

**BINARY REPRESENTATIONS IN MALAWIAN NEWSPAPERS: A
MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF ‘BUDGET VS. SECTION 65’ HARD NEWS**

MASTER OF ARTS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS THESIS

By

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Submitted to the Department of African Languages and Linguistics, Faculty of
Humanities in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts
in Applied Linguistics

**UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI
CHANCELLOR COLLEGE**

DECEMBER, 2016

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work which has not been submitted to any other institution for similar purposes. Where other people's works have been used, acknowledgements have been made.

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DEDICATION

To my parents, Mr and Mrs. Kimu whose tenacious resolve to educate me still makes me crave to learn more and to my daughter Fatima in whose hope for a ‘bet3ter future’ always reinvigorates my insatiable quest for education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to the ALMIGHTY GOD for the priceless bounty of life which has enabled me to complete my MA studies.

My heartfelt gratitude should also go to my supervisor Prof. Pascal J. Kishindo. Despite his busy schedule, he was always eager to read my drafts and give his guidance. I am also grateful to Dr. E. Kalilombe-Shame for her constructive criticism. I have gained a lot from the inspiring discussions I had with them both. Mr Malemia, of The Malawi Polytechnic library also deserves recognition for giving me access to bound newspapers at the library. Mr. Kaponda and Mr. Kapito of Blantyre Newspapers Limited library and management of Nation Publications Limited also allowed me to use their libraries during the later phase of my studies which enabled me to get hold of other hard to find newspaper articles. Without these people, my desire to conduct a study on this topic would have remained unfulfilled. I am also greatly indebted to my wife Elita for her love and care although my studies appeared to have reduced my attention to her. My brothers and sisters were also a fountain of moral and spiritual support during the entire period of my studies. Of special mention here is my cousins Frank Assid and Daniel Kabichi who are more than brothers to me. My colleagues at Catholic University of Malawi: Nellie Katenje, Witness Mdoka, Moses Munthali, Noemi Sichinga, Peter Jiyajiya (colleague-cum-classmate), my friend Innocent Kamanga and other friends and relations too numerous to mention also deserve vote of thanks for their encouragements during my studies. I am grateful to them all!

ABSTRACT

This is a Multimodal Discourse Analysis of Malawian newspapers' hard news on the coverage of 'Budget vs. Section 65' between 2006 and 2008. It was conceptualised when President Bingu wa Mutharika resigned from the United Democratic Front (UDF) to form the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2005 which caused 85 Members of Parliament (MPs) to cross the floor to the DPP despite Section 65 of the country's Constitution barring them from doing so. This caused a political impasse during budget sessions as the ruling and opposition parties disagreed with the former stressing to discuss the budget only while the latter insisted on invoking Section 65 and then deliberating on the budget. This controversy, which *Daily Times* termed 'Budget vs. Section 65', was widely covered in the media. However, although newspaper discourse is intrinsically ideological, most readers regard it as a true reflection of the social events. Hence, there was a need to critically examine ideologies in 'Budget vs. Section 65' newspaper discourse. In this case, since previous studies on discourse and ideology have been criticized as being 'logocentric', this study adopted Faircloughian socio-semiotics and Kress and van Leeuwen's visual social semiotics. The data for the study came from headlines, leads and photographs of hard news from *Daily Times* (DT), *Malawi News* (MN), *The Nation* (NA) and *Weekend Nation* (WN) that are published by Blantyre Newspapers Limited (BNL) and Nation Publications Limited (NPL). A total of 156 articles were identified for a quantitative examination, 73 of which were purposively sampled for qualitative analysis. Through the analyses of the producers' choice of lexis,

referential strategies, metaphors, discourse representation, modality, thematic structure and non-linguistic features, the study found a binary representation of the ruling party and the budget on one hand, and the opposition parties and Section 65, on the other. Either due to their over-reliance on government advertising or an attempt to side with an audience which at the time was discontented with the UDF as a party, these privately owned newspapers represented the ruling party positively while members of the opposition parties were negatively represented despite their position being justified by the country's Constitution. Hence, just like other critical studies on media discourse have demonstrated elsewhere, newspapers' reporting on the controversy was far from objective.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BNL	Blantyre Newspapers Limited
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DD	Direct Discourse
DD(S)	Direct Discourse (Slipping)
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DT	Daily Times
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HRCC	Human Rights Consultative Committee
ID	Indirect Discourse
JZU	John Zenus Ungapake Tembo
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
MDA	Multimodal Discourse Analysis
MEC	Malawi Electoral Commission
MHRC	Malawi Human Rights Commission
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
MLS	Malawi Law Society
MN	Malawi News
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MP	Member of Parliament
NA	The Nation
NPL	Nation Publications Limited
OALD	Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary

PAC	Public Affairs Committee
PP	People's Party
RASIM	Refugees, Asylum Seekers and Immigration
RP	Represented Participants
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SFG	Systemic Functional Grammar
UDF	United Democratic Front
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNSIG	Direct Discourse Unsignalled
US	United States
WN	Weekend Nation

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Conceptual image:	These are images that group together represented participants so that viewers get a concept of whom or what they represent.
Floor-crossing:	A situation whereby a Member of Parliament leaves her/his party to join another party.
Lead:	This is the first statement of the news story. It can be made up of one or two sentences.
Narrative image:	These are images that allow viewers to create a story.
Principal:	A person whose position is represented by the words
Prorogue:	to discontinue parliament usually used at logical points.
Represented Participant:	People, places and objects within an image.
Vectors:	These are lines connecting participants in an image. This can be through eyeline, hands, legs and other body parts.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background Information

The emergence of democracy in Malawi in the early 1990s led to major constitutional changes that were aimed at democratic consolidation. One of these constitutional changes is the addition of Section 65 into the constitution which regulates floor-crossing by Members of Parliament (hence-forth MPs) so that they “must seek a fresh mandate from their constituents” (Chinsinga, 2008: 12). Section 65 of the Constitution reads:

The Speaker shall declare vacant the seat of any member of the National Assembly who was, at the time of his or her election, a member of one political party represented in the National Assembly, other than by that member alone, but who has voluntarily ceased to be a member of that party and has joined another political party represented in the national Assembly (Malawi Government, 1994)

As Dulani and van Donge (2005:208) observe, the rationale of this section of the constitution is “to prevent opposition parliamentarians from ‘being bought’ by the ruling party” which could consequently take the country back to one party system of government. Hence, Section 65 is intended to ensure that the MPs are accountable to both the electorate and the party that sponsored them. From 1994 – 1999, 23 by-elections resulting from floor-crossing (mainly from opposition parties such as the Malawi

Congress Party (henceforth MCP), and the Alliance for Democracy (AforD)) to the then ruling party, United Democracy Front (UDF)), were therefore, conducted and although some MPs maintained their seats, the majority lost them (Dulani & van Donge, 2005). However, although Section 65 has been operational since 1994, it has never triggered any controversial media debate until 2005 when President Bingu wa Mutharika moved out of the UDF-a party that ushered him into power, and formed the Democratic Progressive Party (henceforth DPP). This consequently led to 85 MPs switching their political allegiance from opposition parties (mainly from the MCP and the UDF) to the newly formed the DPP. In this case, the opposition parties concerned, petitioned the Speaker to declare vacant the seats of these MPs who changed their party allegiance so that by-elections could be conducted in their constituencies as has been previously the case.

This prompted President Mutharika to take the issue of Section 65 to the Constitutional Court for interpretation in 2005 arguing that it is not consistent with Section 32 of freedom of association and Section 40 of freedom to make political choices (Chinsinga, 2008). However, on November 7, 2006, the Constitutional Court in Blantyre ruled that Section 65 is valid and not inconsistent with other provisions of the Constitution (Kumwenda, 2006). Upon the court's interpretation of the section, the President appealed to the Supreme Court of Malawi to declare the section unconstitutional using the same arguments raised at the Constitutional Court. However, on 15 June 2007, the Supreme Court of Malawi ruling upheld the Constitutional Court ruling that the said section is not inconsistent as claimed, with any part of the constitution, and is therefore, valid (Presidential Reference Appeal no. 44 of 2006). This implied that the Speaker was free to

invoke the section on those MPs who joined DPP. However, the defecting MPs (who were then supporting government) took an injunction restraining the Speaker from declaring their seats vacant (Chinsinga, 2008). This sparked a fierce debate in Malawian media, both print and electronic, as to whether Section 65 of the Republican Constitution should be invoked in this situation or not. This was the case, bearing in mind that the DPP-led government had only five MPs that it obtained through 2005 by-elections (Kimu, 2009).

During budget sessions, opposition parties wanted to deliberate on Section 65 first before budget deliberations while the ruling party wanted only the budget to be tabled. The opposition parties therefore, held on the Budget as a bargaining tool to force the ruling party to allow the Speaker to invoke Section 65 on those legislators (Chinsinga, 2008). Hence, budget sessions were controversial as the two political sides (i.e. ruling and opposition parties) failed to agree as to what should be tabled or what should be tabled first: either the national budget or Section 65. This led to a political standoff in the National Assembly as each political force (i.e. the ruling or the opposition parties) tried to win general acceptance for its version of reality (ideology) as a preferred and natural one for the state and this consequently, led to a wide media coverage of the issues surrounding Section 65 and the budget. Hence, budget sessions were critical discourse moments since they were focal points that were:

... usually characterised by highly interactive density with their lingual and pictorial construction of drama-like climaxes and a great variety of persuasive devices being elaborated in a very careful way that offers

collective pattern of orientation to the respective co-communicators (Dirks, 2006: 117).

It is this disagreement about what to prioritise or (discuss) in the National Assembly deliberation that is widely referred to as “Budget vs. Section 65” controversy in the *Daily Times*. This severely polarised the Malawi citizenry, with some supporting the opposition’s argument and others against it in favour of the ruling party’s stand.

One of the most crucial ways through which conflicting ideologies are communicated to the ordinary people is the media. In news items, we encounter an imprint of power, whether explicit or implicit, as the media reflect and reproduce the dominant ideology of their times and can also be used to transform and resist these dominant views (Fairclough, 1989, 1992a, 1995a; McGregor 2005; & van Dijk 1993 & 1998). This is actually, where the issue of power in discourse comes into play and as van Dijk (2003) observes, a political force which controls the (media) discourse has its ideology relayed to the public.

Although a CDA study on ‘Budget vs. Section 65’ coverage has been done before (Kimu, 2009), it relied on unsatisfactory methodology i.e. news reports and commentaries published during budget sessions in 2007 and 2008, and an inadequate theoretical framework (framing theory). As Chong and Druckman (2007) observe, framing theory has been criticised not only for its neglect of visuals but also due to its lack of operational precision in the process of the identification of the frames themselves. The former study therefore, merely scratched the surface as it could not sufficiently explain how ideologies

informed news reports as a whole. This multimodal analysis of hard news reports on ‘Budget vs. Section 65’ in Malawian newspapers, explains how ideologies of the producers informed their newspaper reporting on this social reality from 2006 to 2008. This discursive analysis was undertaken using Fairclough’s method of doing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual social semiotics to examine both verbal and non-verbal meanings in the reports.

1.2 Media Landscape in Malawi

The socio-political and legal framework is crucial to the understanding of media discourse as they provide context in which a discursive event occurs (Fairclough, 1995b & Richardson, 2007). This section therefore, discusses the socio-political and legal framework under which the media in Malawi was operating during the time of the controversy under examination.

It should be stated at the onset that between 1999 to 2004, the then ruling party, UDF, was not only infamous for economic mismanagement and political intolerance, but also for their failed attempt (through Open Term and Third Term Bills) to extend the President’s terms of office beyond the constitutionally stipulated two terms (Manyozo, 2004 & Chinsinga, 2008). This did not resonate well with the public such that the ruling party performed poorly in the 2004 general elections as it got only 49 seats (25%) in Parliament although its presidential candidate, Bingu wa Mutharika, won with just 35.8% of the total votes cast (Lembani, 2008). The majority of Malawians were not happy with the electoral results as they thought the former president would continue to rule the

country in his capacity as the national chairman of UDF as the then ruling party (Chinsinga, 2008 & Lembani, 2008). Hence, the President's ditching of the UDF to form the DPP, could be looked at as an attempt to show his independence so that he could gain general acceptance by the public.

On the other hand, the Constitution of the Republic of Malawi does not only guarantee freedom of speech and expression but it also gives the press "freedom to report and publish freely within Malawi and abroad and to be accorded the fullest possible facilities for access to public information" (Malawi Government, 1994). Furthermore, Malawi also has a number of institutions that are mandated to safeguard human rights in the country such as the Malawi Human Rights Commission (MHRC) and the Malawi Law Society (MLS) (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2003). The media, as one of the channels through which freedom of expression is excised, is also protected under the provisions of MHRC while MLS ensures that the laws of Malawi do not violate democratic principles which can impinge on media operations in the country. The separation of power of the branches of the government such as the executive, legislature and the judiciary also ensures that no single branch of government assumes complete state control as each branch performs a 'watch dog' role on the other (Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2003). Even in situations where all these fail, the Office of the Ombudsman comes in to investigate all cases where it is alleged that a person suffered injustice and there was no reasonable remedy.

At an international level, Malawi is also a signatory to a number of bodies that strive to uphold human rights. One of which is United Nation's Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR), whose article 19 reads:

Everyone has the right to the freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers (United Nations, 1948).

Furthermore, Malawi is also obliged by SADC Protocol on Culture, Information and Sports to "ensure freedom and independence of the media" (SADC, 2000: Article 20).

However, despite all the efforts at both national and international levels to ensure freedom of speech in the country, there have always been disputes between the executive and the media since the inception of democracy in 1994 as the former views the latter as a threat to its undertakings (MISA, 2007). These have led to various lawsuits to media houses, assaults on journalists, and prohibition of government agencies and departments from advertising in newspapers considered critical of the executive (Article 19, 2000). This has the capacity to create fear in journalists and media houses which, as Altheide and Michalowski (1999: 477) observe, "robs the mind of all its powers of acting and reasoning." Hence, to survive in such turbulent environment, self-censorship is a norm in Malawian mass media (MISA, 2007). This resonates well with the Media Council of Malawi (1995) Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct which stipulates, among others, that journalists should observe their employers editorial policy.

1.3 History of the Newspapers

This section presents the history of four newspapers that were analysed in this study namely; *Daily Times (DT)*, *Malawi News (MN)*, *The Nation (NA)* and *Weekend Nation (WN)*. These newspapers belong to Blantyre Newspapers Limited (BNL) and Nation Publications Limited (NPL). Hence, as the discussion of their history below which follow these two stables indicates, these newspapers are owned by former Malawian political figures.

1.3.1 *Daily Times* and *Malawi News*

Daily Times (DT) and *Malawi News (MN)* are daily and weekly papers respectively that are published by BNL. *DT* was first published in 1895 as a monthly publication owned by R. S. Hynde, W. D. Furquharand and W. M. Guinness (Phiri, 2010). Since its inception, this newspaper has not only changed its name from the *Central African Planter*, through *Nyasaland Times* and to *The Times*, but it has also changed ownership from the initial owners mentioned above through Lord Thomson to Malawi's first head of state Dr H. Kamuzu Banda (Phiri, 2010; and Chitsulo & Mang'anda, 2011). *MN*, on the other hand, was established in 1959 by the MCP so that it should air out Malawians' growing list of grievances against the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and garner support for the country's independence (Phiri, 2010).

When Kamuzu Banda bought *The Times* in 1972, he renamed it *DT* and joined it with the MCP's *MN* as sister papers. Since then, these two newspapers have been operating under the new label, Blantyre Newspapers Limited (BNL) and they enjoyed monopoly up to 1992. During this era, "the central policy of the two publications was to speak well of Dr.

Banda, the Party and the government” (Chitsulo & Mang’anda, 2011: 9). However, as soon as the MCP lost the 1994 general elections to the UDF, BNL’s started to be critical of the government possibly because of the newly won freedom of expression and/or the fact that its owner was then in opposition. Since Kamuzu’s death in 1997, the company is now owned by the late president’s family (Chitsulo & Mang’anda, 2011).

1.3.2 *The Nation and Weekend Nation newspapers*

The Nation (NA) and *Weekend Nation (WN)* newspapers are published by Nation Publications Limited (NPL) which is owned by the family of the late Aleke Banda, one of the prominent figures in Malawi’s political history. Aleke Banda was deported from Zimbabwe for his involvement in anti-federation activities and when he returned to Malawi, he took part in the formation of the MCP while Kamuzu Banda was in prison and was also its first Secretary General (Phiri, (2010). Upon attainment of independence in 1964, Aleke Banda became a Cabinet Minister and one of Kamuzu’s favourite until the *Times of Zambia*’s report indicated that he had alluded to be the likely person to succeed Kamuzu; an allusion which led to his expulsion from the MCP and the Cabinet (Phiri, 2010). He was then detained without trial for twelve and half years before his release in the twilight years of the MCP power and joined the UDF as its vice president in its campaign for multiparty democracy.

Soon after the referendum in 1993, Aleke Banda established NPL which was publishing *NA*; one of the strongest voices for ‘multipartism’ during the transition and prior to 1994 general elections in which the UDF was victorious and he was a Cabinet Minister. In

1995, NPL inaugurated *Saturday Nation* a weekly paper which was later called *Weekend Nation* (WN) and was a sister paper to *NA*.

However, when he submitted his name to the UDF National Executive Committee for consideration to succeed Muluzi, he was not only snubbed from taking over the leadership of the party but he was also dropped from the Cabinet in the subsequent cabinet reshuffle (Phiri, 2010). He then left the UDF to form the Peoples Progressive Movement (PPM) and competed for the country's presidency in 2004 general elections but he failed. However, by the time 'Budget vs. Section 65' controversy took its toll, he was an opposition MP.

1.4 Economics of the Newspaper Industry in Malawi

Fairclough (1995b: 40) states that "the economics of an institution is an important determinant of its practices and texts". In general, newspapers operate in a duo product market (Albarran, 2002 & Picard, 2004): they first sell the newspapers product to readers and then sell access to that audience to advertisers through advertising space. However, as Chimombo (1998) and Kanyangw'a and Mkwaila (2011) observe, newspapers in Malawi do not generate enough from the sales of their papers to the audience because their circulation is limited to a few literate urban dwellers, 40% of whom rely on their friends, parents, husbands, colleagues, office or bosses to buy the paper since they cannot afford it on their own. Hence, advertising is the lifeblood of newspaper industry in the country and as (MISA, 2007) observes, newspapers in Malawi have to pander to the advertiser's whims. Hence, newspaper editors in Malawi, just like other media houses

worldwide, ought to be ‘marketers’ seeking at all times to adjust their news content in direct response to a widest audience while at the same time trying to appeal to the advertisers’ preferences (Doyle, 2002). Hence, since the government is Malawi’s biggest advertiser (Manyozo, 2004), editors may therefore, be careful on what to select as news and how such news is published.

1.5 Problem Statement

Between 2006 and 2008, Malawi was hit by a political impasse due to misunderstandings between the ruling and the opposition parties on whether Section 65 should be invoked or not. The ruling party viewed it as a destructive provision which should not be part of country’s Constitution despite the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court reaffirming its validity. The opposition parties, on the other hand, held on to budget deliberations to force government to allow the Speaker to invoke Section 65 so that those MPs who changed sides should seek a fresh mandate from their constituents. This controversy regarding what to discuss or discuss first in the National Assembly between Budget and (or) Section 65 was widely covered in the media with polarising effect on the citizenry. Although “journalism exist to enable citizens understand their lives and their positions in [it]” (Richardson, 2007: 7), discourse has never been free from ideological biases (Kress & Fowler, 1979; Fairclough, 1989 & 1992b; van Dijk, 1988b & 1993; and McGregor, 2005). Hence, although consumers interpret media discourse differently due to differences in education and socio-cultural background among others, the majority of them may not have different interpretations to the one intended by the producers since to them, the media is the only source of information on most socio-political issues. For most

of these audiences therefore, news is not viewed as a carefully skewed presentation of social reality in line with the producers' ideology but rather an objective chronicling of social events. This is dangerous as these readers "may be misled and duped into embracing the producers' world view" (McGregor, 2005: 22) which in turn creates hegemony. Hence, a critical examination of news reports on fundamental social issues like 'Budget vs. section 65' is necessary to enlighten readers on how newspaper discourse is interwoven with ideology to generate the producers' desired meaning.

However, although Kimu (2009) studied media coverage of 'Budget vs. Section 65', not only was its methodology sketchy since only news reports and commentaries published during 2007 and 2008 budget sessions were used, but it was also grounded on framing theory which could not sufficiently explain how ideologies informed news reports as a whole as discussed above in section 1.1. The former study therefore, was inconclusive as it merely scratched on the surface. This analysis of the hard news reports on 'Budget vs. Section 65' was intended to fill that yawning gap by comprehensively analysing both the verbal and non-verbal meanings of the news reports in order to understand how ideologies of the producers informed their reporting on the impasse. This implicitly, challenges 'logocentrism': the long-standing theoretical and political buttressing of language as the primary and most important medium of communication (Kress, 1993) and instead, a multimodal approach, which recognises that several semiotic modes contributes to the meaning of discourse, is adopted.

1.6 Main Objective

This study is aimed at examining ideologies in the newspapers' reporting on or about budget and Section 65 controversy in Malawian newspapers.

1.6.1 Specific Objectives

In an attempt to fulfil the broad objective above, the analysis was specifically aimed at:

- i. investigating the producer's lexical choice in their reporting.
- ii. examining how the sources views were incorporated in the reports.
- iii. analysing how messages were organised at sentence level (i.e. Theme vs. Rheme and Given vs. New)
- iv. analysing the meanings of visual features that were used in their reports.

1.7 Justification of the Study

Although floor-crossing still remains an issue up to date (2015) in Malawian media, its coverage has never been as intense and polarising as it was between 2006 and 2008 because of its connection with the budget. Both implementation of Section 65 and passing of the budget are constitutional requirements. The constitution of Malawi mandates the MPs to discuss and pass the national budget and it also prevents them from leaving the party that sponsored them into power, to join another party (Malawi Government, 1995). It is therefore, necessary to thoroughly analyse how the newspapers reported on the political impasse which ensued due to failure by both the ruling and the opposition parties to fulfil these constitutional requirements in order to unravel ideologies underpinning the news reports.

This study is founded on the understanding that although language use has never been free from ideological biases (Kress & Fowler, 1979; Fairclough, 1989, 1992a & 1995b; McGregor, 2005 and van Dijk, 1988b & 1993), “journalism exists to enable citizens to better understand their lives and their position in it” (Richardson, 2007: 7). Although, readers’ interpretation of news discourse is different due to differences in education and socio-cultural background, to the majority, hard news reports like that of ‘Budget vs. Section 65’ are thought of as a chronicling the truth of the social events they report on (Kress & Hodge, 1979; van Dijk, 1988a & 1988b; Fairclough, 1992a & 1995b; & Richardson, 2004 & 2007) rather than a carefully skewed presentation of the social event in line with the producer’s ideology. This is unfortunate since as McGregor (2005: 22) observes, “unless we begin to debunk the ideologies implicit in them, [readers] can be misled and duped into embracing the dominant world view [(ideology), as a natural one] at the [producers’] gain.” This in turn, creates hegemony which has negative effects on a nascent democracy if it is left unchecked.

The findings of this study will therefore, contribute to the existing body of knowledge about media discourse and power. Hence, since there are only a few critical studies on media in Malawi, the findings of this study will go a long way in providing an insight to the readers on the possible sources of ideological biases in hard news reports so that they should be able to resist the hegemony that media institutions create.

1.8 Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into five chapters which are also sub-divided into various sections. Chapter one gives a historical background to floor-crossing in Malawian politics and BNL and NPL that publishes *DT* and *MN*, and *NA* and *WN* respectively. Furthermore, it also presents the economic structure of newspaper industry and the socio-political environment within which the newspapers were operating in Malawi. This is then followed by a sub-section on the statement of the problem, the study's objectives and justification.

Chapter two contextualises the study by discussing the theoretical framework and a review of the relevant literature. As a multimodal approach, the focus is on Fairclough's socio-semiotic approach which is used in this study for linguistic analysis. It is complemented by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) theory of visual social semiotics as it is used in the analysis of images. This is then followed by a review of empirical studies on the relationship between media discourse and ideology. Most of the studies reviewed are mono-modal and this therefore, establishes the need for a multimodal approach of discourse analysis especially for newspapers discourse which is an ensemble of different semiotic modes.

Chapter three discusses the study's research approach as both qualitative and quantitative and that data was collected through convenience and purposive sampling. It also presents MDA as a data analysis method and discusses its characteristics and validity concerns. This chapter also wraps up with a discussion on the limitations of MDA that textual

interpretation is sometimes viewed as politically motivated and how this allegation was mitigated in the current study.

Chapter four presents the results and discussions in relation to the objectives set out in Chapter 1. Using the analysis of the producers' choice of lexis, Thematic structures and non-linguistic features, this section reveals that there was a binary representation in the newspapers' coverage of the controversy. Hence, despite being private media houses, the ruling party and budget were depicted positively while negatively representing Section 65 and opposition parties' social actors.

Chapter five concludes with the observation that although media discourse pretended to present an objective chronicling of social events as they unfold, the analysis of both linguistic and non-linguistic features revealed that the newspapers' reporting of the controversy was a carefully skewed representation of social reality in line with their ideology. The chapter therefore wraps up with the study's implications that objectivity in media discourse is still as elusive as has been found previous studies.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) as theoretical framework used in this study. More specifically, this is done by looking at Fairclough's socio-semiotics and Kress and van Leeuwen visual social semiotics which are used for the analysis of verbal and non-verbal features respectively. This is then followed by a review of empirical studies on the relationship between newspaper discourse and ideology.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study adopted a Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA). This is an "analysis of meaning from the use of multiple semiotic resources in discourse which range from written printed and electronic texts to materials lived-in reality" (O'Holloran, 2008: 443). This explores how language and visual images work together to create meaning and as such, it is also used to investigate how power inequality work together in human interactions (Iedema, 2001). Implicitly, this is a challenge to the logocentric view of language as the primary and the most important medium of communication (Kress,

1992). In an attempt to achieve this, this study used Fairclough's socio-semiotic approach and Kress and van Leeuwen's visual social semiotics for analysing the language and images respectively as they are used in the news reports. Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 below therefore, discuss these two approaches.

2.2.1 Socio-Semiotic Approach

This model was proposed by Norman Fairclough who in his earlier work called his approach to discourse analysis a *Critical Language Study* with the aim of contributing in raising consciousness of the exploitative social relations by focussing on language (Fairclough, 1995a). His model attributes three separate dimensions of discourse which maps analysis onto one another:

...[discourse] is simultaneously a **language text**, spoken or written, **discourse practice** (text production and interpretation) and **social practice**. [Hence] discourse analysis includes linguistic analysis of language text, interpretation of the relationship between productive and interpretative discursive practices of the text, and explanation of the relationship between discursive practices and social practices (Fairclough 1995a: 97, emphasis added).

According to Fairclough, CDA is the analysis of the relationship between concrete language (or semiotic) use and the wider socio-cultural structure as mediated by discourse practice (Fairclough, 1989, 1992a & b, 1995a). These three dimensions of analysis are illustrated in the figure below:

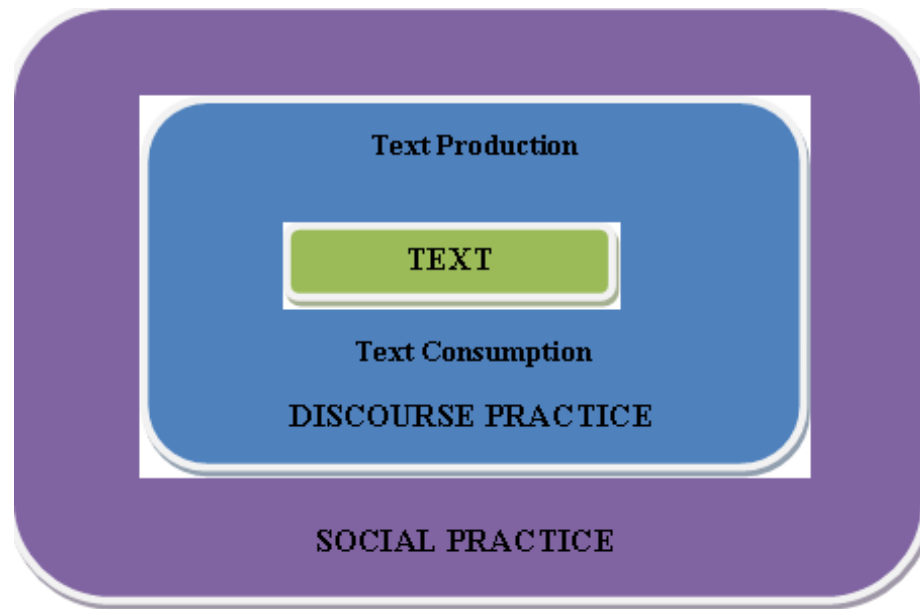


Figure 1: Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse

Fairclough's analytical framework therefore, incorporates social science and linguistics as it sets up a dialogue between them (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). These three elements of the theory are therefore, discussed from sub-sections 2.2.1.1. to 2.2.2.3. below.

2.2.1.1 Textual Analysis

Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG), regards a text as an interweaving of 'ideational', 'interpersonal' and 'textual' meanings. In this case, textual analysis therefore, looks at:

- Particular representations and re-contextualisation of the social practice (ideation function).
- Particular construction of writer and reader identities and social and personal relationships between them (interpersonal function).

- Particular ways of using language to organise messages (textual function) (Fairclough, 1995a).

This multifunctional view of language makes textual analysis so multifaceted that it can never be exhaustive. In this case, among the complex web of analysing texts, this subsection discusses three elements namely: word choice, metaphors and thematic structure as they relate to this study. The subsequent paragraphs therefore, discuss these elements.

First, word choice is usually the first stage of textual analysis. Lexical choice does not only construct particular ideological representation of experience or events but also shows the producers positive or negative evaluation of such actions, participants and events (Fairclough, 1989). Lexicalisation is therefore, a deliberate choice of lexis that projects the producers' intended meaning (Fairclough, 1992a). Related to the idea of lexicalisation is a referential strategy which is the producers' process of naming social actors in the event they are reporting on (Richardson, 2007). The choice of one name over another equally correct alternative implies foregrounding one social category while backgrounding another (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). In addition, word choice can also encode ideology through over-lexicalisation. This is surfeit repetition of synonymous or quasi-synonymous terms in news discourse in order to give a sense of over completeness (van Dijk, 1993).

Text analysis also involves an examination of the text's usage of metaphors. A metaphor is a linguistic and conceptual phenomenon that predisposes one understanding of reality

over others (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). It highlights some aspects of an experience that is consistent with it while blinding our attention from other features (Ng & Bradac, 1993; & Hart, 2010). However, despite its hiding-as-it-reveals quality, most “text consumers are not aware that they are processing a metaphor” (Hart, 2010: 127). Hence, metaphor as a strategic tool of persuasion, has the power to communicate ideology covertly.

Third, analysis at text level also involves an examination of the text’s Thematic structure. According to Halliday (2014), a Theme is an element which serves as the point of departure of the message while a Rheme is part of the clause which develops the Theme. The Theme sets out the context from which the rest of the sentence is viewed (Gee, 1999) and in English, it is the left most formal constituent of the sentence and everything that follows it is a Rheme. In this case, English Thematic structure interacts with its informational structure in that the Theme is usually picked from a chunk of Given information and Halliday (2014) calls this unmarked Theme. The Rheme, on the other hand, normally coincide with New information. However, this is not always the case and when the Theme of a clause is anything other than its subject, this said is to be a marked Theme (Halliday, 2014).

Although there are several ways of producing unmarked Themes, this study looks at two of them, namely: fronting and left-branching. Fronting is a process of moving elements that do not normally occur at the sentence initial position into a Thematic position (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1985). These elements are adjuncts, complements or predicators. Left-branching, on the other hand, is a process whereby a dependent clause

comes before the main clause (Thompson, 1996). These lead to Thematisation of a dependent clause although naturally, it is supposed to be a Rheme. In this case, as Quirk, et al. (1985) observe, both fronting and left-branching is common in journalistic writing style in order to achieve emphasis.

From the above discussion, language can be viewed as a network of options from which meaning of texts is generated (Thompson, 1996). In this case, selection of linguistic forms for analysis depends on the functions they play in reproducing or resisting the systems of ideology and social power.

2.2.1.2 Discourse Practice

Discursive practice is the analysis of texts as it relates to their production, distribution and consumption (Fairclough, 1992a). According to Fairclough (1995b), this dimension has two aspects: institutional process (editorial procedures) and discourse processes (changes the texts go through in production and consumption).

Production of media items involves news gathering, selection, writing and editing. News media have more materials than the space available and as such certain news items will have to be selected for publishing over others. The criteria for the selection of news worthiness are not an inherent characteristic of the news items themselves, but rather they are determined by news production and institutional practice (Fowler, 1991). Hence, the world of news is partial and therefore, “skewed and judged” (Fowler, 1991: 11). Furthermore, access to the media is a major scarce social resource for people (van Dijk, 1993). People who have access to media, control not only what is written or broadcast,

but may also extend their power to other contextual features of news reports such as place, participants, time and topics under discussion. It is those with other forms of economic, political or cultural power that have the best access to the media (Fairclough, 1995b). Hence, the answer to the question, who has the access to the media, helps us to understand why news reports are organised the way they are.

News consumption, on the other hand, has been a topic of much debate in media studies (Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1991; Richardson, 2007, van Dijk 1983, 1988a & b among others). However, Fairclough (1989; 1992a & 1995a) states that the audience use ‘member resources’ (knowledge in people’s heads) in order to interpret texts. Since member resources are different for different people, CDA practitioners acknowledge that different readers might read similar texts differently. However, most readers are not trained to be critical readers of texts (Fowler, 1991) and since the audience interpretation of texts is based on their socio-cultural and background knowledge, “for specific types of social and political events [...] the media are the main sources of information and beliefs used to form interpretative frameworks for such events” (van Dijk, 1993: 242-243). Hence, analysing and describing media discourse is helpful in making assumptions about the impact of media on audiences.

Analysis of discursive practice also requires paying attention to intertextuality. This is “basically the property of texts as being full of snatches of other texts which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, [or] contradict” (Fairclough, 1992b: 84). This shows traces of discourse production. Hence, its analysis is

interpretative as it illuminates the producer's views. Intertextuality is of two types namely: constitutive and manifest (Fairclough, 1992b) which can roughly be equated to external and internal intertextuality respectively (Richardson, 2007). However, for the purpose of this study, Fairclough's classification is used. Constitutive intertextuality is centred on the view that the text is produced as the producer draws upon a mixture of two or more discourse types, conventions and traditions in order to meet the present's communicative needs (Fairclough, 1989). On the other hand, manifest intertextuality, is whereby texts are composed from fragments or elements of previous texts (Fairclough, 1992a). This involves discourse representation, presupposition, negation, metadiscourse and irony. However, this study will focus on discourse representation.

Discourse representation is here used instead of 'speech reportage' since what is reported is not only speech but also writing and other aspects of discursive events (Fairclough, 1992b). Discourse representation is important in news reporting since "reporters will seldom be direct witness to events rather their data are mostly other's discourses, such as eye witness reports, press conferences, press releases, interviews [among others]" (van Dijk, 1983: 28). The way in which discourse is interpreted is influenced by their representation.

There are several modes of discourse representation in a news report. However, only four of them will be discussed here as they relate to newspapers' reporting on 'Budget vs. Section 65'. One of which is direct quotation which Fairclough (1995a) calls this Direct Discourse (hence forth DD). In this case, readers' interpretations of the quotations and principal responsible is framed by the reporting clause that the producer employs

(Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2007 & Pajuneni, 2008). In this case, while reporting verbs like 'say' and 'tell' are considered neutral, some reporting verbs like 'claimed,' 'admitted,' 'revealed,' 'snapped' and 'charged' among others are evaluative (Pajuneni, 2008). Another mode of discourse representation in news reports is Direct Discourse Slipping (DD(S)). This is whereby thoughts from the principal are put in quotation marks in order to indicate their contentious nature (Fairclough, 1995 & Richardson, 2007). This is also called strategic quotation or scare quotes.

Third, reported speech can also be included in news report through indirect quotation. Fairclough (1995a) calls this mode Indirect Discourse (ID). Here, the producer summarises "the contents of what was said or written, not the actual words used" (Richardson (2007: 103). In this case, as indicated in DD, it is also the verb chosen to characterise the reported speech that is of paramount importance in analysis although a quantitative analysis all IDs may also be helpful. The last mode of discourse representation is direct discourse UNSIGnalled (UNSIG). Fairclough (1995a: 55) define this as a situation whereby "what is clearly secondary discourse appears in primary discourse without being explicitly marked as such. This mode of discourse representation practice disseminates the principals' views (1995a).

Furthermore, an analysis discursive practice of news also requires one to pay attention to modality. Tran (2014: 25) define modality as "an expression of the speaker [/writer]'s personal feelings, attitudes and assessment towards the content of the utterance or the speaker [writer]'s commitment to the utterance itself." As Pekarova (2011: 71) observes,

modality is a form of intertextuality since it “enables the introduction of other sources into a text.” Modality is realised through modal verbs (can, must, should etc), adverbs (certainly, regrettably, probably), adjectives (necessary, unfortunate, certain) and verbs (like, permit and predict among others). According to Fairclough (1989), modality is grouped into two namely: relational modality and expressive modality. Relational modality is defined as the authority of one participant in relation to another in the discourse while expressive modality is concerned with how the writer(s)/speaker(s) evaluate the truth of their utterance (Fairclough, 1989). Fowler (1985, as cited in Lillian, 2008: 2) gives five categories of modality as expressed in the passage below:

...validity – the speaker[/writer] expresses greater or lesser confidence in the truth of the proposition; predictability - future events referred to are more or less likely to happen; desirability - practical, moral or aesthetic judgements; obligation - speaker’s judgement that another person is obligated to perform some action; permission - speaker’s allows addressee to perform a some action.

Fowler’s classification therefore, can be neatly grouped into relational modality (permission and obligation)’ and expressive modality (validity, predictability and desirability). This study therefore, supplements Fairclough’s classification of modality with Fowler’s categorisation.

2.2.1.3 Social Practice

Social practice refers to “the text’s socio-cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of” (Fairclough, 1995b: 57). An analysis at this level involves issues of ideology and hegemony and in the two sub-sections below, these issues are discussed.

2.2.1.3.1 Ideology

Etymologically, the term ideology is traced to a French philosopher Destutt de Tracy in 1796 who used it to describe a systematic study of ideas (Sonderling, 2001). However, the concept acquired a negative connotation as in Marxism where it was viewed as ‘false consciousness’ (van Dijk, 1998). This study however, uses van Dijk (1998: 3) definition of ideology as “a set of political and social system of ideas, values and prescriptions of the group or other collectivities that have the function of organizing or legitimizing actions of the group.” Sonderling (2001) adds that ideologies are not only particular world views of a group but also the basis for such a belief. Hence, as Zaidi (2012) observes, ideology is a *raison d’être* for all human actions and as such it is not inherently negative as one may conclude from Marxist point of view because apart from legitimising power abuse (dominance), it can also reinforce resistance (van Dijk, 2009). As Fairclough (1992a) observes, ideologies are located in social structures (which he calls ‘orders of discourse’) and discursive processes such as news making and their relationship with readers, news actors and the state, and these leave imprints in discourse. Ideologies are therefore, reproduced and changed largely through socially situated discourse like the media (Dijk, 1998). Since ideologies have a polarising effect on the society, ideological discourse is usually organised by (depicting) the positive representation of Us (in group) and negative representation of Them (out group) and its corollary (mitigating the negative representation of Us and positive representation of Them) (van Dijk, 2009). This is what van Dijk (1993) call the Ideological Square.

2.2.1.3.2 Hegemony

Hegemony is a relation of domination based on consent rather than coercion, which involves the naturalisation of practices and their social relations as well as relations between practices as a matter of 'common sense' (Sheyholislami, 2001). This is done when the dominant class projects its own way of seeing the world to the subordinated so that they accept it as 'natural'. As Fiske (1992: 291) observes, such a "consent must be constantly won and rewon, for people's material social experience constantly remind them of the disadvantages of subordination and thus, poses a threat to the dominant class..." Hence, ideology sustains hegemonic leadership in society.

Hegemonic authority therefore, has power over society as a whole through its alliance with other social forces like the media (Fairclough, 1995). Journalistic work therefore, mediates between the ideology of the ruling class and news content and support the hegemony by naturalising or taking for granted the inequalities of contemporary societies (Richardson, 2007). Through their training, journalists accept the frames imposed on events by officials and marginalise delegitimate voices that fall outside the elite circle (Fowler, 1991). Such biases arise out of the property of the system of relations involved not the overt and intentional bias of the individual involved. In van Dijk's (1988a & 1988b) conception, the media, as an ideological institution, has taken over the ideological work of the family, the church and the school in contemporary information society as it helps to reinforce the hegemony.

Although consumers usually read newspapers which are in agreement with their own perceptions, the media's power "over the selection, extent, frequency and nature of their reporting determines both the issues consumers get concerned with and their views and attitudes towards them" (Hart, 2010: 17). This is what Chomsky and Herman (1988) call *Manufacturing Consent*. In this way, the media therefore "drives policy directions by shaping public opinion to which policy makers in democratic societies must respond" (Hart, 2010: 18).

In summary, this method of doing CDA views discourse as a circular process in which social practices influence texts by shaping the context and the mode in which they are produced, and in turn the texts help to influence the society as it shapes the viewpoints of those who read or consume them (Richardson, 2007). Hence, socio-semiotic approach is also called a dialectical-relational approach as it enables one to make connections between texts and society: that is, whether the text helps to perpetuate hegemony or it contributes in challenging it.

However, although Fairclough (1989) acknowledges the importance of visuals especially photographs in print media, as a simulacra imitating the real objects depicted (Chandler, 2007), his approach does not adequately account for the production and consumption of such images by the producers and readers respectively. In this case, visual social semiotic approach becomes handy in analysing images in the news reports in question. The next section therefore, discusses this approach.

2.2.2 Visual Social Semiotic Approach

Another theory used in this study is Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual social semiotics. Semiotics is generally defined as the study of 'signs' which can either be a word, a sound or a visual image (Harrison, 2003; Chandler, 2007). De Saussure (1983), one of the proponents of semiotics, observes that a sign is divided into two components namely; the signifier (sound, image or word) and the signified (the concepts the signifier represents or its meaning).

Pierce cited in Chandler (2007) categorises three types of meaning that signs present namely: iconic, symbolic and indexical meanings. Pierce writes:

In iconic signs, the signifier represents the signified by apparently having the likeness to it. This is especially true in photographic images.

In indexical signs, there is an inherent relationship between the signifier and the signified. This is based on causality. For instance, smoke is a sign of fire.

Symbolic signs have a conventionalised but usually arbitrary relationship between signifier and the signified. For example, a balance scales is a symbol of justice (Pierce, 2001; 78 as cited in Chandler 2007).

Hence, social semiotics is a combination of several modern approaches to the study of social meaning and social actions (Harrison, 2003). Within the field of social semiotics, visual social semiotics is a new field of study that deals with how people use images and other visuals to communicate and how these images can be interpreted (Jewitt & Oyama 2001). This theory was propounded by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996 & 2006) and it provides a framework for analysing visual images. In it, Kress and van Leeuwen 'provide

descriptions of [visuals'] major compositional structures which have become established as conventions in the course of history of western visual semiotics, and to analyse how they are used to produce meaning by contemporary image makers" (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 1).

Visual social semiotics views visual resources as "having been developed to do specific kind of semiotic work" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001: 140) and to analyse their meaning. This approach extends Halliday's three meta-functions to include still and dynamic images. Hence, an image, just like other semiotic modes, performs three meta-semiotic tasks to create meaning and these tasks are: ideational, interpersonal and textual meta-functions (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006) and these have been discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

First, ideational metafunction is concerned with the image's ability to represent aspects of the world as it is experienced by humans (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Harrison (2003) calls this representational metafunction and it's about how the people, place and objects (Represented Participants herein referred to as RPs) are represented in an image. The RPs can create either a narrative or conceptual image. A narrative image allows the viewer to create a story about the RPs due to their vectors of motion through either body parts and (or) roads or eyelines. A conceptual image on the other hand, tend to group RPs together just to present the viewers with the concept. Such images do not show vectors.

Second, images also perform interpersonal metafunction. This is the image's ability to project the social relations between the producer(s) of the sign, its viewer(s) and the

RP(s) (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Jewitt and Oyama (2001) call this an interactive meaning and they state that “the interaction between RPs and viewers suggests an attitude viewers should take towards what is being represented” (p.145). This meta-function is realised using three factors. The first factor is contact i.e. whether the RPs look directly at the viewer(s) or not. When the RP(s) look directly at the viewer, an imaginary relationship is created between them and Kress and van Leeuwen call it a ‘demand’ as it requires the viewer(s) to do something about the RP. On the other hand, if the RP(s) are looking away from the viewer such images are called ‘offers’ as they merely present information to the viewers. The other factor is distance i.e. how close or distant the RP(s) appear to viewer. If RP(s) are seen at a close up (head and shoulders and less), they are regarded as one of ‘our group’ or somebody we are in an intimate personal relationship with. On the other hand, a long shot (showing the full figure) suggests an impersonal relationship. The third factor is point of view i.e. the relationship between the position of the RP(s) and that of the viewer(s). If the RP is shown at a high angle (looking up), s/he is depicted as someone with less power and vice versa. On the other hand, if the RP(s) are depicted at a medium angle (looking horizontally), the RP(s) are depicted in an equal power relation with the viewer (Harrison, 2003; & Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006).

Lastly, textual metafunction is the capacity of a semiotic mode to form a coherent text (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Harrison (2003) calls this compositional metafunctions. This is determined by information value, salience and framing. Information value is realised by the placements of various elements of the image. In societies which use the Roman script, left-right placement of elements in an image, creates a given-new

structure. Top-down placement correlates with ideal and real information respectively. In this case, ‘ideal is generalised essence of the information while real is the down-to-earth information’ (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001: 148). Saliency, on the other hand, is defined as how eye-catching an element is in an image (Harrison, 2003 & Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). This is achieved through placement, relative size and tonal and colour contrast among others which makes some elements in an image to be more eye-catching than others. Lastly, framing is the continuity or discontinuity among elements in an image which expresses which elements are deemed to belong together or to be separate (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001 & Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006). Although other scholars (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001 & Harrison, 2003) add modality as a fourth factor, this study used only the three factors.

Since, linguistic phrasing together with its non-verbal counterparts is like a screen for depicting reality in multimodal discourse (Nir & Roeh, 1992), this study therefore, attempted to analyse a ‘full screen of reality’ as depicted in news reports by supplementing Fairclough’s methodology with Kress and van Leeuwen’s visual social semiotics. The analysis of both verbal and non-verbal features elucidated how the producers’ ideologies informed their construction of the discourse on ‘Budget vs. Section 65’ controversy in Malawian newspapers.

2.3 Literature Review

The argument that every discourse is an ideological work has been stated in several scholarly works (Fairclough, 1989 & 1995; McGregor, 2005; Van Dijk, 1992; 1998 &

2003). Discourse can be used both for the assertion of power and (or) resistance or for criticising such unwarranted power (McGregor, 2005). Hence, discourse studies are therefore, important as they help to challenge or criticise unwarranted discursive power and ideologies. This section reviews critical studies on media discourse of the pro-government newspapers' coverage of political issues in their countries, different newspapers coverage of issues outside their countries or coverage of the same issues in different historical periods, coverage of issues affecting different groups (including the minority) in their countries, and coverage of women in different countries among others. CDA studies on pro-government newspapers reveal the media's role in legitimising the government's dictatorial tendencies. Manan (2001) examined *The New Strait Times* use of language to portray the Reformasi Movement in Malaysia and its leader, Anwar Ibrahim, the former Deputy Prime Minister, who was arrested following the beginning of the movement. Using Fairclough's socio-semiotic approach, the study, reveals that Anwar and his Reformasi Movement were mostly presented in a powerful agentive role as a 'victimiser' and as 'perpetrator' of crimes which was heightened by connecting the coverage of Reformasi with violence and destruction of property which were reinforced by visuals. On the other hand, the government was only depicted as the sufferer of the Reformasi's violent acts. This is similar to Ngonyani's (2000) analysis of 1978 and 1990 coverage of the University of Dar es Salam protests for democratic reforms and the government's response in *Uhuru* and *Mzalendo*. As pro-government media, the linguistic analysis of the reports using Fairclough's model, showed that the students were portrayed as disobedient and spoilt and this presented the government's actions as a fair way of disciplining them. In both Manan and Ngonyani's studies, there was frequent

thematization of the students or Reformasi in the headlines, exclusion of students' or Reformasi point of view, lexical items chosen associated students or Reformasi with negative actions while the government agencies were accorded a positive process and action. Both studies therefore, reveal the pro-government papers' inclination towards encoding the dominant (government's) view which consequently helps to reinforce hegemony. However, while Ngonyani's study ignored non-verbal meanings, Manan's (2001) analysis of non-verbal meanings was unsystematic due to lack of a theoretical grounding.

Furthermore, CDA studies done on newspapers coverage of social issues outside their countries, also presents interesting results. Astroff and Nyberg (1992) used a socio-cognitive framework to examine US media coverage of the French Socialist party victories in 1981. However, although the elections were regular and peaceful, the results of this study showed that the US media constructed the discourse of crisis for the French and American people because of their antagonism with the socialist ideals. This was achieved by exclusion of alternative voices (French Socialist Party and its supporters) and foregrounding the French conservatives' and US officials' views. On the same note, Wenham, Harris & Sebar (2009) also used socio-cognitive framework of CDA to analyse the Australian print media's portrayal of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa. The results revealed that in their portrayal of HIV/AIDS, the Australia media favoured medical, behavioural and scientific solutions to the pandemic over integrated solutions like community participation, global economic changes and debt cancellation among others. This was achieved by favouring UN officials, members of the NGOs,

academicians, businessmen and celebrities as news sources which portrayed Africans as passive and helpless victims. This therefore, helped in maintaining capitalism as the global economic status quo which has contributed to spread of HIV/AIDS in Africa while suppressing any form of socialism. However, both studies' over-reliance on linguistic analysis is their major weakness.

Apart from capitalist ideologies, other shared national ideologies also over-ride professional norms and practices in news reporting. Nir and Roeh (1992) examined the coverage of the Intifada in *Yedioth Aharonoth* and *Ha'aretz* (popular and quality papers respectively) using an eclectic approach to CDA. Although the Palestinians were revolting against the Israeli's illegal occupation of the West Bank, in both papers the belligerent actions of Israelis towards the Palestinians were toned down while the Palestinians defensive actions were portrayed as an aggression. Through such reporting, the Israeli military's response to the crisis was routinised as normal. These findings resonate with Dirks' (2006) examination of 'quality' British and German press on the reporting of Iraq conflict. The study analysed the papers' presentation of the existence of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) and the alleged connection of Al Qaeda network with Saddam Hussein's government. Using cultural heuristics of research, the results revealed that the right wing papers in both countries, displayed readiness to accept war on Iraq while the left wing ones emphasized on the necessity for the authorities to provide sufficient evidence to prove Saddam's failure to disarm if the war is to be waged. However, although this was intended to oppose war on Iraq, the left wing papers' editorial policy line presupposed the existence of WMD which implicitly vindicated the

necessity to wage war. It is therefore, not surprising that a war was waged despite lack of tangible evidence for their existence since policy makers in Britain and Germany preferred these papers. In this case, both the left and right wing papers encoded dominant British and German view of waging war against Iraq. However, while Dirks' study ignores the contribution of non-verbal features to the overall meaning of the news reports, Nir and Roeh's analysis of non-verbal features of the news reports was haphazard as it lacked a proper theory and methodology.

In addition to this, Ozcan's (2009) analysed six Turkish newspapers' depiction of the relationship between gender, modernity and the press in Turkey. Using iconology, visual content analysis and social semiotics, the study analysed how males and females were depicted and how that depiction reflected the Turkish broader world view. The results showed differences of visualisation based on whether the paper is tabloid or serious with tabloid newspapers containing more visuals than serious ones. However, a careful analysis on the visualisation of gender on all newspapers showed that the females are seen in much smaller numbers than the males and the two gender groups were depicted in two different visual conventions. For males, profile views and low angles depiction were more common which means males were represented not only as detached from the viewer, but were also at a powerful position. On the contrary, females were depicted mainly at frontal view and eye-level angles suggesting that they were at an equal power position with the viewer. This did not only under-represent women but also misrepresented them. Hence, despite the wave of modernisation sweeping across Turkey, the media still encoded the dominant views of Turkish people about women. However,

this study is also constrained due to its overreliance on images leaving out its linguistic manifestation.

Furthermore, studies on a similar newspapers' coverage of similar issues during different historical periods reveal that news reporting is influenced by the dominant ideology of the time. Amouzadeh (2008) examined Iranian newspapers' use of language to represent different issues during different ideological periods of post-revolution Iran such as Islamisation (1980-1988), economic reconstruction (1989-1997) and political reformation (1998-2004) periods. This study was done to find out how different socio-political environments are reflected and constructed in the discourse of Persian newspapers' headlines. The findings reveal that 'Islamisation', 'nationalism' and social political changes were the most prominent issues in the newspapers depending on the historical period in Iran when the issue was reported. These findings are echoed by Rahmani's (2010) analysis of *New York Times*' representation of Iran and Iranian matter before and after Obama's ascension to presidency. Before Obama, US policy was to force Iran from Uranium enrichment through war threats and intensification of economic sanctions. On the other hand, after Obama became president, US adopted a diplomatic policy of negotiating with Iran to solve the problems. Using an array of different CDA approaches and Systemic Functional Linguistics' grammar of transitivity, the study found that in the first period, Iran was portrayed as a dangerous and powerful enemy while in the second one, her image was partly moderate. Hence, language use in the media, during the post-revolution Iran or before and after Obama's ascension to presidency was therefore, a social practice aimed at maintaining the hegemonic ideologies and power relations

between Iran and the US. However, these studies are still inadequate in that they ignore non-verbal features in their analysis.

Just like Amouzadeh (2008) and Rahman (2010) above, KhosraviNik (2009) conducted a comparative study on the representation of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants (RASIM) in British newspapers during two major events: the Balkan conflict in 1999 and the British general elections in 2005. This study complemented Wodak's discourse-historical approach with van Dijk's socio-cognitive methodology. The results of this study showed that there was a more supportive representation of RASIM in all newspapers' accounts during the Balkan conflict than during the 2005 general elections due to the proximity of these groups to UK among other factors although the news reports were negatively prejudiced. Hence, while the tabloids perpetuated and reproduced the existing stereotypes to its readers, the broadsheets on the other hand, refrained from such acts but in the process, it created its own stereotypes that were then fed to its readers. Hence, although the papers had different strategies in their representation of RASIM due to ideological differences, they all contributed to similar construction of these people. On the other hand, during the 2005 elections, both the tabloids and broadsheets represented RASIM negatively and homogenously as a cultural, identity, community and economic threat. The newspapers, therefore, encoded dominant views of the Britons. However, this study does not only ignore the role that September 11 events may have had on the negative representation of RASIM in 2005, but it also does not show us how non-verbal meaning contributed to the overall meaning of the texts.

Furthermore, CDA studies comparing newspapers' coverage of the same issue in different places have also brought forth conflicting results. Svetanant (2009) examined news reports on youth delinquency in Japanese and Thai newspapers using Fairclough's socio-semiotics and van Dijk's socio-cognitive models. The results show that Japanese newspapers portrayed the youth positively through passivisation, nominalisation and refraining from using pejorative words to avoid hurting their feelings. On the contrary, Thai newspapers represented the youth negatively by using pejorative lexical items, thematising adults while blaming the youth for their misbehaviour. Hence, the newspapers, in this case, were only reproducing dominant views on youth delinquency in their countries. However, this study still overlooked visual features in the analysis.

In addition to this, studies have also shown that newspapers' coverage of social issues may also be influenced by ownership of the papers. Using Fairclough's model of CDA, Chinyanganya (2014) examined the discourse of land reforms in Zimbabwe in *The Herald* and *The Daily News*. The findings revealed that the *Herald* (state owned newspaper) featured local influential people as agentive participants in neutral or verbal actions. However, *The Daily News* (a privately owned newspaper) portrayed ZANU-PF politicians and functionaries as agentive participants in material action like murder, rape, among others on patients such as farmers, teachers, oppositional party supporters and villagers among others. These findings resonate with Kuo and Nakamura's (2005) study on pro-reunification/KMT the *United Daily News* (henceforth *UND*) and the pro-independence *Liberty Times* (henceforth *LT*) in Taiwan to compare the coverage of the visit of the then Taiwanese First Lady to the United States of America. Before her trip,

William Foreman, an *Associated Press* correspondent interviewed her in English and this interview appeared in the two papers in Chinese language. Using various approaches CDA and Bell's (1991) study of news, the results showed that although both articles were translated from the same English text, there were differences in terms of editorial additions and deletions, lexical, syntactical and Thematic variations. The headline in *UDN* focuses on the first lady's controversial remarks about her predecessor Madame Chiang and her husband and downplayed the negative aspects of KMT party while *LT* focuses on Wu's statement on Taiwan's sovereignty and makes a sharp contrast between the authoritarian regime under the rule of KMT and the current democratic society. In this case, both Kuo and Nakamura's (2005) and Chinyanganya's (2014) show that language can be used to paint different pictures of the same social phenomenon depending on the ideologies of the owners of the newspapers.

The findings above are also in line with De Wett (2001) study on the hard news coverage of racial violence in South African schools. Using Terre Blanche and Durrheim's approach, this study revealed that despite having a strong anti-racist Constitution since her democratic elections in 1994, racism still remains an integral part of South African schools. However, black and white parents, learners and other role players deny that they are racists. In this case, who was discriminated against or racially abused depended on who belongs to 'our' people (either black or white) in the type of newspaper the story is published. If the paper was owned by whites, it was the whites who were discriminated against and vice versa. Such a type of reporting perpetuates racial discrimination in South African schools. However, just like Chinyanganya (2014) and Kuo and Nakamura's

(2005), this study also did not analyse how the producers' own ideologies were manifested in non-verbal semiotic resources the newspapers used.

In Malawi, previous studies have shown that newspapers' depiction of political actors in hard news is influenced by the prevailing system and the newspapers' ideology. Shame (2015) studied the linguistic construction of heroes and villains in the English-language newspapers from totalitarianism to democracy using Hallidayan approaches and text grammar. The results of this study reveal that during one-party system of government, the strictly controlled newspapers (i.e. *DT* and *MN*) exercised restraints from constructing the president as a villain. On the other hand, during democracy, various descriptivisation techniques (i.e. using *wh*-clauses) were used to emphasize heroism or villainy depending on the political affiliations of the newspaper. While this study should be commended for its comprehensiveness in linguistic analysis as well as its longitudinal approach, its over-reliance on one mode of communication is its greatest weakness as readers are not afforded a chance to appreciate how the newspapers used non-linguistic features to communicate their ideology.

CDA studies done on the newspapers' coverage of minority groups also provide interesting results. Erjavec's (2001) examined the media representation of discrimination in Slovenian press when the villagers of Maline prevented a Romani family (an ethnic minority), who had legally bought the house in the village, from moving into it. Using van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, this study showed that the news reports portrayed the Roma as a criminal, lazy and idle among others; all of which threatened the community's

socio-economic interests. In this case, the media, therefore, towed the ideology of the majority although this led to a clear and serious violation of minority rights. These findings echo Flowerdew, Li and Tran's (2002) examination of leading liberal newspaper in Hong Kong on its reporting of the Chinese Mainlanders' (minority) claim to the right of the abode in the country. Using van Dijk's socio-cognitive model and Wodak's discourse-historical approach, the study revealed a negative intra-ethnic dichotomy between the majority Hong Kongers and minority Mainland Chinese. Although, in general, both the hard news reports and editorials coverage discriminated against the Chinese Mainlander through scare tactics and delegitimation among others, a careful analysis of the editorials showed that the editorials were somehow sympathetic towards the migrants. However, despite these interesting findings, the researchers failed to conclude why there were these conflicting portrayals on mainlanders in hard news and editorials of the same newspaper. Furthermore, another limiting feature for both Erjavec's (2001) and Flowerdew, Li and Tran's (2002) studies is that they did not pay enough attention to non-verbal features of the news reports in their analyses.

On the same minority groups, Richardson's (2004) examined the coverage of 'Islam or Muslim related topics' in British broadsheets. Using socio-semiotic, discourse-historical, and socio-cognitive approaches and qualitative and quantitative data, the results show a negative representation of 'Islam or Muslims' as a military threat, extremist, terrorist and despotic among others and a positive representation of the west as a civilising force. In the same vein, Israeli aggression towards the Muslims was nominalised to hide the agents. The newspapers' reporting therefore helped in naturalising the actions of the

majority British society and Israel towards Muslims thereby leading to the maintenance of the status quo. However, news discourse can also be used to transform unequal power relations in society. Retzlaff (2006) using van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, examined the portrayal of Aboriginals (minority in Canada) and their issues in their own media. The findings reveal that instead of the dominant negative representation from the euro-canadian papers (Lawrence & Simon, 1996), these newspapers portrayed a positive self presentation that highlighted the existence of independent and sovereign nations and the need for emancipation from outside labelling. In this way the newspaper is contributing in the transformation of the existing social structure. However, both studies are limited by their failure to include non-verbal features of news reports in their analyses.

Furthermore, other studies on media discourse reveal that the press also project their own issues to the audience. Birks (2010) analysed Scottish tabloid newspapers' coverage of the campaign against drug abuse and the proposed closure of one of the city's maternity hospitals using Wodak's discourse-historical approach. The results showed that although the articles made reference to protests as evidence of their claims for the campaign against drug abuse and closure of the maternity hospital such protests were as result of the newspapers' reports themselves such that the public did not have prior instinctive opinion to the problem at hand. The readers' role was therefore, just to recognise the newspapers as representative and lend them support in form of quantitative force of pressure (protests). In this case, the newspapers promoted themselves politically and commercially by communicating their views as populist impulses of the public which stifled the democratic process. These findings are consistent with Zubair's (n.d.)

examination of representation of women in popular Pakistan women's magazines. Using Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) visual social semiotics and Lazar's model of feminist CDA, the results of the study show that both the linguistic and visual features of popular magazines perpetuated and reinforced the traditional reductive femininities by portraying female body as a site of male voyeurism and pleasure while the society views female sexuality as strictly controlled towards patriarchal marriage and women's reproductive roles. However, while Birks' (2010) study ignores the analysis of visual features of the news reports, Zubair's study only used sketchy linguistic data for analysis as it concentrated on phrases that anchor the images themselves, leaving out the rest of the linguistic data untapped.

In a nutshell, the literature reviewed has shown that media discourse is ideologically constructed either to reproduce, naturalise or legitimise domination of the powerful social group or to transform such domination. CDA is therefore helpful in demystifying and disclosing the ideological creation and reproduction of dominance in media discourse in order to help readers to challenge it. However, contrary to Barthes' argument that the meaning of images is always related to and dependent on verbal text (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006), in newspaper reports, as with any other form of written communication, writing is only one part of the multimodal ensemble (de Gregorio-Godeo, 2012) and meaning potentials of verbal and non-verbal modes can neither be entirely conflated into one nor be opposed to each other. Current scholarships therefore, combine the analysis of both verbal and visual semiotic modes to make the findings as conclusive as possible. Hence, this study intended to contribute to this growing body of scholarship by analysing

ideological meanings of both linguistic and visual features of hard news reports on 'Budget vs. Section 65' controversy using Fairclough's socio-semiotics and Kress and van Leeuwen's visual social semiotics respectively.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study's research design such as its research approach, the samples size and sampling techniques that were used to collect data. It also discusses how the data was collected and analysed, and also presents issues of research validity and ethical considerations in relation to MDA. Lastly, the chapter concludes by discussing the limitations of the study and how the researcher tried to mitigate them.

3.2 Research Design

This is both a quantitative and qualitative study of *Daily Times (DT)*, *Malawi News (MN)*, *The Nation (NA)* and *Weekend Nation (WN)* newspapers' headlines, leads and photographs in the coverage of Budget and (or) Section 65. These newspapers were selected because they are the dominant ones in Malawi (Kanyung'wa & Mkwaila, 2011) and as such, they have a higher chance of influencing many readers. The data for the study were manually collected from January 2006 to December 2008 since this is the time when there was an extensive coverage of the controversy being studied. There were 156 hard news articles that were identified for quantitative analysis using convenience sampling method. Schutt (2001) defines convenience sampling as the selection of samples based on availability. Out of the 156 articles available on the subject, 73 were

purposely selected basing on their striking presentation for qualitative analysis of their headlines, leads and (or) photographs. Hard news articles were selected because they are regarded by both the majority of the audience as well as the media professionals themselves, as the objective reporting of the reality (Richardson, 2007).

Photographs used in this study are those that appeared on the cover page since such articles are considered most important by the editors and, in most cases, the audience (Nir & Roeh, 1992). For visual social semiotic analysis, the photographs were selected from those news reports that were covering parliament deliberations, court sessions or those written at a time when parliament was in session were given preference since this was regarded (by the researcher) as ‘critical discourse moments’ with drama-like elaboration of events in the news reports (Dirks, 2004). On the other hand, headlines, leads and photographs of hard news were selected because they play an important role in the news reports. As van Dijk (2009) observes, a story in a news report is delivered in instalments with the most important information of each category being delivered first followed by the least important. Neilsen (1996) called this structure an ‘inverted pyramid’. Hence, in a newspaper report, the highest macro-proposition is the headline and this is followed by a lead and then the rest of the material comes later in a descending order of importance as illustrated below.

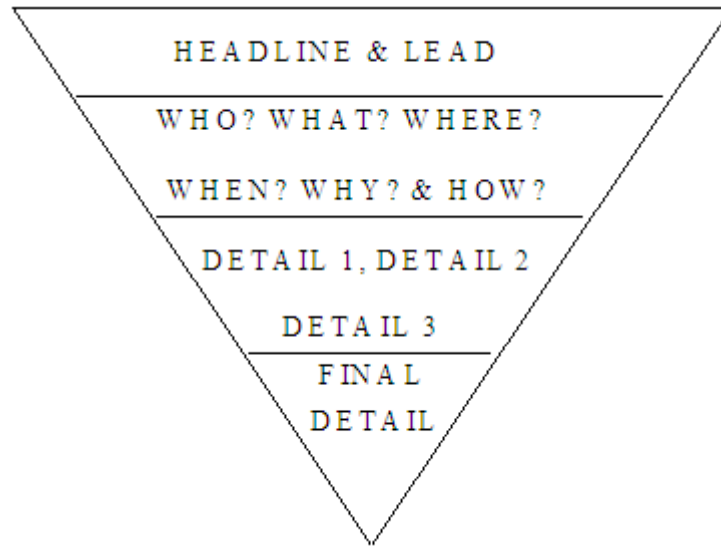


Figure 2: Inverted pyramid structure of hard news

The headlines and leads contain the core information and summary of the news story respectively (Pajunen, 2008) although as a marketing strategy, they are also meant to arouse the readers' interest. However, this is the information readers memorise best from a news report (van Dijk, 1988b). It is their summary-like nature and position as the initial elements in the news article that headlines and leads present the general meaning of the text that the producer has preferred to the reader. On the other hand, visual images in newspaper reporting have a tremendous effect on readers' involvement, emotion and attitudes towards the RPs or what is being reported (Messaris, 1994). Hence, they are powerful tools in shaping public opinion. In this case, the selection of headlines, leads and their photographs for analysis was based on the crucial role they play in the readers' interpretation of newspaper discourse.

3.3 Data Analysis

This study used a Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) in order to uncover ideologies in the newspapers' reporting on or about Budget and (or) Section 65 controversy in Malawian newspapers. MDA is the analysis of meaning from multiple semiotic resources such as linguistic and visual modes in discourse (O'Halloran, 2008). It is a counterbalance to mono-modal approaches of meaning making which consider either only language or visuals in text interpretation in isolation from their material manifestation (Iedema, 2001). Hence, MDA describes signification or discourse practice, in all its semiotic complexity and richness.

MDA is founded on the understanding that there is a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event (signification) and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structures of its production (Wodak & Busch 2004 & Aiello, 2006). This has three implications in analysis.

- Firstly, [discourse] always involves power and ideologies because at every interaction (discursive event), participants bring in it their values and norms. Hence, those who have got a means to signification (power over discourse) i.e. media institutions and news principals, also have got a privilege to impose their preferred meaning on images (Aiello, 2006).
- Secondly, "discourse is also historical i.e. discourse is always connected to other communicative events that are happening at the same time or that have happened before" (Wodak & Ludwig, 1999: 12). Therefore, discourse or signification has repercussions on current and future discourses. Hence, having the power to break

the means of semiotic production also gives the viewers or readers the power to intervene and possibly change the ideological currents that characterize the public domain (Aiello, 2006).

- Lastly, each discursive event can be interpreted differently by different viewers, listeners or readers depending on their knowledge and socio-cultural backgrounds.

Hence, MDA aims at uncovering processes and practices by which ideologies of power abuse, control, hegemony, dominance, exclusion, injustice, and inequity are produced, reproduced and perpetuated in social life – processes which are often “naturalised” and taken-for-granted as common-sense notions (O’Halloran, 2011 and Kuo & Nakamura, 2005).

Using MDA, both verbal and non-verbal features were analysed. On linguistic analysis, this study looked at the newspapers’ choice of lexis, referential strategies, metaphors, discourse representation, modality and thematic structure. Non-linguistic analysis, on the other hand, was done by analysing the newspapers’ choice of pictures to accompany the news report and was complimented by the analysis of the salience of the news report depending on whether it was placed on the cover page or inside, accompanied by a photograph or not and whether it was encased in a frame or not. Hence, although the study was basically qualitative, the data on salience of photographs was codified for quantitative analysis just like data on frequencies of certain referential strategies, mode of representation, types of modality and thematic structures. This quantitative data was summarised using descriptive statistics in order to come up with graphs and numerical tables. This was intended to give a general idea of the newspapers’ dichotomous

representation of opposition parties and Section 65 on one hand, and ruling party and budget on the other as portrayed in qualitative analysis.

3.4 Validity

Validity of research findings is as important in traditional research methods, as it is in MDA. However, unlike in traditional research methods, in MDA, validity is determined by intelligibility, explanatory nature of the analyses and their open-endedness (Richardson, 2007). Hence, interpretations can never be true; they can only be more or less plausible or adequate and new contexts and new information might cause the results to change (Tischer, et al., 2000 & Wodak, 2001b). Furthermore, since MDA is concerned with social problems, validity of the results is also dependent on their practical relevance. This researcher therefore, does not claim to produce true results, but rather one that is intelligible based on the data available which is relevant to journalists' and audience's understanding of the role of the media in a democratic Malawi.

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Although, ethical aspects of research are difficult to apply in MDA than in an interview method, their considerations during analysis still remains an important aspect. Hence, in order to remain ethical in the process of carrying out this study, this researcher tried as much as possible to problematise news discourse on Budget and (or) Section 65 in the newspapers selected not their principal(s) or producer(s).

3.6 Limitations of the Study

The basic limitation of this study is the selection of articles for analysis. Since there were 156 news articles that tackled Budget and (or) Section 65 which were codified for quantitative analysis, 73 reports were purposively sampled for qualitative analysis. This poses a risk of potential bias when one considers that most MDA research is based on what Meyer (2001: 18) calls "typical texts". However, as van Dijk (2001: 99) argues, "complete discourse analysis of a large corpus of text or talk, is...totally out of the question" since "a 'full' analysis of [even] a short passage might take months and fill hundreds of pages". In this case, it is possible that if random sampling was used, different conclusions would have been reached and this is not surprising since one of the characteristics of MDA is that interpretation is open ended as new data and context may bring in new results (Richardson, 2007). However, the quantitative analysis of 156 news articles (a total of all articles available on the subject), was intended to achieve a plausible interpretation of the data through triangulation of MDA and quantitative analysis.

Another limitation may emanate from the researcher's socio-cultural and educational background which might have influenced him to find ideological biases where some people might see none. This is even more dangerous when one considers fluidity of meaning in MDA (Jewitt, 2013) and Stubbs' (1997) criticism of textual interpretation as so politically motivated that analysts find whatever they want whether presence or absence. This criticism is difficult to justify due to the impossibility for a researcher to leave behind his or her socio-cultural background and operate from what Gou-zhu (2011)

calls an objective meaning-making machine. However, this researcher tried to achieve a plausible interpretation by not only ensuring that the news reports were analysed from different perspectives (i.e. from the lexical choices through discourse representation to meaning of non-verbal features) but also ensuring that such an analysis is as contextually-bound as possible.

The other limitation was that the images used in this study were photocopies since the researcher could not access scanning machines in the libraries consulted and this might have reduced clarity of some pictures. However, to surmount this problem, colour, as a semiotic resource was neither analysed qualitatively nor was it coded for quantitative analysis and this, according to the researcher, has not resulted in a marked change in the results of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results and discussions of the study which has been divided into two basic parts: linguistic and non-linguistic analysis. On linguistic analysis, this chapter presents the results and discussions on the newspapers' choices of lexis, referential strategies, metaphors, discourse representation, modality and thematic structure. Non-linguistic analysis, on the other hand, discusses the findings on salience of newspaper reports in general, basing on their main principal, before an in-depth analysis of the messages contained in the images the producers selected for the audience.

4.2 Linguistic Analysis

Linguistic analysis of the data reveals that ideology was manifested at news reports' lexical choices, referential strategies, metaphors, discourse representation, modality and thematic structure. This echoes Fairclough's (1995a) observation that ideological investment in discourse occurs at different levels both in meaning and form. The sub sections 4.2.1. to 4.2.6. below discuss how these linguistic elements contributed in a dichotomous representation of the ruling party and Budget, on one hand, and opposition parties and Section 65, on the other.

4.2.1 Lexical Choices

Fowler (1991: 80) describes vocabulary as “a map of the objects, concepts, processes and relationships about which a culture needs to communicate”. Lexical items depict the producer's positive or negative evaluation of actions, participants, and events (Fairclough, 1989). Every communication, therefore, has an ideological basis as the communicator chooses a set of vocabulary that is best suited to one's ideology. This study therefore, found two common phenomena in lexical choices namely: lexicalisation and over-lexicalisation. The sub-sections 4.2.1.1. and 4.2.1.2. below discuss how these processes were done in the data available.

4.2.1.1 Lexicalisation

This is a deliberate choice of words that project intended meaning (Ajiboye, 2013). From the available data, lexical items chosen depicted members of the opposition parties and their actions in negative terms while members of the ruling party and their actions were portrayed positively. The Excerpts below illustrate this.

Excerpt 1

JZU insists on Section 65 (NA, Misunje, 26 May 2008)

Excerpt 2

Government *forced* to sign commitment to Section 65. (NA, Munthali, 29 August 2008)

Excerpt 3

UDF's position on Section 65 *unchanged* (DT, Phiri 27 June 2008)

Excerpt 4

Tembo *adamant* on Section 65 (DT, Kashoti, 10 July 2007)

Excerpt 5

Opposition *dictates* again (DT, Musukwa, 20 April 2006)

Excerpt 6

Budget Impasse: Opposition in *fresh excuses* (DT, Munthali, 14 August 2008)

According to *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* 5th edition (OALD) the word ‘insist’ as used in Excerpt 1, means demanding or stating something forcefully. This echoes Excerpt 2 where the government is presented as being compelled to sign section 65 commitments which still depict the opposition as a coercive force. Furthermore, the word ‘unchanged’ in Excerpt 3 show that the public expect to them to change their point of view and possibly adopt that of the ruling party which openly reject invoking Section 65. This is in agreement with the usage of the word ‘adamant’ in Excerpt 4 which OALD equates with stubbornness. In this case, Tembo is stubborn as he does not listen to the views of the ruling party which has now been naturalised as a majority view. This also resonates with the usage of the word ‘dictates’ in Excerpt 5 as the opposition refused to deliberate on a Roads Authority Bill so that there should be consultations first on how to deal with Section 65 before budget deliberations. In addition, even the failure of the ruling party to adhere to the solution of the impasse as proposed by the mediating clergy is blamed on the opposition. The ‘fresh excuses’ in Excerpt 6 is used as the opposition said they would only pass the budget if the government side agrees to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) that binds the Executive not to prologue the parliament when budget is passed so that Section 65 be deliberated as the clergy proposed. This shows that their ‘insistence’ as the newspapers put it on the

implementation of Section 65 is merely a pretext for them not to pass the budget. The opposition parties were therefore depicted as an undemocratic and authoritarian grouping that imposes its will on the people.

On the other hand, the ruling party and its members who were against the implementation of Section 65 were depicted in positive terms. Both media houses used lexical items to discredit the court ruling that validated the Section 65.

Excerpt 7

The *decision* by Constitutional Court to uphold the validity of Section 65 of the Constitution on crossing the floor will weaken the executive branch of the government if Speaker of National Assembly decides to declare vacant seats of MPs *deemed* to have *changed sides*, analysts have said (DT, Kumwenda, 8 November 2006).

Excerpt 8

Government wants to appeal against the *decision* by the Constitutional Court in Blantyre two weeks ago that refused the Attorney General to amend presidential referral on Section 65 (NA, Namangale, 30 August 2006).

In the Excerpts 8 and 9 above, both newspapers refer court ruling as a ‘decision’ instead of verdict or judgment which is supposed to be a fair, rational and authoritative for all concerned parties to abide by. In addition, floor crossing is also referred to ‘changing sides’ which is low toned to make it appear normal unlike crossing the floor which is negative. Consequently, this makes it easy for the readers to either ignore or discredit the Constitutional Court ruling and the people who supported the ruling (such as members of the opposition). The ruling party’s appeal to this ‘decision’ (ruling) is therefore, described

as a way of ‘seeking relief’ possibly which now implies that the decision the court made was ‘wrong’. The Excerpt 9 reads:

Excerpt 9

Government *sought the relief* of the supreme court of appeal in Blantyre to reverse the whole ruling or rule in government’s favour (*DT*, Namangale, 1 September 2006).

According to *OALD*, ‘relief’ is the removal of distress pain or anxiety. Hence, in the Excerpt 9 above, ‘seeking relief’ implies that the Court ruling that validated Section 65 is wrong as it puts the ruling party under panic or in trouble as if the issue of floor crossing is new. In another excerpt, we read that the appeal.

Excerpt 10

“... will enable [Bingu] to get *a second opinion* on the ruling by the constitutional court that the section is valid” (*NA*, Nyirenda, 24 July 2007).

In this excerpt, even the ruling of the Supreme Court of Appeal is just another ‘opinion’. This undermined the ruling of the Supreme Court as it questions both its fairness and authority for both parties to abide by. This also relate to the news reports 42 MPs’ injunction restraining the Speaker of the National Assembly from declaring their seats vacant. Excerpt 11 below illustrates this.

Excerpt 11

One of the Parliamentarians who *sought court redress on the issue of Section 65* of the country’s constitution, Yunus Mussa said he did not withdraw his injunction (*DT*, Khunga, 11 March 2008).

OALD define ‘redress’ as to put right a wrong. So to these MPs and possibly the producers of *DT*, the validation of Section 65 puts an existential threat to their political and (or) economic lives respectively. Hence, they were only exercising their legal right to correct the wrong by obtaining an injunction. This is also in line with Excerpts 12 and 13 below:

Excerpt 12

Government *sought relief* of the Supreme Court of Appeal ... (*DT*, Ng’ambi, 31 August 2006).

Excerpt 13

The Constitutional Court in Blantyre ... threw out his [Bingu’s] *plea for appeal* in Section 65 referral case (*NA*, Theu, 21 November 2006).

In the Excerpts 12 and 13 above, the ruling party’s application for appeal in the referral case in which they wanted Section 65 to be declared unconstitutional is referred to as ‘seeking relief’ or ‘plea for appeal’. This indicates that the section or (and) its ruling is a threat not only to ruling party’s freedom, but rather to the whole government machinery and hence the need to seek remedy. It should be mentioned here that crossing the floor (which is usually from opposition parties to ruling party) benefits the individual MP as s/he intends to get favours from the government in form of ministerial post or business contracts from its ministries, agencies and statutory corporations while frustrating the voice the constituents in Parliament. Surprisingly, invocation of Section 65 between 1994-2004 was always been seen by the public as morally justifiable to ensure that the constituents are consulted before the MPs decide to change party allegiance. In this case, the lexical items chosen did not only conceal that by crossing the floor, the MPs deprived

their constituents of their democratic rights to be represented in parliament by an MP from a political party of their choice but the news reports also did not mention the negative effects that floor crossing has on the parties that sponsored them to parliament. On the other hand, these papers foregrounded the problems that Section 65 will cause to the MPs who had defected.

4.2.1.2 Over-lexicalisation

This is a method of encoding ideology in news discourse through surfeit repetition of synonymous or quasi-synonymous terms to give a sense of over completeness (van Dijk, 1993). It is simply a repetition of a particular lexis for ideological reasons. This subsection therefore, describes how over-lexicalisation contributed to ideological representation of ‘Budget vs. section 65’ in the newspapers analysed.

The study found that although over-lexicalisation was rarely used in the headlines possibly due to their emphasis on conciseness, it was a common phenomenon in the leads. A careful analysis on the lexis that collocated with Section 65, depict the provision as a dangerous and unnecessary provision. This is illustrated in the Table 1 on the next page:

Table 1: Frequent lexical collocations with Section 65

NEWSPAPERS	FREQUENT LEXICAL COLLOCATIONS
<i>DT & MN</i>	<i>controversial</i> section, <i>contentious</i> section, <i>vexing</i> section, section 65 <i>saga</i>
<i>NA & WN</i>	<i>controversial</i> section, <i>contentious</i> section, <i>dreaded</i> section, <i>fearsome</i> section

As can be seen in the table above, both newspaper stables had a preference to collocate Section 65 with ‘contentious’ and ‘controversial’. These lexemes contributed about 49% of all instances of over-lexicalisation in *DT* and *MN*, and 34% in *NA* and *WN*. Although these lexical items imply that the section is debatable, which is the ruling party’s view that prompted them to take it to the Constitutional Court, to the Courts and the opposition, this issue is neither controversial nor contentious. In addition, both newspaper stables also collocated Section 65 with emotive words such ‘vexing’ and ‘saga’ and ‘dreaded’ and ‘fearsome’ respectively. However, according to *OALD*, ‘vexing’ and ‘saga’ means ‘to make somebody angry especially with unimportant matters’ and ‘story with series of events or adventures’ respectively. In this case, their support to the government ideology is lower than *NA* and *WN*’s ‘dreaded’ and ‘fearsome’ which means ‘frightening’ and ‘great fear’ respectively. In this case, through over-lexicalisation, both newspaper stables depicted Section 65 as a debatable provision. However, NPL went a step further in its representation of the government ideology as it portrayed the government’s fears as common sense fears of all Malawians. This is what Chomsky and Herman (1988) calls

‘manufacturing consent’. This is understandable considering that NPL owner, Aleke Banda then in opposition, was snubbed from leading UDF and therefore, may have been happy seeing its MPs floor-crossing to another party. For BNL, their usage of less emotional words in support of the government ideology, may relate to their owner’s connection to the main opposition party (MCP). However, despite these differences, both media houses supported the ruling party’s ideology in their coverage of the controversy.

4.2.2 Referential Strategies

Due to the nature of their job, journalists are supposed to provide names for the people in the events they are reporting on and this naming process involves a choice (Richardson 2007). Referential strategies is the choice of one name over another equally correct alternative (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001) and it implies foregrounding one social category while backgrounding another. This subsection discusses the findings on the newspapers’ choice of lexical item to their social actors in the events they were reporting on.

As Richardson (2007) observes, one way through which this is done is by choosing to describe a social actor as an individual or as a group and Table 2 below illustrates the referential strategies the two media houses used to refer to the ruling as well as opposition parties’ members as social actors.

Table 2: Referential strategies for opposition and ruling party members in leads

News papers	Opposition Party Members As a Group	Opposition Party Members as Individuals	Ruling Party Members as a Group	Ruling Party Members as Individuals
<i>DT & MN</i>	6 (25%)	18 (75%)	17 (77%)	5 (23%)
<i>NA & WN</i>	10 (38%)	16 (62%)	15 (68%)	7 (32%)
TOTAL	16 (32%)	34 (68%)	32 (72%)	12 (28%)

As can be seen from the table above, there was a high tendency to collective government social actors and individualise the ones from the opposition side in both newspaper stables. Hence, the social actor from the ruling party was collectivised as ‘government’ while those from the opposition were usually referred to by their name and they were rarely referred to using the title they held in their parties. This is illustrated in the Excerpts 14 to 18 below:

Excerpt 14

Budget and Section 65: *Government* rebuffs clergy’s package (*NA*, Sonani, 30 June 2008)

Excerpt 15

Government against Speaker ambush (*DT*, Munthali, 30 June 2007)

Excerpt 16

Government blamed the current chaos on ... Bakili Muluzi (*DT*, Ng’ambi, 20 July 2006)

Excerpt 17

JZU insist on Section 65 (NA, Misunje, 26 May 2008)

Excerpt 18

Muluzi wants Section 65 and budget to go together (DT, Nyirenda, 20 July 2007)

In Excerpts 14 and 15 above, the ‘government’ refer to the then Leader of the House Henry Chimunthu-Banda while in Excerpts 16, the term refer to the President Bingu wa Mutharika. However, this is contrary to Excerpts 17 and 18 where the Leader of Opposition and UDF national chairman respectively are referred to by their names. As Richardson (2007) puts it, by individualising opposition social actors, their ordinariness or every man qualities are emphasized while backgrounding that such views represent those of the major political parties which may translate to views of the majority Malawians. On the other hand, by collectivising ruling party social actors as ‘government’, their views are portrayed as that of the entire government machinery. This does not only naturalise ruling party’s ideology as a government one but it also represents it as a majority and preferred one.

Table 2 above also indicated that government and opposition social actors were also individualised and collectivised respectively as can be seen in the Excerpts 19 to 22 below:

Excerpt 19

Opposition MPs [...] yesterday bared their teeth and barred government bills to go into second reading [...] (NA, Sonani, 6 May 2008).

Excerpt 20

Budget Impasse: *Opposition* in fresh excuses (*DT*, Munthali, 14 August 2007)

Excerpt 21

Bingu has not yet appealed on Section 65 (*NA*, Liwanda, 3 January 2007)

Excerpt 22

Bingu rebuffs section 65 ruling (*DT*, Nyirenda, 5 July 2007)

In Excerpts 19 and 20 above, the opposition social actors are individualised possibly as a strategy for a collective character denigration through the predatory animal imagery, Section 65 is presented as a pretext for refusing to pass the budget. However, despite such opposition collectivisation, still some opposition MPs like Uladi Mussa voted for the bill to go to a second reading. On the other hand, government social actor (President) is individualised when the producers' disagree with their action as can be seen in Excerpts 21 and 22. For instance, the President was 'expected' to appeal the Court ruling that validated Section 65 and when he appealed the headline was 'Court reject state appeal on Section 65'. In this case, what was Bingu's obligation in Excerpt 21 is now collectivised as the state's duty. In Excerpt 22, the President's rejection of court ruling instead of appealing, may have been considered by the producers as unwarranted and therefore, the need for the agent to be individualised. Hence, individualisation, made their actions appear personal and therefore, without national interests. This was used when the producers disagreed with the ruling party social actors in order to implicitly background such actions. Collectivisation on the other hand, helped to impersonates the actions and views being reported and this consequently legitimises their actions or views as being for the national interests.

4.2.3 Metaphors

A metaphor is a linguistic and conceptual phenomenon that predisposes one understanding of reality over others (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphors display highlighting and hiding effects as it calls our attention to some aspects of an experience that is consistent with it and blind us from other features (Ng & Bradac, 1993; & Hart, 2010). From sub-sections 4.2.3.1. to 4.2.3.7. below I will discuss the findings on the newspapers' usage of metaphors.

4.2.3.1 Metaphors of War

The study found that war metaphors were used by both stables of newspapers to describe the opposition's stand that Section 65 be implemented. Excerpts 23 and 24 below illustrate this.

Excerpt 23

Civil servants caught in *cross-fire* (DT, Nyaungulu, 24 July 2006)

Excerpt 24

Government motion *shot* down (NA, Chibaya & Mmana, 19 June 2008)

According *OALD*, the word 'shot' denotes 'fire a gun or other weapon at something or somebody' while 'crossfire' signifies firing of guns from two or more points such that the bullets cross each other. However, while Excerpt 23 may imply both the opposition parties and ruling party were firing against each other such that the civil servants are only the casualties, in Excerpt 24, it is the opposition that may be presumed as fighting the government and (or) budget as it is not expected for ruling party MPs to fight against government's motions. This echoes another headline in *MN* which reads: "*Budget fight*

not yet over” (Chikoko, 2008, August, 9-15). Although this headline leaves out who is fighting against budget, it can be inferred that it cannot be the ruling party fighting the budget they themselves had prepared. So the blame automatically goes to the opposition and (or) Section 65 for that.

The use of military metaphors still appeared in *DT* when describing the manner in which the ruling party did not expect the Speaker to implement Section 65 on MPs who had crossed the floor soon after the validation by the Court. Excerpt 25 below reads:

Excerpt 25

Government said yesterday that it does not expect Speaker of Parliament Louis Chimango *to ambush* any Member of Parliament who is deemed to have crossed the floor (Munthali, 22 June 2007).

An ‘ambush’ which is a surprise attack from a hidden position (*OALD*) entails that invoking of Section 65 is tantamount to waging war against the ruling party or the executive arm of government. Although ruling party did not expect an ‘ambush’ from the Speaker, the use of such a negative phrase ‘does not’ did not negate the conventional implicature of war. This resonates with another excerpt in *NA* which reads: “President Bingu wa Mutharika warned the country’s opposition that he will *fight* them with all his might...” (Theu, 2008, April, 17). This likens the opposition parties’ insistence to invoke Section 65 to a war.

The war metaphor could still be noticed even when reporting the two parties attempt to resolve their misunderstanding. Excerpts 26 and 27, below illustrate this.

Excerpt 26

After holding on for a total of 78 days, opposition parties *laid down their arms* yesterday and, with the advocates of budget gasping in disbelief, reacted to the financial blue print... (DT, Munthali, 16 August 2007).

Excerpt 27

Political parties locked in a *fierce battle over Section 65 and national budget* are free to either ignore or adopt proposals made by the mediators ..., (MN, Chikoko, 28 July – 4 August 2008).

In Excerpt 26 above, the resumption of budget deliberations is depicted as consequence of the opposition's decision to stop fighting either the ruling party or the budget itself. This explicitly blames the opposition as a belligerent group. In Excerpt 27, on the other hand, the discussions taking place between the ruling party and opposition parties which was brokered by the clergy are also depicted in war terms. This had the capacity to stifle democracy since this hide that such discussions could take place peacefully.

It should be here stated that although both newspaper stables used war metaphors when reporting on the impasse, the war imagery was more pronounced in BNL's reports than in NPL articles as can be seen in the preponderance of excerpts from BNL. However, in both cases, this representation of verbal discourse (disagreement on what to discuss in parliament between the budget and Section 65) as an armed conflict, does not only imply that the ruling party and the opposition side see each other as enemies but also that each side should defend their position as the case with war. Implicitly this might have escalated the conflict as it justified the government's refusal that both issues (i.e. the

budget and Section 65) could have been tackled concurrently as the mediating clergy had proposed.

4.2.3.2 Metaphors of Death

Results of the study also show that metaphors that were used in both stables of newspapers depicted Section 65 as dead provision whose appearance is always disturbing as can be read in the Excerpts 28 and 29 below:

Excerpt 28

Just a day after passing the 2008/09 national budget, parliament was yesterday *haunted by the resurrection* of Section 65 when Leader of opposition asked what has been done so far about the remaining injunctions (*DT*, Phiri, 13 September 2007).

Excerpt 29

Parliament adjourned prematurely yesterday, after opposition MPs took government unawares by *resurrecting Section 65* demanding that the executive signs MOU *drafted* by the clergy on the country's political impasse (*NA*, Munthali, 27 August 2008).

The use of the word 'resurrect' in both the excerpts above invokes basic religious beliefs (especially for Christians, Moslems and Malawian Traditional beliefs) of life after death. This implies that Section 65 is not only animate but it's also dead. However, although the issue of Section 65 had not been resolved, the use of this word may not only imply that Section 65 had stopped functioning but it also carries with it the distress or panic that a ghost brings to people when it appears. This can be inferred from the use of the word 'haunt'. Hence, Section 65 is likened to a ghost whose visit, in the Malawian context, is a bad omen and therefore, brings fear to the living. In connection to this, two headlines

from *DT* and *NA* respectively read: “Section 65 *haunts* House” (Phiri, 2007, Sept 13) and “Section 65 *haunts* Bingu” (Muwamba, 2006, Nov 15). This reinforces a previously held position that Section 65 is ‘dreadful’ and ‘fearsome’ which indirectly, echoes the ruling party’s ideology that this provision is unnecessary and should therefore, be declared unconstitutional.

4.2.3.3 Metaphors of Horror

Furthermore, the study also found that the news reports used metaphors to depict the consequences of the delay in passing the budget in a horrific state as exemplified by Excerpt 30 below:

Excerpt 30

UDF, MCP promises *hell* (*WN*, Kasunda, 23-24 June 2007)

Although ‘hell’ may mean state of misery and torture (*OALD*), this word also invokes religious (especially Christianity and Islam) belief of the place where devils and wicked people will be punished after death. This headline comes from the opposition’s quotation that “if government does not give a satisfactory explanation they should blame themselves if the budget is rejected.” By likening the rejection of budget to ‘hell’, this does not only highlight the horrific situation the country will be in, but it also hides that government in such circumstances can withdraw money from consolidated fund for running government affairs until the budget is passed (Government of Malawi, 1994).

Furthermore, Section 65 is also described as prickly provision. The excerpt below illustrates this.

Excerpt 31

Section 65 still *thorny* (*NA*, Sonani, 19 May, 2008)

Although, *OALD* also equates the word ‘thorny’ to ‘causing difficulty or disagreement,’ it’s connection to ‘something that has thorns’ invokes sensation of prickling. This depiction of Section 65 as a ‘thorn’ might make it appear horrific to readers that this provision be declared unconstitutional. This metaphor contributed in hiding that Section 65 was intended to strengthen the country’s democracy by ensuring that MPs who cross the floor should seek a fresh mandate from their constituents (Chinsinga, 2008).

In connection to its horrific presentation, Section 65 is also likened to a catastrophe. This was more common in NPL newspapers as illustrated in Excerpt 32 below:

Excerpt 32

The Constitutional Court’s interpretation last week of Section 65 of the constitution has sent *huge tremors* in the state house with president Bingu wa Mutharika fearing that the Speaker is likely to apply the fearsome provision... (NA, Muwamba, 15 November 2006).

In Excerpt 32 above, Court ruling that validated Section 65 is equated to a mini-earthquake. This highlights the catastrophic effects of the ruling on the State House. However, the ruling is also destructive to the whole nation as another headline reads: “June 4: Doomsday” (NA, Muwamba, 10 May 2007). The word ‘doomsday’ is the last day of the world (*OALD*). However, June 4 was the date set for the Supreme Court of Appeal to deliver its ruling on the validity of Section 65. Using this metaphor of doom, the article foregrounded the destructive effects of Section 65 to the highest proportion. This implicitly, rallied people against implementing Section 65.

4.2.3.4 Metaphors of Culinary Nature

Since one of the prerequisite, for invoking Section 65 is that Parliament has to be in session, a call for parliament to meet especially when it was prorogued by the president was described in culinary terms. This is demonstrated in Excerpt 33 below:

Excerpt 33

Leader of the House Henry Chimunthu-Banda has that said calling for sitting of Parliament could be a *recipe for chaos* because of the opposition's instance on the implementation of Section 65 (WN, Namangale, 16-17 February 2008).

OALD define 'recipe' as 'a set of instructions for preparing a food dish and their ingredients'. Using this culinary metaphor makes the occurrence of chaos more predictable since following a recipe leads a cook in preparing the required dishes. This implicitly justify the President's proroguing of parliament as a way of abating the anticipated chaos while backgrounding that the President had no power to prorogue Parliament without consulting the Speaker (Government of Malawi, 1994).

Furthermore, *DT* also describes consequences of the delay in passing the budget in culinary terms as in Excerpt 34 below:

Excerpt 34

A *cocktail* of economic problems are looming should opposition members of parliament continue to sabotage the 2007/08 budget (*DT*, Namwaza, 13 August 2007).

According to *OALD*, cocktail is 'a dish of different pieces of food usually served cold'. With this metaphor, the articles foreground the profusion of economic problems to affect

Malawi should the budget delay. However, as already stated, this metaphor also hides that government can withdraw money from consolidated account pending budget deliberation (Government of Malawi, 1994).

4.2.3.5 Metaphors of Drama

The study has also found that the opposition parties' insistence on Section 65 was also depicted using dramatic or melodramatic metaphors. Excerpts 35 and 36 below reads:

Excerpt 35

Section 65 *Drama*: MLS says serving injunctions on Speaker unlawful
(NA, Pemba, 21 September 2007)

Excerpt 36

The tired song that has been playing on the stage of National Assembly ...
was repeated yesterday with the opposition demanding that budget
deliberations cannot go on unless the government agree that they will table
the controversial Section 65.... (DT, Munthali, 14 August 2007).

In Excerpt 35, the word 'drama' likens Section 65 to a play that is associated with amusement with little or no serious work. Excerpt 36, on the other hand, depicts the opposition's stand to table Section 65 in a more surreal drama-like mode. By likening Section 65 to drama and members of the opposition parties insisting on its implementation as its actors, these metaphors foregrounds weirdness of the opposition MPs' stand. However, this backgrounds that such behaviour of opposition MPs may be necessary for the country's nascent democracy as it helps to strengthen the country's constitutional requirement which the executive swore to uphold.

4.2.3.6 Metaphors of Competition

One of the metaphors which seem to be running through the texts is that of likening the controversy regarding invoking Section 65 and discussing the budget to a legal tussle or sporting competition. This was common in BNL and the headlines in Excerpts 37 and 38 exemplify this:

Excerpt 37

Budget vs. Section 65: Government turns to Court (*DT*, Munthali, 27 July 2007)

Excerpt 38

Budget vs. Section 65: Government seeks guidance (*DT*, Kasawala, 30 June 2008)

The word ‘versus’ which is abbreviated ‘vs.’, means against or in opposition to and this is either a legal or sporting jargon. In a legal tussle, for instance, it implies that ‘Budget’ is the complainant or plaintiff which people normally sympathise with, while section 65 is a defendant. On the other hand, as a sporting metaphor, for instance in football, it implies that in this contest, ‘Budget’ is on the home ground while Section 65 is a visiting team. Taken from both legal and sporting field, this metaphor foregrounds that one agenda item between the two should dominate in the House. However, such polarity hides the possibility that the two issues can be dealt with concurrently as proposed by the clergy mediating in the political impasse.

Metaphors of competition were also observed in NPL. Excerpt 39 below illustrates this.

Excerpt 39

The opposition's change of heart this week to start deliberating on the budget is merely a *delaying tactic* as the group has insisted that it will not pass the 2008/09 fiscal plan unless government signs the MoU brokered by the mediating clergy (WN, Mmana & Sonani, 9 – 10 August 2008).

The phrasing 'delaying tactic' means a deliberate hindrance (*OALD*). Although, the ruling party refused to sign the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) drafted by the mediating clergy to end impasse, the use of 'delaying tactics' in Excerpt 39 above implies that the two parties are in a competition. This highlights that the opposition parties' actions were deliberately intended to frustrate the government business while hiding that such actions may be due to the ruling party's refusal to sign MoU. This negatively represent the opposition parties' actions while mitigating the negative representation of the ruling party for refusing to sign the MoU.

4.2.4 Discourse Representation

This study found four main modes of discourse representation. Basing on Fairclough's terminology, these modes of representations are: Direct Discourse (DD), Indirect Discourse (ID), Direct Discourse Slipping (DD(S)) and Direct Discourse Unsignalled (UNSIG). These are discussed from sub-sections 4.2.4.1. to 4.2.4.3. below.

4.2.4.1 Modes of Representation in Headlines

The study found that there were three dominant modes of discourse representation in headlines in both newspaper stables namely: DD, ID and UNSIG. These are indicated in Table 3 below:

Table 3: Mode of representation for news headlines

PAPERS	DD	ID	DD(S)	UNSIG	TOTALS
<i>DT & MW</i>	11 (14%)	2 (3%)	0 (0%)	67 (83%)	80 (100%)
<i>NA & WN</i>	26 (34%)	4 (5%)	0 (0%)	46 (61%)	76 (100%)
TOTALS	37 (24%)	6 (4%)	0 (0%)	113 (72%)	156 (100%)

From Table 3 above, two notable findings are the absence of headlines that were slipping from secondary discourse to primary discourse (DD(S)) and the proliferation of direct discourse unsignalled (UNSIG) which contributed 72% of all headlines in both stables. However, since DD(S) disparages the views being reported, its conspicuous absence in the headlines may be a marketing strategy to attract clients from both sides of the debate to read the article. On the other hand, a careful analysis of UNSIG as used in the headlines should shed more light regarding their choice. In Table 4 below are examples of headlines in this category.

Table 4: UNSIG headlines in BNL and NPL

NO.	<i>DT & MW</i>	<i>NA & WN</i>
1.	Section 65 invalid	To hell with Section 65
2.	Budget fight not yet over	Budget or out!
3.	Malawi risks unrest	Section 65 haunts Bingu

In these examples, the secondary discourse appears as if they are primary discourse in that they discarded reporting clauses and the tense is not back shifted. This echoes Fairclough (1995a) observation that usually news media show ambivalence to distinguish primary and secondary discourse and this implies that the paper is in agreement with the principal view such that the article are merely disseminating the principal's view. In other words, both principals support the insignificance of Section 65 as can be witnessed from first two headlines in both newspaper stables in Table 4 above. The third headlines in the table also imply that the principals in both stables are acquiescent with the effects of delaying the budget deliberations and invoking Section 65 respectively. In this case, the failure to demarcate primary from secondary discourse leads to the “translation of official viewpoints into a public domain” (Fairclough, 1995b: 61) which in this case, was against invoking Section 65 and delay in budget deliberations. However, this dual voicing stems from the producer's attempt to align with the audience in order to get more revenue and this was more common in BNL news headlines (contributing to 83%) than NPL newspapers which was at 61%.

However, sometimes UNSIG headlines were put in scare quotes as in Table 5 below:

Table 5: UNSIG headlines in scare quotes

No.	<i>DT & MN</i>	<i>NA & WN</i>
1.	‘No Section 65 until 2009 elections’	‘Section 65 validity might weaken gvt’
2.	‘Injunctions against the Speaker a mockery to justice’	‘No Section 65, no Parliament’

These headlines were considered UNSIG due to their lack of reporting clauses that qualifies them as DD. In this case, while the first headlines in both stables were derived from principals who supported the ruling party's view, the last headlines were from Section 65 advocates. Hence, although UNSIG function as information disseminators as discussed above, this may not always be the case for headlines in Table 5 above since as Richardson (2007) observes, in order to appear objective news producers use scare quotes to distance themselves from the views they are reporting on. These can be unravelled when their leads are analysed. Excerpts 40 and 41 below are therefore, leads from the first headlines in both BNL and NPL respectively.

Excerpt 40

President Bingu wa Mutharika *made it clear* that he will not allow the invocation of section 65... (DT, Phiri, 9 June 2008).

Excerpt 41

The decision by the constitution to uphold the validity of Section 65 of the Constitution [...] will weaken the executive branch of government, analysts have said (NA, Kumwenda, 8 November 2006).

In Excerpts 40 and 41, through lexicalisation (use of the phrase 'made it clear') and thematisation (by preposing the reported discourse to an unquestionable thematic position) showed that the producer endorsed the principal's view. In this case, the scare quotes may have been used to escape from claims of bias while disseminating those views. This is different from Excerpts 42 and 43 below that are the leads from second headlines in Table 5 above.

Excerpts 42

UDF leader in Parliament George Mtafu yesterday said the court injunctions stopping Speaker of Parliament from acting on Section 65 is a *'mockery to justice'* (DT, Munthali, 12 July 2007).

Excerpt 43

UDF leader in the House yesterday *accused* government of trying to dodge a proposal by the clergy mediating in the country's political impasse... (NA, Namangale, 27 June 2008).

For Excerpts 42 and 43 above, scare quotes ('mockery to justice') as was in the headline and lexicalisation (use illocutionary word 'accused') disparages the views of the principal. Hence, since the use of UNSIG indicates dissemination, in this case, it is the denigration of opposition parties' views that is being promulgated thereby backgrounding their ideologies.

On the other hand, DD was the second most common mode of representation with NPL contributing about 34% while BNL was at 14%. However, it should be stated here that headlines were categorised as DD due to the presence of a reporting clause despite their lack of quotation marks. 87% of the DDs in NPL left out the reporting verb. The use of this mode shows the producers' commitment to give exact form of the words from the principal which they wish to associate with, or distance from (Richardson, 2007). Hence, there was more DD in NPL than in BNL which can be looked at as the media house' intent to enact best performances of professional information management for the headline, in order to attract readerships.

However, results of the articles analysed from the *DT* and *MN* reveal that DD was employed either to associate with or distance from the principal's words. For instance, two headlines read: "Remove Section 65, Bingu *asks*," and "MPs key to Section 65 settlement, say MHRC". While the president's views are positively endorsed by the paper in the former headlines due to the use of a word 'asks', the producer(s) remain(s) neutral to the views of Malawi Human Rights Commission (MHRC) in the latter headline which gives the MPs power either to repeal Section 65 or leave it in the country's constitution. This was possibly because in the opposition dominated House, repealing it wouldn't be possible but instead Parliament would rather give it more power.

On the other hand, the use reporting verbs in the headlines was rare in *NA* and *WN* although an analysis on these supports the findings from BNL above. Two headlines from this stable read: "Resolve Section 65, says Law Society" and "Budget first, Bingu urges MPs." As already indicated, the headlines did not come with quotations. While the reporting verbs in the former headline remains neutral to the views of MLS due to the use of word 'says', the paper positively endorsed Bingu's view in the latter headline through its use of the verb 'urges' which according to *OALD*, means appeal. In this case, they defended Bingu's view of discussing budget without strings attached. This helped in foregrounding the ruling party ideology.

However, the commonest DD in *NA* and *WN* used a dash instead of a verb in the reporting phrase as can be seen in Excerpts 44 to 47 below:

Excerpt 44

We want justice on Section 65-Muluzi (NA, Somanje, 14 July 2008)

Excerpt 45

Start Section 65 Process –JZU (NA, Sonani, 2 July 2008)

Excerpt 46

Don't use Section 65-Livingstonia Synod (NA, Nyirongo, 16 November 2006)

Excerpt 47

Opposition childish-Bingu (NA, Munthali, 7 May 2008)

Interpretation of primary discourse is controlled through contextualisation (Volosinov as cited in Fairclough, 1995a) and as we have seen above, the use of a reporting verb is of one way of contextualising primary discourse. However, although excerpt 44 and 45 were derived from opposition party leaders while Excerpts 46 and 47 came from principals who supported the ruling party's view, a dash is used in both cases instead of the reporting verb. An analysis of the leads (as shown in the preceding sections as well as the sections that follow) has shown that even NA and WN also had been towing the ruling party's ideology. In this case, although the discarding of the reporting verb may be for stylistic reasons, it could also be done to attract as many readers as possible by appearing to equally represent both sides of the controversy in headlines to attract more readership which could consequently, bring them more advertising revenue.

4.2.4.2 Mode of Representation in the Leads

In leads, the results indicate three modes of representation namely; ID, DD(S) and UNISIG as shown in Table 6 on the page below:

Table 6: Mode of representation in leads

PAPERS	DD	ID	DD(S)	UNSIG	TOTALS
<i>NA & WN</i>	0 (0%)	50 (66%)	12 (16%)	14 (18%)	76 (100%)
<i>DT & MW</i>	0 (0%)	41(51%)	16 (20%)	23 (29%)	80 (100%)
TOTALS	0 (0%)	91 (58%)	28 (18%)	37 (24%)	156 (100%)

One notable thing from Table 6 above is the absence of DD. However, this can be due to journalistic requirement that a good lead should contain 5Ws and H i.e. who, what, where, when, why and how (Leiter, Harris & Johnson, 2000) which may not be possible in DD. It is therefore, not surprising that most leads are in ID (66% in *NA* and *WN* and 51% in *DT* and *MN*). However, a more interesting feature is a high number of leads that were in DD(S) and UNSIG which were 20% and 29% respectively in *DT* and *MN* and 16% and 18% respectively in *NA* and *WN*. In essence, DD(S) and UNSIG leads contributed 34% of the total leads in NPL and 49% in BNL. Since DD(S) indicate the producers' attempt to distance themselves from a particular view or denigrating it while UNSIG suggest the paper' effort to disseminate views being reported, as can be seen from the table above, BNL showed a high tendency to both disseminate and denigrate or distance from certain views being reported than NPL. However, a clear analysis of the three modes of representation should shed more light about the ideology the newspapers disseminated and the one they denigrated or distanced themselves from and these are discussed below from sub-sections 4.2.4.2.1. to sub-section 4.2.4.2.3.

4.2.4.2.1 Indirect Discourse in BNL and NPL

As can be seen in the table above, ID was the commonest mode of representation in the newspapers analysed due to journalists' emphasis that a lead should capture the 5Ws and H. However, a careful analysis on reporting verbs reveals interesting ideological manifestations in the news reports. The Excerpts 48 and 49 below exemplify this.

Excerpt 48

Finance Minister Goodall Gondwe yesterday sent a *stern warning* to the opposition that if the current impasse on Section 65 spills over to 2008/09 budget process, the country would not be able to hold 2009 Presidential and Parliamentary elections (NA, Sonani, 14 March 2008).

Excerpt 49

Finance Minister Goodall Gondwe has *reiterated* that the opposition's insistence to advance Section 65 over parliamentary business could make 2009 Presidential and Parliamentary elections fail to take place (DT, Khunga, 14 March 2008).

In the excerpts above, Finance Minister's statement to the opposition is described as a 'stern warning' or a 'reiteration' which means inform somebody of danger and repeating for the sake of emphasis respectively (OALD). These imply that the producers are in agreement with what the principal was saying. On the other hand, when the principal of the report is a member of the opposition as in the Excerpts 42 and 43 discussed above, either a neutral reporting verb (say) is used or a negative and evaluative word (accused) is used. This led to the representation of the ruling party in positive terms while the opposition parties were negatively represented.

4.2.4.2.2 DD(S) in BNL and NPL

As already discussed above, *DT* and *MN* had a good number of leads that were in DD(S) than *NA* and *WN*. Pajunen (2008) calls this scare quotes while to Richardson (2007), they are strategic quotations and it is used either to disparage other views or distance themselves (the producers) from it. The Excerpts 50 and 51 below illustrate this.

Excerpt 50

The mediating clergy in the current political impasse in parliament have proposed to the warring parties a “carefully sequenced and concurrent ‘implementation of two constitutional requirements: the passing of the budget and the implementation of Section 65’ in ‘a packaged solution’” (*DT*, Kashoti, 19 June 2008).

Excerpt 51

The government says it does not understand the statement given by the clergy who are mediating the country’s political impasse that have agreed to handle the section 65 and budget in a “packaged solution” saying the two issues are different and have to be tackled differently (*NA*, Sonani, 30 June 2008).

In this case, the scare quotes within scare quotes as in “carefully sequenced and concurrent ‘implementation of two constitutional requirements: the passing of the budget and the implementation of Section 65’ in ‘a packaged solution’” in Excerpt 50 or scare quotes around “packaged solution” in Excerpt 51 either disparages the proposal by the mediating clergy or distances the producers from it. This may contribute in making readers question the efficacy of the mediators’ proposal in ending the political impasse.

In addition, scare quotes were also used to ridicule opposition's and civil societies' views that do not agree with the producer's point of view if not distance themselves from it. Excerpts 52 and 53 below illustrate this.

Excerpt 52

The HRCC have added their voice to the confused aftermath of Supreme Court ruling on Section 65 accusing DPP and cabinet as being 'immature and irresponsible' (*NA*, Muhariwa, 5 July 2007).

Excerpt 53

The UDF Leader in the House George nga Mtafu yesterday said the court injunctions stopping Speaker of Parliament from acting on Section 65 is a 'mockery to justice' (*DT*, Munthali, 2 July 2007).

In the Excerpt 52 above, Human Rights Consultative Committee (HRCC)'s view that the Executive's action for proroguing the parliament before budget deliberations in order to prevent the Speaker from declaring certain seats of its MPs vacant, as immature and irresponsible are being distanced from the producer if not disparaged. The same is also the case in Excerpt 53 where the producer distanced themselves from the views of the UDF leader that court injunction stopping Speaker from acting on Section 65 is a mockery to justice or denigrates such a view.

However, the study has also found that DD(S) was also used by producers to distance themselves from the principal's sensitive words in order to achieve the principal of objectivity while endorsing it. This was a common feature in NPL than in BNL. The excerpts 54 and 55 below illustrate this.

Excerpt 54

President Bingu wa Mutharika yesterday *warned* the country's opposition that he will fight with all his might and show them that he is not a "cat", the opposition has been taking him for, but a "tiger" (NA, Theu, 17 April 2008).

Excerpt 55

President Bingu wa Mutharika has *described* the opposition's complaints over Section 65 as "chicken cries" and a strategy to gain sympathy (NA, Munthali, 7 May 2008).

The use of scare quotes for the word 'cat' and 'tiger' in Excerpt 54 above, may be intended to evade responsibility for using such derisive words while on the other hand they are in agreement with its connotative meaning. This is reinforced by the newspaper's use of illocutionary reporting verb 'warned' which means to inform somebody in advance of something (*OALD*) instead of a neutral word 'said'. In Excerpt 55, although the scare quotes on 'chicken cries' may seem to distance the producers from the phrase's pejorative meaning, their mere usage has the ability to make readers not to take the opposition's stand seriously. This is reinforced by the choice of a positive reporting verb 'describe'.

4.2.4.2.3 UNSIG in BNL and NPL

The study has also revealed a high incidence of UNSIG in the leads. By UNSIG it means the representation of secondary discourse in primary discourse such that the reporting clause is discarded. The Excerpts 56 and 57 below exemplify how this was done.

Excerpt 56

A total of 85 MPs would lose their seats if Speaker applied Section 65(1) of the Constitution ... requiring taxpayers to raise over K900 million for by-elections (*WN*, Munthali, 11-12 November 2006).

Excerpt 57

The procurement of fertiliser by government which is in turn sold to small holder farmers at a subsidised rate will have to be delayed if MPs continue to delay in passing the budget (*DT*, Nyaungulu, 21 July 2006).

The leads in Excerpts 56 and 57 are not clear whether they belong to primary discourse or the secondary one since there is no reporting clause. Hence, the secondary voice of the producer is indistinguishable from the primary voice of the principal and this implies the articles' preoccupation on disseminating the principals' view. In this case, these news articles are not only reporting on the economic consequences of invoking Section 65 and the danger of budget delay but are also disseminating such views despite donor readiness to fund the resulting by-elections (Sonani, 2006) and the constitution allowing government to draw money such money from Consolidated Account (Malawi Government, 1994). Hence, UNSIG was therefore, used to propagate the ruling party's ideology.

4.2.5 Modality

This study used Fairclough's (1989) classification of modality into expressive and relational which were further grouped into validity, predictability, desirability, permission and obligation basing on Fowler's (1985). The results show that there was a

preponderance on modality of predictability while modality of desirability was the most unpopular in both newspaper stables as can be seen on Table 7 below:

Table 7: Types of modality in headlines and leads

Newspaper	Expressive			Relational	
	Validity	Predictability	Desirability	Permission	Obligation
<i>DT & MN</i>	9 (14%)	27 (41%)	3 (5%)	14 (22%)	12 (18%)
<i>NA & WN</i>	12 (29%)	17 (42%)	5 (12%)	3 (7%)	4 (10%)
TOTAL	21 (20%)	44 (42%)	8 (7%)	17 (16%)	16 (15%)

4.2.5.1 Expressive Modality

The study has also found that there was prevalence of expressive modality (about 72% of all modal markers) than relational ones. Since news discourse is value laden, it is understandable that the producer(s)'evaluated the truth of the events they reported on. An in-depth analysis on each of these modalities from sub-section 4.2.5.1.1. to sub-section 4.2.5.1.3 below shed more light regarding their choice.

4.2.5.1.1 Validity

The articles analysed reveal that there was a high tendency in both stables of newspapers that propositions about Section 65 and its associated effects are presented as categorical truths without the intermediate modalities. Excerpts 58 to 61 illustrate this.

Excerpt 58

Section 65 precedent dangerous (*DT*, Nyirenda, 25 June 2007)

Excerpt 59

Section 65 invalid (*MN*, Chimgwede, 18-24 October 2008)

Excerpt 60

Section 65 a disaster for all parties (*NA*, Chilobwe, 17 November 2006)

Excerpt 61

By-elections after Section 65 impossible (*NA*, Sonani, 7 July 2008)

In all the headlines above, the verbs are non-modal present tense form. This allowed the newspapers to present opinions and speculations about Section 65 and its assumed consequences as categorical truths. Through these headlines, the producers show a high level of confidence in the truth of their proposition. Such lack of modulation supports the view of the world as a transparent one without the text producer's intervention (Koosha & Shams, 2005) and this consequently naturalised ideology implicit in them.

4.2.5.1.2 Predictability

From the articles analysed this was the most common category as can be seen in Table 7 above. This was mainly done by using the modal auxiliary 'will' in what Koosha & Shams (2005) calls predictive statements. Excerpts 62 to 65 below illustrate this.

Excerpt 62

...John Tembo has urged Speaker of National Assembly Louis Chimango to be strong on Section 65 [...] which if implemented *will* leave DPP in disarray (DT, Ng'ambi, 12 November 2006).

Excerpt 63

The procurement of fertiliser by government [...] *will* have to be delayed if MPs continue to delay in passing of the budget. (DT, Nyaungulu, 21 July 2006).

Excerpt 64

...the removal of injunctions *will not* solve anything but bring more problems (NA, Sonani, 2 July 2008).

Excerpt 65

...deliberating on the budget is only a delaying tactic as the group has insisted that it *will not* pass the 2008/09 fiscal plan unless government signs MoU... (WN, M'mana, 9-10 August 2008).

The modal verb 'will' and its negative polar 'will not' in the Excerpts 62 – 65 above, give a strong predictive force. Hence, since such events have a high probability of occurring or not occurring. This in turn had a possibility of bringing fear and despair among uncritical audience. For instance, although Excerpt 62 strongly predict chaos for DPP if Section 65 is implemented, some legal scholars had argued that only MPs who left their parties after the formation of DPP would be affected by the invocation of Section 65 (Mphepo, July

18, 2008). On the other hand, Excerpt 63 predicts the delay in procurement of fertiliser for Farm Input Subsidy Programme (FISP) although Hon. Dzanjalimodzi said the funds for these activities could be solicited from the Consolidated Account as per the constitutional requirements. On the same point, Excerpt 64 strongly predicts that removing injunctions may not solve anything when the mediating clergy proposed the same thing as a solution to the country's impasse. Hence, this use of strong predictive modal verbs elevates opinions and speculations about invoking Section 65 or delay in passing the budget to the status of facts. In some cases however, high predictive forces were indicated by substituting 'to' for 'will' as in headlines from *DT* in Excerpts 66 and 67 below:

Excerpt 66

Civil servants salaries *to* be rationed (Nyaungulu, 24 July 2006)

Excerpt 67

Fertiliser procurement *to* be delayed (Nyaungulu, 21 July 2006)

Excerpts 66 and 67 make categorical predictions on the negative consequences of delaying in passing the budget although this could be prevented by sourcing the money from Consolidated Account as already alluded to above. These highly predictive modality might have brought anxiety to people and this consequently, had the capability of drumming up support for budget to be passed as soon as possible so that the nation can avert the looming danger.

This study also could not find any BNL headline carrying a low predictive force although these were common in NPL as we read in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 68

If section 65 torpedoes budget, 2009 polls *may* fail (NA, Sonani, 14 March 2008)

Excerpt 69

Section 65 *might* weaken government (NA, Kumwenda, 8 November 2006)

However, leads in both newspaper stables, contained some low predictive modal verbs as can be read in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 70

Government *may* be forced to consider rationing salaries if parliament does not pass budget... (DT, Nyaungulu, 24 July 2006).

Excerpt 71

President Bingu wa Mutharika *might* get some respite from the marauding Section 65 if Speaker of Parliament listens to the proposal by the Livingstonia Synod... (NA, Nyirongo, 16 November 2006).

Modal verbs such as ‘may’ and ‘might’ carry with it low predictive force. However, in Excerpts 68 and 70 even such a low prediction should not have been made when one considers that such monies can be withdrawn from the Consolidated Account as stipulated in the constitution (Government of Malawi, 1994). On the other hand, while low prediction in Excerpt 69 still indicated a possibility of weakening government (the executive), in Excerpt 71 it is the possibility of the president getting a reprieve (that entails the president was then in danger) that is being presented as a low possibility. Implicitly, this supported the ruling party’s ideology that Section 65 is dangerous. There was also a tendency especially in BNL to change low predictive modal verbs as used in

the lead to its respective high predictive modal markers in headline. This can be noticed in Excerpt 70 above whose headline has high predictive modality in Excerpt 66. This helped to foreground the negative consequences of the delay in passing the Budget.

4.2.5.1.3 Desirability

This is achieved by using modal verbs *should* and *would* among others. Basing on the Table 7 above, this was the least common category representing 8% of all the modality markers. However, despite their paucity, its careful analysis reveals interesting results about the newspapers' construction of reality.

First, desirability modal markers were used to show a strong desirability as can be seen in Excerpt 72 below:

Excerpt 72

Government *is expected* to protest to court should the National Assembly not start discussing the budget by July 31, 2007 (*DT*, Munthali, 27 July 2007).

In this excerpt, the passive verb form 'is expected' is equivalent to 'should' as a strong desirability modal. It therefore, depicts what the producer(s) desire as something every well meaning Malawian also expect to happen. Another high desirability modality system is also used as the producers predict collapse of budget deliberations as in the Excerpt 73 below:

Excerpt 73

Government *should* brace for tough time during the budget meeting that start tomorrow (*WN*, Kasunda, 30 June – 1 July 2007).

Excerpt 73 is about Mpasu's comment that "if government does not give satisfactory explanation [on Section 65 injunctions], they should blame themselves if the budget deliberations flops". The use of modal 'should' in Excerpt 73 above without the necessary condition as given by Mpasu does not only background opposition MPs views but also entails a categorical prediction that the government will not allow any deliberation on Section 65.

Although both BNL and NPL employed desirability modality markers, this was more common in NPL than in BNL as can be seen in Table 7 above. This was done using the modal verb 'should' to signal a stronger sense of desire than 'would' (Halliday, 1994) and this is illustrated in Excerpts 74 and 75 below:

Excerpt 74

Zomba Central MP, [...] said that the opposition *should* wait for 2009 if they want anything about the law which deals with crossing the floor in parliament (NA, Kaluwa, 9 April 2008).

Excerpt 75

... government stated that Section 65 of the constitution *should not* be part of the National Assembly deliberations, insiders said (NA, Banda, 30 June 2008).

In Excerpts 75 above, the strong negation of the opposition's desires to deliberate on Section 65 set this ideology aside as undesirable. On the other hand, the portrayal of the ruling party's desire to appeal Section 65 ruling and (or) to leave it until 2009 elections in Excerpts 72 and 74 respectively, made the ruling party ideology to be the preferred alternative thereby naturalised it. This is what Chomsky and Herman (1988) calls

‘manufacturing consent’ since the ruling party’s views are portrayed as common sense in order to win people’s consent on their ideology.

4.2.5.2 Relational Modality

The study found that 31% of all modal markers belonged to this category. The sub-sections 4.2.5.2.1. and 4.2.5.2.2. below discuss the findings of this modality system in detail.

4.2.5.2.1 Permission

In the articles analysed this was mainly done using the modal verb ‘can’ and its negative counterpart ‘cannot’ or ‘can’t.’ In both media houses, this was used in connection to what the law does or does not permit. Although this was not common NPL news headlines, this was a common feature in BNL as can be attested by headlines from BNL in Excerpts 76 and 77 below exemplify this.

Excerpt 76

Bingu *can* appeal on section 65 – Court (DT, Nyirenda, 24 January 2007)

Excerpt 77

I *can’t* act on Section 65 – Speaker (DT, Kashoti, 7 May 2008)

In all these cases, it is the court which is either allowing or preventing the principal to (from) acting in a certain way. Such kind of news reporting left very little room if any, in the audience’s mind that there might be an alternative solution to the political crisis that was then at hand other than using courts. Permissive modal markers were also observed in the leads and this was common in both BNL and NPL as in the Excerpts 78 and 79 below:

Excerpt 78

The High Court in Lilongwe ruled that the opposition UDF and Mtafu *can't* join a case in which 41 MPs are stopping Speaker of National Assembly from declaring their seats vacant... (DT, Kashoti, 17 July 2007).

Excerpt 79

[...] Speaker of National Assembly Louis Chimango *cannot* rule on all petitions [...] as two court cases still stand on his way (MN, M'mana, 11-17 November 2006).

In the two excerpts above, the court is represented as preventing the UDF and Mtafu, and Louis

Chimango from joining Section 65 case and making a ruling on Section 65 respectively. However, although these are represented as categorical truths, UDF and Mtafu were later accepted as friends of court and the Chief Justice stated that the Speaker is free to rule on Section 65 (Chikoko, 2008).

Despite the conspicuous absence of these modality markers in NA and WN headlines, permissive modal system was however, noticed in their leads although this was done sparingly. Excerpts 80 and 81 below are examples of these leads.

Excerpt 80

Confusion continued to reign in Parliament yesterday, [...] following Speaker Louis Chimango's statement that he *could not* act on the controversial Section 65 of the constitution. (NA, Munthali, 7 May 2008).

In the excerpt above, ‘could not’ signals not being permitted by the law. However, sometimes this modulation was also made using other lexicalisation as in the lead below:

Excerpt 81

The Speaker of National Assembly has between today and next Monday to free himself from legal implications of any action on Section 65 as he still *has no powers to* make any meaningful ruling. (NA, Sonani, 24 April 2008).

The phrase ‘has no powers’ imply that according to the legal provisions, he cannot make the ruling on Section 65. Such categorical modal markers foregrounded legal solutions to the political impasse while backgrounding the fact that the problem could be solved diplomatically. This kind of reporting had the ability to drum up public support against invocation of Section 65 or against UDF and Mtafu joining Section 65 case.

4.2.5.2.2 Obligation

Lillian (2008) observes that obligation is signalled by modal verbs such as ‘ought to’, ‘should’ and more importantly ‘must’. However, one of the surprising findings in this study is the absence of the modal verb ‘must’ or ‘ought to’ (which signal strong obligation) in all the headlines and the leads analysed. However, the use of ‘should’ for obligation was also common as can be seen in the excerpts 82 and 83 below:

Excerpt 82

The Leader of Opposition in Parliament John Tembo yesterday said that Parliament *should* be summoned quickly to authorise government’s spending for up to four months (DT, Kashoti, 2 July 2008).

Excerpt 83

Speaker ... Louis Chimango was yesterday forced to adjourn budget sitting [...] as the opposition demanded that the Finance Minister Goodall Gondwe *should* present an appropriation bill first... (DT, Kashoti, 5 August 2008).

In the above excerpts, the modal verb ‘should’ signal weak obligation. Excerpt 82 was reported when government had started spending without parliament authorisation while Excerpt 83 came out when the said parliament meeting was called. Hence, since the constitution requires that parliament must authorise any government spending and that Appropriation Bill be tabled to normalise illicit expenditures (Malawi Government, 1994), these leads should have used a strong obligation modal verb like ‘must’ since this is what the constitution stipulated. In this case, the use of a weak obligation modal verb ‘should’ instead of ‘must’ reduces the ruling party’s compulsion to follow it since ‘should’ signals a weak obligation while ‘must’ gives categorical obligation.

NA and WN, on the other hand, used this modal verb sparingly. However, a careful analysis of those leads where it was used, is illuminating as can be observed in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 84

Mediators in the crisis talks between the opposition and government have proposed a nine-day time-frame in which budget and Section 65 *should* be tackled concurrently and concluded simultaneously (WN, M’mana, 5-6 July 2008).

Excerpt 85

PAC says government *should* allow debate on Section 65 and a decision be made so that things should start moving smoothly again... (NA, Nyirongo, 30 April 2008).

In both Excerpts 84 and 85 above, a weak obligation ‘should’ has been chosen instead of categorical ‘must’ even though the event they were reporting required the modal ‘must’. For Excerpt 84, the MoU that the mediating clergy prepared compelled the House to discuss both the budget and Section 65 concurrently. In Excerpt 85, although PAC’s view is assigned a weak obligation, its members as part of the mediating clergy, are asking government to abide by the MoU that they brokered. Hence, a strong obligation would have been ideal in this case. This weakening of the obligation might have helped to ensure that the ruling party is not strongly obligated to abide by MoU brokered by the clergy. This indirectly supported the ruling party’s ideology that Section 65 should neither be invoked nor deliberated on.

4.2.6 Thematic Structure

As Brown and Yule (1983) observe, in English, a ‘theme’ is the left most formal constituent of the sentence and everything that follows it is a ‘rheme’. The theme sets out the context from which the rest of the sentence is viewed while the rheme develops the theme. English thematic structure, therefore, interacts the informational structure in that the theme is picked from the chunk of ‘given’ information while the rheme is the ‘new’ information. Halliday and Matthiesen (2014) call this unmarked theme. However, when

theme of a clause is not the subject, it is called a marked theme. Table 8 below shows the findings on frequencies marked and unmarked themes in headlines and leads analysed.

Table 8: Frequencies of marked and unmarked themes in headlines and leads

Newspaper	Marked Theme	Unmarked Theme
<i>DT & MN</i>	77 (46%)	91 (54%)
<i>NA & WN</i>	60 (42%)	84 (58%)
TOTAL	137 (44%)	175 (56%)

As can be seen in Table 8 above, there was very little difference in terms of the producer(s)' choice of marked and unmarked themes in both headlines and leads. However, an analysis of these thematic structures in the headlines and leads shed more light into the commonsense assumptions that were taken-for-granted about the events being covered in connection to the budget and (or) Section 65. The sub-sections 4.2.6.1. and 4.2.6.2. below discuss the results of this analyses.

4.2.6.1 Thematic Patterns in Headlines

Out of 156 headlines in both stables of newspapers, 41% (64 themes) coincided with the given information and therefore, unmarked theme. Out of these unmarked themes, 59% (38 headlines) had either the leader of opposition parties, civil societies or people who supported the implementation of Section 65 as the principals. On the other hand, the principals for the remaining 41% (26 headlines) were members of the ruling party, government officials or supporters of the ruling party's views on Section 65. Since most headlines were complex clauses, there was a higher tendency of using a reporting clause

as a theme on news stories from the opposition parties. This puts their views as new and questionable thereby backgrounding them.

On the other hand, as can be seen on the statistics above, about 59% (92 headlines) employed marked themes in which case the thematic elements coincided with new and the rheme with the given. Out of these 92 headlines, 63% (58 headlines) were from members of the ruling party, government officials or people who were against invoking Section 65 while the remaining 37% (34 leads) were from the judiciary, members of opposition and other advocates of invocation of Section 65. Hence, there was a penchant for thematising new information or subordinate clauses in news stories from the supporters of the ruling party ideology. One way of producing marked themes was through passivisation. This enabled the agent of the sentence to be backgrounded or deleted completely while fronting the victim or circumstance to the thematic position. The headlines in the excerpts 86-89 below have italicised marked themes.

Excerpt 86

Civil servant salaries to be rationed (DT, Nyaungulu, 24 July 2006)

Excerpt 87

Chaos in parliament blamed on Muluzi (DT, Ng'ambi, 20 July 2006)

Excerpt 88

Government forced to sign commitment to Section 65 (NA, Munthali, 29 August 2008)

Excerpt 89

Government not shaken on Section 65 ruling (NA, Nyirongo, 14 November 2007)

In the Excerpts 86 – 89 above, it is the victim or circumstance that has been thematised. However, as alluded to above, although in Excerpt 86 the theme (taken-for-granted information) is civil servants' salaries, funds for such activities can be withdrawn from Consolidated Account. Excerpt 87, on the other hand, thematises the circumstance 'chaos in parliament' as given information which obscures the agents such as the ruling and opposition parties' misunderstanding regarding what to discuss in the National Assembly. That makes the ruling party unblemished. In Excerpt 88, the headline leaves out the agent while thematising the ruling party (victim) while the agent 'Section 65 ruling' is relegated to the Rhematic position through passivisation. However, the study did not find any passivised headline whose 'new' theme was the members of opposition or advocates of Section 65. The foregrounding of the effects the budget delay in Excerpts 86 and 87 and backgrounding of the agents in Excerpts 88 and 89 led to positive representation of the ruling party while mitigating their negative aspects as a party that is afraid of the judiciary, contributing to the chaos in Parliament or pressurised by opposition party to sign MoU.

Furthermore, marked themes were also achieved by thematising the producers' own comments on the value or validity of what they were about to say (Thompson, 1996). Both BNL and NPL newspapers showed this tendency as illustrated in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 90

Section 65 fears: Tembo, Mtafu rebuff the clergy (DT, Nyirenda, 15 June 2007)

Excerpt 91

Budget vs. Section 65: Government seeks guidance (DT, Kasawala, 30 June 2008)

In Excerpt 90, the opposition leaders refused to accept some of the religious leaders' proposal that Section 65 issue should be resolved out of court. The headline therefore would have been: 'Tembo, Mtafu rebuff clergy'. 'Section 65 fears' was therefore, the producers' interpretation of the meaning of opposition parties' response to the clergy. By thematising it, the producer categorised it as given therefore, unargued for or taken-for-granted information as if every well meaning Malawian is afraid of Section 65 ruling. In Excerpt 91, the headline should have been: 'Government seeks guidance in Budget vs. Section 65 impasse'. However, the producer's thematises their interpretation of the political impasse as a competition or a court case ('Budget vs. Section 65') and this backgrounded that the two issues could have been dealt with concurrently as the mediators proposed. Comment of this nature were also commonly thematised in NPL newspapers as can be seen from the excerpts below:

Excerpt 92

Bad day for government: Court upholds Section 65 (NA, Kumwenda, 8 November 2006)

Excerpt 93

Wheels of Section 65 begin to turn: Mwamondwe petition Speaker on 20 MPs (NA, Liwanda, 23 November 2006)

In Excerpt 92 above, the theme 'bad day for government' is merely the producer's comment on what the court's validation of Section 65 meant to the ruling party. It was possible to write 'good day for democracy' and this would have meant that the producers

are looking at this court ruling as upholding principles of democracy. Excerpt 93 could have been: ‘Mwamondwe petition Speaker as wheels of Section 65 begin to turn’ but instead it is the producers’ interpretation of Mwamondwe’s petition for the Speaker to declare 20 independent MPs’ seats vacant for joining UDF and MCP (Wheels of Section 65 begin to turn) that is thematised although Section 65 does not target independent MPs (Chinsinga, 2008). Hence, despite Thompson (1996: 129) observation that “one’s own attitude is a natural starting point” for a sentence, this becomes problematic in hard news articles where one is supposed to remain ‘neutral’ by merely reporting such events as they unfold. Hence, the thematic comments in both stables of newspapers, did not only set the contexts from which readers were to understand the rheme but these contexts were also presented as unargued for, taken-for-granted or common knowledge. This therefore, supported the ruling party’s ideology that Section 65 is destructive.

4.2.6.2 Thematic Patterns in the Leads

Out of the 156 leads analysed, 67% (104 leads) coincided with the given information and therefore, unmarked theme. Hence, there was a higher rate of unmarked themes in leads than in headlines and this could be due to the newspapers use of headlines as billboards to market their newspapers (Richardson, 2007). However, despite such an increase in the choice of unmarked themes which may show a higher degree of ‘fairness’, a critical analysis of these leads reveal a lot of ideological underpinnings in the choice of marked as well as unmarked themes.

First, of all the marked themes (52 leads), only 9% (5 leads) had the members of the opposition or people who supported their ideology as the main principal. Hence, since leads were mostly complex sentences, it was the reporting clause that was thematised if the story was coming from the opposition. This presented their views as rheme and therefore, new information which according to Gee (2005) may be questioned or contested. On the other hand, the remaining 91% (48 leads) were emanating from the ruling party members, government officials or people who supported the executive's ideology. These thematic patterns are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

One way through which marked themes were realised in the leads analysed was through fronting of victims and circumstances. This was achieved through nominalisation which is defined as the exchange of a verb phrase to a noun or noun phrase such that features of a sentence like action, participants and modality are deleted (Ng & Bradac, 1993). Excerpts 94 and 95 below illustrate this.

Excerpt 94

Paying civil servants, buying fertiliser on time and funding next year's elections are the major issues worrying Finance Minister Goodall Gondwe as the passing of 2008/09 budget continues to delay. (NA, Namangale, 4 July 2008).

Excerpt 95

Confusion continued to reign in parliament yesterday for the second day running as the opposition dominated House forced the early adjournment after sitting only for an hour and half following Speakers Louis Chimango statement that he could not act on controversial Section 65 of the constitution (NA, Munthali, 7 May 2008).

Through nominalisation, Excerpt 94 does not only leave out the agent (government) of such verbs turned into nouns like paying, buying and funding which obfuscated the government's responsibility, but they also present them in a strong predictive force due to their lack of modality. Their presentation in a thematic positions therefore, accentuated their unquestionable or taken-for-granted nature. On the other hand, Excerpt 95, also leaves out the agents as if the 'confusion' just erupted by itself or from the opposition as alluded to by the rheme instead of the misunderstanding between the ruling and opposition parties. This construction obscures the executive's role in all these actions which implicitly support the ruling party's ideology on the controversy.

The study also found that fronting took place in the leads through passivisation. This was done when the producers assumed that the reader(s) knew the agent(s) or they could be inferred from the news context itself. Excerpt 96 and 97 below indicate this.

Excerpt 96

The ruling on the controversial Section 65 will not be delivered this morning because three assigned constitutional court judges will be attending a luncheon at the New State House in Lilongwe (DT, Ng'ambi, 7 July 2006).

Excerpt 97

The procurement of fertiliser [...] will have to be delayed if MPs continue to delay in passing the budget (DT, Nyaungulu, 21 July 2006).

In Excerpt 96 above, passivisation has removed the judiciary from their Thematic position. This implicitly shields the judges from blame for postponing date for the ruling due to petty issues. On the other hand, in Excerpt 97, apart from nominalisation of the verb ‘procure’ which also leaves out the agent, passivisation has left out an agent for the verb ‘delay’. Another way to present this sentence would have been ‘Government will delay the procurement of fertiliser [...] if MPs continue to delay in passing the budget.’ However, this would have put the government as agents and therefore, be blamed for the delay in buying fertiliser. However, although the delay in fertiliser procurement is thematised as given information and therefore taken-for-granted, towards the end of the article Hon. Dzanjalimodzi said that money for such programmes could be drawn from consolidated fund. Since the lead is supposed to contain information that the producer considers important to the readers (Neilsen, 1996), this backgrounded the Dzanjalimodzi’s point of view although it was supported by the constitution.

Furthermore, the study has also found that sometimes it was the comments of the producers that were thematised creating what Thompson (1996) calls thematic comments. This was mainly common in *NA* and *WN* as Excerpts 98 – 99 below indicate.

Excerpt 98

The message is crystal clear from the main opposition parties in parliament [that] government should brace for tough time during the budget meeting that starts tomorrow (WN, Kasunda, 11-12 November 2007).

Excerpt 99

Those who thought that the parliament impasse is nearing its end better think twice [since] the opposition's change of heart this week to start deliberating on the budget is merely a delaying tactic as the group has insisted that it will not pass the 2008/09 fiscal plan unless government signs MoU brokered by the mediating clergy (WN, M'mana & Sonani, 9-10 August 2008).

In Excerpts 98 – 99 above, the words italicised are the producer's comments or interpretation of the opposition's point of view that they will only pass the budget if ruling party allows the Speaker to invoke Section 65. By putting the producer's comments as themes, these phrases are taken as a context from which the phrase that follows is to be interpreted. Hence, it is presented as if it is common knowledge that the opposition wanted the government to be in trouble and as such most casual readers may not question it. By thematising their own comments about the value or validity of what they were going to say (Thompson, 1996), the producers presented their own view of reality as common sense and therefore unquestionable.

The study has also found that in cases of clause complexes, themes were fronted especially if the principal of the article is the opposition or people who supported their view on Section 65. Normally, dependent clauses follow independent ones in English (Gee, 2005). The independent clause is therefore unmarked theme. However, some times, the dependent clause comes before the independent one and as such the dependent clause becomes a marked theme of the sentence (Thompson, 1996 & Gee, 2005). Excerpts 100 – 101 below indicate this.

Excerpt 100

Despite calls and demonstrations from civil society and other sections of society, leaders of main opposition parties UDF and MCP yesterday, said they would not compromise on Section 65 (DT, Chipalasa & Kashoti, 6 August 2007).

Excerpt 101

After holding out for a total of 78 days, opposition parties laid down their arms yesterday and with advocates of budget gasping in disbelief as they reacted to the financial blue print Finance Minister Goodall Gondwe tabled on June 29 2007 (DT, Munthali, 16 August 2007).

In Excerpt 100, the theme ‘despite calls and demonstrations from civil societies and other sections of the society’ gives a context in which opposition leaders may be viewed as stubborn. The lead in Excerpt 101 depicts opposition party’s former stand to refuse deliberating on the budget as a context for understanding a sigh of relief of the ruling party as well as that of the general public. Hence the opposition’s agreement to discuss the budget was therefore, depicted as what the general public wanted.

In addition, NPL also fronted dependent clause to a thematic position. Excerpts 102 and 103 are examples on this.

Excerpt 102

As President Bingu wa Mutharika was yesterday in Limbe reiterating his call that parliament should pass the 2008/09 budget by tomorrow, the opposition MPs at the New State House were busy rejecting the motion by government to curtail debate to enable the Finance Minister to wind up the debate (NA, Chibaya, 19 June 2008).

Excerpt 103

While Parliament will be in session, the Supreme Court of Appeal will be delivering its ruling on the controversial Section 65 case in which president Bingu wa Mutharika wants the provision invalidated... NA Muwamba, 2007 May 10).

In Excerpt 102, by thematising what the president said, this is regarded as an unquestioned information such that the opposition's actions to curtail deliberations were depicted as reckless for not heeding the call. Excerpt 103 is the lead for the headline 'June 4: Doomsday'. In this case, 'while parliament will be in session' as a theme creates a context for readers to understand the threat that the ruling may bring since if the opposition wins the case, the Speaker may invoke the section as soon as possible. This depicts Section 65 ruling as a dangerous provision which implicitly supports the ruling party's ideology.

Furthermore, the study has also revealed systematic instances of thematisation in sentences involving reported speech. Normally, the reporting clause is the theme and this is followed by the utterance the principal uttered as a rheme (Thompson, 1996). However, this study has found that the decision on what to thematise (between the reporting clause and the principal's utterance) was based on which side of the controversy the principal supported. When the principal was a members of the opposition parties, it was the reporting clause that was thematised as can be seen from Excerpts 104 - 105 below.

Excerpt 104

MCP president John Tembo yesterday said that his party expect to get a report on what is happening on Section 65 saying he is fed up with the delay to conclude the matter (DT, Kasunda, 6 June 2006).

Excerpt 105

United Democratic Front national Chairman and presidential candidate Bakili Muluzi yesterday said the opposition is not rejecting the budget as claimed by president Bingu wa Mutharika but rather seeking justice on legislators serving parties that did not usher them into parliament (NA, Somanje, 14 June 2008).

By thematising the reporting clause, the views of these principals were depicted as new information and therefore, questionable. In this case, what is given is that the leaders of MCP and UDF said something. This also happened to news stories from people who supported the opposition's ideology despite not being members of such parties. Excerpts 106 and 107 below demonstrate this.

Excerpt 106

The Eastern and Southern African regional programme (ESAP) under the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD) yesterday said 'it's no sense' and 'incorrect' for politicians to dump political parties that ushered them into Parliament to join other parties, saying such leaders lack 'morals' and 'ethics' (NA, M'mana, 14 March 2008).

Excerpt 107

Human Rights Consultative Committee says government should not fear Section 65 because it is an order from the highest court of the land (DT, Phiri, 14 February 2008).

In this case, it is also the reporting clause that were thematised just like the opposition news stories above, leaving whatever these principals said in rhematic position that could be subjected to criticism. This backgrounded the opposition's view. However, although this is the normal order (Richardson, 2007 & Gee, 2005), it was not the case when the principals of the news article were supporters of the ruling party ideology. The leads in Excerpt 108 – 109 below depict this:

Excerpt 108

Friday's Supreme Court of Appeal ruling that Section 65 is valid, may have pleased the opposition and subdued the ruling DPP but the cost of that landmark decision will take the country back to days of economic decay, analysts say (WN, Munthali, 16-17 June 2007).

Excerpt 109

A cocktail of economic problems are looming should opposition members of Parliament continue to sabotage the 2008/09 budget, top business gurus have warned (DT, Namwanza, 13 June 2007).

In Excerpts 108 and 109 above, it is the principal's views that were thematised instead of the normal reporting clause which is now the rheme. In this case, a marked theme is created which uplifted the views of such principals to the status of common sense, taken-for-granted or unquestionable 'truths' (Lassen, 2004). Implicitly, this was foregrounding the ruling party's ideology.

4.3 Non-linguistic Analysis

There are several factors that contribute to non-verbal meaning of a news report. However, this study analysed only the salience of newspapers and the messages contained in the newspapers' pictorial reporting. The analysis of the salience was intended to give readers an overview of the non-verbal meaning of all the news reports on the budget and (or) Section 65 in general. On the other hand, an analysis of newspapers' pictorial reporting was intended to provide a detailed elaboration of the non-verbal messages contained in selected images. However, as will be seen in the sub-section 4.3.1. and 4.3.2. below, the findings also reveal a binary representation of ruling party and the budget on one hand, and opposition parties and Section 65, on the other.

4.3.1 Salience of the Reports

Although, 156 articles were used in this study, 113 of these were explicitly divided into two ideological domains i.e. those against and those for the implementation of Section 65. This section discusses the results of the analysis of the salience of these news reports. A newspaper front page is used to present to the readers attractive and eye catching headlines contained in the paper since it is regarded as the newspapers' billboard (Dirks, 2006). However, the most important of these headlines (as viewed by the producer) has its big chunk placed at the cover page usually enclosed in a frame and accompanied by a photograph (Nir & Roeh, 1992). The 113 reports were analysed based on these factors and the graphs in Figures 3 and 4 show interesting results.

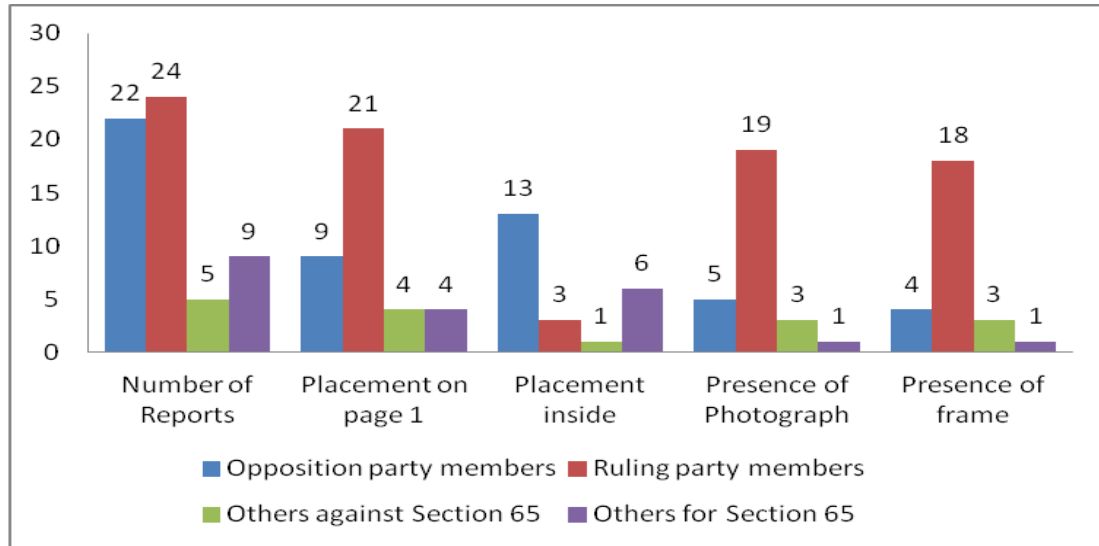


Figure 3: Salience of news reports in BNL

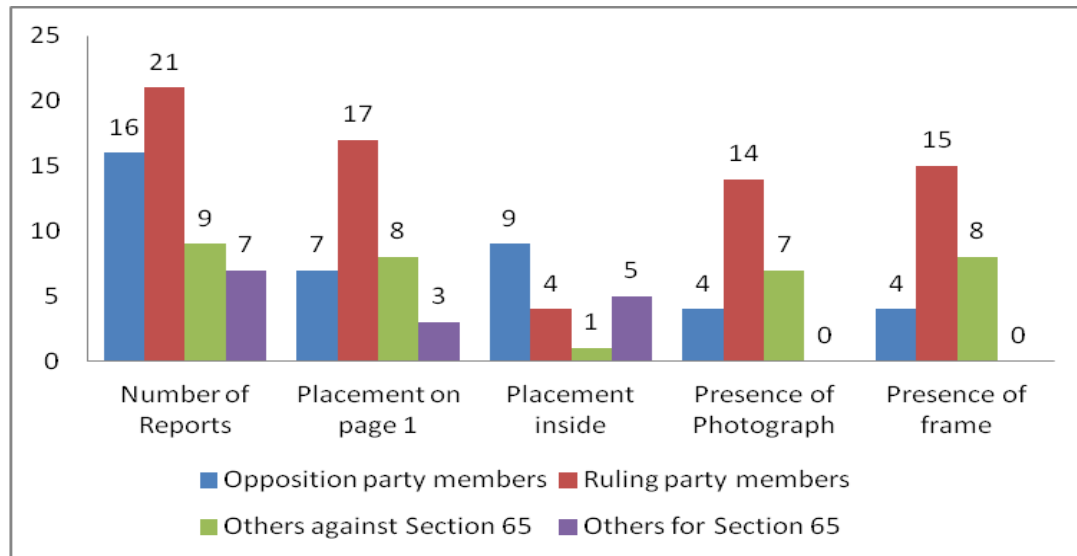


Figure 4: Salience of news reports in NPL

In both BNL and NPL newspapers, the report whose main principal was the ruling party appeared more salient than those by the opposition parties' members and their supporters. In *DT* and *MN* at least 18 articles (75%) from the ruling party were on the first page, encased in a frame and accompanied by a photograph. For *NA* and *WN*, 15 reports (71%)

appeared on the first page, encased in a frame with a photograph accompanying it. This is in contrast to reports whose main principals were members of opposition parties. In *DT* and *MN* for instance, only 4 (16%) news reports from the opposition parties appeared on the front page accompanied by a photograph and encased in a frame. On the same note, *NA* and *WN* had 4 (25%) news articles from opposition party members on the front page, encased in frame and accompanied with a photograph. The news reports from the ruling party were therefore, made prominent.

Furthermore, views of other people (civil society members, business captains and members of the academia, among others) that were against invoking Section 65 appeared more salient than those who supported implementing it. 3 out of a total of 5 reports in *DT* and *MN* whose main principals were against invoking Section 65 were on front page encased in a frame and accompanied by a photograph while in *NA* and *WN*, 8 out of a total of 9 were on the front page, accompanied by a photograph and encased in a frame. This represents 60% and 89% respectively. On the contrary, out of 9 news reports in *DT* and *MN* whose main principal supported the invocation of Section 65, only 1 (11%) appeared on the cover page, with a photograph and encased in a frame. On the other hand, for *NA* and *WN*, none out of 7 news reports whose main principals were for the invocation of Section 65 had all the features of salience discussed above. Hence, news reports containing views of the opposition parties and their supporters were their backgrounded.

4.3.2 A Visual Social Semiotic Analysis of Images

Although Fairclough (1989) admits that in newspapers, a photograph is as important in getting across the message in a report as its verbal counterpart. On the other hand, Novitz (1977) states that pictorial reporting is more effective in conveying the message than its verbal counterpart. In this case, whether one adopts Novitz's or Fairclough's point of view, an analysis of images should therefore, be taken seriously. However, Fairclough's approach is so limiting in this respect. One way through which meaning of images can be systematically analysed is through the use of Kress and van Leeuwen's visual social semiotics. The sub-sections 4.3.2.1. and 4.3.2.2. discuss the findings of the analyses of the meanings communicated through the newspapers' pictorial reporting using Kress and van Leeuwen's approach.

4.3.2.1 Positive Representation of the Ruling Party's Supporters and Ideology

An analysis of the newspapers' pictorial reporting reveals that government was represented as analytical, visionary and development oriented despite the dangers Section 65 was posing on them. This was achieved through a number of ways and the paragraphs below discuss how this was done using the image in Figure 5 below:

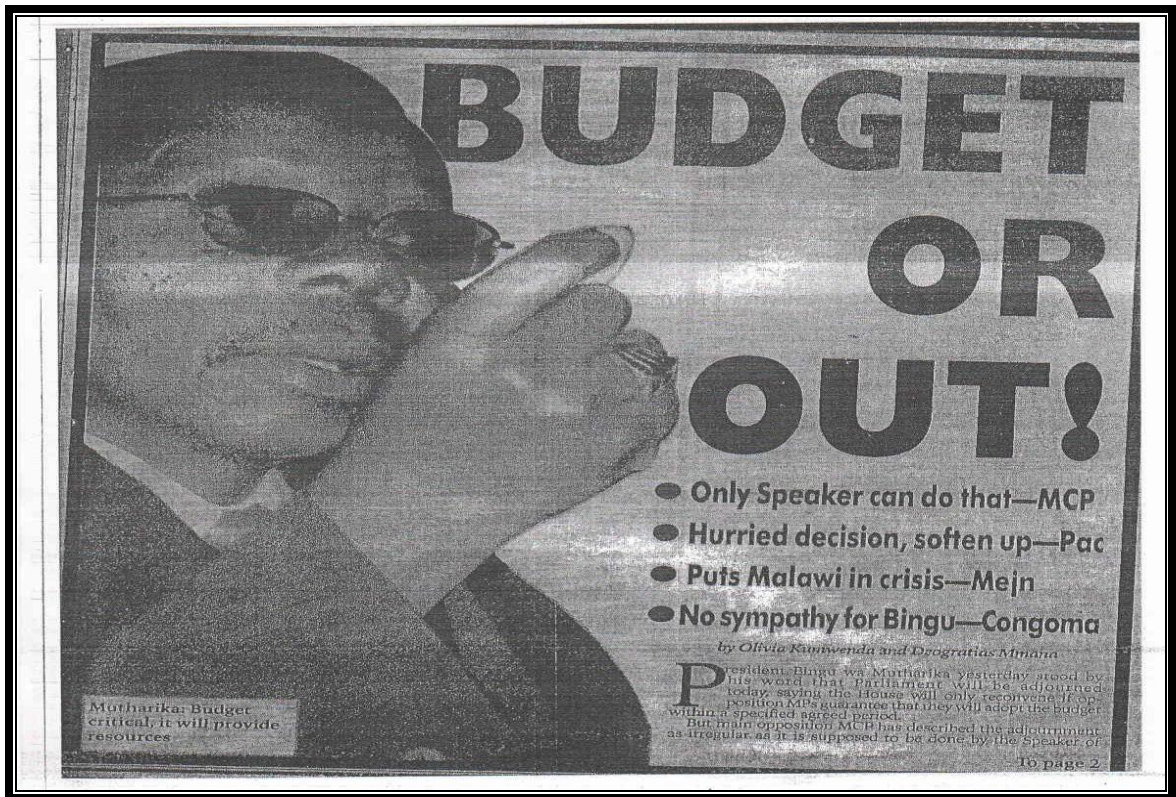


Figure 5: Bingu emphasising a point (NA, 20 June 2008)

This is the image of president Bingu wa Mutharika which shows both action and reactions when the fingers and his eyelines are considered. The hand and finger depicts a gesture usually associated with speech and his eye looking at the two fingers shows his preoccupation in explaining the minute details as the words below it (budget critical, it will provide resources) indicate. He is presented at a close personal distance as if he is at the same social status with the viewers. The image also depicts a clear old-new dichotomy where Bingu's picture (who is analytic and concerned with explaining minute details) is at the left as a known or given figure while the command he has issued to MP (to either discuss the budget or get out) is the new thing that viewers are supposed to take home. The most salient features of the image is the RP's face and his hand which show that he has not just uttered the unpopular command but he is also analytical. This can also

be seen from the image in Appendix 1 which depicts President Bingu wa Mutharika and Finance Minister Goodall Gondwe at a close personal distance looking slightly away from the viewer. This did not only present these RPs as of equal status with the viewer but it also implicitly required viewers to think of them as 'results oriented' leaders as can be read from the words that anchor them. This added with their placement at the left side projected as new information, presented the ruling party as visionary and analytical.

The images analysed also reveal that the ruling party was represented as development-oriented. This can be illustrated by the image in Figure 6 below:



Figure 6: Bingu groundbreaking Thyolo-Makwasa-Bangula road (DT, 9 July 2008)

The image depicts the action of president Mutharika at a ground breaking ceremony for the construction of a new road. The vectors of his hands holding a shovel with his body

stooping as well as the ministers' eyelines and hand clapping, shows a jovial mood. The image was depicted at a public distance suggesting a high-low power relationship between the RP and the viewers. There is systematic old-new information organisation with the president's picture at the left suggesting an old information (therefore, common sense) and the shovel and the wheelbarrow (representing the groundbreaking ceremony for the construction of a new tarmac road) at the left as the new information which is supposed to be taken by the viewer(s). The hands holding the shovel occupies the centre or most salient part of the image and this puts him as a development conscious person which is echoed by the words 'another birth' below which anchor the image. This kind of representation seems to reinforce the headline which reads: "No section 65 until 2009 elections" implying that this was time for development not politics.

Furthermore, the study also reveals that some images established a command for the viewers not to support the invocation of Section 65. This was done by highlighting its effects on the ruling party as can be seen in Figure 7 below:



Figure 7: Bingu making a speech (NA, 15 November 2006)

This depicts an image of president Mutharika giving an iconic sign of stop with his hand and mouth and the microphones reinforcing the idea that he is telling the Speaker of National Assembly not to invoke the section. This image of Bingu is frontally looking at the viewer, which makes an implicit demand for the viewer to feel a great engagement with him thereby helping in depicting him as one of 'Us'. He appears at a close personal distance, looking horizontally at the camera as if he is at an equal power position and close personal relationship with the viewer. At the centre of this image is the hand signalling stop and as Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) observe, the centre provides the nucleus of the information to which surrounding elements are subservient. Hence, the most crucial information here is the stop sign which implies that the Speaker should not invoke Section 65. No wonder that the most eye-catching elements in the image are the head and left hand of the president whose functions in this image are echoed by the

expression ‘please don’t apply the section’ that anchors the image. This is in agreement with Lester’s (2011:288) observation that “photographs in [newspapers] can be used to persuade citizens to adopt a certain point of view”. In this case, it is the ruling party’s ideology which people are being persuaded to adopt. This message can also be inferred from images in Figure 8 below:



Figure 8: Ruling party MPs charting the way forward (DT, 24 July 2007)

The RP in this image are cabinet ministers who are members of the ruling DPP. The hand and face of Hon. Katsonga (far right) shows an action of speaking possibly making suggestion on the way forward following the parliamentary adjournment as indicated in the headline. The eyelines of other cabinet ministers signal their reaction to Hon. Katsonga’s speech i.e. listening. Except one RP, other RPs in this image are depicted looking away from the camera and such images are called offers (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006). Hence, this image make viewers to contemplate on the predicament, the

ruling party is going through due to the opposition's insistence for the Speaker to invoke Section 65. The RPs are depicted from the waist upwards which creates a far personal distance between the viewer and the RPs. The words anchoring the image ('charting the way forward') may suggest that the premature adjournment of parliament is caused by opposition party members. This has the capacity to make readers sympathise with the predicament the ruling party is in.

4.3.2.2 Negative Representation of the Opposition Parties' Supporters and Ideology

A social semiotic analysis of the photographs also found negative representation of opposition parties by backgrounding their views and amplifying their negative qualities. This could be seen from Figure 9 below:

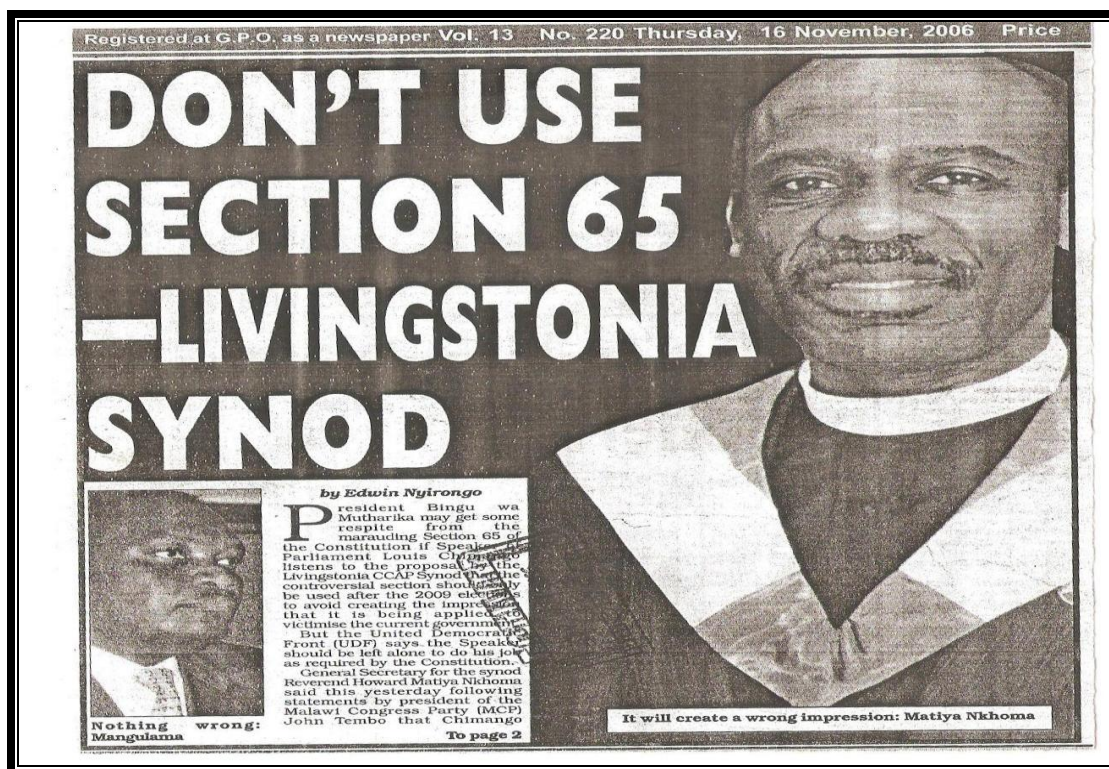


Figure 9: Hon. Mangulama and Rev. Matiya-Nkhoma (DT, 16 November 2006)

The image has two reaction RPs; Hon. Leonard Mangulama to the left and reverend Matiya-Nkhoma to the right. However, while the picture of Reverend. Matiya-Nkhoma is transactional reaction as the RP looks at the viewer, Hon. Mangulama's photograph is non-transactional reaction since he is depicted looking vaguely at an unknown object. Rev. Matiya-Nkhoma is depicted looking frontally at the viewer and this creates what Jewitt and Oyama (2001) call 'imaginary contact' and therefore it is a demand for the viewer to adopt the Rev.'s views not to use Section 65. Hon. Mangulama's image is therefore, what Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) called 'offers' since it just gives the viewer the information (i.e. nothing wrong with Section 65) for viewers' contemplation. The image of Rev. Matiya-Nkhoma is depicted at a far personal distance which suggests that he is at a higher power position as a religious leader (with authority) from that of the viewer. However, contrary to that Hon. Mangulama is portrayed at a close personal distance and at an oblique angle which show him as a person of the same power position with the viewer though detached from the viewer's point of view. From a compositional point of view, there is a clear left-right orientation in the image. In this case, to the left is Hon. Mangulama's given idea that there is nothing wrong with Section 65. On the other hand, to the right is Rev. Matiya-Nkhoma's view (new) that Section 65 should not be used and this is reinforced not only by salience of Rev. Matiya-Nkhoma's image in relation to that of Hon. Mangulama but also by its placement to the left as a new solution to the impasse (Harrison, 2003). The text between the images depicts the two as people belonging to different ideological positions.

This backgrounding of opposition images also appeared in news stories assumed to have emanated due to the opposition party's stand on Section 65. Figure 10 below illustrates this.

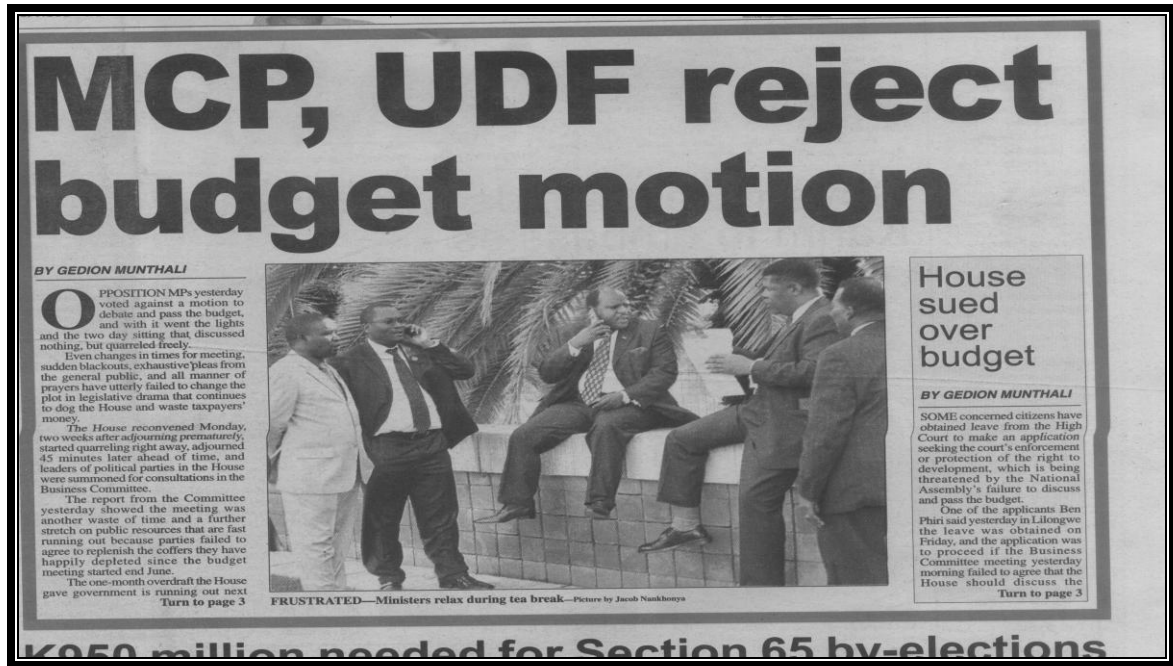


Figure 10: Ruling party MPs discussing the way forward (DT, 25 July 2007)

This image depicts cabinet members who are members of the ruling party. The arms and their eye-lines create vectors of movement. The hands and arms signal a speech gesture as they discuss the way forward while the eye-line depicts a sad reaction due to parliament's premature adjournment. The images appear at a far social distance looking away from the viewer which makes them become objects of contemplation to the viewer. In this case, people may be thinking about the problems that the members of the ruling party are going through in their attempts to deliberate and pass the budget. At the centre of the image is Hon. Chimunthu-Banda leader of the house making a call possibly asking for advice on how to go about it. This image therefore, implicitly demands the viewers'

to reflect on the RPs' predicament. However, the image as well as the voice of the members of the opposition parties who might have put them into this situation is conspicuously absent. This automatically backgrounds the opposition parties' ideology. Apart from backgrounding, the images also highlighted the negative characteristics of the members of the opposition parties. This can be seen in Figure 11 below:

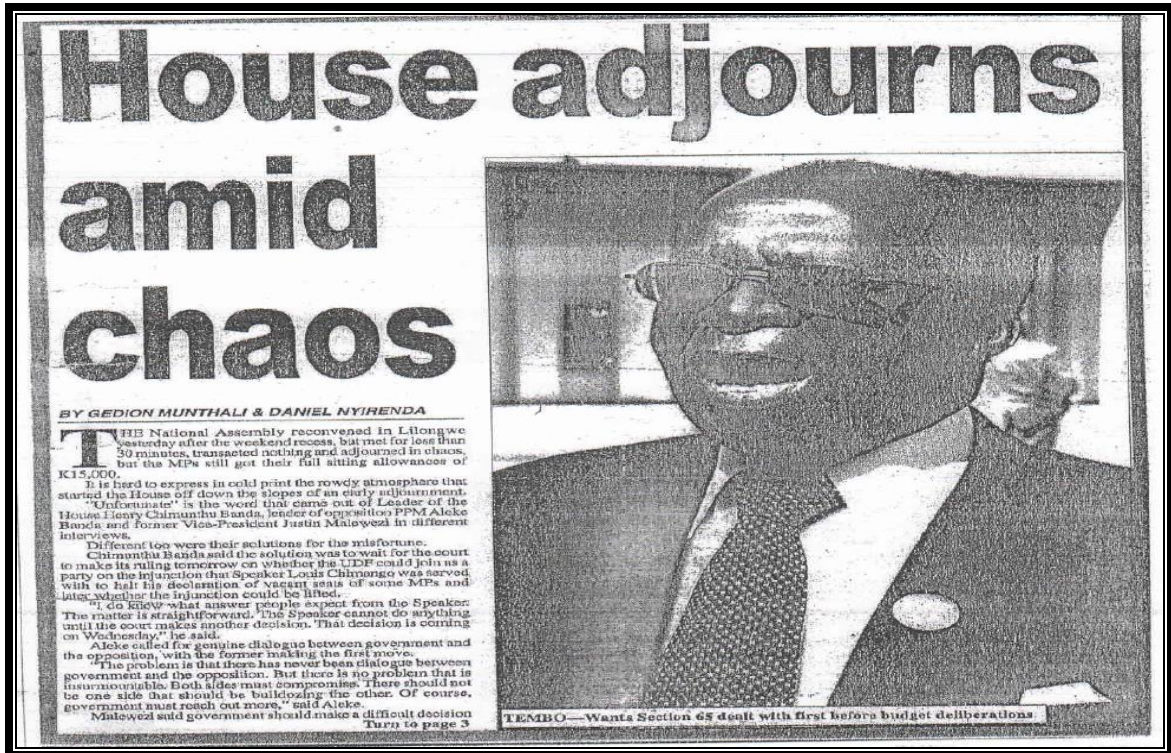


Figure 11: Tembo shouting at his opponents (DT, 13 June 2007)

This image depicts leader of opposition John Tembo with his mouth wide open which portrays him as an angry person possibly shouting at his opponents. He is portrayed looking at something or someone away from the viewer and as such viewers may not associate themselves with him. This is implicitly making an 'offer' for the viewer to look at Tembo as an angry and harsh person. The picture is taken at a far personal distance (from the waist upwards) and low vertical angle which puts the RP 'out of our group' or

‘one of Them’ and more powerful than the viewer. The most salient feature in the image is the angry face of the RP with the mouth wide open. This depiction, in this case, implicitly insinuates that he is the source of the chaos that is being reported in the Parliament.

The newspapers’ portrayal of the Speaker and the judiciary as officers pressured by the opposition to make the ruling on Section 65 also helps in negative representation of the opposition party members. This was mainly common in NPL newspapers as be seen can in Figure 12 below:



Figure 12: Chimango under pressure (NA, 23 May 2008)

This is an action narrative image of the Speaker of National Assembly. While its frontal depiction creates a strong connection with the viewer as one of 'Us', its gaze slightly away from the viewer creates an offer for viewers to contemplate on. Although the hands are adjusting the wig (which the newspaper does not report), the vectors that the hands and arms create also project an image of someone under intense pressure and this is reinforced by the word 'cornered' that anchor the image. This shows that the Speaker is being forced by the opposition MPs to invoke Section 65. His depiction at a far personal distance and looking down puts him at an authority position but close to the viewers. The most salient part of the image, are the arms holding the head which projects him as stressed person. His attire presents a high degree of validity and reliability as if it was really taken in the Parliament chambers. However, this picture was taken outside the parliament building during parliamentary break as indicated in the first article on which it was used in Appendix 3. Such depiction that simulates stress has also been made of the Chief Justice as can be seen in Figure 13 below:

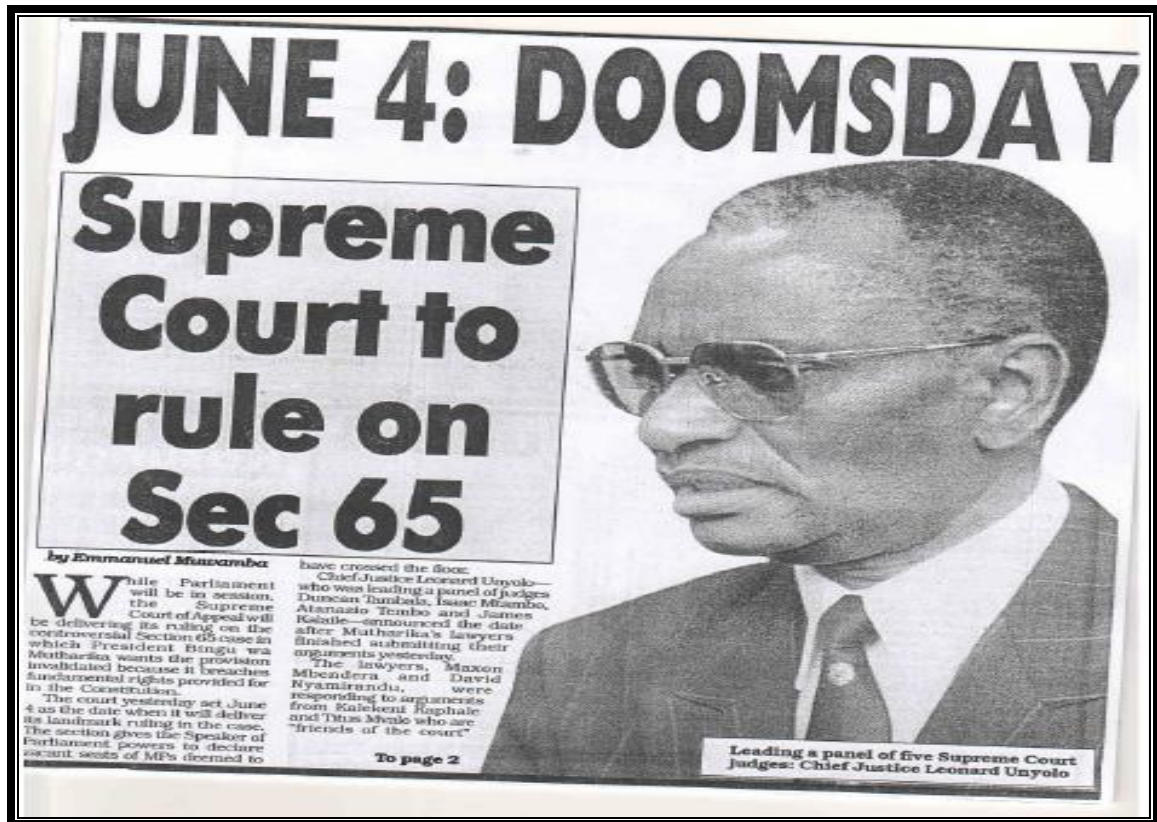


Figure 13: Unyolo contemplating on Section 65 ruling (NA, 10 May 2007)

The Chief Justice Leonard Unyolo is depicted in a contemplative mood, gazing at something or someone away from the viewer. Viewers may feel that he is thinking about the consequences of the judgement he is about to make. The image is depicted from an oblique angle which detaches him from the viewer as 'one of Them'. The RP is also shown looking down which places him at a powerful position than that of the viewer possibly since he is the one to decide on validity of Section 65. The most salient feature of the image is the RP's head which appear to be contemplating possibly about the dangers of Section 65 ruling as indicated in the headline. Such type of reporting helped to create a negative image of opposition party ideology and this can also be seen in Figure 14 below:

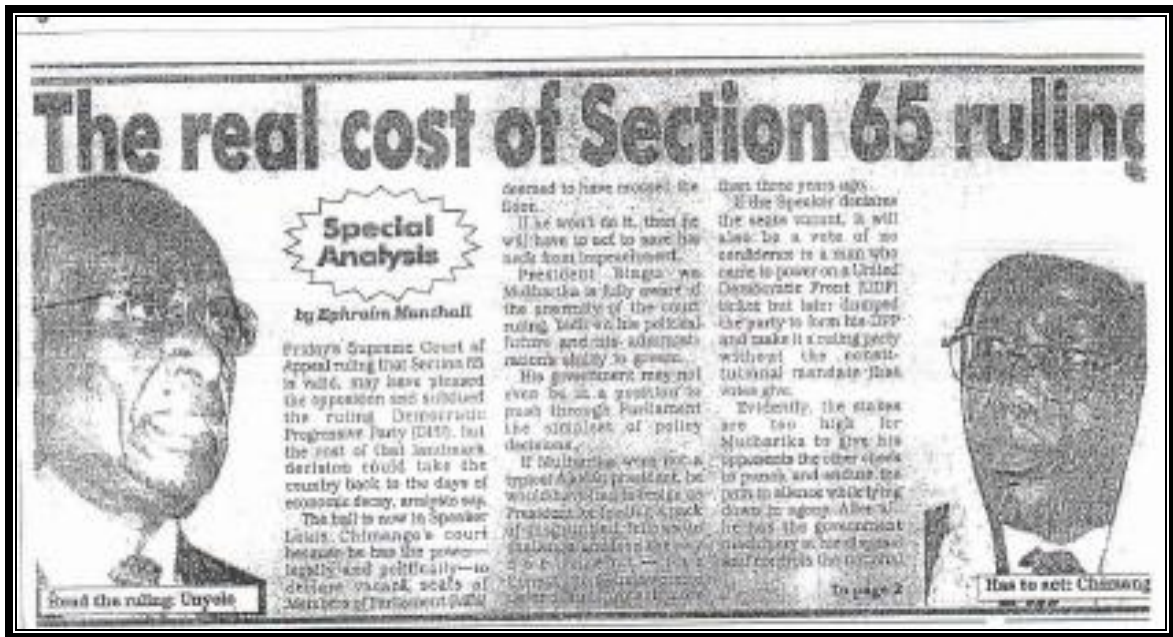


Figure 14: Unyolo and Chimango in sombre mood (WN, 18 June 2007)

In this image, both the Chief Justice and the Speaker facing away from the viewer possibly contemplating about the aftermath of Section 65 ruling and its invocation respectively. The face of the Chief Justice with wrinkles on his cheeks may portray his pains at the ruling he was delivering. This is the same with the Speaker who is depicted in a sombre mood as if he is afraid of the dangers of Section 65 although his party (MCP) may be among the beneficiaries should the provision be invoked. This image also has a clear left-right organisation where the picture of the Chief Justice is placed at the left signalling that the court ruling is given information (as it has already taken place) while the Speaker depicted at the right side is depicted as new since his invocation was anticipated. Implicitly, this may mean that Speaker's sombre mood is due to the negative consequences of the court ruling as echoed by the image in appendix 2 (i.e. about 1 billion will be needed to fund the by-elections) which also has a clear cut left-right

orientation. To the left is the image of the Speaker of Parliament Louis Chimango possibly speaking at a political rally at a far personal distance as a person detached from the viewers. However, to the right is the image of Mr. Lipenga, MEC Spokesperson taken at a close personal distance as one of the viewers and this may make viewers support his views that if Section 65 were invoked, there would have been a lot of money spent. However, such type of reporting was only meant to create fear among Malawians that Section 65 is dangerous since Malawi's development partners had already indicated that they were ready to fund the resulting bye-elections (Sonani, 2006).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a conclusion of the study by summarising its methodology and results in relation to the research problem and objectives. It also states the implications of the study to news discourse in Malawian newspapers and suggests areas of further MDA studies in various discourse types in Malawi.

5.2 Conclusion

In a nutshell, this study was aimed at analysing the coverage of ‘Budget vs. Section 65’ controversy in Malawian newspapers. More specifically, 156 newspaper articles and 73 news articles from *DT*, *MN NA* and *WN* from 2006 to 2008 were earmarked for quantitative and qualitative analysis respectively using a multimodal approach more specifically Fairclough’s and Kress and van Leeuwen’s approaches. These newspapers belong to two stables, namely: BNL and NPL. Through the analyses of the articles’ choice of lexis, referential strategies, metaphors, discourse of representation, modality markers, thematic structures and the newspapers’ non-linguistic meanings, this study found a clear-cut binary representation of the ruling party and the budget on one hand, and the opposition parties and Section 65 on the other. This is similar to van Dijk’s (1993) *Us/Them* dichotomy in which the former were positively represented by

foregrounding (emphasising) their positive attributes and backgrounding their negatives. On the contrary, the negative aspects of Section 65, and opposition parties' insistence on invoking it were foregrounded while backgrounding that such a move may help in strengthening the country's nascent democracy.

On lexical choices, the study has found that lexical items chosen depicted Section 65 and the opposition MPs as dangerous and unnecessary, and uncaring and vengeful respectively. This was done through the use of lexical items with negative cultural undertones such as referring to Section 65 as 'dreaded' or 'contentious' and the opposition as 'adamant' or 'dictatorial'. On the other hand, the appeal by the ruling party on the interpretation of Section 65 and the injunctions by the 42 MPs presumed to be affected by the section were described positively as a way of seeking 'second opinion' or 'legal redress'. Furthermore, the analysis of the referential strategies revealed a systematic individualisation of principals from the opposition parties or people who supported their ideology by referring to their names instead of their position in the parties or National Assembly. This did not only highlight the ordinariness of their view, but also personalised opposition parties' ideology as the principals' interests. On the other hand, principals from the ruling party and people who supported their ideologies were collectivised by referring to them by the group they represent or their position in it, i.e. government or Leader of the House. This impersonalised their ideologies thereby presenting them as national interests.

The lexical choices also created metaphors of war by depicting that the opposition parties and the ruling party, Section 65 and the budget or opposition and Budget as being involved in a fierce battle against each other. For instance, ‘civil servants caught in cross fire’ and ‘government motion shot down’. In almost all such reporting, it was either the opposition or Section 65 that was belligerent. This implicitly made the government to appear ‘holier’ than the opposition. Through metaphors of death, horror and catering among others, Section 65 and delay in passing the budget were also depicted as catalysts for trouble and this, consequently, reinforced a negative representation of opposition parties and their ideology. However, despite its hiding-as-it-reveals quality, “when conventional metaphors occur in discourse, text consumers are not aware that they are processing a metaphor” (Hart, 2013: 127). Hence, metaphors were extensively used as strategic tools of persuasion that the producers of these newspapers used to communicate the ideology of the ruling party covertly that Section 65 should not be invoked.

On discourse representation, the study has found that the views solicited from the principals were either denigrated or praised according to the ideology the principal being quoted seemed to support (either the ruling party’s or the opposition parties’). Hence, the views of the opposition and any principal who supported their views were put in scare quotes to distance themselves (the producers) from the principal’s view and consequently disparage it. On the other hand, the views of the members of the ruling party and their supporters were also sometimes put in scare quotes in an attempt to appear objective while still disseminating them through the removal of the reporting clause. This mode of representation helped to propagate their ideologies (Fairclough, 1995a). Furthermore,

when the reporting clauses were used, the choice of the verb also depended on the ideology the principal supported. When the principal supported the ruling party's point of view, positive reporting verb such as 'urged', 'warned', 'clearly said' etc were used to endorse the principals' views to the readers while the views of the principals who supported the opposition parties' ideology were disendorsed using reporting verbs such as 'claims', 'demanded', 'accused' 'charged' etc. This shows that the producers distanced themselves from the opposition's ideology as an out-group while supporting the ruling party's stand on the controversy as an in-group.

However, the study has also found that there was an over-reliance on the official sources of information. Since Section 65 was crafted to uphold the country's budding democracy, it would have been worthwhile if a report was compiled chronicling ordinary people's views on it. However, in all the newspapers analysed, this was absent. Instead, it was the views of civil society, donors, party leaders, government officials and a few commentators in the academia whose views were sought. This is in agreement with Halloran, Elliot and Murdok's view (as cited in Fairclough, 1995a: 63) that in media, "the preferred sources are identifiable individuals with known views who occupy official or semi-official positions." In this case, the news articles were therefore, transmitting the views of these social power holders. As discussed in chapter 4 above, those from the ruling party were foregrounded thereby disseminating such views to the audience while backgrounding the opposition parties' views through disparagement, muffling or distancing themselves from such views.

Furthermore, an analysis of the choice of modality markers has revealed a systematic backgrounding of opposition parties' ideology while foregrounding the ruling party's ideology. This was done by using high predictive modal markers when discussing the effects of failure or delay in passing the budget or the possibility of invoking Section 65 even in situations where there were alternative views. Modal verbs signalling validity, for instance, the truth-value of the negative consequences of invoking Section 65 or delay in passing the budget, and permission modality such as the legal restriction or acquiescence on the principals' actions in 'Budget vs. Section 65' impasse were mainly categorical and this backgrounded alternative views on the same. On the other hand, obligation modality appeared to have shifted from strong obligation 'must' especially where issues of constitutional requirements were concerned to weak modal verb 'should' when it was the government's duty. This reduced the ruling party's compulsion to follow such constitutional requirements thereby undermining the spirit of constitutionalism. Since news reporting is supposed to be neutral as an objective setting-out of facts collected by the journalists, modality should have its source explicitly stated in the reporting clause (Thompson, 1996). However, that was usually not the case in the data analysed and this suggests that the producers deliberately or otherwise, adopted such staging devices to cast a negative representation of Section 65 and the opposition parties ideologies while portraying the ruling party and consequences of the budget deliberations in positive terms.

The study has also shown a systematic organisation of thematic structure as it unveiled the connection between the theme in an indirect discourse and the principal of the article.

In this case, if the principal was a member of the ruling party or anyone who supported their view, the speaker's utterance was thematised while the reporting clause became the rheme. This made their views to parade as 'given' and therefore, unquestionable and taken-for-granted (Gee, 2005). On the contrary, if the principal was a member of the opposition parties or supporters of their ideology, it was the reporting clause that was thematised. Hence, their views were taken as 'new' and therefore, can be contested. The study has also found that marked themes were also generated through the processes of nominalisations, passivisation, and thematisation of the producers' comments. In this case, while nominalisation and passivisation led to the elision of agency and consequently, backgrounding such actors' negative role, thematic comments enabled the producers to thematise their own comments on the value or validity of what they were about to say (Thompson, 1996). For instance, 'Bad day for Government: Court upholds Section 65' where 'bad day for government' is the producers' comment on the court ruling. This made the producers' comments or views unquestionable or taken-for-granted information thereby foregrounding them to the readers.

Lastly, the analysis of the non-verbal features of news reports revealed that news stories from the ruling party or supporters of their ideology were more prominent than those of the opposition and their supporters. As figures 3 and 4 in Chapter 4 above indicate, out of 113 news articles, 71% of news reports from the ruling party members and their supporters appeared on the first page, encased in a frame and accompanied by photograph(s). Hence, the ruling party ideology was foregrounded as a preferred alternative while backgrounding the opposition parties' ideology where only 29% of all

news reports in both newspaper stables appeared on the first page, encased in a frame and accompanied by photograph(s). Furthermore, a visual social semiotic analysis of the newspapers' pictorial reporting also revealed that both BNL and NPL newspapers represented the members of the ruling party and their supporters positively as analytical and development oriented as can be seen in figures 5 and 6 in Chapter 4 above. On the other hand, the supporters of the opposition parties' ideology and Section 65 were cast as senseless people and a dangerous provision respectively. This could be seen in Figures 11 and 13 in Chapter 4 above. Hence, as Novits (1977) observed, pictorial reporting was in this case used to attribute positive behaviours to ruling party social actors while attributing negative behaviours to opposition party principals.

The findings of this study reveal a clear-cut '*Us/Them*' dichotomy which van Dijk (1993) calls an ideological square. This was done by depicting the ruling party favourably as part of an in-group while the opposition parties were portrayed negatively as an out-group. It is worth mentioning here that a text cannot be divorced from the processes of production that created it and the local institutional and socio-historical conditions within which it was produced (Fairclough, 1989). Hence, as has been stated in chapter 1, between 1999 to 2004, UDF the party that ushered the then President to power, was not only infamous for economic mismanagement and political intolerance, but also for their failed attempt (through Open Term and Third Term Bills) to extend the President's terms of office beyond the constitutionally stipulated two terms (Manyozo, 2004 & Chinsinga, 2008). Bingu's ditching of UDF to form DPP, can therefore, be interpreted as an attempt to show his independence so that he could gain the general public's acceptance. Hence, just

like MPs crossed the floor for their own benefits, the newspapers' deliberate effort to adjust the news content according to the ruling party's preferences may also be seen as an attempt to satisfy their own economic interests by positioning themselves as quasi-representatives of the general public (which at that time was against UDF as can be seen from 2004 general elections when its presidential candidate (the incumbent president Bingu wa Mutharika) won by a mere 35.8% of the total votes (Lembani, 2008)). This may be done to attract more readership which would consequently, lead to an increase in advertising sales.

In the same vein, it is also possible that the newspapers pre-occupation to disseminate ruling party's ideologies on the controversy was an attempt to get more advertising revenue from government (which is the biggest advertiser through its numerous ministries, departments, agencies and parastatals) since in Malawi, the ruling party, as the head of the government, has the power to prevent all government agencies from doing business with any media house it strongly disagrees with (Manyozo, 2004; Article 19, 2000, & MISA, 2007). This echoes Chimombo's (1998) observation that a privately owned press is not synonymous to an independent one. Hence, whatever rationale best justifies this skew-whiff representation which supported the ruling party's ideologies despite being illicit while denigrating the opposition's ideologies although it was legally justifiable, this form of reporting is dangerous because although readers get different meanings from newspaper discourse mainly due differences in ideologies and background information, most readers' interpretation of news is similar to the one intended by the producers due to lack of alternative source of information on the topic

under discussion. The newspaper's coverage of the controversy, therefore, contributed in the erosion of the spirit of constitutionalism which, as Patel and Tostensen (2006) observe, is the main problem facing Malawi's democracy.

5.3 Implications of the Study

As this study has shown, editorial adjustments of news were taking place in both BNL and NPL at verbal and pictorial level. Good examples for this are the use of thematic comments discussed in Chapter 4 above and Figure 12 where the Speaker is depicted adjusting his wig outside Parliament as in Appendix 2, as a sign of being cornered. Although this study selected news stories on the budget and (or) Section 65 for analysis, the objectives used were general such that the research would undoubtedly be generalised to a broader spectrum of newspaper reporting in Malawian context. In this case, despite these media houses' claim for objectivity, their reports were far from objective possibly due to economic interests. This echoes Iedema, Feez & Feez (1994: 74) observation that the media houses' claim for "objectivity [is] just a rhetorical effort" for naturalising ideological biases in their news reports. Hence, just like other critical media studies have revealed, BNL and NPL's coverage of the 'Budget vs. Section 65' controversy in Malawi between 2006 to 2008 were neither independent nor objective.

However, contrary to Shame's (2015) findings during the same period in Malawi, in which newspapers' portrayal of presidents as heroes or villains was influenced by ownership, the results in this study seem to suggest that economic interests in the newspaper industry supersede the ownership factor in determining news reporting as both

media houses supported the same illicit stand against a legally justified opposition parties' position. In this case, although there were several demonstrations calling MPs to discuss and pass the budget during the period under study, the people may have been merely responding emotionally to the problem as they aligned themselves to the newspapers' accounts as 'public opinion' since as we have seen, these newspapers portrayed the 'public' as supporting the ruling party's point of view while demonising the opposition parties' ideology as individualistic and self-centred. With this new perspective on the Malawian newspapers' coverage of 'Budget vs. Section 65' between 2006 to 2008, these same newspapers' call for the invocation of Section 65 between 2012 and 2013 could be interpreted as an attempt to appear critical of the government to maintain or get more readership while refraining from doing so under the most critical times.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Studies

Although this study has found a binary representation of the budget and ruling party on one hand and Section 65 and opposition parties on the other, clear cut reasons for such a skewed presentation has not been offered due to time and space limitations. Further studies can therefore, be undertaken to examine the producers' rationale behind such tendencies in their reporting and that would inform further studies on ideologies in media discourse.

Furthermore, since MDA is still an emerging area of linguistic inquiry, further inter-semiotic studies are needed to examine how charts, tables, pictures and other visual cues are incorporated with their verbal counterparts in different types of texts ranging from

academic through literary to journalistic discourse in Malawi. An in-depth qualitative analysis of all these and a quantitative study of the reading paths that different audiences take on different types of texts is definitely beyond the scope of this study. However, such studies will not only unravel ideologies implicit in them (as this study has done) but rather that they will also offer insights on how the visual and verbal elements of a text can be successfully combined.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Results oriented leaders-Bingu and Gondwe

Inflation to swell on budget holdup

BY GERALD NAMWAZA

A COCKTAIL of economic problems is looming should opposition members of parliament continue to sabotage the 2007/08 budget, top business gurus have warned.

The cost of living would go up, the country's credit risk at global level would increase and Malawi, currently enjoying a 1.2 million metric tonne maize surplus, would risk importing the staple food as was the case in 2003.

Expressing their concerns Friday on the sidelines of a get together National Bank of Malawi (NBM) organized for its clients in Blantyre, five chief executives interviewed said the budget delay would kill the economy.

They said the political standoff over Section 53 and the national budget would increase the country's credit risk at global level and, worse still, accelerate the rate of increase of basic goods and services.

"These people [President Bingu wa Mutharika and Gedchall Gondwe] are running this country like a company that is profit oriented, which is good for the country," said one of the CEOs interviewed.

Another CEO said delays in passing the budget had created business uncertainty on the international market and if not resolved they would make it difficult for the private sector to get good financial deals with foreign institutions at lower rates.

"So if we get these facilities [global credit deals] at higher rates then we will be forced to pass on this to consumers, which sadly would boost the cost of living," the business gurus said.

A country that is politically unstable is rated as a high risk area and pays higher interest rates when negotiating financial loans with international lending institutions.

He added that failure to procure fertiliser in good time would jeopardize the chances of the country netting food surplus next year, a development he warned would push inflation, currently in single digits, back up to double digits.

Inflation—the rate at which the price of goods and services increase—has slowed down to 7.7 per cent in July on the back of maize surplus which accounts for about 58 per cent in the consumer price index (CPI) basket.

United Nations Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN) reported last week that development agencies were worried the political standoff which has led to delays in passing the budget might not back recovery in the agriculture sector.

In the 2007/08 national budget, government has set aside about K10.7 billion for fertiliser subsidy programme, to enhance Malawi's food security strategy.

A successful fertiliser subsidy programme has been cited as one of the main reasons for the recovery of Malawi's agricultural sector after a drought in 2003 left almost five million people in need of food aid.

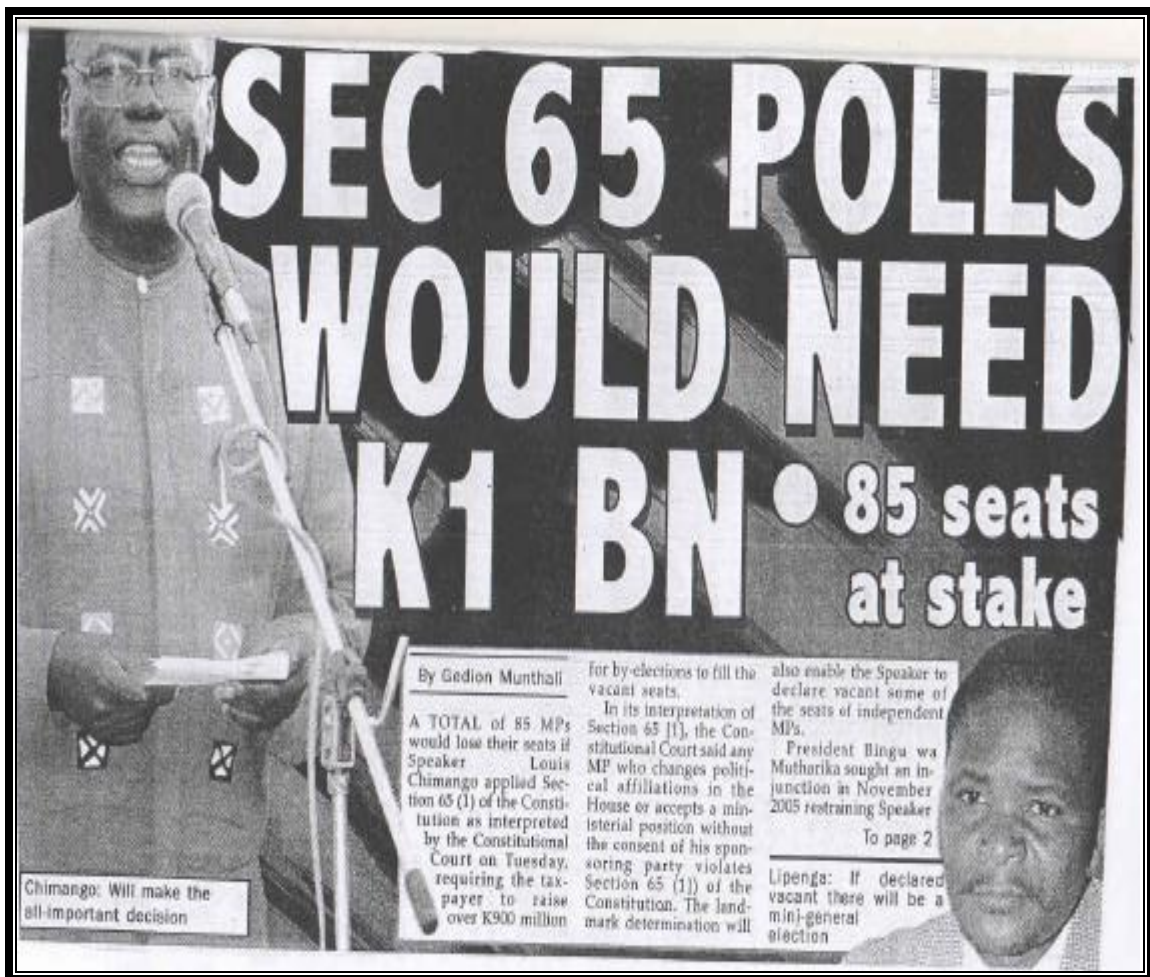
"If the fertiliser subsidy programme is disrupted, the gains made in the past three years could be eroded," Sam Chimwaza, country representative of the USAID-funded Famine Early Warning Systems Network (Fews Net), told IRIN.

Parliament is expected to meet today to discuss and pass the 2007/08 K170 billion budget, which many see as a tool towards poverty alleviation.




RESULTS ORIENTED—Bingu (left) and Gondwe

Appendix 2: Chimango speaking at a rally



Appendix 3: Chimango adjusting his wig outside Parliament building

CHIMANGO TO SPEAK ON SEC 65 TODAY

●Opposition back in House, reject two bills

by Bright Sonani

Opposition MPs, who ended their week-long boycott and came back in full force to attend Parliament yesterday, bared their teeth and barred two government bills to go into second reading—a move that finally forced Speaker of the National Assembly Louis Chimango to declare that he will make a statement on the thorny Section 65 today.

The House was forced into a break barely five minutes into proceedings after the opposition members through a 'yes' vote barred Finance Minister Goodall Gondwe from taking a second reading of a loan authorisation from the African Development Bank (ADB) Bill for poverty reduction support.

The rejection forced Chimango to adjourn Parliament and called for a meeting of the Business Committee of the House which took place at two-and-a-half hours and when the House resumed at exactly 4:30 pm, the Speaker announced that he will today make his statement on what the Business Committee agreed on April 21.

"Tomorrow there will be communication from the chair on the issues that we agreed in the Business Committee. [Now] that the opposition is here, we will



Under pressure: Chimango adjusts his wig outside Parliament yesterday. — Pic: Amos Gumbira

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