". Rhetorical devices examined include devices that evoke different feelings, such as fear or pride. Politicians also flatter, praise, make promises to the nation, and make themselves seem more compassionate. These components, among others, are analysed to unravel their rhetorical appeal in each of the two manifestos.

Sharndama and Mogammed (2013) define stylistics as "the description and analysis of the variability of linguistic forms in actual language use" (p. 63). Stylistics is thus used by some analysts to analyse the language used by politicians to create or accomplish their goals. This study extensively relied on the definition of style as a choice of specific linguistic features used in discourse to examine the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in each of the two manifestos, and analyse them rhetorically. The three Aristotelian proofs of rhetoric are

used to determine the function of the stylistic features and rhetorical devices in the manifestos. The three proofs are part of Aristotle's theory of rhetoric that is used to explain the art of persuasion. Staugaitė (2014) explains these proofs as logos (appeal to logic), ethos (appeal to character), and pathos (appeal to emotions).

### **1.2. Statement of the problem**

During the election campaign period in Namibia, different political parties attempt, through all possible means, to convince the electorate to vote for their parties. Political parties design their election manifestos through the use of certain stylistic features and rhetorical devices as a way of persuading the electorate to vote in their favour. Staugaitė (2014) concludes that in order to get public approval in elections and for any political party to emerge victorious, language, as a tool, is needed. Staugaitė (2014) further explains that political leaders reinforce their thoughts and arguments by using stylistic tools in their speeches because stylistic tools ensure persuasion. Similarly, "the underlying purpose of rhetoric is persuasion. Those who use rhetoric use it to influence other people to follow their good or bad intentions." (Kangira & Mungenga, 2012, p. 110). This study examined and explained how stylistic features and rhetorical devices were used in the SWAPO and DTA 2014 election manifestos, to persuade electorates during the 2014 Namibian presidential elections.

### **1.3. Objectives of the study**

The objectives of this study are to:

- Examine the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in the SWAPO and DTA 2014 election manifestos.
- Analyse how the stylistic features and rhetorical devices were used to persuade voters.

### **1.4. Significance of the study**

The study aims to provide objective data analysis of the SWAPO and DTA political parties' manifestos which provided an understanding of how stylistic features and rhetorical devices may be used to persuade people. This study will, in addition, contribute to the political discourse, the rhetorical as well as the stylistics body of knowledge in Namibia, where studies in this field appear to be limited.

### **1.5. Limitation of the study**

This study is limited to the 2014 election manifestos of two political parties: SWAPO and DTA. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory and the Rhetorical proofs of persuasion will be used for data analysis. The components to be analysed in the manifestos are the stylistic features and rhetorical devices. The findings from the analysis will therefore not be generalised.

### **1.6. Conclusion**

Chapter one provided a background to this study and it also introduced the background of the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) and the Democratic Turnhale Alliance (DTA) political parties in Namibia and their political discourse, specifically in the 2014 election manifestos. Furthermore, the chapter highlighted the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used by the two parties to persuade voters in the 2014 elections, the problem statement from which this study is derived as well as the main objectives of the study. Finally, the significance of this study and its limitations were explained in this chapter. The next chapter provides the review of literature related to this study.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter analyses literature and studies carried out on political discourse from stylistic and rhetorical perspectives. Political discourse as well as how stylistics and rhetoric are employed in this particular discourse to persuade an audience are explained. In addition, the Critical Discourse Analysis Theory as well as Aristotle's proofs of persuasion: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* which are used to analyse data in this study are discussed.

#### **2.2. Political Discourse**

Politicians worldwide rely on written and spoken discourse to convey their messages or familiarise their audience with their policies, opinions and beliefs. Some scholars who have analysed the language politicians' use in different settings, such as during election campaigns, inauguration speeches, speeches presented in parliament and addresses to the public include: Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010); Abuya (2012); Alo (2012); Dylgjeri (2014); Olajoke (2015); Michira (2014); Mshvenieradze (2013); Sharndama and Mohammad (2013); and Wang (2010).

The language of politics also referred to as political discourse is mainly analysed because of its unique style of writing and purpose. Political discourse refers to all discourse produced by politicians in different settings for different purposes. Oluremi (2013) describes political discourse as the use of "rhetoric that is infused with persuasive techniques concentrating on immediate pertinent issues" (p. 219). Political discourse studies have been carried out to examine how politicians persuade the public to support them. Persuasion is, in most cases, achieved through 'untruthful' promises and other language strategies in political discourse,

including stylistic features and rhetorical devices. Election manifestos, campaign speeches, campaign advertisements and parliament debates are some of the types of political discourse that can be used in political discourse analysis.

Political Discourse is a discipline comprising two independent fields ‘politics’ and ‘discourse’. Chilton and Schaffner (2011) define politics as “the use of language in the constitution of social groups” (p. 303). Aduradola and Ojokwu (2013) describe politics as “an attempt to reduce tensions between needs and social realities and language through communication becomes significant to achieve such purpose” (p. 110).

Michira (2014) describes ‘politics’ as a discipline that is essentially concerned with power and authority. All decisions and efforts made by politicians are therefore either to gain or maintain power and authority. In a more detailed explanation, Baker and Ellece (2011) refer to discourse as “particular contexts of language use, and in this sense it becomes similar to concepts like genre or text type” (p. 31). The different genres being referred to may include political discourse. Chilton and Schaffner (2011) suggest that the function of political discourse is to analyse detailed linguistic choices to produce appropriate political interpretations. The 2014 election manifestos of the South West Africa people’s organisation (SWAPO) and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) are used for analysis in this study. According to Chilton and Schaffner (2011), a discourse analysis may be done at different levels, such as at the pragmatic level, semantic and syntactic level.

Dylgjeri (2014) argues that for any political phenomenon to become significant, it has to be expressed in words. Politics cannot be accomplished without words. It is, therefore, essential that the language of politics is analysed for interpretation and meaning. Bhatia (2006) emphasises that the most interesting aspect of any discourse is its context, how it was produced as well as who it was prepared for.

There are different types of political discourses, the most prominent one being campaign discourse. Adbullahi-Idiagbon (2010) explains that campaign discourse is a vital tool which politicians use to convey their ideas and feelings to prospective electorates with the aim of persuasion. The SWAPO and DTA election manifestos which are analysed in this study are examples of campaign discourse. Most of these campaign discourses use words to convey their messages. Aduradola and Ojokwu (2013) describes political campaign as an effort or mobilisation by an organisation or an individual to influence a specific group or environment on a decision or identified desired change (p. 106). Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) remarks that political campaign language may consist of propaganda, fallacies, attacks on opposition parties as well as exaggeration, vagueness and related strategies to persuade electorates. Regarding political campaigns in Nigeria, Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) observed that some rhetorical strategies used in political discourse, campaign discourse to be specific, include religious allusions, repetitions, expressions, coinages and promises. All these techniques may be used differently to appeal to the audience's emotions and logic, and to appeal to the audience using characters.

Political discourse is a sub-discipline of a broad area called Discourse Analysis. Discourse Analysis, according to Jones (2012, p. 321), is “the study of ways in which language is used in real life to perform tasks such as persuade, flirt and argue”. Machin and Mayr (2012) argue that discourse analysis exists because the language used in different contexts may be ambiguous. Machin and Mayr (2012) add that it is through language that people communicate; either to express how they feel, their different types of social groups and identities. Political discourse, therefore, needs to be analysed to bring to the fore the hidden and ambiguous meaning that maybe communicated. Machin and Mayr (2012) highlight that researchers analyse texts to understand the underlying ideologies and meaning behind every word. It is the choice of words that determines meaning.

Zblobiu (2007) depicts political discourse as an “art” that always aims at legitimising power and an art that, at times, readers find difficult to understand. Zblobiu (2007) further insists that it is vital that writers of political discourse understand that it takes more than just simple discourse to convince someone (p. 221).

Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2007) emphasise that different situations call for different language use and this also applies to political discourse. Ojokwu (2013) concurs by stating that political discourse may be a collective term but different circumstances call for different types of political discourse. Therefore, “every political circumstance is explained and addressed differently by the stakeholders involved using carefully selected words that will justify or validate their particular course of action” (Ojokwu, 2013, pp. 105-106). Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2012) comments that language is the vehicle through which all politicians pass on their messages. Language is usually constructed to champion and promote individual interests. Many politicians create their political discourses differently to suit the social setting in which they will be presenting or the readers who will be reading their work.

Few rhetorical studies have been carried out on political discourse in Namibia. Nanyeni (2014) analysed ten epideictic speeches of the former Namibian President, Dr Sam Nujoma, during his first and second terms as president of the Republic of Namibia, from a rhetorical point of view. Nanyeni’s (2014) study aimed to find out how Dr Nujoma used Aristotelian proofs of rhetoric: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* to address pertinent issues in Namibia such as unity, the fight against poverty, ignorance towards nation building opportunities and racism. According to Nanyeni (2014), Nujoma uses rhetoric in speeches to generally persuade the nation to support his governance. In addition, Nanyeni (2014) analysed five canons of classical rhetoric in Nujoma’s speeches, namely: “invention (*invention*), arrangement (*disposition*), style (*elocution*), delivery (*pronunciation* and *action*) and memory (*memoria*)”

(p. 1). Nanyeni (2014) found that President Nujoma used the five canons of rhetoric in his speeches to highlight the government's successes and shortcomings during his ruling period.

The same canons of classical rhetoric were used by Mathe (2006) to critique Dr Nujoma's State of the Nation Addresses during his presidential reign in Namibia from 1990 to 2004. Mathe's (2006) aim was to evaluate the extent to which Nujoma's language and delivery were rhetorical through his application of particular appeals and approaches, the effectiveness of his speeches arrangement, and the vocal and nonverbal aspects that complement Nujoma's verbal speeches. Mathe (2006) examined twenty eight hours of video recordings and two hundred and twenty pages of the State of the Nation Addresses Hansard delivered between 1990 and 2004. From this analysis, Mathe (2006) found that Nujoma's speeches were rich with rhetorical techniques, although his delivery was not always successful. According to Mathe (2006), Nujoma appealed to the nation's emotions and logical reasoning to persuade his listeners and readers to support his governance.

The above mentioned studies represent presidential political discourse. There have not been studies done in Namibia to analyse campaign discourse which is the focus of this study. The SWAPO and DTA Manifestos analysed were written for the 2014 Namibian national election campaign.

Political discourse analyses are done to fulfil two intentions: communication and persuasion. These intentions, according to Dylgjeri (2014) and Markus (2006), can determine the purpose of writing political discourse, that is, for the persuasion-communicative purpose. This purpose explains the two characteristics of Political Discourse: argumentative and metadiscourse (Dylgjeri, 2014; Markus, 2006). Dylgjeri (2014) explains that argumentative writing argues a point and aims to persuade an audience that the writer or speaker's point of view or idea is correct, valid or better than someone else's (p. 56). Metadiscourse, according

to Markus (2006), is the ability to communicate, taking into consideration the communicator's attitudes, personalities and assumptions about the subject, or audience. How the writer constructs a text to guide the reader's understanding of the text is also a characteristic of metadiscourse (Markus, 2006).

The main purposes of political discourse, as mentioned above, are fulfilled through the strategic choice of language in the discourse. Words used in the SWAPO and DTA Manifestos are not neutral; just like any other political discourse, they create certain world views and different relationships with the people being communicated to. Jones (2012) argues that political discourse is an ideology created by politicians to provide people with ideas or theories on how the world is supposed to be (p. 11). Zblobiu (2007) stresses that political discourse is driven by ideology and it always protects its hidden agenda (p. 223).

Balugn (2015) elaborates that rhetoric and stylistics are characteristics of political discourse. They are characteristics of this discourse because rhetoric is an art of persuasion, which is the main goal of all political discourse, while stylistics features are often described as rhetorical tactics which grab the readers' or listeners' attention as well as appeal to them in different ways (Balugn, 2015). Balogun (2015) insists that "persuasion intends either to confirm beliefs, attitudes or behaviours or to challenge them, though they are never completely new ones" (p. 29). Stylistics is an interesting way of writing as it originates from poetry. The audience of political discourse always want positive change and content that will relate to their needs and desires. They want to hear their needs being addressed. Politicians, therefore, use this information to carefully select the words they use to pass on their messages.

The SWAPO and DTA Election Manifestos being analysed in this study fall under the Political Discourse discipline. The choice of language used to write these manifestos will be stylistically and rhetorically examined to determine how these specific Namibian political

parties persuaded their followers and defended their positions in preparation for the 2014 elections through the hidden meaning behind words, phrases and sentences.

### **2.3. Stylistics in Political Discourse**

Stylistics is defined by Sharndma and Mogammed (2013) as “the description and analysis of the variability of linguistic forms in actual language use” (p.63). Stylistics is therefore used by language analysts to examine the language used by politicians to accomplish their political goals. Khaled (2012) traces the term ‘style’ from the early literary studies of the Greeks and Romans in the fifth century Before Christ (BC) in which Rhetoric was studied. According to Khaled (2012), there can never be one definition of style as different theories approach the term from different angles. Style is defined by Shardama and Mohammed (2013, p. 62) as “language appropriate to a specific genre of writing or characteristics of an individual”. Leuween (2012) also describes style as “a combination of linguistic means, means that can be found at all layers of a text” (p. 99).

Khaled (2012) observes that regardless of the angles from which style is studied, the terms which all approaches agree on when describing style include: deviation, choice, variation and recurrence. In addition, Khaled (2012) suggests that stylistics is mainly concerned with “style as deviation and style as choice” (p. 34). This definition of stylistics guided this study because the choice of language in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos deviates from normal language with the intent to persuade the electorate.

Oluremi (2015) defines stylistics as an analysis and description of linguistics features of texts in relation to their meaning. Barry (2009) states that initial stylistics approaches focused on how to provide new interpretations of literary works based on linguistic evidence. However, Barry (2009) again remarks that stylistics should no longer be confined to the analysis of

literature alone as it can be uniformly applied to expository prose, advertisements, and other texts such as political speeches and political campaign manifestos as in this case.

Fahnestock (2005) submits the four overall principles of stylistic choice in discourse analysis as correctness, clarity, appropriateness and forcefulness. All these principles are audience oriented: correctness describes grammaticality; clarity explains the audience's ability to understand what is being communicated; appropriateness deals with the occasion the communication takes place in and the content, the content should also be appropriate for the occasion and purpose of communication. Forcefulness is the last principle which summarises all of the above and states that there should be emphasis of content for the audience to grasp what is being communicated (Fahnestock, 2005).

According to Zblobiu (2007), a colourful political text or speech will definitely use some of these stylistic devices: intended ambiguity, similes, antithesis, metonymy, metaphors and epithets to persuade. A stylistic device is defined by Dūng (2010) as “an example of the figurative use of words, which produces a particularly rhetorical effect when people use the language creativity in a specified context” (p. 3). Zblobiu (2007) claims that “stylistic devices make the text interesting in a way that enables the readers to grasp the meaning of the text in a complimentary manner” (p. 221). Correspondingly, Dūng (2010) stresses that the frequent use of stylistic devices should be considered an important attribute of political discourse.

Dūng (2010) describes the stylistic devices used as metaphors which are used in the United States of America (USA) president's speech to create pictures in the audience's minds. Similarly, the DTA manifesto, *Women: Mothers of our souls, builders of our Nation* is used to appeal to the readers' emotions because most people are generally fond of their mothers. Metonymy, according to Dūng (2010), is famous in political discourse because it attracts the readers or listeners' interests. Dūng (2010) also discovered that USA presidents employed

metonymies such as ‘the Kremlin’ and ‘State House’ to refer to the president and staff; as well as ‘Pentagon’ to refer to the United States Department of Defence. The audience feel at home when they hear these metonymies and identify with the presidents. Dung (2010) explores other stylistic features such as personification, alliteration and rhetorical questions.

Sharndama and Mohammad (2013) use nine election campaign posters and slogans of different political parties in the Yola Metropolis of Adamawa State of Nigeria to stylistically analyse the way politicians use visual communication to advertise themselves and sway the electorate to vote for them. The Linguistic-Stylistics Analysis approach was applied to investigate how politicians manipulate language to achieve their political goals (Olajoke, 2015; Sharndama & Mohammad, 2013).

The Linguistic-Stylistics Analysis theory enables objectivity and practical language analysis. Although the same analysis approach was used by the above mentioned authors, Sharndama and Mohammad (2013) applied the broad approach of the theory to analyse political discourse in which graphitic/graphological, lexical, syntactic and semantics components were analysed, Olajoke (2015) concentrated on lexis, particularly on lexical cohesion devices. All the linguistics features identified can loosely be classified as part of any general stylistics analysis. Similarly, Michira (2014) used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse the Kenyan political situation. The study found that the stylistics features used for persuasion were similar to the above mentioned studies with regards to the identified linguistics features. The study of Michira (2014) “sought to demonstrate that politicians have developed unique ways of using language that deviates from “normal”, everyday discourse” (p. 16). This is proven by the rhetorical devices, lexical items, grammatical units and symbolic features identified in the study.

Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) used Hucklin's approach (as cited in Abdullahi-Idiagbon, 2010) which classified political discourse analysis into two major features; linguistic and non-linguistic features. Abdullahi-Idiagbon's (2010) study, however, differs in the sense that it may not be classified as a purely linguistic study, as the selection of the speeches was done according to presidential candidates, their political history, successes and failures. The discursive strategies identified in this particular study are the tone and style of the speeches, that is, how the topics were formed and what they conveyed; the use of the passive voice; persuasion strategies employed; promises; euphemisms as well as the repetition of different words and phrases.

Similarly, Mshvenieradze (2013) who analysed two presidential candidates in France for two different years respectively, Jacques Chirac's presidential candidate for 2002 and Nicolz Sarkozy, a presidential candidate in 2007, found that stylistics units utilised in the language of these two politicians included deictic indexicals, words or pointing words such as pronouns, rhetorical questions, revision, comparisons, allusion, citing and irony.

Much emphasis on political discourse has been given to campaign discourse. However, political discourse also comprises other political areas other than election or campaign related discourse. Other genres of political discourse are parliamentarian debates, policies and reports. These are also often presented to the public because they are the rules which people should adhere to. Olajoke (2015) analysed the inaugural speech of the speaker of the State House of Assembly in Nigeria. This speech is political discourse from the legislative branch of the government of Nigeria, the arm that is responsible for making and changing laws as well as interpreting them to the country. Olajoke (2015) emphasises that Inaugural Speeches in Nigeria and probably in any democratic country are very important because they are the first speeches given by a leader after they have been elected into power. Politicians, therefore,

carefully select the language in these acceptance speeches as the aim is to win over people's hearts. Similar to campaign discourse, the study revealed that legislators also use stylistics in their discourse. Some stylistic devices used are repetitions, synonyms, collocation, antonyms and super-ordination.

Ademilokun (2015) employed the Systemic Linguistic Function to analyse the political discourse extracted from natural settings. Many analysts of political discourse have simply examined speeches, slogans, and various types of written political discourse and few scholars have analysed natural occurring discourse which include speeches presented at rallies, gatherings and other natural settings. With natural dynamic discourse, there are quite a few aspects which have to be considered. Ademilokun (2015) analysed political rally speeches presented in a natural setting. The discursive strategies identified by Ademilokun (2015) are different from analyses done on secondary data. The discourse strategies found in this study include different types of allusions, propagandistic language, appropriation of indigenous languages, code-switching and code-mixing of Yoruba and English and the politician's use of requests, flattery, praise and provocative language. These strategies may work to an individual's advantage because the presenter can adjust to fulfil the audience's requests and will also get immediate feedback. If the audience is not responsive, then new strategies are immediately employed to change the situation, compared to written discourse where the writer has to trust his/her words only to persuade readers. According to Oluremi (2013), the first language of politicians also influences their use of rhetoric in natural occurring discourse. This is evident in the study by Oluremi (2013), where Yoruba, the first language of the politician whose discourse was analysed, influenced his rhetoric. In this case, Oluremi (2013) claims that the Yoruba culture gives importance to words and the words are used to achieve different purposes.

The study conducted by Aduradola and Ojokwu (2013) aimed to evaluate propaganda, rhetorical devices and persuasion strategies used in adverts and slogans. Stylistic and discursive strategies examined in the studies mentioned above all serve the same purpose; to explain the rhetorical/persuasion function of political discourse. Similarly, Bhalia (2006) who examined the political discourse of two different ideological perspectives, the former Chinese president Jiang Zemin and the former United States President George W. Bush, found that stylistics devices employed in their discourses included personal pronouns, modal verbs as well as different registers.

Omozuwa and Ezejideaku's (2007) study on 35 randomly selected campaign material from print media has also shown that some political elites use stylistic devices such as repetitions, colloquialisms, figurative expressions, metaphors and idioms to persuade. Leeuwen (2012) examined political discourse from a grammatical point of view. Leeuwen (2012) used a speech by a Dutch politician called Geert Wilders, who is said to be controversial because of his anti-Islamic standpoint, and a speech by Ella Vogelaar, the former Minister of Integration. Wilders and Vogelaar both contributed and produced these speeches because of Islamic activism. Leeuwen (2012) reviews how Wilders and Vogelaar employed both grammatical phenomena and stylistic features to create rhetorical effects. Leeuwen (2012) discovered that both Wilders and Vogelaar use cohesion; figures of speech; adjectives and adverbs of quantity and quality to defend their positions and persuade listeners to take their respective sides.

Oluremi (2013) conducted a study in which a stylistic analysis of Obafemi Awolo's speech, derived from Awolo's collection of speeches, delivered by Awolo on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September 1969 when he was sentenced on charges of treasonable felony, was carried out. Oluremi (2013) found that different parts of speech such as adjectives, nouns, adverbs and various figures of speech were used by Awolo to rhetorically deliver his message.

According to Fahnestock (2005), stylistics is a field that emerged from one of the five sub-disciplines of rhetoric, namely: invention, arrangement, style, memory and delivery. Fahnestock (2005) also discusses the term ‘rhetorical stylistics’ which is a result of two independent disciplines, Rhetoric and Stylistics. Fahnestock (2005) also explains that Stylistics and Rhetoric fields, intertwined, create an interesting framework for language analysts. This study will, therefore, analyse stylistics and rhetorical strategies employed in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos and how these strategies fulfil their rhetorical function.

#### **2.4. Rhetoric in Political Discourse**

Rhetoric is the art of using various techniques to persuade other people and make them believe what the communicator believes. Rhetoric and persuasion are collocation sets. One hardly mentions rhetoric without including persuasion.

The rhetorical discipline is “an art and power to discover the best among all available means of persuasion to convince an audience” (Aristotle, 1991, p. 89). In Dylgjeri’s (2014) view, Aristotle’s triad, *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos*, which are key principles of Aristotle’s Rhetorical Theory, is still considered one of the prominent approaches to political discourse analyses. There are different ways in which Aristotle’s Proof can be used to persuade an audience. ChingKo (2015) found that as far as emotions (*pathos*) are concerned, there are positive as well as negative elements of pathos that are used to persuade an audience. Positive persuasion includes using emotions such as fear, anger, sadness, sympathy, while positive emotions include happiness, hope and satisfaction, amongst others.

Alo (2012) elucidates that rhetoric is primarily concerned with persuasion and how best a speaker can apply linguistic devices to successfully persuade an audience (p. 90). Abuya (2012) states that the main purposes of communication in politics are to persuade, entertain, promise, enlighten and inform; “language is the link to people’s hearts in politicking” (p. 9).

Since persuasion is at the centre of the rhetorical theory, Alo (2012, p. 90) defines persuasion as the way in which the speaker rhetorically communicates his/her intention.

Alo (2012) describes persuasion from the sender-receiver relationship stance. Persuasion is interactive, both the sender and receiver need to take part for the process to be a success. The sender of the message has the role to make the receiver understand his/her (sender) attitudes, opinions and beliefs. Although the role of the receiver is unassertive, the message has to be in agreement with the receiver's desires (Alo, 2012). An orator should also know his/her audience. Jarraya (2013) explains that it is vital for the orator to know his/her audience because this will determine the emotions or strategies to be used to enable a connection between the speaker and the audience. (p. 14).

Gunta and Indra (2009) argue that political rhetoric is, at a large extent, linguistic manipulation. They consider it manipulation through language because political discourse has only one aim which is to convince people of different positions. Politicians make sure their audience takes specified decisions which are always in their favour. Gunta and Indra (2009) also add that this linguistic manipulation is achieved through linguistic strategies. Linguistic strategies are defined by Gunta and Indra (2009) as approaches used by a group to convince another group to do what is intended to be done. These strategies range from press conferences, press statements, visual imagery and connotation of words. Alo (2012) however, defends rhetoric by stating that rhetoric should not always be considered as "manipulation but exploitation of already existing beliefs and ideas" (p. 90). The audience will not be easily convinced of something if they do not have the belief in their subconscious.

According to Dylgjeri (2014), rhetoric is considered the backbone of political discourse. This is because the aim of communication in political discourse is to convince the listener/reader of the speaker/writer's visions, goals and ideas. Alo (2012) agrees with Dylgjeri (2014) in

this regard when he states that a good orator can be measured by his/her ability to convince the listener, and that it is vital for politicians to achieve persuasion in political discourse. Successful rhetorical discourse is only considered a success if the listener/reader is persuaded. The aim of communication in political discourse is also validated in Dylgjeri's (2014) definition of rhetoric as "the intentional use of language to influence an audience" (p. 55). Political elites, therefore, carefully write and say words which will make an impact on their audience. ChingKo (2015) concurs by stating that for discourse to be rhetorically significant, the writer should create compelling arguments and communication worthy of the public's beliefs.

In addition to Mathe (2006) and Nanyeni (2014) who carried out rhetorical studies on the first Namibian president's national addresses, Mbenzi and Kangira (2015) analysed four epideictic speeches of Bishop Kleopas Dumeni of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN). The four speeches analysed were presented at the funerals of four Namibians who were killed by the apartheid government before Namibia's independence in 1990. Aristotle's rhetoric was employed to evaluate how Bishop Kleopas Dumeni contributed to the independence struggle by creating awareness of the oppression under the apartheid regime and appealing to different emotions of the oppressed audience. *Ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* were used in four funereal speeches for a political purpose: to appeal for the audience's support in the liberation struggle.

In the study on various 2013 pre-election political discourses in Albania, Dylgjeri (2014) discovered politicians in Albania prefer *pathos* over other proofs of persuasion. The Albanians are moved by emotions rather than facts. Therefore, hyperbolised *pathos* was used in Albania to bring out the injustices of competing political parties. *Ethos* was also used through characters who could mend these injustices. Similarly, in a rhetorical analysis of the Taiwanese President, Ma Ying-Jeou's political discourse, ChingKo (2015) noted that

President Ma used *pathos* more often than *logos* and *ethos*. According to ChingKo (2015), the reason *pathos* is the prevalent proof of persuasion is that people are usually moved by emotions, although reasoning (*logos*) and character (*ethos*) are also useful during persuasion.

As reviewed earlier, these proofs of rhetoric are applied through various stylistic devices used in language. The two presidential candidates in France, whose political discourse was studied by Mshvenieradze (2013), made use of different stylistic units to analyse how the selected stylistic techniques utilised Aristotle's *pathos*, *ethos* and *logos* to persuade the audience. The techniques used were a success as these two candidates won the elections in 2002 and 2007 respectively. Rhetorical devices used in political discourse can also be classified into linguistic categories. These groups, according to Gunta and Indra (2009), are phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic and textual.

Omozuwa and Ezejideaku's (2007) stylistic and rhetorical study of campaign discourse reveals that some rhetorical strategies politicians in Nigeria use to persuade audiences are promises, biblical reference, and praises. In addition, this specific study reveals that politicians use vulgar, abusive and defamatory language to discredit their opponents. Politicians have used Aristotle's definition of rhetoric of using all means possible to persuade their audience in their discourse.

Duran (2008) carried out a contrastive analysis of President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry's acceptance speeches presented to the Republican and Democratic National Conventions respectively, before the 2004 general elections in the United States of America. Similar to Omozuwa and Ezejideaku (2007), Duran (2008) argues that Bush portrays himself as the opposite of his opponent and points out his opponent's contractions and indecisions; while Kerry highlights the negative consequences of some of Bush's decisions. Similarly, Leeuwen (2012) concludes that personal attacks in political discourse are used for persuasion.

Leeuwen (2012) demonstrates this point through Wilders and Vogelaar who were engaged in a debate, and through stylistic and grammatical features. During the debate, Vogelaar had to defend herself from Wilders who kept attacking her.

Manifestos are popular types of political discourse hence the researcher's choice to analyse the SWAPO and DTA manifestos prepared for the 2014 Namibian presidential elections. Nadeem, Mahmood and Mahmood (2014) explain that "manifestos facilitate the voter to base her/his decision on the basis of party's position on issues and visions that the party holds" (p. 2). In Pakistan, a comparative corpus-driven analysis of three political parties' manifestos from the 2008 and 2003 elections was carried out by Nadeem, Mahmood and Mahmood (2014). The aim of the study was to discover the hidden meaning in the manifestos through lexical and grammatical features used. These features include the use of the passive voice and different parts of speech.

While most stylistic and rhetorical analyses of political discourse present data according to language features used in the discourse, Bojabotsheha and Moloi (2014) who analysed the African National Congress (ANC) election manifestos of the 1999, 2004 and 2009 national elections in South Africa, classified the language features according to the structures of the manifestos. The themes in this study are the genre and sequential structure; message of the president, achievements, challenges and justification; vision of the ANC; as well as plans, programmes and implementation measures. The language features which were used to persuade voters in the manifestos are ambiguous pronouns, foregrounding, contrasting expressions, grounding and elisions (Bojabotsheha & Moloi, 2014). Breeze (2011) also discussed rhetorical devices according to theme variations in three party manifesto discourses in Britain during the 2010 general elections. The rhetorical devices used by the political parties in Britain include catchwords; using the toughness of the world economic situation to

appeal to the voters to make tough choices that will benefit them; appealing to the emotions to maintain solidarity, responsibility, hope and consistency.

Shardama and Mohammed (2013) observe that similar to manifestos, speeches and other lengthy pieces of writing are used to persuade electorates during election campaign periods. However, most people are persuaded by shorter and visual ways of campaigning such as pictures and posters. It is for this reason that these two scholars stylistically analysed posters that were used in the Yola Metropolis of Adamawa in Nigeria.

According to Shardama and Mohammed (2013), posters are beautifully designed to attract the public's eye. They are, therefore, one of the best ways to rhetorically convey a message to voters. The posters are easily accessible as they are placed everywhere in countries. They are also easy to understand because they are usually accompanied by short statements that are persuasive. Shardama and Mohammad (2013) state that "it is worthy to note that underlying every political campaign poster is language" (p. 61). In this case, Aristotelian proofs are highly considered because the posters have to make an immediate impression by appealing to the emotions and logic of the audience, usually through characters.

Although the SWAPO and DTA 2014 election manifestos were not found on every billboard or street corner around the country during the campaigning period, the writers made use of visual communication and every written page had an adjacent picture with slogans and metaphors summarising the content. This makes it easier for different readers to identify and deduce meaning without reading the whole page. This is also done to accommodate people from different backgrounds and literacy levels.

Another major way to campaign is through political advertisement. Political advertising is defined by Hughes (2003) as:

“The process whereby a candidate and/or party will pay for a non-personal communication that promotes their superior attributes or policies over those of their opponents and that is designed to elicit specific behaviours, such as voting, and/or increased awareness of the candidate or party” (p. 164).

There are different strategies through which political factions campaign and convince voters to vote for their respective parties. Pinkleton and Lau et al. (as cited in Hughes, 2003) discuss three types of political advertising techniques that are usually adopted by political parties during election campaigns. The techniques, according to Pinkleton and Lau et al. are; attack political advertising, comparative political advertising, and negative advertising. Hughes (2003) presents these forms of advertising as: attack political advertising which is achieved through aggressive, one-sided assaults intended to draw attention to the opponents' weakness in different ways; comparative political advertising which compares competing candidates in a way that will change the voters' perception of their prospective candidate; negative political advertising which assaults the opposing candidate's image or position highlighting negative aspects during the election campaign (Hughes, 2003).

Negative political advertising is demonstrated in a study by Kangira (2004) who analysed the 2002 Zimbabwean national elections. According to Kangira (2004), the 2002 Zimbabwean elections attracted a lot of controversy and competitive campaign discourse. In Zimbabwe, a single political party, the Zimbabwean Africa National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), has been ruling for a period of 36 years under the leadership of President Robert Mugabe. The 2002 Zimbabwean national elections were, however, different because an opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), under the leadership of Morgan Tsvangirai, emerged to compete for the ruling party position. Both ZANU (PF) and MDC used negative political advertisement by tarnishing the image of their opponent to persuade voters. Kangira (2004) discusses the negative advertising strategies in the form of attacks

used by these two political parties. The MDC leader was accused, both in the print and electronic media, of plotting to assassinate President Mugabe, an accusation which Tsvangirai denied. The MDC was also portrayed as a terrorist organisation and Tsvangirai was portrayed as a violent conspirator, traitor, tea boy and all sorts of derogatory terms by the ZANU-PF. The MDC also used negative advertisement against the ZANU-PF. The ZANU-PF leader Robert Mugabe, was attacked with his age, political violence, land related issues and different failures, and his inability to fulfil the plans that he promised the Zimbabwean people during his reign. The MDC and ZANU-PF both used these strategies to convince the voters that they were the right political party to vote for. As stated by Nadeem, Mahmood and Mahmood (2014), “political parties show a negative picture of the other parties by mentioning all the calamities and catastrophes and then presenting a solution” (p. 5).

Other strategies used by opposition and ruling political parties to campaign include discussing important issues such as education, health, economy and agricultural facilities (Nadeem, Mahmood and Mahmood, 2014). Some differences in the strategies used by ruling and opposition political parties are that the ruling parties usually give flashbacks and put more focus on past successes than future plans. This is evident in the SWAPO manifesto, where the past successes of the party are used to convince the voters that the SWAPO party has demonstrated that it can bring changes and will continue to do so. Opposition political parties, according to Nadeem, Mahmood and Mahmood (2014) usually focus on their future plans and they provide innovative and pioneering ideas for the development of the country.

As emphasised, language plays an important role in political discourse. Different scholars, as reviewed above, have analysed political discourse from different language approaches such as pragmatics, sociolinguistics, critical linguistics, CDA and stylistics. Scholars use these language theories to explain the rhetorical function of political discourse. Abuya (2012) conducted a study from the pragmatics and stylistics point of view to investigate how the

Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan rhetorically communicated his intentions after he had been sworn in as President in 2011.

Markus (2006) explains that the art of arguing is the basis for rhetorical studies. According to Marcus (2006), the way in which the writer chooses to write his/her argument, supporting claims, defining issues/problems will determine whether the reader will understand and accept the argument.

## **2.5. Theoretical Framework**

This study is informed by the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory and Aristotle's proofs of persuasion, namely: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* which are the basis of Aristotle's Rhetorical Theory.

### **2.5.1. Critical Discourse Analysis Theory**

CDA emerged from the research efforts of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun van Dijk (Dijk, 2015; Fairclough, Mulderring & Wodak, 2011; Machin & Mayr, 2012). According to Dijk (2015), the CDA theory is "an analytical research approach that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequalities are enacted, reproduced, legitimated and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (p. 466). Michira (2013) describes CDA as a broad theory in which individual researchers choose different approaches and specific CDA principles that conform to their own studies.

Dijk (2015) and Michira (2013) elucidate that CDA has been a central focus of political discourse analysis because of its critical study of power abuse and resistance. Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) explains that CDA views humans as political beings whose political desire is always evident in their choice and use of language. Politicians' desire during election is to

win over the electorates' votes. Their choice of words in election campaign discourse is rhetorical.

In Machin and Mayr's (2012) view, CDA emerged from the Critical Linguistics Theory and Discourse Analysis. Critical Linguistics is a theory that concentrates on the way in which language and grammar can be used as ideological instruments. The term 'critical' in CDA serves a great purpose as far as discourse analyses are concerned. Critical means to 'denaturalise' the language in texts and reveal all hidden meaning and ideas that are taken for granted (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 5).

Some of the characteristics of CDA, as presented by Machin and Mayr (2012), include the ability to intervene in politics and social change. CDA is also said to be discursive which means that power is passed on through discourse. Machin and Mayr (2012) explain that the questions CDA aims to answer are *how* and *why* specific features are produced in a text. The types of discourses that are analysed using CDA are political speeches, advertisements, school books, news texts and more (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Bhalia (2006) states that CDA analyses social, political and cultural contexts and the influences they make as portrayed in a text. In addition, CDA also enables the readers to identify ways in which power relations in texts are produced, the conflicts in words, and to excavate meaning from beneath the surface of a text. This is possible because there is always more being communicated in political discourse than is actually said or written.

According to Alo (2012), no text is ideologically neutral and literal. Ideologies are hidden in discourse. Eagleton (as cited in Alo, 2012) explains that ideology is a vital tool in CDA. It is defined by Alo (2012) as a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group, class or society as well as ideas which help to validate a dominant political power (p. 90). Gunta and

Indra (2009) describe ideology as an object communicated through language in text and discourse.

Some principles of the CDA theory presented by Dijk (as cited in Michira, 2013) are:

To offer critical approaches or methods of studying spoken or written discourse; the ability of CDA to reveal implied or hidden social structures of dominance of one social group upon another; as well as their underlying ideologies. CDA also focuses specifically on strategies of manipulation, legitimization and manufacture of consent used by groups such as the powerful elite or those in authority (p. 4).

Additionally, Fairclough, Mulderring and Wodak (2011) expand on the characteristics of the CDA theory as follows:

CDA addresses social problems such as race, discrimination, injustices and more. The discourse, according to the CDA theory, is historical and does ideology work. Discourse analysis is also interpretative and explanatory and constitutes society and culture. Power relations in CDA are discursive and the link between text and society is mediated. In general discourse in CDA is not just text analysis but is a form of social action (pp. 368-373).

The Systematic Functional Grammar is an approach that may be considered as the foundation of CDA (Wang, 2010). Wang (2010) employed this approach to analyse the connection between language, ideology and power. The study by Wang (2010) is based on the transitivity and modality analyses of Barack Obama's political speeches. From this analysis by Wang (2010), it may be demonstrated that CDA gives a platform for researchers to fully explore political discourse from different angles.

Abdullahi-Idiagbon(2010) used the CDA to investigate the language patterns in three presidential campaign speeches presented at a presidential rally in Nigeria. He employed the CDA theory to examine the linguistics features applied in the speeches which, similar to other studies that were carried out, were analysed from secondary data. Other researchers have made use of the CDA theory in general but Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) adopts Dijk's (2015) explanation of CDA as a theory which does not have a unitary theoretical framework but comprises different approaches which may be theoretically and analytically different (Dijk, 2015, p. 468). Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) therefore, analysed the three speeches according to two CDA approaches. He used Fairclough's taxonomy of discourse analysis as quoted in Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) which is made up of three levels; the micro or textual level; the meso level, which considers cultures and norms; as well as the macro level, which refers to ways in which the social context affect the text.

The CDA theory has been explored by different scholars as reviewed above. Some notable developments include some scholars' combination of the CDA theory with other theories and disciplines. One of the frequent use is 'Rhetoric and Composition'. Huckin, Andrus and Clary-Lemon (2012) clarify this collaboration by explaining that rhetoric and composition deal with ways in which language is used to persuade the public. CDA concentrates on different discursive strategies. The combination therefore produces a rich versatile analysis of texts because rhetorical and discursive aspects are considered.

In addition, Huckin, Andrus and Clary-Lemon (2012) confirm that CDA is perfect for rhetorical studies because it enables researchers to give various and full interpretations of texts. The current study will use this combination to analyse two political discourses. Huckin, Andrus and Clary-Lemon (2012) also emphasise that CDA and Rhetoric produce unique strategies of analysis which are not considered by other methodologies.

Firstly, the readers are drawn to power related issues in different aspects of life such as pedagogical, political, public and more. Researchers are able to explore these fields or compare and contrast these discourses. There is also a facilitation of multiple texts using both theories and lastly, the researcher is able to explore to harmonize the macro level of discourse, which in this case is the political and rhetorical purpose with the micro particulars of language which are the words, phrases and other language structure related aspects (Huckin, Andrus & Clary-Lemon, 2012, p. 112).

### **2.5.2. Aristotle's Proofs of Persuasion**

According to Mshvenieradze (2013), Fross (2009) and Oluremi (2013), a Greek philosopher by the name of Aristotle introduced the Rhetoric theory over 2000 years ago. The classical theory by Aristotle consists of three dimensions (*ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*) which are also referred to as Aristotle's proofs of persuasion.

Fross (2009) explains that rhetoric is the theory from which all communication is built. Rhetoric however sometimes carry bad connotation such as when it is perceived as manipulation and empty talk. The Rhetoric Theory originated from Greece thousands of years ago when the Greek law permitted everyone to express themselves freely and defend their cases in courts. As different scholars contributed to the development of this theory, the proofs of rhetoric remained the basis on which the theory and rhetorical analyses were built (Aristotle, 1991; Fross, 2009).

According to Mshvenieradze (2013), Aristotle named his work on the rhetorical theory 'Rhetorica', a theory he came up with in the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., after the Sophists had taught rhetoric in Greece. The proofs of persuasion were the base in argumentative writing. Mshvenieradze (2013) further explains that the ultimate goal of argumentative writing is to convince the reader that his/her ideas are legitimate compared to someone else's.

According to Staugaitė (2014), there are many different views regarding the definition of rhetoric, but Aristotle's three appeals are some of the main components of rhetoric. Staugaitė (2014) describes *ethos* as appeal to 'ethics' and 'character'. *Ethos* seeks to convince the audience that the speaker can be trusted and is presenting ideas in ethical ways. *Logos* is the speaker's appeal to the audience's logical side, thus arguments are made through reasoning. *Pathos* is when the speakers persuade the listeners by appealing to their emotions (Staugaitė, 2014, pp. 7-8).

Fross (2006) supports Aristotle's definition of rhetoric which considers using all means possible for persuasion as key to understanding the basis of rhetoric. Fross (2006) refers to the three proofs as the original or classical version of the theory because the ancient Greeks used *logos* or logical argument; *ethos* or speaker's credibility and *pathos*, the emotional argument to build a persuasive case. According to Fross (2006), it is through Aristotle's rhetoric theory that other characteristics of the rhetorical theory are developed.

The three proofs of persuasion have been used and explained by different researchers to analyse persuasion in discourse. Their definitions all originate from Aristotle's translation by Kennedy (1991) first description of these proofs. Aristotle (1991) refers to the proofs as *pesteis* or forms of persuasion. These three forms are deducted from any speech situation. According to Aristotle (1991), these are some of the most important frameworks to be applied in discussions. The proofs, as illustrated in Aristotle (1991, p. 20), are:

- a) *Ethos* - the presentation of the trustworthy character of the speaker
- b) *Logos* – the logical argument set out in the text
- c) *Pathos* – The emotional affect created by the speaker and text on the audience or reader.

In Alo's (2012, p. 90) view, *ethos* is concerned with credibility and trustworthiness while *pathos* deals with the arousal of emotions and *logos* deals with trust and rational arguments.

ChingKo (2015), who utilised Aristotle's proofs of persuasion in his rhetorical analysis, describes *ethos* as the ability of a speaker to deliberately establish his/her image as well as images of other characters in such a way that convinces the audience that the speaker is trustworthy, fair and shares the same ideas and beliefs with the audience. This is illustrated in the 2014 SWAPO election manifesto when the Former Namibian President, Dr Hifikepunye Pohamba is presented as the Chairperson of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) as well the holder of several prominent positions, and a participant in world organisations which suggests that he is trustworthy. As it is through his foundation that the party will rule, the electorates are persuaded to vote for SWAPO.

ChingKo (2015) views *logos* as the stress of rational arguments as well as logic and reason to persuade. *Logos* in political discourse is usually achieved through the use of facts and figures by politicians when defending and promoting themselves. *Ethos* on the other hand is explained as the adoption of an emotional stance through provoking the audience's soft side. The emotions provoked by politicians include fear, anger, sadness, satisfaction, sympathy, happiness and hope, amongst others (p. 16). The presidential candidate of the SWAPO party, Dr Hage Geingob is presented in the manifesto as the unifier, which is *ethos* used to appeal to the audience's emotions of peace, hope and unity.

Mshvenieradze, (2013) argues that there is more to the proofs theory than simply logic, character and emotions. These proofs are broad and writers should explore different strategies that fall under logical reasoning, character as well as emotional appeal. *Logos*, as explained by Mshvenieradze (2013), does not only mean Aristotle's logical reasoning but it also includes critical cognition, analytical skills, good memory and purposeful behaviour. This is evident in the 2014 DTA manifesto where the voters were repeatedly informed to *be the change they want to see* and to vote for DTA for fresh ideas as it would move Namibia forward after the elections.

*Ethos* can be expanded to represent the ability of the rhetor to gain faith from the audience through a particular way. People are usually convinced by another person's attitudes, ethics, way of living and the respect they carry in a community. People with these qualities are usually admired by the majority in the same environment and their appealing characteristics are what rhetorical discourse writers use to attract the audience (p. 1939). In the SWAPO and DTA manifestos, the presidential candidates are presented as people who carry respect in the community and who are engaged in activities that benefit the community. This is presented through activities the parties have achieved and the positions they've held. For example, the SWAPO party highlighted the national school feeding programme and the introduction of free education and the DTA explained how it would put Namibia on the map through engagement with international organisations such as the United Nation (UN), Southern African Development Community (SADC), African Union (AU) and the South-South Co-Operation. These techniques paint the two political parties and their presidential candidates as respectable members of the community who share the same beliefs with the community and are willing to do everything to improve the living standards of the people.

*Pathos*, in Mshvenieradze's (2013) description, is more audience orientated. Mshvenieradze (2013) argues that it is important for an orator or writer to know specific information about his/her audience. *Pathos* strategies are based on the qualities, opinions, beliefs and interests of the audience. Other important information which may determine the consideration of the audience's emotions includes their marital status, struggles, religions, age and families. All these aspects will help the speaker/writer choose the content and presenting style which will appeal to the audience's emotions. The emotions being aroused may range from fear, joy, anger and many more depending on the context in which discourse is presented (Mshvenieradze, 2013).

Jarraya (2013) explains how human beings are persuaded by Aristotle's *pathos*, *logos* and *ethos* by saying that logic (*logos*) is triggered in human beings by the relationship between their beliefs and the newly established beliefs which rhetors usually familiarise their audience with for the purpose of persuasion. . Furthermore, Jarraya (2013) states that *ethos* is based on the addressee's belief in the credibility and truthfulness of the source or characters used by the orator. These sources or characters should also share the same opinions or ideas with the audience.

Abdullahi-Idiagbon (2010) argues that in Nigeria politicians persuade audiences and strengthen their political discourse with rhetorical strategies in the form of biblical allusions because many of their followers respect their religions. Various stylistics devices and rhetorical strategies used in political discourse all have different functions depending on the context in which they are applied, which, in most cases, includes their rhetorical purposes.

The rhetorical theory is therefore connected with human agency, the role of symbols produced through language to create a certain version of the world, and the power of the audience to construct that world by understanding the meaning in rhetorical texts.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

Chapter two provides a review of literature on political discourse as well as the application of stylistics and rhetoric in political discourse. The two theoretical frameworks: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Aristotle's three proofs of persuasion that informed this study are also explained in this chapter. The next chapter describes the methodology used to collect data analysed in this study as well as the procedures taken in the analysis.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter explains the methodology used to collect and analyse data in this study. The methodology comprises the research design, the population and sample derived from the broad population of Namibian election manifestos. The research instruments used to gather data, the procedures of collecting data as well as a description of how the data analysed are explained. Finally, the ethical considerations in the study are briefly discussed.

#### **3.2. Research Design**

This is a desktop study in which primary data in the form of SWAPO and DTA political party election manifestos are examined, prior to the Namibian national elections in November 2014. Content analysis, which is the overall approach under which this analysis falls, is defined by Berg and Lune (2014, p. 61), as “a careful, detailed, systematic examination and interpretation of a particular body of material in an effort to identify patterns, themes, biases and meaning”. The qualitative approach adopted for this study is defined by Ormston et al. (2014, p. 23) as a research approach directed at “providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world, by learning about people’s social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives and histories”.

The qualitative approach is appropriate because the researcher systematically studied the manifestos to provide an in-depth understanding of how language is used for persuasion. The researcher provided an insight on the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in the SWAPO and DTA 2014 election manifestos, and how they were used to persuade the voters.

### **3.3. Population**

The population of this study was all presidential election manifestos produced in Namibia from all six Namibian presidential elections held in the years 1989, 1994, 1999, 2004, 2009 and 2014.

### **3.4. Sample**

Purposive sampling was used to select 2014 manifestos of two political parties: SWAPO and DTA. Purposive sampling is defined by Richie, Lewis and Elam (2003) as an action where members of a sample are chosen with the purpose to represent a location or type in relation to key criterion. According to Richie, Lewis and Elam (2003), a specific sample “ensures that all key constituencies are relevant to the subject, and that within each of the key criteria, some diversity is included so that the impact of the characteristic concerned can be explored” (p. 79). The two parties were purposively selected because the SWAPO party won the Namibian presidential elections in 2014 and the DTA party came second. Additionally, the features used in their manifestos may have contributed to their success.

### **3.5. Research Instruments**

Primary data in the form of election manifestos was used in this study. There was no need for research instruments. Recent books, journals and articles were reviewed to assist the researcher in the analysis.

### **3.6. Procedure**

For the analysis of data in this study, the printed election manifestos were collected from the offices of the SWAPO and DTA parties. The printed versions of the manifestos were chosen for analysis because the images and colours used in the manifestos play a significant role in the meaning produced. The language used to write the manifestos was studied for stylistic

features and rhetorical devices. The manifestos discussed different issues that affect the voters and should be addressed by whichever party wins the elections. These issues include education; health; economic growth; eradication of poverty and corruption; and the development of the country in general. The features and devices examined from the SWAPO and DTA manifestos were classified according to their stylistic and rhetorical categories under appropriate themes discussed in the manifestos.

Aristotle's three proofs of persuasion: *pathos*, *logos*, and *ethos*, were used to explain how the stylistic features and rhetorical devices examined were employed to appeal to the voters' different emotions, characters and reason in each of the two manifestos, and how these features and devices were used to persuade electorates to vote for them. The manifestos were also compared with a focus on stylistic features and rhetorical devices.

### **3.7. Data Analysis**

The researcher studied the SWAPO and DTA manifestos to discover stylistic features and rhetorical devices used. Using the Critical Discourse Analysis theory, the components identified from the manifestos include: graphological deviations in the form of images of party leaders, and persuading images supplementing all the goals set by the two parties. Other graphological features are the party colours, capitalisation in different sections, the shapes and types of print such as bold print and the font used in various sections of the manifestos.

Morphological elements comprising lexical features such as repetition of different words and phrases were used to make the words, phrases and sentences more memorable. Collocation sets, personal pronouns, parallelisms, and semantic deviations in the form of metaphors to create certain pictures or arouse imagination were also examined. The researcher then used Aristotle's three proofs of persuasion: *ethos* (appeal to character), *pathos* (appeal to people's emotions) and *logos* (logical reasoning) to discuss the examined components. The discussion

uses the proofs of persuasion with the aim to determine how the stylistic features and rhetorical devices were used to persuade voters.

The manifestos were first considered as a whole and the pre-election context was briefly described to give the readers the background needed to understand issues discussed in the two manifestos. Verschueren, (as cited in Breeze, 2011) explains that “discourse research must allow interpretation with proper regard for what can be intersubjectively established to constitute evidence, and although it may be necessary to focus on detail, the researcher should endeavour not to lose sight of the broad picture” (p. 11). The main issues or aspects carved out by the two political parties were identified. The categories of stylistic features and rhetorical devices were presented according to the major subheadings of the election issues as presented in the manifestos. Multimodal aspects of the manifestos were then identified and analysed according to their stylistic and rhetorical categories. Manifestos generally use language to communicate; however, it is impossible to ignore other semiotic resources and multimodal aspects used to persuade voters in the manifestos. These aspects may be in the form of pictures and different colours presented.

The content of the manifestos was examined from two main dimensions: the way the manifestos relate to the readers, and how the key electoral issues are handled and presented in the manifestos. In both dimensions, stylistic features and rhetorical devices were analysed along with how they appeal to the readers. The data analysis and discussion are presented in themes that rose from the most salient issues in the 2014 elections as presented in the manifestos. The conclusion was finally drawn according to the major similarities and differences in the two manifestos.

### **3.8. Research Ethics**

The information from these two manifestos, SWAPO and DTA, was analysed for the purpose of this thesis and not for any political influence or purpose. The researcher was objective in the analysis process.

### **3.9. Conclusion**

The methodology chapter explained the methodology used to collect and analyse data in this study. This includes the population and sample selected for analysis as well as the research ethics considered in the study. The following chapter provides the analysis and discussion of the stylistic features and rhetorical devices in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos.

## CHAPTER 4

### **ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF STYLISTIC FEATURES AND RHETORICAL DEVICES IN THE SWAPO AND DTA MANIFESTOS**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter provides an analysis and discussion of stylistic features and rhetorical devices identified in the 2014 manifestos of the South West Africa People Organisation (SWAPO) and Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) political parties. The stylistic features and rhetorical devices in each manifesto are analysed and discussed in terms of how they appeal to the electorates through emotions, characters and reason. This analysis is based on the Critical Discourse analysis theory which, according to Dijk (2015), aims to reveal implied or hidden social structures of the dominance of one social group over another in a text; as well as their underlying ideologies. Aristotle's Rhetorical Theory is used to explain how stylistic features and rhetorical devices are used in the two selected manifestos to persuade electorates. Summary tables that clearly show the stylistic features and rhetorical devices as well as Aristotle's proofs used in each manifesto on different themes, as presented in the manifesto, are provided at the end of each manifesto analysis. The SWAPO party and DTA party are used as metonyms to represent the leaders of these two parties in the analysis. Although the parties will be referred to as "it" in the analysis, pronouns "they" and "their" will also be used to refer to either SWAPO or DTA.

During the 2014 Namibian elections, the SWAPO party president and the Namibian president at the time, Dr Hifikepunye Pohamba's ruling period had ended and the party had a new presidential candidate, Dr Hage Geingob. Similarly, the DTA had elected a new presidential candidate and president of the DTA Party, Mr McHenry Venaani for the 2014 elections. The SWAPO party has been the official ruling party for six consecutive five year terms in

Namibia, since the country's independence in 1990. Although the DTA's official opposition party status has fluctuated since independence, the party resurfaced and proved to be the second best contender during the 2014 elections through their strong campaign strategy. These changes in leadership created a different atmosphere from previous elections and quite a competitive one because both candidates were favoured by the Namibian people.

#### **4.2. Stylistic and rhetorical features in the SWAPO Manifesto**

##### **4.2.1. Symbolism**



Image 1- SWAPO Flag and Emblem

All sections of the SWAPO manifesto are bordered and embellished with red, blue and green colours, which are the SWAPO party flag colours. These three colours are a symbol of the principles the party is founded on, principles which include freedom, democracy, solidarity, social justice and progress. According to the Constitution of the SWAPO Party, the blue colour represents the minerals and the wealth of Namibia as well as Namibia's long Atlantic coast which is rich in both minerals and other resources. The red colour symbolises the blood of heroes and heroines who lost their lives during the liberation struggle, and the victorious anti-colonial revolution in Africa. The green colour is a symbol of the people, the land, agricultural potential and the vegetation of the country. The SWAPO party uses its flag colours to decorate its manifesto for a rhetorical purpose. Symbolism plays an important role

in creating different images in the voters' minds. Charteris-Black (2005) demonstrates the use of symbolism in Winston Churchill's first speech as Prime Minister of the USA, the 'Blood Sweat and Tears' speech. Churchill, in this speech, demonstrated imagery of physical and mental suffering in the title of the speech through the effects of blood, sweat and tears which refer to the suffering and hard work that the audience endured. Similarly, the symbolism in the red colour on the SWAPO flag creates the same image in the voters' minds.

In addition, the SWAPO emblem is made up of an image of a young man with a raised arm and clenched fist. This is a significant image because it is a symbol of 'power', youthfulness and energy that the SWAPO party portrays towards addressing Namibian social problems. This emblem was chosen during the liberation struggle for Namibia's independence. During colonialism, the emblem was used to send a message that the SWAPO party would use their power to fight for Namibia's independence. Since independence, the power fist a symbol of the party's ability, drive and power to defend and protect Namibia's freedom.

The three horizon colours which represent different SWAPO principles appeal to the voters' *logic* and *pathos*. The blue colour which represents Namibia's minerals, the wealth of the nation, the country's long Atlantic coast and its resources appeals to the voters' logical reasoning. Some voters will immediately think of Namibia's riches and its beautiful ocean with a wealth of resources as soon as they see the blue colour on the SWAPO flag. Others, especially people were present during the colonial era, will identify the blue colour with the wealth that drew oppressors to Namibia. This memory, therefore, appeals to the voters' emotions and lead electorates to vote for the SWAPO party to preserve the country's riches. The red colour, which symbolises the blood of heroes and heroines who lost their lives during the liberation struggle, and the victorious anti-colonial revolution in Africa appeals to the electorates' emotions of fear and sadness. It is emotional to think of all the hardships people had to go through in efforts to liberate Namibia and Africa at large. When reminded of the

lives that were lost during the liberation struggle, an individual is likely to feel obligated to respect the fallen heroes and heroines, as well as to avoid a similar situation and therefore be inclined to vote for the SWAPO party.

The green colour is a symbol of the people, the land, agricultural potential and the vegetation of the country. The green colour is associated with the success and well-being of the Namibian people, and the country's major sources of food. Similar to the ocean and minerals, the green colour appeals to the voters' emotions of hope, unity, and general well-being. Vegetation and agricultural potentials lead to food security. Food is one of the basic needs of the Namibian people, as with any other nation, and since the SWAPO flag reminds Namibians of how food security is included in the issues to be addressed by the party, they are likely to be convinced to keep SWAPO in power. Through their flag, SWAPO will always be reminded to make the Namibian people's basic needs a priority.

The second page of the SWAPO manifesto has a picture of the former SWAPO and Namibian President, Dr Hifikepunye Pohamba and the new presidential candidate, Dr Hage Geingob shaking hands with a caption, "*Inner Party Democracy At its best*".

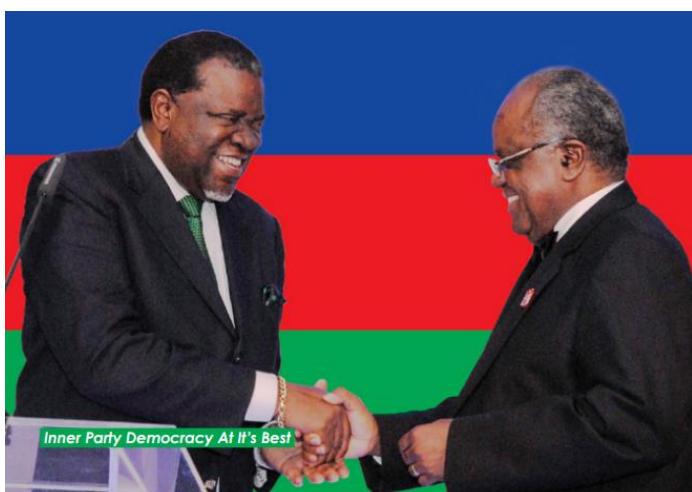


Image 2 – President Hage Geingob and Former Namibian President Hifikepunye Pohamba

This handshake is a symbol of unity, peace and democracy which are some the most important characteristics of the SWAPO Government and the Namibian country. The handshake, smiles and caption in this picture symbolise the two presidents' harmonious wish for the Namibian nation and the kind of leadership Namibia will continue to have if they vote for the SWAPO party. In addition, the handshake between two presidents also represents the smooth transition of power in Namibia.

The symbol of presidents shaking hands appeals to the Nation's *ethos*, in that the emotions of happiness and peace which the Namibian people enjoyed during the leadership of President Pohamba in the previous 10 years are elicited and promised through the transparent hand over to new leadership. *Ethos* is also manifested in this picture, as President Pohamba's character is used as a peaceful transition of power. The nation will feel they can trust the new president to rule because their previous president freely handed over power. According to Kangira and Mungenga (2012), Namibia is the second Athens, in terms of the country's flourishing democracy. The smooth transition of power in Namibia is highlighted by Kangira and Mungenga (2012) who analysed president Pohamba's inaugural speech when he was sworn into office for his second term in 2012. Kangira and Mungenga (2012) state that in his speech, the former Namibian president, Hifikepunye Pohamba, made it clear to the audience that that was his "second and last term of office as President of Namibia", a rare statement some African Presidents would regard as taboo. The president's *ethos* is hence used as a validation that SWAPO plans to maintain Namibia's democracy in terms of transition of power.

#### **4.2.2. Metaphors**

There are a number of metaphors used by the SWAPO party for persuasion. According to Düng (2010, p. 10),

A metaphor is one of the most potent means of creating images in political speeches and it is preferred by the speakers due to its special effects on the audience such as emphasizing, appealing to our imagination and creating a vivid picture in the listeners/the readers' mind.

The metaphor “*we have a sound track record*” plays a major role in the 2014 SWAPO manifesto. The SWAPO party manifesto is divided into different sections on the pertinent issues the Namibian nation was facing in 2014. The SWAPO party addressed these issues to convince the voters to relate with them and be persuaded to vote for SWAPO. Every section in the manifesto is briefly explained and the goals set on every issue are explicitly laid out. The SWAPO party provided its promise towards achieving set goals under the title, “*our promise*” which is followed by the metaphor “*we have a sound track record*” to remind the readers of the success the party had already achieved in addressing the issues under discussion. The promises the SWAPO party provided its voters include “continued solidarity, harmonising laws, ensuring justice, freedom and human rights, safety and security”.

The promises are a rhetorical strategy used to appeal to the readers and listeners' emotions of hope and continued peace in Namibia. SWAPO promises the nation that it will, indeed, continue to rule the country in a democratic way and promote peace and stability. Since Namibia's independence in 1990, it has been a democratic country therefore, promises to continue ruling in a democratic way appeal to voters' *logos* as they convince a voter to choose SWAPO because it has led democratically for the past 24 years. Similarly, *a sound track record* is used in the metaphor “*we have a sound track record*” to explain SWAPO's success as something significant and long-lasting. The sound track record metaphor therefore appeals to the readers' logical reasoning and emotions of hope and contentment. This metaphor gives the electorates hope that SWAPO will indeed continue to produce the record the SWAPO party has been producing for the past 24 years.

On democracy, peace, unity and stability, the SWAPO party states that its wish is to “*heal the wounds of the past and place the nation permanently on a path to peace, stability and progress*”. This statement metaphorically means that the SWAPO party wishes to make up for the oppression Namibians endured during the colonial era and that they intend to rule Namibia with peace and stability. The ‘*wounds*’ refer to the troubles of the past while the ‘*path*’ is the present and future the party has envisioned for Namibia.

The metaphor indicated above can be classified as a journey metaphor, a type of metaphor that is important in political discourse. According to Charteris-Black (2005), “journey metaphors imply purposeful activity and are end-focused because a purposeful journey implies arrival at a predetermined destination”. Martin Luther King, who was the greatest twentieth-century American political speaker and arguably the best North American Orator, used journey metaphors in his speeches for persuasion. In one study, Charteris-Black (2005) reports that “Martin Luther uses our familiarity with *arriving* as a way of predicting the *success* of the Civil Rights movement; it follows from this that whenever he evaluates an action *positively* he uses a metaphor implying *forward movement* and whenever he evaluates an action *negatively* he uses a *stopping metaphor*”. Additionally, Charteris-Black (2005) in Winston Churchill’s political speech analysis explains that “the journey schema is valuable to a political speech maker because it permits him to represent himself as a ‘guide’, his policies as ‘maps’ and to bring himself ‘nearer’ to the audience by constructing them as ‘fellow travelling companions’. Furthermore, Charteris-Black (2005) explains that “the rhetorical purpose of journey metaphors is to create solidarity in order that positively evaluated purposes may be successfully attained” (Charteris-Black, 2005, p. 46).

The contrast in the metaphors “*Heal the wounds of the past and place the nation permanently on a path to peace, stability and progress*” appeals to the readers’ emotions. The metaphor reminds Namibians of the past with “*the wounds of the past*” triggering past memories and

troubles of colonialism that the readers wish to forget and, at the same time, immediately replaces these feelings with an image of the new journey that the nation is on and would continue on, provided that they keep the SWAPO party in power. These metaphors do not only appeal to the readers' emotions but *logos* as well, in terms of the trust SWAPO has gained from the Namibian people. Indeed, Namibia endured difficult times due to colonialism but the nation is now independent, enjoying peace and stability. It is logical to think that since the SWAPO party has been ruling since independence and has maintained the peace and stability the nation enjoys now, it will continue to do so, if kept in power.

The metaphor “*we are a clean country from a corruption perspective*” promotes governance and nation building in Namibia. The cleanliness being referred to in this metaphor is the absence of corruption in the country. According to the SWAPO party, the absence of corruption has been proven by Transparency International which also includes the fairness and justice in Namibian courts. Corruption is presented as dirt and since cleanliness (in terms of transparency) in a country is important, the voters would want to be associated with a party that is transparent and does not condone dishonesty. The SWAPO party supports this view with its sound track record exemplified by the establishment of the Anti-Corruption Commission.

One of the major dishonest activities that slow down the development of countries is corruption. For SWAPO to publicly confess that Namibia, under its leadership, has been clean of corruption appeals to the voters emotions of hope and honesty which promote transparency. Transparency is considered an important characteristic of a democratic government, and the electorates are convinced to vote for the SWAPO party because of the transparency they promise their supporters. In addition, the appeal to authority is used by stating that the Transparency International has proven Namibia to be a transparent country. The appeal to authority is generally meant to stress validation of a point or position. SWAPO

therefore used appeal to authority in an attempt to convince voters that the transparency quality they claim to have can be validated by someone higher than the SWAPO party, which in this case is the Transparency International organisation.

#### **4.2.3. Pronouns/Together-words**

In the message from the president's section in the SWAPO Manifesto, President Pohamba profusely used the pronouns ‘*we*’ and ‘*our*’ to refer to the SWAPO party governance and in some cases Namibia as a country. The pronouns ‘*we*’ and ‘*our*’ are further used in the Manifesto to create a feeling of togetherness and unity with the audience. In:

“our vision is to further expand and spread the opportunities for growth and prosperity”, “we have executed the mandate of leading our country on the basis of accountability, honesty and commitment”, “under the SWAPO government, our country has remained united”, “our children”, “our people”.

The SWAPO manifesto keeps reminding the audience that the SWAPO government is ruling because it agrees with the nation’s needs. The constant change from “*our vision*” to “*our country*” keeps the reader interested and makes the reader, who is the voter and supporter, feel appreciated and also feel like an important role player in the ruling process. Tunde (2016) confirms politicians’ use of pronouns as a persuasive strategy through the analysis of the Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan’s 2014 democracy day broadcast “We Must Remain United”. According to Tunde (2016), President Jonathan used pronouns through the use of adjectival pronominal ‘*our*’ and the first person plural pronoun ‘*we*’ to appeal to the Nigerians’ togetherness. Tunde (2016) adds that in addition to creating togetherness and unity, pronouns in political discourse may be used as “inclusive deixis which place both the speaker and the audience in a collective situation and the audience will feel a sense of

communal affair and interpret the message of the President as common problems that require united efforts”.

The collective pronouns ‘*we*’ and ‘*our*’ in the SWAPO Manifesto are almost in all cases used to appeal to the audience’s pathos. The SWAPO manifestos use togetherness and unity to trigger the voters’ emotions of peace because when the audience feels they are included in how their country is run, they will be persuaded to repeatedly vote for that particular party.

#### **4.2.4. Repetition**

The 2014 SWAPO manifesto discusses 8 factors that are relevant to the development of Namibia. As discussed earlier, the phrases “*our promise*” and “*we have a sound track record*” are repeated a number of times in the SWAPO manifesto to explain the party’s intentions in the future as well as to highlight what has already been done. Explicitly, “*our promise*” is repeated 12 times in the SWAPO manifesto, for emphasis and to serve as a constant reminder of the party’s vision towards different issues. On the other hand, “*we have a sound track record*” is repeated 13 times in the SWAPO manifesto for the same purpose. As discussed under the metaphors section, a sound track record is evidence of the successes the party achieved when addressing a specific issue.

The phrase “*the past 24 years*” appears in the SWAPO Manifesto 16 times. In all the contexts, “*the past 24 years*” emphasises the success the party achieved in the past 24 years of ruling. The repetition of the phrase “*the past 24 years*” is deliberately used to produce a rhetorical effect. The readers would be persuaded to vote for SWAPO because of the constant reminder of the peace and tranquillity, development and all the achievements that are constantly mentioned in the text. “*The past 24 years*” does not only remind the readers of how good the past 24 years were but also serves as a reminder of how different circumstances were before independence.

Collective pronouns “our” and “we” as discussed earlier are used in the SWAPO manifesto for a rhetorical purpose. “Our” and “we” in all contexts in the manifesto are used for identification through repetition. The pronoun “we” is repeated 49 times in the SWAPO manifesto while “our” is repeated 56 times. As presented by Charteris-Black (2005), Winston Churchill, the past ‘master’ of twentieth-century political oratory, demonstrated the importance and effect of repetition in political discourse through his ‘Blood Sweat and Tears’ speech, soon after he was placed in the office. Charteris-Black (2005) explains that the effect of repetition and reiteration is to convey conviction, persistence and obduracy in a way that is memorable.

The repetition of the phrase “*we have a sound track record*” appeals to the readers’ logical reasoning because the more success stories SWAPO shares with its readers, the more trust they will have in the party. The SWAPO party appeals to the readers’ emotions with the repetitive emphasis of “*the past 24 years*” by triggering the peace, stability and freedom enjoyed in the past 24 years but the number of years also takes the readers back to how the country was before independence, which convinces them to vote for the SWAPO party.

When certain words or phrases are repeated various times, especially in political campaign discourse, the readers and listeners get used to them and start to identify with them regardless of what they believed in the beginning. The SWAPO party, therefore, repeats the pronouns “we” and “our” to identify with the readers and to create a constant reminder of who the readers should vote for.

#### **4.2.5. Foregrounding**

President Pohamba, in his manifesto foreword, states that “*through this forward-looking document, the SWAPO Party enters into a contract with YOU - the people of Namibia- to lead YOU to peace, stability and prosperity*”. The pronoun ‘YOU’ referring to every

Namibian person is foregrounded, in this case, with capital letters and repeated in the same way so that the readers take note of it. The phrase “- *the people of Namibia* -” which in this case is anaphoric and cataphoric reference is also foregrounded with the hyphens to emphasise and refer to the pronoun ‘YOU’. This party used foregrounding and reference as rhetorical techniques to emphasise the importance of the audience and create a feeling of recognition.

Foregrounding in stylistics occurs when words, phrases or sentences stand out in a text. The foregrounded ‘YOU’ in the president’s message “*through this forward-looking document, the SWAPO Party enters into a contract with YOU - the people of Namibia- to lead YOU to peace, stability and prosperity*” responds to people’s common need to feel appreciated and recognised. *Pathos* is, therefore, evident in the message because each reader feels acknowledged and special due to the fact that the document is perceived to be especially created for them as one way to help them understand the party’s intention to maintain peace and stability for every Namibian. The anaphoric and cataphoric reference to ‘YOU’, “- *the people of Namibia* -” is also written for the same purpose: to remind the reader of how the SWAPO party is for every individual.

#### **4.2.6. Collective Memory and Past Achievements**

The SWAPO party manifesto relies on collective memory and past achievements to present their position as the ideal political party to rule Namibia. The phrase “*the past 24 years*” is repeated multiple times in the SWAPO Manifesto as discussed earlier. The context in which this phrase is mentioned in the text refers to past achievements that the party would like its readers to remember. Collective memory refers to past events that are likely to trigger or remind the audience of specific incidents in the past. In a study carried out by Kangira (2010), the Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe used collective memory in four funeral speeches of Zimbabwean national heroes who died during his election campaign in 2001.

According to Kangira, Mugabe “used collective memory and nostalgia as rhetorical tools to enhance and restore his political image ahead of the 2002 presidential elections”. Kangira (2010) added that the major aim of eulogising the deceased heroes and using collective memory in political campaign discourse is “to inspire the audience to emulate them and thus remain loyal to the ruling party and vote for the party in the presidential election”. The SWAPO party also emphasise their past achievements to paint a success story image in the minds of the readers. This image is created to prompt reflections in the voters’ minds during the election period. These reflections will mostly be on how much the party has achieved, which is a strategy to convince the voters to vote for the SWAPO party if they want more achievements.

Some of the examples that support the claim of a ‘sound track record’ in the SWAPO manifesto are in the statements:

- The SWAPO Party Government has increased the number of service delivery points by taking judicial services to the communities
- Mortality rates from HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria were drastically reduced,
- Our track record in governance has received international acclaim
- More than 270000 learners benefitted from the National School Feeding Programme and 100000 more learners are currently being added
- The SWAPO party Government has expanded the impressive system of National Parks
- The SWAPO Party Government put in place the National Plan of Action on Gender-Based Violence (GBV)
- Namibia served as president of the United Nations and the World Health Organisation.

In these promises, the SWAPO party appeals to the readers’ logical reasoning because when the number of services is increased, there is evidence that fewer people have died because of

HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and Malaria compared to several years ago, National parks in Namibia have been expanded, and the GBV National Plan to minimise gender based violence in Namibia was implemented, the SWAPO Government has proven itself as an ideal ruling party. Regarding the National School Feeding Programme, a number (270000) representing the learners who benefit is provided along with an estimated figure of learners to be added to the programme. Through these figures, SWAPO uses the fallacy of biased generalisation to appeal to the electorates. These numbers are estimated or simply a sample taken from the population and not the total number representing the learners benefiting from the programme. Through these figures, the voters are likely to label the SWAPO party as a responsible party for providing the young generation with food to enhance their concentration in school.

The overall vision of the SWAPO party with regards to Human Capital Development is to have a high quality and internationally recognised education system which produces highly skilled employees to develop the country. A good education system is key to the development of employability skills and creation of job opportunities. In efforts to convince the readers to vote for the SWAPO party, the successes the party has achieved in terms of developing human capital and deployment are highlighted. These include providing government funding for educational programmes at all levels, sending Namibians for training abroad, the establishment of the Namibia Institute for Public administration and Management (NIPAM), the implementation of the National School Feeding Programme (NSFP), the establishment of the National Institute for Special Education focusing on Namibian Sign language as a medium of instruction for deaf learners, and the establishment of literacy education (which is rated among the highest on the African continent and globally).

There is a high unemployment rate in Namibia, and the SWAPO party has promised to address this problem by appealing to the audiences' logical reasoning. The SWAPO achievements mostly appeal to the audiences' logos. If Namibians who wish to study are

provided with financial assistance, they will enrol in universities and become knowledgeable citizens who are employable and can create job opportunities to develop the country. The same logical reasoning is used through Namibians who were sent abroad to get an education. Education enhances these students' knowledge and employability. The implementation of the NSFP to assist and improve learners' concentration and academic performance by providing meals at school, and the establishment of NIPAM to improve leadership and management skills, and public service delivery are some of the methods used to enhance human capital development.

Reference to deaf learners and the National Institute for Special Education does not only appeal to logic but also to emotions (pathos). Learners and students with special needs will contribute to the development of human capital if they are given conducive environments to learn and special equipment and resources to educate and train them. However, their conditions can also be understood as 'appeal to pity' which appeals to the voters' emotions of pity. The readers will label the SWAPO Government as caring and non-discriminatory and therefore vote for it.

#### **4.6.7. Indirect Promises**

Concerning different issues, in the promises section of the SWAPO manifesto, the party mostly promises to improve the services they already offer instead of hyperbolizing new strategies and promises that may be unrealistic. This is a SWAPO strategy to promise its supporters what they have already achieved and emphasise the intention to continue delivering services but better, in terms of quality and quantity. At the same time, the party wishes to convince its readers that the SWAPO Government is genuine and does not give promises that it cannot fulfil.

Some of the promises made by SWAPO include:

- Continued strengthening of Governing agencies responsible for the delivery of justice
- Ensure unity, national sovereignty and human dignity as these are key to nation building
- Promotion of the agro-industry and value addition to agriculture produce
- The SWAPO Party will strengthen existing institutions and put in place appropriate programmes for the regulation, management, procurement and distribution of quality health services
- Improve the conditions of services for teachers
- Increase spending on research, development and innovation
- We will continue to encourage the willing buyer-willing seller principle while at the same time continuously reviewing the same
- The SWAPO party will continue to implement initiatives to encourage and promote entrepreneurship culture, behaviour and practice among the youth
- The SWAPO Party will continue to promote the principle of independence, sovereignty and equality of nations, good neighbourliness, democracy, human rights and solidarity with the oppressed.

In their promises section, the SWAPO party repeats the words: “strengthen” 9 times, “promote” 22 times, “ensure” 31 times, “improve” 18 times, “continued” 25 times and “increased” 19 times. These verbs are significant because they are used to explain additional efforts that the party plans to invest in already existing projects and implementations. These promises are, therefore, meant to portray how the SWAPO Party presents their achievements as promises to increase the quality of their services.

SWAPO appeals to the electorates’ logic in that the people will recognise what and how much has already been done, and they will have great expectations of how these services will

be strengthened. Some promises such as those regarding Gender Based Violence (GBV) and health issues appeal to emotions because these are sensitive issues that tend to move people.

#### **4.6.8. Promises**

The party promises to implement fewer new establishments and projects compared to existing ones. These as presented in the 2014 SWAPO Manifesto and they include:

- To institute programmes to mould a new Namibia that is materially and spiritually strong, productive, and respects the values of solidarity, freedom and justice
- Adapt agriculture technology which will be accessible to farmers, and provision of training
- Introducing healthcare packages and specialised services to district and regional hospitals to enhance access and response
- Explore the possibility of free tertiary/higher education in priority sectors
- Establish a Research and Development Centre for genetic resources associated with traditional knowledge, and adding commercial value to our genetic resources
- Develop integrated land use plans where the resources, infrastructure and possibilities are established and captured to allow regions to map, and determine the use of the natural resource and investment prospects
- Carry out a prevalence study on GBV in the 2014/2015 financial year to ascertain the magnitude of GBV in Namibia, including regional variations, and to identify the attitudes and practices that impact men, women and children's lives, including traditional norms and practices with respect to GBV.

If the Institute Programme materialises, the SWAPO Government will unite the country and rule based on some of independent Namibia's basic values: solidarity, freedom and justice. This promise therefore appeals to the voters' emotions of hope for an independent and

peaceful Namibia. In addition, the promise of the establishment of agricultural technology appeals to the *logos* of the majority of Namibians who rely on agriculture for sustenance. This promise also appeals to logical reasoning because new agricultural technology increases productivity in different ways. It would, therefore, be logical to vote for the SWAPO Party because of its promise to enhance/improve the source of food in Namibia. Through advanced agricultural technology and other measures, food security in Namibia is also ensured. For some voters, this may be persuasive as it appeals to emotions of hope for the alleviation of hunger in Namibia. Similarly, health is an emotional and sensitive issue in Namibia. Although health care is every Namibian's basic need, only people who are employed in specific organisations and reside in towns have medical aids and close access to quality health care. The healthcare packages that SWAPO promises Namibians, therefore, appeal to the emotions of hope for a better and healthy Namibia.

Namibia already has a policy in place for free primary education. Parents no longer have to pay for their children to go to school. While discussions are still in place to also make secondary schools free, the main challenge is high tuition fees in higher education institutions. Therefore, the possibility of free tertiary education triggers emotions of hope. Many Namibian students pass their matric exams but are unable to continue with their tertiary education because of lack of funds. With SWAPO's promise to explore free tertiary/higher education, Namibians are persuaded to put SWAPO in power so that this, much needed dream, can materialise.

The SWAPO Party has also promised to establish a Research and Development Centre to enhance the understanding of different Namibian traditions. Although this may be understood more by educated voters, SWAPO identifies with the electorates in this promise to appeal to their emotions through their beliefs, values and identity. Another valuable aspect of Namibian people is their land and the natural resources thereof. The land issue and resources in

Namibia are just as valuable as traditions and cultures. The SWAPO party therefore promised to establish plans where the land, resources and infrastructure in different regions are seizure to determine how they should be used. This way, the SWAPO party promises to give back to the people what belongs to them, prompting emotions of hope, security and happiness which develops trust and a feeling of being in control of their own land and riches. GBV is another social issue in Namibia that needed to be addressed in 2014. There had been many cases of gender-based violence reported in Namibia at that time. The Namibian nation, at large, was trying everything possible to find the sources of GBV and how to eliminate this problem. The SWAPO party, therefore, appealed to the readers' emotions of fear through the memory of the number of cases that were reported in Namibia and immediately replaced this with emotions of hope and peace by suggesting the implementation of the GBV prevalence study.

All the promises made by the SWAPO party were relatable to the voters and addressed important issues that voters were familiar with, hence the high possibility of them being persuaded to vote for the SWAPO party. Tony Blair's October 2002 conference speech on his stance in relation to the evolving crisis in Iraq, in which he discussed the value of progressive politics, solidarity, and justice for all, is an example of how persuasive political discourse can be when it addresses and promises the right issues (Charteris-Black, 2005). According to Charteris-Black (2005, p.10), "people respond more effectively to messages that explain proposed actions with reference to familiar experiences and successful politicians are those who can develop their arguments with evidence taken from beliefs about the world around them". Charteris-Black adds that "messages become persuasive when they evoke things that are already known or are at least familiar" (2005, p. 10).

#### **4.2.9. Identification**

President Pohamba addressed the Namibian people as fellow compatriots in his foreword more than once. By repetitively addressing the nation as “*dear compatriots*”, he is addressing every Namibian as a fellow countryman, which is a sign of togetherness and identification with the Namibian people. The reader will feel that the President and the SWAPO Party are indeed for every one and can be identified with everyone regardless of class, race and status in the society.

The SWAPO party, moreover, uses the statement “*before we are Namibians, we are first and foremost Africans*” to identify themselves with other African countries and their values, and to emphasise their identity. Just like other African countries, the Namibian nation is founded on the principles of good governance and strong African morals and values that promote peace, security, independence and patriotism. In its manifesto, the SWAPO party suggests that the African continent is united and all countries work towards respecting these values in honour of the lives lost during colonialism.



Image 3- President Hage’s campaign

In the picture above, the 2014 SWAPO Party presidential candidate, now Namibian president, Dr Hage Geingob is labelled as the unifier of all Namibian people. The images in this poster all contribute to proving that the new president is indeed a unifier. These pictures,

therefore, serve as Dr Geingob's identification with the Namibian people in different ways. On the far right of the poster, Dr Hage Geingob is pictured with the first Namibian president, Dr Sam Nuuyoma and his successor, Dr Hifikepunye Pohamba. This picture sends the message that the new president will follow in the footsteps of the former leaders. In other pictures, Dr Geingob shows his identification with the SWAPO Secretary-General Mr Nangolo Mbumba, showing that he will adhere to the SWAPO ruling systems that are explored in the manifesto. In other images, President Geingob, wearing the SWAPO party attire, is shown shaking hands with party members including young children and adults, greeting them at a SWAPO rally. President Geingob is pictured with the San people to show his support and identification with that people group in the picture at the bottom right of the poster. The San people are a marginalised community in Namibia who live in undeveloped areas and do not have access to schools, clean water and basic necessities.

The repetition of "*dear compatriots*" appeals to the readers emotions of unity, togetherness and peace to win their votes. The statement "*Before we are Namibians, we are first and foremost Africans*", is identification through representation which is used to appeal to the voters' logical reasoning. Namibia is an African country and the values on governance and national building being advocated in the SWAPO Manifesto are a representation of the African continent at large. If a political party campaigning for power considers the values, cultures and traditions that give all Africans their identity, voters will think that the party represents them and thus vote it into power.

The colours on the SWAPO flag, as discussed above, are derived from the Namibian flag. They are, therefore, used as an identification rhetorical strategy. The pictures in image 3 which represent President Geingob's efforts to identify with the various people groups in Namibia are used by the SWAPO party to appeal to the voters' emotions of love, care and support (*pathos*). Identification is used in rhetoric to make the reader/listener feel that the

speakers/writer shares the same passion, beliefs and goals. People's emotions are moved by the identification act as they feel they will benefit from what the speaker is offering, hence their decision to support the rhetor. The support the SWAPO supporters can offer the president, in this case, is by casting their vote in favor of the SWAPO party and it's presidential candidate.

In the pictures presented, the *ethos* of former Namibian Presidents: Dr Sam Nujoma and Dr Hifikepunye Pohamba, and the SWAPO Secretary-General Mr Nangolo Mbumba convince the readers to vote for the SWAPO party. The former Namibian presidents have their legacies engraved in the minds of the nation's people. The first Namibian president is fondly referred to as "*the founding father*" as he was the leader of the Namibian military efforts against the apartheid system and is considered the mastermind behind the country's independence, while the second Namibian president is famously known for stabilising Namibia with regards to the economy, development and living standards. Mr Nangolo Mbumba is the Secretary-General of the SWAPO party and his approval and support of President Geingob was important because the same ruling principles would be applied under his leadership if he won the election, which he did. It is therefore expected of President Geingob's reign to not only continue the legacy but be the unifier and further develop the country.

The development of the country, according to the SWAPO Manifesto, is achieved through the maintenance of peace and democracy. In addition, the Namibian country needs stability and development in terms of quality healthcare delivery; infrastructure development; housing and sanitation; environmental management and sustainable utilisation of natural resources; economic growth and job creation; as well as human capital development and deployment. These are the major concerns and needs of the Namibian people and factors important for the development of the country in general. Since the SWAPO Manifesto addresses these issues and more, the voters are then persuaded to vote for SWAPO.

President Geingob's picture with the San children is an appeal to *pathos* through identification. Since this community is marginalised, these children and families are disadvantaged in different ways. The picture therefore appeals to the readers' emotions of consideration and generosity. If the readers view the president as generous, a humanitarian and considerate leader who is willing to help all Namibians regardless of their age, social status and ethnic group, they will vote for him. Because all Namibians identify with the Namibian national flag with regards to what it represents, people would be persuaded to vote for the SWAPO party as the party colours are similar to those of the national flag.

In one of its promises, the SWAPO party, in efforts to explain their nation building strategies, states that "our promise is to work with community, traditional, spiritual and academic leaders to inculcate love and respect for elders, and neighbours". Most Namibians get their identities from their communities and would like to be identified with certain communities which they feel represent them, and which describe what they believe in and relate to. Some of these communities are people's regions, their traditions and cultures as well as their educational institutions and professions. The SWAPO party, therefore, highlighted its mission to work with all these communities as a strategy to identify with different groups of people in efforts to gain support.

This identification strategy appeals to the electorates' *pathos*. People's emotional connection to their religion and cultures is very sacred and important. The SWAPO party's appeal to these specific emotions therefore creates a certain degree of trust in SWAPO which prompts votes. The phrase "*respect for elders and neighbours*" in the SWAPO statement above, appeals to voters' emotions of respect, and order. The SWAPO party has purposively written this phrase because the audiences being addressed are mostly adults. In Namibia, only a citizen aged 18 years and above can cast their votes. The majority of this age group are usually young and older Namibian citizens who value respect, order and building of the

future generation. They are therefore prompted to vote for the SWAPO party because they feel their children will grow up in a country where the right ways of living are promoted.

#### **4.2.10. Appeal to Traditions and Cultures**

The majority of Namibian people live in rural areas. These are the areas where most votes are cast during elections. It is, therefore, of outmost importance that political parties reach people in rural areas during the campaigning season, either physically or by addressing matters related to their living conditions in their political discourse. On governance and nation building, the SWAPO party has recognised traditional leaders and the role they play in contributing to the nation's development. In addition, the SWAPO party uses the fallacy of appeal to tradition by highlighting its success in the

“Participation in international events devoted to the promotions and exchange of cultures and the sharing of moral values and norms through songs, dance and folklore”.

“Form placing of annual cultural activities at local, regional and institutional levels”.

“Exposure of visitors to Namibian way of live through tours, folklores, cuisines, songs and more”.

These are some of the characteristics of most African traditions and cultures. For a political party to take on the initiative to support and participate in traditional activities, they develop trust and identify with different voters.

Most Namibians residing in rural areas are interested in a good working relationship between traditional authorities and the government as well as the government's recognition of traditional leaders. If the ruling party recognises traditional leaders as essential role players in the country's governance, the nation will support the party because they will feel assured that

their voices and concerns will be heard and addressed by the government through their respective traditional authorities. The SWAPO party, therefore, uses tradition to appeal to the voters' *logos*. The higher the level of trust in the SWAPO party, the more support and votes the party will gain from the Namibian people.

#### **4.2.11. Summary of Aristotelian proofs in stylistic features and rhetorical devices in the SWAPO Manifesto**

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Pathos (emotions)</b>	<b>Ethos (character)</b>	<b>Logos (Logic)</b>
Peace Unity and democracy	Identification, symbolism, metaphors, repetition, foregrounding, promises	Symbolism, identification,	metaphors, repetition, symbolism, collective memory and past achievements, identification
Governance and National building	Identification, metaphors, repetition, appeal to tradition, collective memory and past achievements		Metaphors, repetition, appeal to tradition
Economic Growth and Job Creation	Metaphors, pronouns, repetition		Metaphors, repetition, collective memory and past achievements, indirect promises
Infrastructure Development Housing and Sanitation	Metaphors, pronouns, repetition	Identification	Metaphors, repetition, indirect promises, appeal to tradition
Quality Healthcare Delivery	Metaphors, pronouns, repetition, promises		Metaphors, repetition, collective memory and past achievements, indirect promises
Human Capital Development and deployment	Metaphors, pronouns, repetition, collective memory and past achievements, promises		Metaphors, repetition, collective memory and past achievements, indirect promises
Environmental Management and Sustainable Utilisation of Natural Resources	Metaphors, pronouns, repetition, promises	Identification	Metaphors, repetition, collective memory and past achievements, indirect promises, promises
Social Justice	Metaphors, pronouns, repetition,		Metaphors, repetition, indirect promises

	collective memory and past achievements, indirect promises, promises		
Foreign Relations and International Cooperation	Metaphors, pronouns, repetition	Collective memory and past achievements	Metaphors, repetition, indirect promises

Table 1

### 4.3 Stylistic features and rhetorical devices in the DTA Manifesto

#### 4.3.1. Symbolism

The DTA Manifesto is bordered by its flag colours, red and blue. The flag also appears on top of every page in the Manifesto as a constant reminder of the values and meaning it represents.



Image 4- DTA flag

The DTA flag, as shown above, is made up of equal horizontal stripes of blue and red, charged in the centre with a rounded bearing hand cropped at the wrist, showing a “victory” sign. To the Namibian people, the flag symbolises victory and peace. The DTA political party was formed in 1977, in efforts to liberate Namibia from oppression. For voters who were present during the colonial era in Namibia, the symbol at the centre of the DTA flag means victory, while the younger supporters associate it with peace. The blue colour in the DTA manifesto symbolises peace and the wealth of Namibia, while the red represents the blood of fallen heroes and heroines as well as the liberation struggle.

The DTA flag and its colours therefore appeal to the voters emotions of peace and freedom. The DTA uses the flag on every page of the Manifesto to emphasise its importance and as a

constant reminder to the reader to remember and vote for the DTA during the upcoming elections. The red colour which symbolises the blood lost during the liberation struggle is used to remind the Namibian people of how difficult it was to gain independence and encourage them to vote for DTA for a better government. The DTA feels the ruling party has not provided Namibians with the services they deserve after the long fight for freedom and they feel Namibia is still to fully enjoy its independence, which will be possible if the DTA is voted into power. The DTA Flag and slogans therefore appeal to the readers' emotions through past memories as well as current challenges faced by the Namibian people.

#### **4.3.2. Adjectives**

There is a large amount of adjectives used in the DTA Manifesto. These are mostly comparative and superlative adjectives used because DTA's main aim is to explain to the Namibian people that the ruling party is not good enough and that the DTA should be voted into power instead. DTA is, therefore, constantly comparing itself to the ruling party, SWAPO, although they do not use ad hominem remarks. Adjectives in the DTA manifesto are thus used to convince the readers that DTA is a better party. In addition, the DTA generally base their arguments on the short comings of the ruling party. Examples of the adjectives used in the DTA manifesto include:

The DTA aim to provide and deliver: “A *stronger* and *more diverse* economy, *cleaner* environment, more *modern* infrastructure, *better* services, more *leaner* and *efficient* government, more *productive* business sector that will deliver *more* jobs and *higher* wages, and a *stronger* Namibia”.

The adjectives in the DTA manifesto appeal to the emotions of the readers and their logic simultaneously. The emotions and logic of the readers are triggered because DTA uses SWAPO's short comings to argue their case. Depending on the subject, the reader will either

have emotional attachments to the subject or look at it from a logical point of view and decide to vote for the DTA party in order to see change. Examples of these subjects are: the current unemployment rate in Namibia; if a reader is currently unemployed and living in poverty, and alleviation of poverty is something that the ruling party has been promising the nation for a while, their emotions will be triggered, prompting them to opt to vote for DTA hoping for change. Similarly, a Namibian citizen who has graduated from university but still struggles to make ends meet because of a low-paid job, or is still unemployed may understand the DTA promise from a logical point of view, causing him/her to vote for DTA for better salary or to secure a job. Although these promises may not be guaranteed, it is better to try out the new than to remain in the same situation because with the new party in power, these Namibian people's dreams might actually be realised.

#### **4.3.3. Pronouns**

The main pronouns used in the DTA manifesto are “*we*” and “*our*”. These pronouns are used by DTA to create identification with the voters and a feeling of unity and togetherness. In some contexts “*our*” refers to the DTA party such as in “*our economic plan*”, and in others it refers to the Namibian people such as in “*our nation must and can change*”. “*We*” on the other hand is used to refer to the DTA party throughout the text. According to Kangira (2012), pronouns and together words are usually used by speakers to show that he/she and the audience share the same beliefs and values. Pronouns are evident in Kangira's (2012) analysis on President Pohamba's speech marking Namibia's 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of independence. Kangira (2012) explains that by using pronouns and together words such as ‘*we*’, ‘*our*’, ‘*our nation*’, ‘*our government*’, Pohamba encouraged the audience “to believe that it was a collective task and responsibility to develop the country” (p. 114).

The pronouns “we” and “our” are used to appeal to the readers emotions of togetherness and unity. When the DTA keeps referring to themselves as “we” to start all their promises, they present themselves as a responsible party that is willing to go the extra mile to address people’s needs.

#### **4.3.4. Identification**

McHenry Venaani, the DTA party president and presidential candidate in the 2014 national elections starts the manifesto with a message to the nation in which he addresses the nation as “*country men and women*”. Country men and women is a polite way of identifying with the readers. Right at the beginning of the manifesto, one feels a personal connection with the party because it addresses all men and women of Namibia.

“*Dear country men and women*” therefore appeals to the nation’s emotions of unity and togetherness. The feeling of comradeship is one of the characteristics of a democratic state such as Namibia. The DTA president thus used this greeting to identify with the audience as a technique of getting them comfortable with him and the party, which eventually leads to more support and votes for the DTA.

The DTA explains how they will put Namibia on the map through engagement with international organisations such as the United Nation (UN), Southern African Development Community (SADC), African Union (AU) and the South-South Co-Operation. These techniques paint the DTA presidential candidate as a respectable member of the community who shares the same beliefs as the community, identifies with other African countries and is willing to create partnerships with strong states to improve the living standards of the Namibian people.

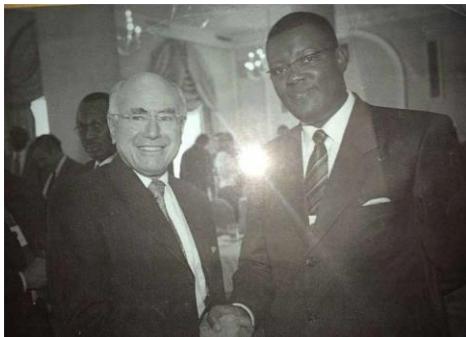


Image 5- DTA President Venaani with Australian Prime Minister John Howard



Image 6- DTA President Venaani with British Minister David Cameron

The pictures above show the DTA president McHenry Venaani pictured with the Australian Prime Minister and the British Prime Minister. These pictures symbolise DTA's dedication to prioritising foreign policy which increases economic opportunities. The DTA argues that through engagement with powerful countries such as Australia and Britain, Namibia will be able to face economic challenges with confidence as it will have support and assistance from other states to grow the Namibian economy. In the picture above, the *ethos* of the two prime ministers are used by DTA to identify itself with powerful nations and as a way to convince its supporters that DTA should be voted into power.

As per ChingKo's (2015) definition, *ethos* is the ability of a speaker to deliberately establish his/her image as well as images of other characters in such a way that convinces the audience that the speaker is trustworthy, fair and shares the same ideas and beliefs with the audience. In the pictures above, the *ethos* of President Venaani and the characters of the two prime

ministers are used to appeal to the logic of DTA supporters. When a developing country such as Namibia creates partnerships with economically powerful nations, there is a great chance of getting tips on how to grow the country's economy and deepen the country's multilateralism. Namibia will therefore, have more engagement and support in world organisations such as the UN and its agencies which include the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF); African Union (AU); and South African Development Community (SADC). These organisations strive for the development of nations regarding their economies and well-being in general. The DTA, in the pictures above, is conveying a message to its supporters that if they are voted into power, Namibia will have all the support it needs to become a fully developed country.

The DTA uses identification by appealing to disadvantaged and vulnerable citizens. These are senior citizens, disabled people, minorities and children. These people are especially considered by the DTA because they have special needs that only compassionate people or organisations would consider. The DTA understands that the growth of Namibia lies in the youth and thus suggests that all sectors dealing with the development of the country be youth inclusive. They have additionally promised to create a Young Leaders Programme in all sectors to recognise, reward and involve the talented youth to serve as inspiration to others. DTA is committed to addressing issues that affect children such as malnutrition, child abuse, and school drop-outs because they consider children the future of the nation.

DTA also identifies with citizens living with disabilities and senior citizens to appeal to emotions of pity and compassion in its voters. In the DTA Manifesto, it is reported that over 65000 people in Namibia lived with disabilities in 2014. These people are often neglected and the DTA is committed to taking care of them in terms of their welfare and rehabilitation. Similarly, the DTA promised to take care of the elderly or senior citizens in terms of their security and health. The minorities in Namibia are groups of people with less people than

other groups. Because Namibia is a culturally diverse country which believes in unity, the DTA has pledged to bring equal opportunities to the minority groups in Namibia, especially the San, Zemba, and Ovatué communities who still live in poverty.

DTA identifies with these disadvantaged and minority groups to appeal to the voters emotions' of pity, compassion and hope for those that are neglected. This identification will therefore attract voters from all these groups because the youth, minority groups, senior citizens and disabled people will feel they matter and are cared for.

#### **4.3.5. Metaphors**

Metaphors are one of the stylistic features regularly used in political discourse. According to Charteris-Black (2005), “a metaphor is a highly effective rhetorical strategy for combining our understanding of familiar experiences in everyday life with deep-rooted cultural values that evoke powerful emotional responses” (p. 3). The DTA manifesto has three overall goals, as captioned on the cover page, from which all issues discussed in the manifesto generally fall: democracy, breaking the current 2/3 majority and making change. The DTA pleads with the Namibian nation with a *metaphor* “*save our democracy*”, which is an indirect attack on the ruling party, insinuating that Namibia’s democracy, under the leadership of SWAPO is currently falling apart and needs to be saved. The 2/3 representatives in the Namibian parliament are currently from the ruling SWAPO party. The *metaphor* “*break the 2/3 majority*” proposes equal representation of political parties in the parliament. The DTA party currently holds two seats in the parliament and they feel that opposition parties should have more representation. The statement “*be the change you want to see*” appeals to the supporters, encouraging them to actually be agents of change, insinuating that if they vote for DTA, they will automatically change the ruling system in their favour.

The statement “*save our democracy*” appeals to the audience’s *pathos* because people generally don’t feel good when something is broken and would not like to be in the party that breaks democracy. As this is an indirect attack on the ruling party, the DTA appeals to the readers’ emotions of fear of being in a party that is destroying the country’s democracy. The audience is therefore persuaded to vote for the DTA party for the fear of living under the leadership of an undemocratic party.

DTA uses the metaphor “Women: Mothers of our souls, builders of our nation” to explain the important role women play in the development of the country. According to DŨng (2010), “women are generally seen as morally superior and as being innately gentle and good. And certainly a woman who characteristically sacrifices herself to others is expected to need supporting and protecting in return”. The DTA recognises the importance of women in development of the country, hence their decision to prioritise women empowerment and welfare.

Mothers are important beings to most individuals. Through this metaphor about mothers, DTA appeals to the voters’ emotions of love, tenderness, care and order. These are all qualities that mothers possess and their empowerment means that the country will move forward in different arenas. Mothers make sure that the future generation receives an education and that the youth are taken care of at home so that they can concentrate at school, and that they have bright futures and are able to contribute to the country’s development. The DTA’s promise to provide programmes for women healthcare and to make sure they are taken care of financially where possible appeals to the emotions of both women and the many supporters who believe in their importance.

The DTA in their manifesto also discussed the importance of transport, tourism, education, sports and mining industries in the development and economic growth of Namibia. The

metaphor “*transport that drives the economy*” explains the importance of transport in economic growth. The connotative meaning in this metaphor is that transportation is one aspect that does not literally drive but intensifies economic growth. This, according to the DTA party, can be achieved through well-handled logistics, reducing traffic fines, creating secure transport systems and modernised railways.

The metaphor “*transport that drives the economy*”, in this context appeals to the voters’ logos. If there are better transportation services, people will be encouraged to work and all activities taking place in efforts to enhance the country’s economic growth will be smoother. The unavailability of proper transportation in Namibia at times and the unstable/unreliable/unsound existing transport hinder agricultural, academic, and entrepreneurial activities. Some learners and students are unable to get to school because of lack of transportation, farmers who wish to sell their products in cities and bigger markets find it difficult to transport their products to those markets. The DTA, therefore, suggests that it would be logical to vote for them because of their promise to prioritise transportation in the country.

The metaphor “*education that drives growth*” is used to highlight the importance of education in the advancement of the Namibian nation. “*Drives*”, in the metaphor, above denotatively means “to enhance”. The DTA promised to ensure equal educational opportunities for all Namibians, redirect education towards quality, provide vocational training as well as to have education that focuses on skills mapping for employability. For emphasis, DTA explains education as a “potent weapon to fight poverty”. This denotes that education is one of the powerful measures that a nation can use to minimise poverty. These metaphors create images in the voters’ minds enabling them to visualise where education would take the country. Driving is an activity that moves an item/items from one place to another, while a weapon is used during fight to solve a certain problem. The DTA therefore used these metaphors to

emphasise the importance of the country's growth and the alleviation of poverty, but most importantly, to promise the nation that the DTA is willing to invest in education.

The metaphors discussed above appeal to the voters' logic and emotions. If the DTA fulfils all their promises regarding education, the nation will definitely grow. Education is one of the most effective methods to fight poverty because through education, knowledge that enables people to get employed and create employment is acquired. Entrepreneurial skills as well as the ability to understand what drives a country's development in terms of economy, food security, health services, infrastructure and more are also acquired through education. It would therefore be logical to vote for the DTA party because they recognise the importance of education and promise to take measures to enhance educational growth.

### **5.3.6. Parallelism**

Parallelism highlights parallel sentence structure. For parallelism to occur, successive phrases or sentences are similarly structured in a text. According to Balogun (2015), "parallelism beautifies a speech or write-up because it intensifies the listener/reader's excitement and the patterned repetitions always beg for attention by the listeners/reader" (p. 4). Balogun (2015) adds that the most significant advantage of parallelism in political discourse is its ability to convey the meaning of the discourse more comprehensively. The president of the DTA party stresses the DTA plans to build a *stronger economy, stronger community, cleaner environment, higher wages, a secure and modern republic, deliver more jobs and offer better services* to the Namibian people if voted into power. The parallelism in the phrases above emphasises the change that the DTA promises the nation.

The parallelism in the DTA Manifesto, as seen above, appeals to the logical reasoning of the voters. The DTA, in these sequential phrases, creates emphasis on raising the bar higher than

it was before 2014. The similarity in these parallel structures also makes it easier for the reader to concentrate on the message being conveyed.

#### 4.3.7. Campaign Posters



Image 7- DTA campaign posters

The DTA 2014 election manifesto was not found on billboards or street corners around the country during the campaigning period, however, the DTA printed their campaign posters on one page in the Manifesto. The posters shown above were already seen on billboards and street corners around the country. They are made up of pictures with short statements explaining and summarising the content. The combination makes it easier for different readers to identify and get the meaning without reading the whole page. This is also done to

accommodate people from different backgrounds and literacy levels. The rhetorical significance of the posters and their publication in the manifesto is the repetitive effects it has on the readers. These posters also summarise the main issues discussed in the DTA Manifesto. These are:

“modernized agriculture”, “youth venture capital funds to setup SME’s without collateral”, Universal health care for all Namibians”, “senior citizen, better pension”, “development of rural areas”, “reasonable traffic fines”, “free primary secondary & tertiary education and quality education that guarantees quality jobs”, “Grants for single mothers struggling to raise their children”, and “better & affordable housing”.

The posters are designed in a way that appeals to people from all age groups. Graphology is used through pictures which guide people of low literacy levels and people who are generally lazy to read to understand the message being conveyed. The pictures also accentuate the messages on each poster. In the right corner of each poster, The DTA provided their Facebook username and twitter handle for younger supporters and people who partake in discussions on social media platforms. By providing their contact details on two of the biggest social media platforms, the DTA advertises itself as a party that even the young generation can identify with.

In these posters, the DTA party appeals to emotions, character and logic to persuade the voters to vote in their favour. The poster on “*modernized agriculture*” appeals to the audience’s logic and emotions. The logical part is the fact that modernised strategies to enhance agricultural activities will increase food production which addresses food security in Namibia. For voters who struggle to make ends meet, food security is an important aspect in their lives. People need to be able to feed their families and always have set meals at home. These voters, therefore, have an emotional connection to food security and are persuaded to

vote for DTA which has promised to address projects related to food security. In one poster, DTA also promised to secure funds to setup Small and Medium Enterprise without collateral. This appeals to the electorates' logic because if entrepreneurs with small businesses receive funds without expectations to pay back those funds, then more people will not be afraid to start businesses. The more people start businesses, the better the chances of economic development in Namibia. Another poster promotes the DTA's vision to provide universal health care for all Namibians. The majority of Namibians rely on government hospitals for healthcare, but even these do not reach every Namibian. It is therefore an essential need that has to be addressed. Therefore, the DTA used this promise to appeal to the voters' emotions of hope as far as health services for all are concerned.

The DTA used the *ethos* of senior citizen by promising to increase their pension to appeal to the voters. In addition, the DTA identifies with old citizens to appeal to the emotions of the voters because most people consider older citizens vulnerable and whoever is concerned with their well-being such as the DTA party, is labelled compassionate and thoughtful. Therefore, voters will be persuaded to vote for the DTA party. The poster on the development of rural areas appeals to the voters' logic. In this specific poster, the picture shows the rural areas which need to be developed for better living conditions. Additionally, the DTA party appeals to the voters' logic by promising to reduce the current high traffic fines in Namibia.

Primary education in Namibia is free. Before primary education became free, some children did not attend school because their parents or caregivers could not afford the fees. In addition, some children finished primary and secondary school, then completed their tertiary education but have not scored employment with their qualifications. This may be because of the quality of education they received. The DTA party, therefore, used the promise of "*free primary, secondary & tertiary education and quality education that guarantees quality jobs*" to appeal to the logic and emotions of voters. Similarly, the DTA promised "*grants for single mothers*

*struggling to raise their children*" in another poster. Single mothers are used to appeal to the voters' compassion. Single mothers are an emotional subject for most Namibians because mothers are perceived as the builders of the nation, and those raising their children and the future generation alone need all the support they can get. The DTA's promise of grants for single mothers will label them as a compassionate party, which says a lot about their ruling strategies. The poster that addresses "*better & affordable housing*" appeals to the electorates' logical reasoning. From the voters' perspective, understand the housing issue in Namibia is a matter of logic. For the majority of Namibians who are employed and can still not afford land and decent places to live, it is logical to desire to be provided with better and affordable housing services.

All the DTA party posters are made up of information or a guide on how to vote for the party during the elections. The slogan "*moving Namibia forward*", the DTA flag, the DTA presidential candidate McHenry Venaani, and the picture of a voting machine with a hand showing the number that represents the DTA party shows the voters exactly where to press to vote for DTA are images and words which appear on every poster for emphasis. During the 2014 national elections, Namibian citizens were required to vote for a political party as well as a presidential candidate. The DTA posters in the image above all inform the voters to vote for the DTA party and its presidential candidate, McHenry Venaani. The fact that all the aspects listed above are repeated on each poster appeals to the audience's logical reasoning.

#### **4.3.8. Promises**

The DTA does not only target people who feel the ruling party has failed them, but the Namibian population at large. In addition to promising to address the short comings of the ruling party, the DTA also provides promises to strengthen some services that the ruling party already have in place. This is a technique the DTA uses to show that they are principled and

to send a message to their supporters that the DTA should be voted into power because it will address what the ruling party has failed to address, and strengthen what the ruling party has done so far, as far as good service delivery is concerned. Promises on different issues, as clearly stipulated in the DTA manifesto, include:

- Boosting productivity to secure greater prosperity and build modern infrastructure.
- Set up centres of excellence in various sectors in partnership with the industry.
- Initiate a nation-wide constituency level incubation and accelerator programme for encouraging innovation and entrepreneurship,
- Modernise Government hospitals, up-grading infrastructure and latest technologies
- Increase pensions to N\$ 1500 for all our pensioners commensurate with the inflation and standard of living
- Provide housing subsidy for first time buyers.
- Develop an underground reservoir to contain efundja in the northern regions and use water for irrigation.
- Run legal awareness programmes and introduce in-school curriculum of making the common man aware of his rights and duties.
- Initiate the networking of police stations across the country for intelligence sharing and crime control.
- Give the Anti-corruption commission the power to prosecute corruption cases as it happens in other countries
- Establish a Safe Havens/Shelters for survivors of Gender Based Violence

The DTA used all promises to appeal to the voters' logical reasoning. This is because all the promises are based on real issues that the Namibian people were facing in 2014. The DTA also exceeded the ruling party in achieving these goals. Therefore, it would be logical to vote

for the party that promises to solve issues that the ruling party has not been able to solve for the past 24 years.

#### **4.3.9. Repetition**

The DTA manifesto uses personal pronouns, as discussed above, to identify with their supporters. There is however a difference when a pronoun is used once and when it is repeated. Repetition emphasises the identification the party wants to create with the audience. The main pronouns used in the DTA Manifesto to create identification and togetherness are “we” and “our”. The pronoun “we” is repeated 137 times in the DTA manifesto while “our” is repeated 140 times. The identification, togetherness and unity are emphasised every time these pronouns are repeated. Charteris-Black (2005) explains that “often lexical repetition is combined with parallelism to produce an even more marked use of repetition at the levels of both vocabulary and grammar”. In his Blood Sweat and Tears speech, on the 4<sup>th</sup> June 1940, Winston Churchill repeats and creates parallelism by using “we shall” 10 times in one of the paragraphs in his speech. Similarly, in the DTA manifesto, the repetition of ‘we’ implies unity of purpose and ‘will’ predicts the future.

The DTA Manifesto is, to a large extent, made up of promises on how the party will rule Namibia if elected into power. The DTA has nothing to lose in these promises because they have never been the ruling party; their promises cannot, therefore, be classified as exaggeration because they reflect how they would like to rule when elected into power. Some of the promises in the DTA manifesto range from “the DTA commits to” and “the DTA will” but most promises begin with the anaphora “we will” to emphasise the party’s future actions. Anaphora is a stylistic device used to refer to a situation in a text when the repeated word (or phrase) comes at the beginning of two or more consecutive sentences, clauses or phrases, such as “we will” which is repeated 89 times in the DTA Manifesto.

The repetition of the pronouns “we” and “our” serves the purpose of emphasis. Likewise, the phrase “we will” also emphasises the DTA promises and how dedicated the party is to delivering better services to the Namibian people. This emphasis in “we will” and both repeated pronouns, ‘we’ and ‘our’ is achieved by appealing to the nation’s logical reasoning. The more the readers read these repeated phrases, the easier it is to identify with the DTA, its plans on involving the people in the ruling decisions, how they share the same values, needs as well as the exact strategies the party has put in place to respond to the people’s needs.

#### **4.3.10. Self-praise**

In efforts to present themselves as the best party to move Namibia forward, the DTA party explains that Namibia needs to become a knowledgeable society with skilled manpower of high standards required to meet the challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. According to DTA, “this requires a bold and visionary leadership to introduce appropriate policy and structural changes”, these are qualities the DTA possess, according to their manifesto. The DTA used self-praise to appeal to its readers. They present themselves as a bold and visionary political party. These qualities are usually associated with good governance and transparency and if a political party with these qualities is elected into power, it would face all decisions and challenges boldly. This specific party would also work towards its visions.

The self-praise technique is used to appeal to voters’ logical reasoning. With the characteristics of the ideal political party above, the DTA provided measures and promises that would move Namibia forward in terms of education and the creation of a knowledgeable society and skilled workforce.

#### **4.3.11. Persuasive Attacks**

According to Benoit and William (cited in Kangira, 2004, p. 3), persuasive attacks refer to messages that attempt to damage the image (reputation, face, identity) of a person, group, or

organisation (these attacks may address the character and/or the policies associated with that person, group, or organisation). As discussed earlier, the DTA based their arguments on SWAPO's failure to address challenges faced by the Namibian people. DTA, therefore, used persuasive attacks to tarnish the image of the ruling party. This is evident in their promise regarding Foreign Policy and Economic Potential. The DTA party states that they "*shall create asymmetrical partnerships and avoid skewed partnerships that work in the interest of few countries such as China and others*". This statement suggests that the ruling party has made skewed partnerships that benefit other countries more than they benefit Namibia.

This statement is written to discredit the ruling party by appealing to the voters' logic. If the ruling party has made investments that do not benefit Namibia then they would not be considered good enough to continue to rule the country. Therefore, the DTA uses this technique to convince the nation that the current ruling party does not make it their priority to ensure that Namibia comes first, as DTA would, if elected into power. Similar persuasive attacks are presented by Kangira (2004) in the Zimbabwean case of the 2002 presidential elections when accusations and attacks were levelled at Morgan Tsvangirai, a presidential candidate and the leader of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the official opposition political party in Zimbabwe is called a traitor, a Judas Iscariot and a sell-out, accused of plotting to kill the presidential candidate of the Zimbabwean African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and the Zimbabwean president at the time, Robert Mugabe. According to Kangira (2004), Tsvangirai is said to have sold the land to the British and racist Rhodesians and is painted negatively by the ruling party, the voters are indirectly being told to not vote for the MDC by the ZANU-PF. Similarly the MDC also used persuasive attacks during their campaign to convince the audience that the ZANU-PF is not the appropriate party to rule the country. Robert Mugabe of the ZANU-PF, as explained by Kangira (2004), is portrayed by the MDC as too old to rule the country and if voted into

power, he would not really be the one running the country but his ministers and as such, Tsvangirai should be voted into power.

Tony Blair's October 2002 conference speech on his stance in relation to the evolving crisis in Iraq, as analysed by Charteris-Black (2005), provides evidence that supports the view that through persuasive attacks, the DTA proves to be a responsible party in terms of making the right decisions. According to Charteris-Black (2005), Blair admits, directly, that from a leader's perspective, a decision may be difficult but that also means that it takes a firm and direct stance in relation to the issue. Blair further explains that for every tough political action "the rhetorical goal is to establish the politician or party's ethos by convincing the audience that though difficult decisions may not be popular, they are, nevertheless, right (Charteris-Black, 2005, pp. 11-12).

#### **4.3.12. Personification**

The personification "Land Reform: A property owning democracy" is used to explain the DTA's vision towards land reform. The democratic Namibia, in this statement, is written as if it was a person who can own a property. The land and houses in Namibia are expensive regardless of the fact that land is a natural resource. In addition to the DTA plan to roll out a massive low cost housing programme, the personification above highlights DTA's belief to maintain the production capacity of land, security of tenure and accountability which promotes ownership. The Namibian people need affordable land and they also need to be able to live harmoniously and in peace.

The housing and land reform personification therefore appeals to the audience's emotions and logic. Land is a natural resource and should not be expensive for Namibian citizens. Amendments on land costs, therefore, need to be done. In their manifesto, DTA promised to change the current land situation, thus it would be logical to vote for the party. For homeless

people, this personification appeals to emotions of hope because their dreams to have a place to call home may be realised.

#### **4.9.13. Summary of Aristotelian proofs, stylistic features and rhetorical devices in the 2014 DTA Manifesto**

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Pathos (emotions)</b>	<b>Ethos (character)</b>	<b>Logos (logic)</b>
Peace, Unity and Democracy	Metaphors, symbolism, pronouns, adjectives, identification,	Symbolism	Adjectives, repetition
Foreign Policy and Economic Potential	Adjectives	Identification	Identification, personification, persuasive attacks, metaphors, adjectives, parallelism, repetition
Health Services	Identification, pronouns		Promises, campaign posters, adjectives, parallelism, repetition
Poverty Alleviation and Agriculture	Promises, campaign posters, pronouns, adjectives		Promises, campaign posters, adjectives, repetition
Housing, Land Reform and Infrastructure	Personification, pronouns, adjectives		Promises, campaign posters, adjectives, repetition
Governance: Administrative, Judicial, Anti-corruption and Security	Pronouns, adjectives	Identification	Promises, campaign posters, adjectives, repetition
Social issues: Gender based violence, the role of mothers and the disadvantaged	Metaphors, identification, pronouns, adjectives		Promises, campaign posters, adjectives, repetition
Education, Mining, Energy, Tourism, Sports and Transportation	Metaphors, identification, pronouns, adjectives		Promises, campaign posters, metaphor, self-praise, adjectives, parallelism, repetition
Environment and climate change	Pronouns, adjectives		Promises, campaign posters, adjectives, parallelism, repetition

Table 2

#### **4.10. Conclusion**

Chapter 4 presented the analysis of the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos. The features and devices are presented in the contexts they are used within the manifestos and discussed in terms of how they persuade the electorates through Aristotle's proofs of rhetoric (*ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*). Chapter 6 discusses the similarities and differences of stylistic features and rhetorical devices as well as persuasive strategies used in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos.

## CHAPTER 5

### **COMPARISON OF SYTLLSTIC FEATURES AND RHETORICAL DEVICES IN THE SWAPO AND DTA MANIFESTOS**

#### **5.1. Introduction**

This chapter provides a discussion of the similarities and differences of the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in the SWAPO and DTA Manifestos as well as an examination of how they were used to persuade Namibian voters through the three Aristotelian proofs: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* in the 2014 national elections. In addition, the chapter presents the different persuasive strategies used by the two parties in their respective manifestos. For the purpose of comparison, the manifestos and their similarities and differences are discussed collectively.

#### **5.2. Themes in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos**

Political Manifestos are defined by Narty and Yankson (2014) as “public declarations of political parties, in which they explicitly stipulate their policies in a bid over the elections” (p. 21). The policies and issues discussed in the manifestos are usually presented in themes. The themes discussed in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos are, to a large extent, similar because both parties aim to address the pertinent issues of the Namibian people. These themes include peace, unity, democracy, quality health services, social justice, education and service delivery, all related to nation building. Most of the themes presented in the two manifestos are the same but titled differently. In the respective manifestos, the various themes are arranged according to their importance to the party. For instance, peace, unity and democracy appear to be the priorities in the SWAPO government, as they are discussed first in the SWAPO manifesto, whereas the title “Unleashing our Real Economic Potential” appears first in the DTA Manifesto. In this case, the economic potential of the country appears to be the most important issue in Namibia, according to the DTA party.

According to Gibson and Brown (2009, p. 152), a “rhetorical analysis is directed towards the persuasiveness of a given discourse”. The themes presented in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos are therefore, analysed in terms of their presentation and persuasiveness. The purpose of this study was to analyse stylistic features and rhetorical devices in the two manifestos as well as to explain how these language features are used to appeal to the audience through Aristotle’s *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos*. Both manifestos, however, make use of emotions (*pathos*) and logic (*logos*) more than they use character (*ethos*) to persuade the electorates. Generally, *logos* was used more than the other two proofs of persuasion. This may be explained by the type of political discourse being analysed. Unlike other types of political discourse such as speeches, adverts and rallies, political manifestos are formal and do not give the writers a platform to directly present emotions, use narratives, or personal experiences through which *ethos* may be applied. Logic is therefore bound to be the most persuasive technique used in the manifestos.

### **5.3. Similarities of persuasion methods in the SWAPO and DTA Manifestos**

#### **5.31. Pathos**

*Pathos* is a technique used by rhetors to appeal to their audiences’ emotions. This is done by either using emotional words or simply targeting the emotions of people through the discourse being presented. Gibson and Brown (2009, p. 155) explain that the “focus on the notion of *pathos* is not simply a matter of paying attention to explicit emotional words, but to possible discursive moves that implicate emotions within a given text.” As explained above, *pathos* in the two manifestos is indirectly used through the different themes discussed in the manifestos.

Both SWAPO and DTA manifestos use metaphors, identification, pronouns and symbolism to appeal to the audience to vote for their parties. The above mentioned stylistic features and

rhetorical devices used by the DTA and SWAPO parties differ in the themes as addressed in the analysis. Both parties, however, used the same type of symbolism to appeal to the voters' different emotions. The symbolism used by both political parties is found in the two parties' flags, party colours and emblems. The party colours, as explained in the analysis, represent the values of the parties. The colours used by both the DTA and SWAPO parties communicate important issues that trigger different emotions of the Namibian people. For instance, both SWAPO and DTA party colours include the red colour which symbolises the blood of the fallen heroes and heroines who sacrificed their lives for the liberation of Namibia. This colour may, therefore, appeal to the voters' emotions because it may remind them of the sacrifices made by their Namibian sisters and brothers.

Pronouns are also one of the language features used by both the SWAPO and DTA political parties in their manifestos to appeal to the voters' emotions of togetherness and unity. The pronouns used by both manifestos are "we", "our", and "us". Both parties used "we" to either refer to themselves as a party/government or to the Namibian nation, which in both cases is used to appeal to the *pathos* of the voters.

### **5.3.2. Ethos**

*Ethos* is generally used to describe how the rhetor presents characters who matter to his/her audience for persuasion. In most cases, authors present themselves as socially credible beings who can meet the needs and gain the favour of his/her audience. Gibson and Brown (2009) describe *ethos* as "a matter of attempting to establish how the author of the text builds credibility into their account through particular discursive strategies" (p. 153). However, in both SWAPO and DTA manifestos, *ethos* is used less in comparison to *pathos* and *logos*. As explained above, manifestos are formal types of political discourse, there are therefore, less opportunities to present themselves and other characters who are influential to the voters.

The SWAPO and DTA political parties both made use of symbolism and identification to persuade the audience through characters. Both parties used the *ethos* of their party's presidential candidates to identify with the audience: Dr Hage Geingob, the SWAPO party presidential candidate, and Mr McHery Venaani, the DTA presidential candidate. The presidential candidates are influential to the Namibian people and they are the ones to appear on the polling machines, hence the need to identify and familiarise the voters with their faces. In addition, the SWAPO party used the *ethos* of the first Namibian president Dr Sam Nujoma, the SWAPO party Secretary-General, Mr Nangolo Mbumba as well as the second Namibian president, Dr Hifikepunye Pohamba, whose ruling period was coming to end at the time, to convince voters that SWAPO should be voted into power. Similarly the DTA made connections with some powerful countries with the capacity to help Namibia move forward. The *ethos* of the Australian Prime Minister John Howard and the British Minister David Cameroon are hence used by the DTA manifesto to prove their credibility and potential of being the ideal government.

### **5.3.3. Logos**

Gibson and Brown (2009, p. 155) define logos as the “internal logic of a given text and the way in which sets of propositions are related to each other”. Among other Aristotelian proofs, *ethos* and *pathos*, *logos* was used the most by both SWAPO and DTA in their manifestos. Almost all stylistic features and rhetorical devices applied in the two manifestos appeal to the voters' logical reasoning. This is because of the type of discourse being analysed as mentioned before.

Both the SWAPO and DTA manifestos made use of metaphors, repetition, identification and promises to appeal to the voters logical reasoning. The metaphors used by both political parties vary and appeal to the audience's different emotions, and also their logic. Both parties made promises to the people by appealing to their logical reasoning in themes such as

poverty eradication/alleviation, social justice, peace, unity and democracy, and quality delivery of various services to the people. This is done through the repetition of phrases such as “we will” and “our promise” as well as by the parties’ attempts to identify with the voters. As evident in the analysis, the SWAPO party, for instance, identifies with the people by referring to them as “fellow compatriots” while the DTA addresses the Namibian nation as “country men and women”. In addition, to appeal to the voters’ logic, the SWAPO party stresses Namibia’s identity as an African country and uses identification with fellow African countries, with regards to the people’s identity, values and culture as Africans. Similarly, the DTA identifies with the people through its promise to engage with International Organisations such as the UN, SADC, AU and the South-South Co-Operation. DTA further uses the *ethos* of powerful nations by identifying with the two international ministers, as mentioned before, to appeal to the logic of the voters, creating the impression that if voted into power, the DTA government will have powerful nations behind them and will, therefore, be able to grow the Namibian economy.

#### **5.4. Differences of persuasion methods in the SWAPO and DTA Manifestos**

The major difference between the SWAPO and DTA manifestos is the fact that SWAPO used collective memory and past success to persuade the audience and DTA, on the other hand, used direct promises to convince electorates to vote for their party. In addition, the DTA also employed negative persuasive strategies such as persuasive attacks compared to the SWAPO party.

##### **5.4.1. Pathos**

The SWAPO party employed collective memory, past achievements, foregrounding, appeal to tradition, and indirect promises in their manifesto to appeal to the audience’s emotions, whereas, the DTA used adjectives, campaign posters and personification in their manifesto to

appeal to the voters' *pathos*. The SWAPO party, to a large extent, used collective memory and past achievements from their 24 year period of governance to convince voters that they were the best party to be voted into power. This was an advantage that DTA did not have. More than half of the Namibian population live in the rural areas where tradition is a very important factor that gives the people identity and a sense of belonging. The SWAPO party, therefore, appealed to the traditions of the Namibian people, an important issue that the DTA did not directly address. Both manifestos are written in formal language, however, they all begin with forewords from party presidents written in speech form. The hyphens and the pronoun "YOU" are foregrounded in the former president of Namibia, Dr Hifikepunye Pohamba's foreword in the SWAPO manifesto which is a technique that attracts the audience's immediate attention. There is at least one colour of the SWAPO flag on every page in the SWAPO manifesto as a constant reminder of the party values as well as a technique to remind the voters which party to vote for during the elections.

The DTA differs from the SWAPO manifesto in that they have gone the extra mile in their manifesto by including multimodal aspects in the form of their election campaign posters. The DTA was generally creative in employing pathos through the repetitive use of descriptive adjectives which immediately attract the reader's attention. Most titles in the DTA manifesto are also either figuratively written or creatively written to appeal to certain emotions, unlike titles in the SWAPO manifesto which are forthrightly written.

#### **5.4.2. Ethos**

*Ethos* is the least used proof of persuasion in both the SWAPO and DTA manifestos as previously established. Apart from the similarities of stylistics features and rhetorical devices used in both the SWAPO and DTA manifestos, the SWAPO party further employed collective memory and past achievements to appeal to the audience using some influential characters. Past accomplishments such as when Namibia had the privilege to serve as the

president of the United Nations and the World Health Organisation during the ruling period of Dr Hifikepunye Pohamba are used in the SWAPO manifesto to win favour from the voters. In this case, the ethos of the former President Pohamba was used to create evidence that the SWAPO party government is ready to take Namibia to new heights.

Pohamba's *ethos* in this section appeals to the logic of the people but SWAPO also uses this opportunity to praise themselves as a party through their achievements regarding foreign policy. These accomplishments ,as stipulated in the 2014 SWAPO Election Manifesto include: the SWAPO party being assigned several responsibilities at international level; progress during Namibia's chairmanship of SADC in the integration of the regional economies and markets through the SADC Free Trade Area launched in August 2008; Namibia's election to the UN Human Rights Council; President Pohamba's opportunity to chair the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tripartite Summit held in South Africa on the 12<sup>th</sup> of June 2011; President Pohamba (in his position as chairperson of SADC) steering a high level mission to China on the juncture of the first China-SADC Business and Investment Forum held in Beijing on the 4<sup>th</sup> of June 2011; and President Pohamba's visit to various countries to attend foreign policy related summits and high level meetings.

#### **5.4.3. Logos**

Logic is used in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos through different stylistic features and rhetorical devices. The SWAPO manifesto made use of symbolism, collective memory, past achievements, appeal to tradition and indirect promises to appeal to the voters' *logos*. Whereas the DTA party used adjectives, personification, persuasive attacks, parallelism, campaign posters and self-praise.

The SWAPO party's collective memory and past achievements were explored and used to appeal to the voters with all Aristotle's three proofs of persuasion. This is because the

SWAPO manifesto, in general, is made up of collective memory and past achievements. Additionally, the SWAPO party used indirect promises to appeal to the voters, unlike the DTA party which simply presented direct promises because they have no ruling past achievements to share. The SWAPO party, therefore, used its past successes to indirectly promise the voters more and improved services. For instance, on specific employment creation initiatives, the SWAPO party states that “Fisheries employment was estimated at 14,823 in 2013, which presents an increase of 22% from the 12.1% estimated in 2012,” furthermore, the SWAPO government aims to offer “increased contribution of the fisheries sector to GDP”. This is to prove that the SWAPO manifesto is made up of indirect promises more than promises to create new services.

To appeal to the logical reasoning of voters, the DTA was more creative than the SWAPO party. In their manifesto, the DTA made use of descriptive adjectives, as presented in the analysis, to explain their passion towards creating a better environment for the Namibian people. The adjectives used are all comparative and created parallelism to attract and maintain the readers’ interest in the manifesto, enabling them to read the whole document. Phrases such as “better services”, “efficient government”, “bright future”, “fresh new ideas”, “noble ideals”, and “greater emphasis on vocational training skills” signify how the DTA was creative in their choice of language as a persuasion strategy. Other persuasion strategies that the DTA used in their manifesto and that the SWAPO party did not use are personification, persuasive attacks, campaign posters and self-praise.

Persuasive attacks are a particularly famous persuasive strategy for opposition parties to persuade the voters. Persuasive attacks are usually used to point out the failures or shortcomings of ruling parties to voters and promise solutions and a better future. It is logical to point out the wrongs done by another party, if one wants to correct them. The DTA therefore

paints SWAPO, the ruling party for 24 years at the time, as a government that makes incorrect decisions regarding the country's development. According to the DTA, SWAPO creates partnerships that only interest the party and not the country at large. In addition, the DTA uses self-praise techniques in their manifesto when they present themselves as a bold and visionary party. The DTA praises themselves but not as directly as the SWAPO does. The SWAPO party uses what they have achieved during their 24 year reign to praise themselves. Another cogent strategy used by the DTA party is the insertion of campaign posters in their manifesto. The campaign posters included in the DTA manifesto summarise all the themes addressed within the manifesto. Voters of all age groups and literacy levels are able to understand these posters because of the images, slogans and colours used in the posters. All these persuasive strategies are used to appeal to the voters' logical reasoning because the issues discussed in the manifestos actually affect Namibian people and whoever is voted into power should be able to address these issues.

### **5.5. Conclusion**

Chapter 5 discussed the similarities and differences in persuasive strategies used in the SWAPO and DTA Manifesto. The next chapter concludes this study through a brief summary of the findings as well as recommendations for further studies.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

This study examined the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in the SWAPO and DTA 2014 election manifestos and to analyse how the stylistic features and rhetorical devices were used to persuade voters. The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theory was employed to examine the stylistic features and rhetorical devices used in selected manifestos and Aristotle's three proofs of persuasion: *ethos*, *pathos* and *logos* were used to explain the rhetorical significance of the language techniques identified. The CDA theory examines social issues and aims to reveal hidden meaning in discourse. According to Nadeem, Mahmood and Mahmood (2014), politicians use political discourse such as election manifestos to "prolong their power and to appeal to the harmony of the voters through language that supports their own benefits". The implicated meaning behind the language used in the SWAPO and DTA manifestos was analysed in this study.

The analysis of this study revealed that the SWAPO party manifesto mainly used its past achievements and collective memory to persuade voters, while the DTA persuaded voters with promises and future plans to develop the country. Both manifestos made use of multi modal aspects, lexical, syntactic and semantic literary devices, and deviations to persuade voters. The stylistic features and rhetorical devices analysed in the two manifestos include: metaphors, symbolism, repetition, promises, identification, foregrounding, parallelism, indirect promises, appeal to tradition, pronouns, promises, self-praise, adjectives, personification, campaign posters, and persuasive attacks.

*Pathos* was used in the manifestos to stir up the emotions of voters towards the respective parties and their presidential candidates. *Ethos* was employed through constant reference to individuals who were deemed influential to the voters. The manifestos made use of *logos*

through symbolism, identification, collective memory as well as through the presentation of facts, mainly on what has been achieved and the country's economic and social situation, as well as logical arguments on what should be done to develop the country. In general, in attempts to persuade voter, *logos* prevailed in the two manifestos, followed by *ethos*, while *pathos* was the least used proof of persuasion.

From the analysis and discussion of the two manifestos, it can be concluded that the language a political party chooses to use in their discourse does matter, but equally important are the issues to be addressed in the discourse. The SWAPO party, for instance, used collective memory and past achievements in each section to appeal to voters. These memories and achievements are important to the Namibian people given the nation's colonialism history. These themes, thus, remind the nation of the suffering they endured during the liberation struggle as well as the peace that followed after independence. To maintain this peace, the voters may be persuaded by this reminder to vote for SWAPO. Similarly, the DTA used persuasive attacks and self-praise to persuade voters by pointing out the ruling party's shortcomings and failures, by suggesting ways to amend the wrong decisions made by the ruling party, and by labelling themselves as the ideal party to rule the country. However, the two parties both addressed the pertinent issues and challenges faced by the Namibian nation. The themes or issues discussed in both manifestos include peace, unity, democracy, social justice and governance, health, education and housing services, gender based violence, corruption, poverty alleviation, economic growth and human capital development.

It can also be concluded from this study that the status of the political party in the country determines what persuasive techniques that specific party makes use of. In 2014, The SWAPO party was the official ruling party in Namibia and had been for 24 years. SWAPO therefore used this advantage to relate all their arguments to their past achievements. Some of the techniques used by the DTA were different from the SWAPO Party. The DTA manifesto

used future plans and promises as well as persuasive attacks aimed at the ruling party to convince the voters that their party was the best and deserved to win.

In conclusion, there have not been many political discourse analysis studies carried out in Namibia. Therefore, future studies could focus on different types of political discourse in Namibia, such as election campaign speeches, campaign posters, as well as political rallies to enrich the political discourse and rhetorical fields in Namibia.

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