

**Seeing diplomatic constellations through diplomatic relations:  
An analysis of the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK  
in Zimbabwean news articles**

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## Abstract

This study examines the positioning of Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom (UK) in the language of news articles about diplomatic relations between the two countries published in two prominent Zimbabwean newspapers, *The Herald* and *The Standard*, between 2016 and 2020, using Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Legitimation Code Theory (LCT).

Zimbabwe's present diplomatic discourses are a product of its colonial and post-independence history. This thesis places *The Herald* and *The Standard* within the larger context of the Zimbabwean media landscape as a state-owned and a privately owned newspaper, respectively. It contends that the two newspapers influence the positioning of Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom in public spheres where readers engage with the news concerning diplomatic ties.

The research begins with a corpus-based examination of 42 news articles published between 2016 and 2020 in *The Herald* and *The Standard*. The investigation identified several angles through which Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned in the coverage. Zimbabwe is positioned through reference to its reform agenda, intentions for free and fair elections, and its diplomatic re-engagement drive. The UK is positioned as a source of development funding and new trade agreements, while improved diplomatic relations and the removal of restrictive measures against Zimbabwe are anticipated.

Fine-grained analysis was conducted on four articles, two from each newspaper, selected to reflect the trends found in the corpus analysis. The fine-grained analyses showed how linguistic resources contributed to the positioning of the UK and Zimbabwe. Complementary analyses of these articles were conducted using LCT and SFL to describe how readers' knowledge of diplomatic relations is built using language in *The Herald* and *The Standard*.

The study used the concepts of constellations and cosmologies from LCT to demonstrate how diplomatic knowledge is built in these news articles. In the articles, the constellations are related to policies such as Zimbabwe's reform agenda, people (diplomats and government officials) and moral judgments. Both newspapers contain both positive and negative positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK. However, *The Standard* is generally critical of removing the UK's sanctions on Zimbabwe and of the Zimbabwean government's reform agenda. Meanwhile, *The Herald* justifies Zimbabwe's Fast-track Land Reform Programme as resulting from Britain's refusal to fund a land redistribution programme as per the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement.

The use of SFL's Appraisal framework helps to examine the linguistic resources used by *The Herald* and *The Standard* to describe the positioning of the two countries in relation to each other. Lexical strings help to establish diplomatic positioning in the news articles. These couple with Appraisal to accomplish individuation and affiliation. Affect and Judgement resources revealed the decisions taken by the UK to solve the conflict by encouraging the implementation of a reform agenda by Zimbabwe. Negative evaluation is consistently used to disalign with sanctions. The emerging patterns in the data show that diplomats representing the UK affiliate with Zimbabwe's stated economic and political reforms, and the government of Zimbabwe affiliates with the new trade agreement between Zimbabwe and the UK. At the same time, the UK diplomats individuate away from human rights abuses and the Fast-track Land Reform Programme. Affiliation strengthens confidence in diplomatic ties between Zimbabwe and the UK because the emphasis is placed on restoring them despite the conditions attached.

*The Herald* and *The Standard* position Zimbabwe as a reformed country ready to implement policies to improve citizens' lives and as a country violating human rights and the rule of law. They position the UK as asserting power over Zimbabwe, willing to resolve the crisis through its foreign policy, and credited for assisting Zimbabwe. This strengthens re-engagement in diplomatic relations and commercial trade between the UK and Zimbabwe.

In light of these findings, Zimbabweans are encouraged to cultivate an awareness that enables them to reflect on the challenges associated with diplomatic discourses and the implications for critically analysing the re-engagement initiative. They can promote re-engagement by being cognisant of specific values portrayed in *The Herald* and *The Standard* and challenging these values in the light of policy transformation to revive the relations between the two countries. The re-engagement process requires a transformation in Zimbabwe's modus operandi to improve the country's positioning in the diplomatic relations between it and the UK.

## **Dedication**

To my husband, Charles, thank you for your everlasting love, support, and inspiration.

To my granddaughters Mia, Ayanna and Astrid.

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Many people supported me in my research and personal life throughout this five-year journey. First and foremost, I want to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Ian Siebörger. Thank you for your persistent interest, academic direction, and spiritual support, which made my assignment far easier than it might have been otherwise. I am forever grateful to Ian, who introduced me to Systemic Functional Linguistics and Legitimation Code Theory.

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## List of acronyms

APPC	Argus Printing and Publishing Company
Brexit	Britain's Exit from the European Union
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
EU	European Union
GNU	Government of National Unity
LCT	Legitimation Code Theory
MDC-Alliance	Movement for Democratic Change-Alliance
MDC-N	Movement for Democratic Change-Ncube
MDC-T	Movement for Democratic Change-Tsvangirai
POLAD	Political Actors Dialogue
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
UK	United Kingdom
ZAMPS	Zimbabwe All Media and Products Survey
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Unity- Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
Zimpapers	Zimbabwe Newspapers Group

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# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 Introduction

This study draws on Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) to investigate the language of Zimbabwean news articles concerning diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom (UK). The focus is on news articles reporting on their diplomatic relations from 2016 to 2020, showing how these articles reproduce knowledge among their readers concerning the positioning of the two countries. Positioning refers to how Zimbabwe and the UK are judged or portrayed in relation to each other in news articles. The empirical goal of this thesis is to describe the reporting of Zimbabwe's biggest daily newspapers, *The Herald* and *The Standard*, and investigate the kind of power that their positioning exerts on readers. The theoretical goal is to push forward the dialogue between SFL and LCT. This gives new insights into what happens when building political knowledge in Zimbabwe. It is also essential to describe what is causing disagreements among Zimbabwe citizens about what is happening in Zimbabwe and how they shape readers' political alignments. The newspapers' political inclinations influence what is being reported and legitimise the political influence of those in power.

This chapter describes the purpose and motivation of the study and the research context and discusses the context of diplomatic relations and the media in Zimbabwe (1.2 and 1.3). The key concepts in this study are explained in detail (1.4), including the SFL and LCT theoretical frameworks and how they complement each other in examining the positioning of the two countries in news articles (1.5). Selected linguistic resources described in SFL and the Legitimation Code Theory concepts of constellations and cosmologies are outlined to show their usefulness in analysing relations between Zimbabwe and the UK (1.5). The chapter gives the research questions (1.6) and the research design guiding the study (1.7). The final section provides an overview of the thesis (1.8), showing the components discussed in the chapters.

## 1.2 Motivation of the study

The primary motivation of this study comes from the realisation that the language used in the news coverage of the different media publications influences how people construe the positioning of political entities such as Zimbabwe and the UK. It emerged from my personal experience of the language used in these news reports. Relations between the two countries are

framed in terms of Zimbabwe's socio-economic situation and the power struggle between Harare and London that resulted from implementing the Fast Track Land Reform programme due to Britain's non-compensation of the land in Zimbabwe. The implications are significant for this study since my concern is how the language used in news reporting acts as a tool in diplomatic knowledge building.

The study's focus was realised over one year of observing news reporting in *The Herald* and *The Standard*. I find it most interesting how different publications are concerned with the types of values they communicate to their readership. The most striking feature is how news articles report and evaluate the same story differently. Therefore, I am interested in building knowledge (Maton, 2014) of a particular kind: citizens' knowledge about the diplomatic relations of their country with a former colonial power. After being introduced to LCT at Rhodes University, I became interested in analysing constellations and their underlying meanings in such news reporting. In a pilot project for this study, I realised that language plays a vital role in news reporting and comes with hidden baggage. In particular, relations between Western countries and their former colonies have become a global problem, and seemingly a large gap has been realised between cordiality and hostility concerning how countries relate to each other. The knowledge regarding countries' problems and how the challenges are solved helps identify the causes of the souring and deterioration of relations and how they might improve over time.

My interest lies in the kind of knowledge built by newspapers on Zimbabwe and the UK's diplomatic relations coverage. Knowledge plays a fundamental role in society regarding what is legitimate in the eyes of the people. By so doing, knowledge shapes the culture, beliefs, and reality concerning the unfolding of society's events. This brings awareness regarding Zimbabwe's situation through the similarities and differences revealed in news reporting and establishing the actual situation in Zimbabwe. Furthermore, it gives recommendations on how citizens' knowledge building on diplomatic relations could be improved or democratised and shows how language is used to establish the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK to reproduce diplomatic knowledge.

Through this study, I intend to contribute to the literature on Zimbabwe's conceptions of diplomatic discourse concerning global bilateral and multilateral relations experienced by countries. The study provides a basis for future research into the link between language and diplomatic knowledge. The thesis also makes contributions both within the field of linguistics and outside linguistics, showing how language is related to knowledge building. The theory's

contribution arises from exploring the language used in news articles about diplomatic discourses. The Appraisal framework, a linguistic model, is applied to examine how linguistic resources are used to position countries in news articles. Positioning is realised in the news stories created by journalists when reporting on the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. This is achieved through contributions in language descriptions using linguistic resources to build citizens' knowledge of diplomacy – the study also shows how language shapes readers' knowledge about diplomatic relations in particular.

Understanding how communities, countries, and individual feelings are positioned in news reporting provides a platform for understanding the dialogue between Zimbabwe and the UK regarding upholding the rule of law and human rights. Diplomats and media publications are challenged regarding how they interact and interpret events through the language used in news coverage to represent the relations. Diplomats can benefit from this study more by analysing the countries' ongoing engagements, and my study provides a linguistic analysis of reporting on these engagements.

The theoretical contribution lies in its effort to show how SFL and LCT can be developed as complementary theories for understanding the relationship between language and knowledge building in the context of news reporting about diplomatic relations. It seeks to inculcate a deep understanding of diplomatic discourse regarding how newspapers encode evaluative positions at the language's semantic level. The idea of how readers' knowledge is reproduced and recontextualised in news articles through a linguistic analysis of how language represents the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK signifies the importance of my study. The study becomes relevant in light of journalists' language used in reproducing knowledge for citizens and the implications arising from the knowledge. The LCT and SFL theories form the basis for achieving the empirical goal of my study regarding the kind of knowledge readers would build through reading the news articles.

### **1.3 Context of research**

This section briefly describes Zimbabwe and the UK's relations back to the period of colonisation. The descriptions include the agreements signed before attaining independence and the characterisation of the hostility that manifested from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in 2000 between the two countries. Both Robert Gabriel Mugabe (1980–2017) and Emmerson Mnangagwa's (2017 to current) presidencies are discussed, including events unfolding during these two eras. The media's ownership structure in Zimbabwe is outlined to

understand better how the media operates in Zimbabwe. Also, the editorial stances of privately-owned and government-owned publications are examined. Understanding this context aids in achieving this study's empirical goal by identifying the forms of power exerted by *The Herald* and *The Standard* and establishing how these influence readers' choices of political affiliation. It helps to unpack the causes of disagreements in Zimbabwe concerning the unfolding of events such as sanctions, non-implementation of the reform agenda, violation of human rights, and the rule of law.

### **1.3.1 Diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK**

Media coverage of Zimbabwe and the UK's relations during the period under study needs a closer examination, considering how the two countries are positioned concerning each other. Britain colonised Zimbabwe from 1800 to 1980 and shared close bilateral relations. Despite attaining independence from the UK in April 1980, the UK still monitors Zimbabwe's political and economic activities. For example, Britain's involvement in Zimbabwe's agriculture and mining activities dominated Zimbabwe's economy (Chipangura, 2018). Zimbabwean farmers receive development from the UK. The country attained independence in 1980 after a protracted liberation war and a series of negotiations that culminated in the Lancaster House Agreement in 1979 (Chigora, 2006). During the early years of independence, Mugabe's trust in Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher helped cultivate a strong relationship between the UK and Zimbabwe, which began with the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement (Chigora, 2006). The agreement shielded the white minority in Zimbabwe from losing large portions of fertile land. The agreement resulted in a constitution emphasising property rights and verbal assurances by the UK and the United States of America to provide Zimbabwe with funds to assist in an envisaged land reform programme (Raftopolous and Mlambo, 2009; Chari, 2013).

The period between 1980 and 2000 depicts Zimbabwe as a democratic country characterised by solid bilateral relations with its former coloniser. Credits lines were fully open to Zimbabwe, and British companies were highly visible in Zimbabwe, including market-driven businesses, which boosted the economy of Zimbabwe. The relations between Harare and London were fruitful, and both parties benefited from this mutual understanding, and Mugabe was recognised as the legitimate leader in Zimbabwe.

Between 2000 and 2016, the period was characterised by hostility and cordiality, mutual understanding and quarrelling, agreements and disagreements. The EU's sanctions on Zimbabwe in 2002 worsened diplomatic relations between London and Harare, given that

Britain was instrumental in instigating these sanctions on Zimbabwe (Mude and Chigora, 2017). The sanctions responded to political violence, abuse of human rights, and the absence of law when Zimbabwe redistributed the land occupied by white commercial farmers to the marginalised black community in 2000 (Mudyamadzo, 2016). The ruling party targeted civilians and opposition parties, which ended in the killing of innocent citizens. Chigora (2006) argues that the UK blamed Zimbabwe for showing hostility towards the UK's foreign policy. Mugabe also succeeded in portraying Zimbabwe as a country subject to neocolonialism and economic exploitation by the West (Youde, 2013).

Meanwhile, the UK believes that its foreign policy emphasises the cultivation of democracy and good governance (Taylor, 2002). As an alternative, Zimbabwe sought to cultivate diplomatic relations with China and Russia, which were instrumental in supporting it during the liberation struggle (Maodza, 2019). As a result, the UK disinvested from Zimbabwe, and Chinese investment largely filled the resulting vacuum (Gagare, 2018).

During the 2016–2020 period under study, Zimbabwe was characterised by fierce infighting between ZANU-PF factions (Mude and Chigora, 2017). The most significant factions were linked to Vice President Joyce Mujuru, Emmerson Mnangagwa, and Grace Mugabe. The Gamatox faction linked to Mujuru battled with the Lacoste faction under the leadership of Mnangagwa (Kamhungira, 2019). Mnangagwa's faction emerged as the winner against the other factions, and he became the president-elect in 2017 through a military-assisted coup (Kamhungira, 2019). The Lacoste faction gained popularity and was endorsed by various stakeholders in Zimbabwe and beyond its borders (Kamhungira, 2019).

During this period, the most topical matter for debate in the UK was Britain's exit from the European Union (EU), known as Brexit (Mude & Chigora, 2017). Because of this, hostile relations between Zimbabwe and the UK witnessed between 2010 and 2015 thawed somewhat since both countries' preoccupations lay elsewhere, including internal affairs (Ndebele, 2018). Britain mainly focused on debating the pros and cons of exiting the EU. Mude and Chigora (2017) speculated that Brexit might lead to the scrapping of sanctions, thereby creating room for sustainable development in Zimbabwe. However, Zimbabwe is still struggling to implement reform policies, and the position taken by the EU is intact (Matenga and Muponde, 2020)

During the 2015–2016 period, the UK and the international community saw Mnangagwa, who was then Mugabe's deputy, as a prospective successor to Mugabe capable of political reforms

and re-engaging with the West. In Harare, a top British diplomat, Catriona Long, openly supported Mnangagwa as the ideal successor to Mugabe (Tinh, 2016). There were significant changes in Zimbabwe-UK relations.

Relations further improved due to the military-assisted ouster of Mugabe in November 2017 (Kamhungira, 2019). Mnangagwa expressed Zimbabwe's wish to re-engage with the UK and rejoin the Commonwealth (Spencer, Fleming, & Molloy, 2017). After the 2018 Zimbabwe elections, Harare and London discussed what was to be done to rebuild Zimbabwe (Gagare, 2018). The road map to reconstruction included political and economic reforms, which buttressed Mnangagwa's newly chanted mantra, "Zimbabwe is open for business" (Gagare, 2018). The UK reciprocated its preparedness to re-engage Zimbabwe by advancing US\$100 million to revive industries and agricultural activities that were under stress (Tinh, 2016; Gagare, 2019). However, efforts to foster cordial diplomatic cooperation between the two countries were jeopardised by the military killing of six protesting civilians on August 1, 2018 (Kuwaza, 2018). The military's involvement in Zimbabwe's civilian affairs has complicated diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK (Tinh, 2016). The UK disapproves of the role of the military in government business. Against this background, this study seeks to describe how the media has framed the diplomatic relations between the two countries and how language is used as a vehicle to build citizens' knowledge of diplomatic relations. A more detailed description of diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK is given in Chapter Two.

### **1.3.2 The media in Zimbabwe**

The media in Zimbabwe is an essential factor in my study since it plays a crucial role in building ordinary citizens' knowledge of diplomatic relations. Zimbabwe's media is characterised by a dichotomy between state-controlled and privately-owned outlets. The largest consortium in Zimbabwe is the state-controlled Zimbabwe Newspapers (Zimpapers), comprising *The Herald*, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Sunday News*, *The Manica Post*, *Kwayedza*, and *Umthunywa*. The flagship of Zimpapers is *The Herald*, a daily newspaper with the highest distribution and readership in Zimbabwe. It has an average distribution of 200,000 copies per day, according to ZAMPS (2019). Its editorial stance is characterised by following the government tone of the day. Hence, when the diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK were at their worst, *The Herald* was at the fore of demonising Britain in its content as an extension of government communication (Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2013).

In contrast, the main rival to *The Herald* is the privately-owned newspaper, *The Standard*, published by Alpha Media Holdings (AMH), which also publishes *Zimbabwe Independent* and *NewsDay*. *The Standard* enjoys a weekly circulation of 40,000 copies (ZAMPS, 2019). *The Standard* strives to reflect and promote democracy by presenting an oppositional voice to the government (Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). By the nature of the diversity that characterises Zimbabwe's polarised media environment, a single news story is inevitably framed differently by the two publications (Ndhlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). As a result, the newspaper's editorial practices inevitably produce two different orientations regarding what should or should not be published and how events are reported. As described in Chapter Two, these two publications were selected as data sources for this study due to their differing editorial slants and accessibility and popularity in urban areas.

#### **1.4 Key concepts**

This section describes key concepts relevant to this study to understand the terms and their significance in this context. The study explores the notion of diplomatic relations, media discourses, positioning, and SFL concepts, namely alignment, individuation, and affiliation, to better comprehend and evaluate Zimbabwe and the UK's relations. These key concepts reveal the causes of the disagreements concerning what is happening in Zimbabwe and help us to describe how group identities are shaped using language. They also describe the type of power exercised by *The Herald* and *The Standard* in reporting the two countries' relations.

##### **1.4.1 Characterising diplomatic relations**

Diplomatic relations are significant in my study because countries develop relations with each other, and language is used in the communication process. Language plays a critical role in maintaining relations in good faith or otherwise. Investigating diplomatic relations becomes important in establishing how news writers report on these diplomatic relations to shape the respective countries' images and identities. Diplomatic relations serve as a platform for marketing to maintain a country's good reputation to attract interested individuals or countries. Diplomatic relations refer to the relations of permanent diplomatic missions between two international actors by mutual consent and understanding of the roles that these missions serve (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961). For two international actors to have permanent diplomatic relations, there must be mutual consent and understanding of these missions' roles (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961). Diplomatic relations

between countries exist on a continuum between hostility and cordiality. One qualification for normal relations is that countries have extended diplomatic recognition and recognise each other's governments (Rana, 2002). Diplomacy is considered the art and practice of conducting negotiations between states' representatives to improve relations (D'Acquisto, 2017). The language used is the chief instrument and critical determinant in the cordiality or hostility of diplomatic relations (D'Acquisto, 2017). In other words, given complex or normal relations between countries, diplomacy is a communication tool of countries' representatives meant for managing international relations through negotiation instead of implementing coercive power to resolve misunderstandings.

D'Acquisto argues that in the coverage of diplomatic discourses, journalists tend to frame relations in a way that amplifies conflict. As discussed in (2.5), media can be perceived as providing an alternative communication channel for diplomatic relations. Usually, diplomats facilitate communication representing countries and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on behalf of their governments. Media has become one of the communication technologies diplomats employ to gather and disseminate information to honour their diplomatic practices. As a result, media has become an alternate form of communication that conveys different information, including official communications between countries.

Similarly, sensitive information and other information not meant for the general public are still conveyed directly. However, the media can construct and portray the country's identity negatively or positively through persuasion, in line with their views. Media reports supplement the official diplomatic network through which governments communicate (Cohen, 1986) compared to traditional communication forms. The media's relevance as an alternative communication channel accounts for similarities and differences portrayed in news articles to shape a country's image and identity. Different publications create a neutral playground through news coverage to address matters concerning complex and normal relations experienced by countries. Social relations are evaluated through news writers' language resources to construe meanings unfolding from the events. The portrayal of countries and their governments in the media leaves an impression on these countries' public opinions. As such, the media remains a critical factor in reproducing knowledge concerning diplomatic relations through writers' linguistic choices.

Given the above, diplomacy contributes to a country's reputation, which forms part of its soft power. The representation of diplomatic relations in the media is equally important to

understand how relations are positioned and how linguistic choices are conceptualised in terms of systems of meanings to reproduce knowledge concerning relations between the two countries.

#### **1.4.2 Media discourses**

Research on media representation of diplomatic relations in news articles is critical in examining how people take positions towards other countries and their governments. Media discourse represents news reports, headlines, editorials, and letters to the editor, Bhatia (1994). My study is concerned with news reports in newspapers. The media's representation of communities and countries significantly promotes and reinforces constructed identities.

Various studies report on diplomatic relations in the news media. For example, Muhammad and Moazzam's (2019) study focuses on the strategies used to frame the conflict between Saudi Arabia and Qatar by news channels Al Jazeera and Al Arabia. The ongoing conflict started in 2017 when Saudi Arabia and its allies decided to sever their diplomatic relations with Qatar. The study concluded that media channels exacerbated the diplomatic conflict through negative framings of the opposite country. Lai Fong and Yong Chia (2017) examine diplomatic discourse, focusing on Chinese and Malaysian newspapers' coverage of Malaysia-China diplomacy and Chinese Premier Li Keqiang's visit to Malaysia in 2015. The study revealed that Malaysian and Chinese newspapers used neutral valence in their reporting and addressed the content with different intensities and prominence. Valence deals with the tone given to a news story to portray countries or individuals in the media. Prominence is derived from an individual's personality and deciphers a story's placement in a newspaper (Lai Fong and Yong Chia, 2017). These two studies establish the role of the media in solving or promoting conflict through how language is used to frame the involved parties. The tone used in framing countries or individuals influences the readers' knowledge of bilateral relations.

Similarly, Ahmet, Khiang, and Kee (2019) enacted Goffman (1974) to establish the news frames used in reporting Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev's visit to Malaysia in 2015. The framing theory deals with news frames without describing how language produces diplomatic knowledge between countries. The findings highlighted that the news frames portrayed both countries' and governments' positive images to maintain cordial relations. Ahmet, Khiang, and Kee argue that journalists use framing to produce clear messages in the coverage of Nazarbayev's visit to Malaysia. The above studies conclude that news media focuses on soft power as a resource in their news coverage to persuade and influence individuals and countries.

They focus on the positive coverage of the leaders to justify the visit and relations. Nye (2008) argues that soft power allows the news media to portray journalists' and politicians' objectives as having an equal weight within a mutually beneficial relationship. Culture, political values, and foreign policy characterise soft power. These characteristics can influence other countries to adopt political values and foreign policies from outside, which causes discord within a country and its people. Media houses and governments gain power by promoting their policies and persuading other countries by positively positioning themselves in newspapers. Governments no longer use coercive measures to gain support or popularity but the language of persuasion to convince other governments about their foreign policies. The way countries are attracted strengthens the country's position on the international platform; hence, individuals and countries are convinced.

Mudyadzozo (2019) asserts that the media's role in international relations is agenda setting, characterised by news framing to fulfil the interests of the countries involved in bilateral relations. For example, the restrictive measures imposed against Zimbabwe are part of an agenda set by Britain and the EU to fulfil their interests concerning the conflict in Zimbabwe. In other words, agenda setting references the media's power to shape what the public should think about and not tell people what to think (Baran & Davies, 2003). In this study, *The Herald* and *The Standard* are viewed as tools by individuals and societies for enhancing the social attachments identified with Zimbabwe regarding their foreign and domestic policies. The newspapers are regarded as tools for using language to report the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK. As a result, the newspapers under study provide a soft power resource for the Zimbabwean government to enact their foreign and domestic policy with the UK by influencing and persuading the international community to achieve their outcomes. It might be a different case with the independent newspaper since soft power can be used as a marketing strategy to denounce unjust acts within a country as part of their agenda setting. One of the implications is that governments can be manipulated to shape their identities and values because of the level of attractiveness of the language used in news reporting.

The current study departs from the above studies by examining the relationship between language and knowledge and investigating how news reporting helps build readers' knowledge about diplomacy. As a result, the study addresses the concept of knowledge building in news media, but unlike the above studies that draw on framing theory and various concepts in discourse analysis. SFL and LCT concepts are enacted in this study to analyse the role of language in knowledge building and draw on SFL and LCT as complementary frameworks

(Siebörger, 2018; Lizama, 2014; Maton & Martin, 2013), as discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis. The study seeks to use these frameworks to examine how linguistic choices affect how knowledge about diplomacy is reproduced in news articles. Since news media reproduce and recontextualise knowledge embodied in diplomatic relations between the two countries, research into knowledge building about bilateral ties is relevant to Zimbabwean socio-economic development.

The media plays a significant part in disseminating information concerning social activities that positively or negatively affect the nation. Hence it fulfils the duties of informing, educating, and promoting debates within the communities it serves. The media should allow free trade in ideas and news without political, social, or cultural interference, but the media cannot avoid political, social, and cultural interference. This study investigates the governments' power in the media and the causes of disagreements concerning the two countries' relations. The power exerted by the two countries is revealed in newspapers because of the ability of the governments to manipulate and influence the media to report on the beliefs that shape their identities to the outside world. Habermas (1991) emphasises the importance of media in advancing democracy and defines the public sphere as the arena of institutions and practices between the private interests of daily life in civil society and the domain of state power. In other words, the media's perspectives on individuals and countries are represented in the news reports for public consumption.

### **1.4.3 Positioning**

In my study, positioning refers to how different countries, individuals, and moral judgements are portrayed in relation to each other in discourse (Siebörger, 2018). Positioning theory is an alternative approach to analysing positioning but is not used in this thesis, and the definition is not adopted. Positioning theory deals with social relationships focusing on characteristics that we assign to ourselves and others in our discursive interaction positions (Louis, 2008). Positioning theory defines positioning as the discursive construction of individual narrations used to construct individuals' actions in an understandable way and jointly produce storylines (Louis, 2008). Positioning theory demonstrates that identities are framed and positioned in discourse. However, this type of theory does not help analyse knowledge production due to the constructivist epistemology that undergirds it. LCT is based on a critical realist epistemology, which can account for knowledge building in the two newspapers. As such, language elements

responsible for positioning Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their relations are established in this study.

Meanwhile, framing refers to how people think about events and process them into their already existing set of experiences (Goffman, 1974). Framing is another alternative way of analysing my data but was not adopted in this study since it looks at positioning, not the frames created by journalists in news writing. In media studies, framing is considered an active selection process, and news frames are defined as organising principles enacted by journalists to tell a coherent story (Chari, 2013). Unlike SFL and LCT, framing theory lacks the potential to address the role of language in knowledge building since it is sociology (Goffman, 1974). My study establishes specific linguistic features that position diplomatic relations between countries by linking them to diplomatic stances and values. SFL and LCT can address the relationship between language and knowledge building (1.4.2). The positioning theory lacks the tools to carry out this task.

#### **1.4.4 Alignment**

Alignment is a process where people identify themselves with a particular group by sharing values and beliefs, indicating a sense of belonging and attachment (Tajfel, 1979 cited in Rowan, 2016:17). The speakers' ability to acknowledge their positions or attitudes is also understood as inviting others to endorse the same positions and values. The acknowledgement leads to aligning others into groups of people sharing the same values and beliefs (Martin & White, 2005). Understanding why readers and speakers identify with one group instead of the other and their reasons for doing so demonstrates language effectiveness as a tool for positioning (Rowan, 2016). Alignment is achieved using language to reveal positions and attitudes that lead to specific values and beliefs. However, readers may choose whether or not to align themselves with the positions indicated in news articles. News coverage gives insights into what is taking place concerning Zimbabwe and the UK's relations and readers' reasons for agreeing or disagreeing through alignment.

#### **1.4.5 Individuation and affiliation**

Alignment relates to individuation and affiliation through readers' different shared values within a community. Individuation is viewed as a cline between the reservoir and the repertoire that is understood as a "scale of communities of meaning" (Knight, 2010). The concepts of reservoir and repertoire are from Bernstein (2000). A community's entire collection of

repertoires is referred to as a reservoir. In contrast, the repertoire is defined as “a set of strategies endowed by any individual” (Bernstein, 2000:158). In other words, individuals are provided with different repertoires of meanings from the main reservoir of meaning conceived by their culture or community (Martin, 2010).

Individuation focuses on the specialisation of meaning potential according to language users and the connection between “the reservoir of meanings in culture and the repertoire a given individual can mobilise” (Martin, 2010:23). The individuation cline includes culture, persona, master identity, and subculture responsible for negotiating and classifying identities (Knight, 2010). Individuals and communities have the potential to affiliate or individuate regarding the way they understand and interpret values and practices in a given scenario.

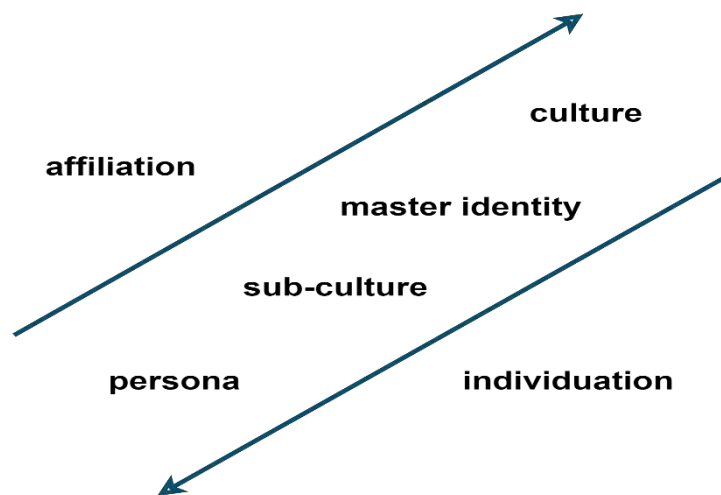


Figure 1.1: Individuation and affiliation cline (redrawn from Martin, 2010:28)

Affiliation refers to sharing of values and positions. Liu (2018) states that affiliation is a social process of creating and negotiating communities through sharing values. In addition, affiliation is understood as “persona aligning themselves into subcultures, configuring master identities and constituting a culture” (Martin, 2010:24). Through the affiliation process, participants are recognised as fellow members of a community that upholds similar values (Almutairi, 2014). The values lay the foundation for journalists to affiliate with their readers in relation to established positions in the text, so that if a news reporter presents a negative or positive view of Zimbabwe, for instance, this interaction influences the readers either to affiliate with the prescribed view or to individuate themselves. Affiliation and individuation help us see the influence of language in creating communities of shared values. The linguistic resources are enacted to align or disalign readers, justify the conflict, and establish the positions of the media

concerning the governments reported on. Individuation and affiliation help readers to confirm their negative or positive opinions about Zimbabwe and the UK and whether or not to share the values presented by the media.

The concepts of individuation and affiliation are significant in this study to reveal how writers construct and negotiate the identities and images of the countries under study (3.6). Almutairi (2014) highlights that individuation is more concerned with individual identities, whereas affiliation more closely reflects general communities. Liu (2018) points out that affiliation is realised in different forms; for example, there is a difference between affiliation in news editorials and affiliation in dialogic texts such as news articles. Linguistic resources such as judgement and appreciation play a crucial role in establishing the positioning in news articles and how meanings are strengthened and weakened through evaluation. Positioning relates to individuation and affiliation in the view of how individuals and countries are portrayed in relation to each other based on their feelings/activities regarding policies. Identity communities are created when people choose to individuate or affiliate with their beliefs and practices depicted in news articles. The interaction between writers and their readers influences the stances taken by individuals and countries. Individuation and affiliation help to establish readers' particular positions and values concerning the positioning of Zimbabwe and UK relations in news articles (3.6).

### **1.5 Theoretical approach**

Framing theory and positioning theory are alternative ways of analysing my data because of their ability to reveal people's thoughts and how they are processed. However, their relevance is limited in addressing the concept of knowledge building and how language is used to position the relations between the two countries. This section justifies my adoption of concepts from SFL and LCT to examine Zimbabwe and the UK's positioning in *The Herald* and *The Standard*. It introduces the SFL "Appraisal" resource. This includes all linguistic resources that express evaluation or modify the strength of evaluations, and resources that signal the text sender's dialogic positioning in relation to other voices. The LCT concepts of constellations and cosmologies will then be discussed to identify the different positions taken in newspapers. LCT provides an appropriate theoretical framework for conceptualising diplomatic relations because of its potential to analyse the organising principles that give rise to knowledge building. This section describes theoretical approaches informing the study and how they complement each other in analysing the positioning of diplomatic relations. These approaches

provide analytic resources to represent the relations between the two countries and how meanings are construed in news articles. These theories also help fulfil my study's empirical goals and give new insights into building diplomatic knowledge.

### **1.5.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics**

Martin and White (2005) explain that SFL views language as a fundamental part of society with the potential to make meaning. As part of SFL, three complementary metafunctions describe how language is used in different contexts. The interpersonal metafunction articulates the speaker/writer's Attitude and Judgement and describes all the use of language in building and maintaining relationships. The ideational metafunction refers to how language represents our world's experiences and circumstances (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). The textual metafunction organises the meanings created through the use of these metafunctions. I use the Appraisal framework, which falls under the interpersonal metafunction. The interpersonal metafunction analyses language used to evaluate people or objects and take positions related to other opinions. The Appraisal framework describes how the positioning is realised in the language used in news articles through the linguistic choices made by news writers.

The following explanation of the three sub-systems of Appraisal, namely Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation, draws on Martin and White (2005). Attitude concerns language resources for expressing feelings to show an emotional response, judging behaviour, and evaluating things. Engagement describes how senders enter into dialogue with multiple voices, ideas, and stances present within a context. Engagement is concerned with the range of voices recognised in a text. Graduation deals with language resources that intensify or scale down evaluation strength (Martin & White, 2005:35).

Appraisal is considered a vital system of the interpersonal metafunction in language responsible for expressing evaluation in texts. The interpersonal linguistic choices are of primary importance in my study because I analyse Zimbabwe and the UK's positioning in news articles. I focus mainly on how Appraisal resources reveal values espoused in texts and describe how alternative voices are positioned. Appraisal resources provide a systematic way of comparing and contrasting meanings and dispositions in news articles. These linguistic resources allow the researcher to investigate how writers represent and legitimise their perspectives from which they show the kind of relations between the two countries using language. The construed meanings might influence citizens to act or align themselves

positively, neutrally, or negatively towards Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom (Martin & White, 2005).

The way language is used to reproduce knowledge regarding diplomatic relations in the state-owned *Herald* and the privately-owned *Standard* influences how readers frame relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. This possibly creates divisions within society through writer-reader alignment, affiliation, and individuation, three concepts derived from SFL. As a result, there may be pro-UK and pro-Zimbabwe government subcultures within Zimbabwe due to the relationships between journalists and specific communities in their audiences. In my study, I will draw on these concepts to show the positioning in news articles.

This section shows that SFL can describe the linguistic resources used in countries' positioning in *The Herald* and *The Standard* news articles, as discussed in Chapter Three.

### **1.5.2 Legitimation Code Theory**

Legitimation Code Theory is an analytic framework grounded in critical realism. Critical realism is an ontological position that explains that the social world has a separate reality from the social actors that inhabit it (Rowan, 2016) (3.1). LCT enables knowledge practices to be seen, conceptualises their organising principles, and explores their effects (Maton, 2014). Knowledge practices refer to any practice that involves knowledge. For example, the news coverage of Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their relations involves ideas and practices unique to each community, resulting in the reproduction of knowledge in news articles aligned/disaligned with both countries.

In this study, I use the concept of constellations to describe how diplomatic knowledge is reproduced in news articles from *The Herald* and *The Standard* to establish Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom's positioning in relation to each other (Maton, 2014). LCT postulates that each community has particular sets of ideas and values that cluster into tighter or looser groupings known as constellations (Maton, 2014). Constellations are arrangements of ideas that show how values are maintained within a community (Maton, 2014). Maton introduced epistemological and axiological constellations, which can be positively, negatively, or neutrally evaluated. Epistemological constellations focus on technical definitions that describe an object under study, whereas axiological constellations cluster ideas based on values and attitudes (Maton, 2014; Martin, Maton & Matruglio, 2010). The axiological constellations articulate what each newspaper promotes and show their aligned axiological meanings (Doran,

2020). This study aims to identify how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned in axiological constellations related to morals, values, and political stances and how these values are charged to reflect underlying cosmologies.

Cosmologies are the reasoning behind a belief system that produces one or more constellations positively/negatively charged or evaluated (Maton, 2014). My analysis seeks to arrive at the cosmologies underlying the constellations found in the news articles. Analysing the cosmologies behind the positioning of the two countries forms the basis for comparing and contrasting the knowledge reproduced in *The Herald* with that reproduced in *The Standard* using language. By analysing the similarities and differences between the two publications concerning their positioning, I describe the affiliation and individuation of senders and what cosmologies underlie the positioning. LCT and SFL are helpful to use as complementary frameworks in studies. This is because of their ability to conceptualise how the two newspapers reproduce diplomatic knowledge concerning the communities' values and stances. SFL reveals the different linguistic resources used in diplomatic reporting to create meanings that construe countries' relations. The concepts from the frameworks used in this study showed various axiological constellations on how the two countries are positioned in news articles. Meanwhile, LCT can provide insights into how knowledge is reproduced based on the findings that emerge from SFL analysis (Martin & Matruglio, 2013).

This brief introduction reveals the potential to analyse constellations and cosmologies for describing countries' positioning and stances in diplomatic discourse. The concept of constellations can describe how moral judgements are positioned in a nuanced way. The concept of cosmologies allows one to interrogate the reasoning behind the production of the constellations. This potential motivates the use of LCT and SFL in this study, and the two frameworks help me answer the research question guiding this study, as described in Chapter Three.

## **1.6 Research questions**

The following study aims at giving a detailed investigation of how language is used as a tool to build diplomatic knowledge in news articles. The research seeks to make conclusions based on the comparative analyses of knowledge building emerging from the two newspapers. To carry out such analyses, the study is guided by the following research questions:

1. How are Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom positioned in news articles in *The Herald* and *The Standard* about diplomatic relations between these two countries?
2. How is the positioning of Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom realised in the language used by each newspaper?
3. What are the similarities and differences between *The Herald* and *The Standard's* representation of Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom's diplomatic relations in the news articles?
4. How do *The Herald* and *The Standard* articles contribute to readers' knowledge about Zimbabwe and the UK's diplomatic relations?
5. What implications do the answers to the above questions have for:
  - a) The theorising of language using SFL?
  - b) The theorising of knowledge building using LCT?
  - c) The use of SFL and LCT as complementary frameworks for analysis?
6. How can these findings generate constructive dialogue among Zimbabweans regarding their country's diplomatic relations with the UK?

The first question describes the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in *The Herald* and *The Standard* in general. This helps group relevant information together and identify the trends emerging from the news reporting. The second research question focuses on how language positions diplomatic relations and accounts for the positioning's implications. It also asks how language elements are used to achieve positioning in news articles and how knowledge building is achieved using linguistic resources.

Questions three and four compare and contrast the representation of diplomatic relations between the two countries and the contribution made by the news articles to readers' knowledge about the relations. A reflection of similarities and differences emerging from the news articles builds a strong foundation for analysing the language and its function in positioning relations. The main interest is how news reporters employ language resources in establishing identities and culture in each publication. The questions help reveal the causes of disagreements concerning the unfolding of the events.

Question five discusses my contributions to LCT and SFL since they provide the tools to position the two countries concerning each other.

Question six discusses the practical applications of my study and how they can impact Zimbabwe's diplomatic discourse. It explores how my research findings can transform Zimbabwe's discourses regarding its relationship with the UK.

### **1.7 Research design**

This study employs the LCT and SFL frameworks to analyse data and adapt some concepts in Doran's use of Appraisal as a method to find what is being constellated. Doran's study analysed the controversy in Australia concerning different terminology for discussing the European arrival in Australia. Doran's argument is that afforded Attitude is very difficult to see and analyse without the aid of a constellation analysis. Doran uses Attitude and Engagement to show how language can reveal positions that lead to specific values. LCT's axiological constellations help identify particular positions and stances, organising communities of practice. In the light of LCT, ways of perceiving distinct positions and stances organising communities of practices are revealed (Doran, 2020). Doran's axiological constellation method is still new, and published work is limited. I have piloted his method in a different context, that is, diplomatic relations between countries. I have developed multiple constellations in my analysis compared to Doran's binary constellations. From the above, my study selects what will work with my data to establish what takes place in diplomatic knowledge building. This is done to establish aspects of Doran's method that work best with my data since my study focuses on linguistic resources and constellations responsible for diplomatic positioning to reveal stances and values.

The diagram helps to show my study's stages of data analysis: data collection from the NewsBank Access South Africa database, Corpus analysis and LCT and SFL descriptive analyses.



Figure 1.2: Schematic overview of the method used in this study

Corpus analysis is carried out to reveal large-scale patterns in the positioning of the two countries. A corpus is a collection of co-occurring texts selected and grouped for linguistic analysis (Baker, 2006). In the corpus analysis, I identify collocations of the UK and Zimbabwe. These words statistically co-occur frequently with the names of the countries in the corpora to provide clues as to how these words may be positioned in constellations (Baker, 2006). These collocations from *The Herald* and *The Standard* are analysed to establish patterns emerging from the data, assisting in selecting four news articles for fine-grained analysis in the subsequent three stages (4.3).

The first stage involves compiling descriptive accounts of the articles chosen for fine-grained analysis, which entails describing the articles' context and structure and first impressions of

how countries are positioned in them before enacting SFL and LCT. The researcher approaches each article as an ordinary Zimbabwean reader to describe the articles' impressions upon such readers (4.4).

Second, the selected news articles are annotated to identify the Appraisal resources used in them. Then identify patterns in these resources in the articles and interpret their contribution to alignment, individuation, and affiliation (4.4.2).

Stage three involves employing the Appraisal system for individual articles. This allows me to identify linguistic resources used in each article to position the UK and Zimbabwe. First, the selected news articles are annotated to identify the Appraisal resources used in them. Then identify patterns in these resources in the articles and interpret their contribution to alignment, individuation, and affiliation.

Stage four involves enacting the LCT concept of constellations on individual articles to identify cosmologies, which add insights to the findings from SFL analyses concerning diplomatic relations between the two countries. The researcher identifies words associated with positive and negative values and groups them to observe how constellations are produced. The constellations are analysed to show the underlying cosmologies found in the two newspapers' reporting in terms of values and stances (4.4.3).

After the LCT and SFL analyses, I compare and contrast the two newspapers' language based on the results of the SFL and LCT analyses. Then juxtapose the cosmology underlying *The Herald's* coverage with the cosmology underlying *The Standard's* coverage. I also show what responses to the research questions emerge from these analyses (4.4).

## **1.8 Overview of the thesis**

This section outlines the structure of the thesis.

Chapter One outlines a brief discussion on the study's overview to establish what motivated the research and its significance. This explains the theoretical approaches and describes the research questions and the structure of the thesis. Following this chapter, the literature review is described to unpack diplomatic relations.

Chapter Two provides a literature review on diplomatic relations in general and then examines Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom's diplomatic relations. It theorises and contextualises media discourses.

Chapter Three discusses the frameworks of LCT and SFL. I begin by describing critical realism as the philosophy that underpins my study. I present the SFL Appraisal framework showing its resources and how they can be enacted to analyse data (3.2). The concepts of individuation and affiliation are also described, showing how individual identities and communities are shaped through news articles. Next, I show how LCT can be utilised in describing the knowledge produced through the language used in reporting diplomatic relations in news articles. LCT helps analyse the constellations and cosmologies emerging from language resources employed in news coverage. Lastly, I describe how these theoretical frameworks complement each other in analysing diplomatic discourse.

Chapter Four explores methodology, focusing on data collection and selection methods.

Chapter Five reports on my corpus analysis findings concerning Zimbabwe and the UK collocations and selecting articles for fine-grain analysis.

Chapters Six and Seven describe the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in news articles in *The Herald* (Chapter Six) and *The Standard* (Chapter Seven). These chapters explore how the Appraisal and LCT's theoretical concepts manifest in news articles focusing on Zimbabwe and the UK's positioning. Also, a comparative analysis of similarities and differences in the representation of diplomatic relations in news articles concerning Zimbabwe and the UK's positioning. These chapters investigate how language resources are used in news coverage and how diplomatic knowledge is reproduced.

Chapter Eight discusses my study's implications for building citizens' knowledge of diplomatic relations. Practical applications on how diplomatic knowledge building on diplomatic relations could be improved or democratised will be examined. It describes the limitations of my research (8.4) and gives suggestions for further research. It responds to research questions (8.3). It describes my study's theoretical implications (8.2) concerning how SFL and LCT can be strengthened due to my study.

## **1.9 Conclusion**

This introductory chapter summarises the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their relations and media discourses, showing how communication between countries is conducted globally. This chapter presents how media has become an alternative communication channel that addresses hostility and cordiality between countries. The media reports on the information given out by diplomats on behalf of the countries they represent.

The primary audience is the citizens of the host countries, who process the information in media reports and develop their evaluations and judgements, whether good or bad. It outlines the study's motivation and context, giving the research aims to understand the causes of the disagreements concerning what is taking place in Zimbabwe and the UK and how readers choose to belong to one group that aligns/disaligns with Zimbabwe. The theoretical approaches that answer the research questions can be used to analyse the language used in the newspaper articles and how these build knowledge about diplomatic relations. A brief discussion of the theoretical frameworks and how they complement each other in analysing the positioning of the countries concerning their relations is presented. The significance of these theories is giving new insights into what happens in political knowledge building. The literature review (Chapter Two) relevant to this study advances readers' understanding of the historical context of Zim and the UK's diplomatic relations and the debate on how the building of knowledge about diplomacy can be analysed.

## **CHAPTER TWO: DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND MEDIA DISCOURSES**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter begins by describing the notion of diplomatic discourse in general. The descriptions reveal what other researchers have proved as salient tendencies and processes in diplomatic discourse. The study examines positioning from the viewpoint of linguistic choices employed by news writers as they position the diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK in *The Herald* and *The Standard*. The study aims to examine how language promotes knowledge building about the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in *The Standard* and *The Herald* news articles.

The study gives an overview of the notions of diplomatic relations in section 2.2. Section 2.3 describes the diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK, beginning from the colonial period to the post-independence period and the present. The focus is on the transition period between Mugabe and Mnangagwa's presidencies regarding the bilateral ties between the two countries. Section 2.4 focuses on media discourses and positioning in news articles. In order to analyse language choices and their role in conveying meanings in the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK regarding their relations, it also draws attention to the concepts of SFL. Through the language choices made by news reporters, LCT analysis reveals how positions are constructed, meanings are charged, and recognition occurs in news articles. The focus is on public spheres and how knowledge is constructed in media discourse for the readers. The linguistic foundation for demonstrating how meanings were developed into axiological constellations is provided by SFL, which provides tools for demonstrating how specific language choices are connected to various ideas and entities in news articles concerning the positioning of the two countries.

### **2.2 Exploring the notion of diplomatic relations**

According to Nye's theory, using one nation's cultural or ideological appeal to persuade or influence people to support a cause is known as "soft power" as opposed to using force to achieve a goal (2004). Research on the diplomatic ties between Zimbabwe and the UK offers literature on the role of media as soft power.

Diplomacy plays a significant role in communication between countries and is viewed as the art of communication on the international platform. Countries use the international platform to promote good relations and update their counterparts on their concerns and conflicts. In the contemporary context,

“diplomacy can be referred to as the administration of relations between nations and other actors, characterised by providing advice, shaping and implementing foreign policy. It is the process by which states, through their formal and informal representatives, as well as other players, articulate, manage, and secure specific or broader interests through correspondence, private talks, viewpoint exchanges, visits, threats, and other related actions” (Bartson, 2013:1).

D’Acquisto defines diplomacy as “a skill and method of negotiating between representatives of parties or states and improving international relations regarding issues of peace-making, trade, war, economics, and culture” (2017:10). Melissen writes, “Diplomacy is also viewed as a game where the roles and responsibilities of actors in international relations are clearly delineated” (2005:5). He further explains that diplomacy is an instrument used by countries to communicate and negotiate with other international actors.

For this research, I adopt the definition of diplomacy propounded by Bartson (2013), quoted above. Bartson acknowledges developments concerning forms of communication between countries, and some are outside the traditional framework of communication, which entails letters. The concept of diplomatic relations is influenced by the mutual willingness of the interested parties to engage in the relationship. Furthermore, he asserts that diplomatic contact in modern diplomatic practice can be done through notes, letters, memoranda, and aide-memoires to ease communication between states (Bartson, 2013). As a result, communication between countries can be formal or informal through speeches, statements, communiqués, and interviews with press media. As such, press media is regarded as a vital tool of communication between countries, whether positive or negative, in helping dialogue between countries. The media should not be reprimanded for covering events affecting the democracy and well-being of a nation. News reporting is a tool used to promote diplomatic relations under normal circumstances.

With this definition, Bartson emphasises that news reporting has become a reliable tool diplomats use in their communication practices with their counterparts. Diplomats conduct interviews or volunteer information to journalists in order to provide their perspectives on their country’s affairs. The role of news media lies in its ability to shape diplomatic knowledge. Because of linguistic choices made by news reporters, statements or claims in news reporting

have the potential to frame identities, stances, and attitudes (Bartson, 2013). For example, trade, investment, and financial terms may influence the reasons for engaging in diplomatic relations. For example, it has been argued that Brazil's representation in Kenya is due to its own coffee production activities, which are targeted at Brazilian foreign direct investment projects involving ethanol (Bartson, 2013). Countries engage in diplomatic ties for their benefit, such as in agriculture and mining activities. There are new ways of communication between countries, such as social media. However, online news extends the "reach" of traditional newspapers and makes news from individual countries more readily available internationally.

Additionally, news reporting may directly influence or indirectly affect public opinions in many ways since news media is involved in shaping the communities of identities and strengthening the state of that community. As a result, news articles require investigation to analyse the communication between countries since they have become a tool of communication (Bartson, 2013). However, some journalists are governed by editorial control, considering the political systems of the involved parties, while some media producers are more independent of political interference than others. As such, journalists, when they have a particularly important story, "are concerned to keep the 'newsness' of it intact, and its lead nature" (Bartson, 2013:34). The construction of news items relies on formal and informal rules with respect to sources including anonymity and supporting or contrary evidence and views. Similarly, some of the challenges journalists face to keep the news relevant include economic and time constraints within the country. For example, the story "No bailout on Zim, says UK ambassador" relies on Ambassador Catriona Laing's point of view concerning reviving the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK and can affect the intactness and lead of the story. I contend that the language used in news reporting influences country positioning regarding diplomatic relations and reproduces knowledge. I will show how the language used in news reporting produces knowledge by positioning Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their relations.

In some instances, the media, as a soft power resource, can use its power to mobilise public opinion and persuade the masses to support or reject government policy or the other way around. Soft power describes the power to influence people using cultural and ideological attraction to another country rather than coercive power to achieve a goal (Nye, 2004). Nye states that soft power is the influence that originates from intangible elements like culture, political beliefs, and morals (2008). It is described as the capability of bringing people together to realise political goals through persuasion rather than punishment or abuse. Therefore, soft power results from a country's culture, political ideals, and policies (Nye, 2008). Soft power

legitimises a country's culture or policies on an international platform. Compared to other sources of soft power, popular culture is more likely to draw audiences and develop soft power in the sense of desired results, particularly in circumstances where cultures are similar to those of great cultural disparity (Nye, 2004). Hence, media has the potential to exercise power indirectly for distinct reasons.

Media is perceived as a soft power resource for diplomacy because governments advance their agendas to the public through the relations they share. Context influences the choice of linguistic features to achieve goals; as Nye (2004) said, media is a means of soft power used by politicians and individuals to market themselves positively to gain power over other actors. Media is perceived as a soft power resource for diplomacy because governments advance their agendas to the public through the relations they share. Media representations of Zimbabwe and the UK offer fresh viewpoints that promote aspirations for rapprochement between the two nations or vice versa. Through diplomatic relations, nations show their intention to cooperate on development projects to benefit one another, and the media eases the process of fostering goodwill among interested parties. There is evidence that media can increase mental processes that contribute to the escalation of wars, and media can also promote peace. It can serve as a mediator and peacemaker, projecting ideas and strategies to encourage tolerant behaviour and clear statements in society.

Soft power is used in media to bring people together to realise political goals through persuasion rather than punishment (Nye, 2004). The government uses the media as a soft power resource to market its culture and policies with the aim of gaining power over other actors. Statements or claims in news reporting have the capacity to construct identities, stances, and attitudes as a result of linguistic choices made by news reporters (Bartson, 2013). The media as a soft power tool is involved in defining communities of identities and bolstering the state of such communities; therefore, news reporting may directly or indirectly affect public sentiments in numerous ways.

### 2.2.1 Linguistic studies of diplomatic discourse in general

Various studies in diplomatic discourse have been carried out, and their focus is on how linguistic resources are employed in diplomatic speeches and correspondence by heads of nations. A few studies enacted Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the Appraisal framework in analysing press briefings and the construction of identities and power by countries, groups, or individuals.

Other studies have concentrated on how the media utilise language to convey news and how public opinion is formed. Some have also debated the function of media in society. Li argues that intertextuality impacts how national identities are produced in the *New York Times* and *China Daily* to reflect the period of crisis and conflict in US-China relations (2009). The study found that the *New York Times* creates a picture of China engulfed in extreme nationalism. Through the discursive tactics used by the two publications, *China Daily* develops a discourse that depicts China as a nation that supports freedom and harmony. Li (2009) submits that differences in language use in news reporting reveal various representations of countries and individual identities, considering the studied media institutional position and values (2009). However, this varies from one media producer to another. Liu further argues that media reports can negatively or positively affect the process of developing foreign policy (2018). As a result, the study concluded that intertextuality reinforces certain discourses, as shown in media coverage of the representation of identities. In other words, the public's understanding of diplomatic relations between countries is based on what the media chooses to tell them and the strategies used in telling the story of bilateral relations. This has some implications for the type of knowledge and understanding the media produces for public consumption. Furthermore, we can see how journalists use language to construct national identities and images through positioning in news reporting.

Calello and Chen (2013) analysed how the Costa Rican diplomatic move from Taipei to Beijing was covered in the media in June 2007. The study analysed three news articles from *el Periodo*, *La Tribuna* and *La Nacion* newspapers drawing from Critical Discourse Analysis. *La Nacion* reveals that the United States describes the diplomatic relations between Costa Rica and China (Beijing) as a “marriage of convenience” and blames Costa Rica for ignoring its humanitarian obligation in exchange for economic gains. In this sense, the media can expose what is occurring in other nations to entice and persuade other actors to support their beliefs and methods. Furthermore, this has shown that Americans' attitudes towards Costa Rica and China reveal elements of distrust and criticism of the domestic and foreign policies of the two countries. In this sense, the media can expose what is occurring in other nations to entice and persuade other actors to support their beliefs and methods.

Furthermore, this has shown that Americans' attitudes towards Costa Rica and China reveal elements of distrust and criticism of the domestic and foreign policies of the two countries. This is achieved by the language used to justify power over other actors in framing the bilateral

relations. The political slants of newspapers contribute to the choice of discursive strategies employed in the news coverage process.

Wageche and Chi (2016) investigated the use of personal pronouns in speeches meant for international audiences by Barack Obama (America) and President Xi Jinping (China). The study looked at four speeches within the context of CDA to demonstrate how frequently both Obama and Xi used first-person pronouns in both singular and plural forms. The study recognises Obama's use of personal pronouns, with I-pronouns when addressing Africa and more we-pronouns in his speech in Europe. Concerning governance issues, this type of representation validates the East and West countries' aspect of dominance over Africa. By implementing foreign policies aimed at establishing democracy, Africa is ruled. The study points out that Xi deploys both I-pronouns and we-pronouns when addressing Africa and Europe. Xi's diplomatic language favours modal verbs like *should* and *need* to emphasise the importance of future relationships and collaborations. In his speech, Obama makes use of the words *will* and *can* to forge partnerships and express concern for the future. The use of the I-pronouns depicts power over Africa, and the use of we-pronouns depicts inclusiveness to convince Africa regarding the support rendered to the continent by the East. The study tells us that diplomatic discourse influences some countries to take charge over others through the use of language by journalists.

In diplomatic discourse, modal verbs are used to describe and form relationships between nations and to encourage nations to participate in proposed coalitions. The concept of *them and us* is significant in diplomatic communication in terms of persuading or attracting other people. It is also significant in terms of disaffiliating from certain people that link to the concepts of individuation and affiliation (see Chapter Three). In the current study, I am interested in investigating how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned in the news when dealing with diplomatic relations. Wageche and Chi's study contribute specific insights in relation to the use of language to attract other countries and individuals concerning their agenda as well as domestic and foreign policies. The study helps us understand how language can be used to influence other nations and how Zimbabwe and the UK are portrayed in relation to their diplomatic ties. It also helps to comprehend how language entices and persuades actors to cooperate and pledge allegiance to others. The reader's knowledge of the diplomatic ties between Zimbabwe and the UK is greatly influenced by the diplomatic discourse used in news articles.

Yan and Jiansheng (2016) conducted a cross-cultural analysis of daily press briefings by the US Department of State and the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The study analysed lexico-grammatical resources of modality to compare linguistic strategies used in diplomatic discourse used to construct interpersonal meaning in diverse cultural backgrounds. The study established similarities regarding the use of modal expressions by Chinese and American diplomats, which show common discursive features of the same register. Thus, the differences revealed the two governments' different orientations, strategies, and ideological stances. It should be noted that news coverage on culture, political decisions, and ideologies can be used to influence other actors to support individual positions (Nye, 2004). In order to promote their common principles and practices, the US Department of State and the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs employ the media as a soft power tool to persuade other nations. As such, the status of the legitimacy of both countries shows that soft power is valuable as a strategy to achieve one's expectations.

On the one hand, meanings are significant in the evaluation of diplomatic discourse to understand the kind of knowledge reproduced in news articles. The representation of cultures in news media holds various meanings and interpretations considering the context and content reaching out to the communities. The coverage of diplomatic relations is influenced by the sources of information and the choice of discursive strategies used to legitimise values and stances.

The views and conclusions of the above studies are significant to this research in that they supply helpful information concerning how state-controlled and private-controlled newspapers represent the relationship between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom. My study uses linguistic and LCT resources to analyse news articles reporting diplomatic ties between the two countries. The difference between the studies mentioned above and my study is that I examine how language is employed to represent diplomatic relations and show the kind of knowledge reproduced in the two publications. My study concentrates on the relationship between language and knowledge; in contrast, the above studies focus on how Appraisal resources represent a nation's interests and frame a country's position and identity. Another point of departure is that, unlike the research mentioned above, which examined news stories printed in multiple countries, my study is focused on newspapers published in Zimbabwe.

The above literature reveals how governments utilise diplomatic language to pursue their international and domestic policies. Diplomatic discourse can have an impact on the process of

formulating foreign policy, either positively or negatively (Liu 2018). *China Daily*, for example, creates a language that portrays China as a society that values freedom and peace, as represented in its reporting on China-US relations (Li 2009). Countries employ diplomatic language to construct a country's image and people's identities. Concerning trust and persuading other participants to adopt their ideas and policies, projecting a favourable reputation takes centre stage. It is also beneficial to understand how language entices and convinces actors to cooperate and pledge allegiance to others. For example, Obama used the words "will" and "can" in his speech in Africa and Europe to establish alliances and show care for the future (Wageche and Chi, 2016). Countries use diplomatic discourse to further their objectives, cultivate their reputation and gain the trust of their stakeholders. Diplomatic discourse produces knowledge about the cultures and politics of countries and individuals, which can shape how others perceive a nation.

### 2.2.2 Diplomatic discourses in the media

This section looks at the contributions of literature to the study of newspaper articles and online news from a linguistic perspective. It considers some general frameworks that have been adopted to analyse media texts and contextualise the present study in relation to these frameworks. The section reviews the literature on diplomatic discourses in the media and the use of media as a soft power resource to gain popularity. The role of media in diplomacy is to express, reproduce and communicate ideologies and values of individuals or groups to the broader society as well as a medium of communication between countries. Media becomes a tool that produces meanings and neutralises power relations. Likewise, the media can mobilise and recruit other countries or individuals to support one's policies, resulting in an agenda setting responsibility. Also, readers are mobilised and recruited through the language used in news reporting and the knowledge produced in these newspapers. The act of mobilising and recruiting influences readers to align or disalign with the source of information, thereby creating communities of identity within society.

Governments exert power through the media, but the media acts as a check on the government's power (Coban, 2016). However, both of these facts exist in tension. Governments influence the content suitable for public consumption in the media. For example, the European Union has the potential to attract new members because of its successes, which have encouraged other states, such as Zimbabwe, to take part in the programme of European integration (Wagner, 2014). In this regard, the level of attractiveness guarantees peace and safety and strengthens

the position of the EU at the international level (Wagner, 2014). Liu (2018) states that the *China Daily* is typical and representative in its coverage of international relations, maintaining consistency with the party and government's point of view. China's soft power in worldwide social media is significantly influenced by its culture and is used to gain influence and power. Media plays a critical role in portraying the image of a country through providing marketing of political principles and the culture of that country.

The media acts as a protector against government power. Equally, the media have their motivations and interests. However, governments can manipulate them to shape public beliefs and opinions about foreign or domestic policies of countries they relate with. In addition, private-controlled media in a democratic society with freedom of speech differs from the media controlled by the state (Coban, 2016). For instance, Kyuch (2019) asserts that the South Korean media "has portrayed its ability to other nations as an influential motivating soft power in convincing people, and its social influence is growing in North Korea" (2019:). Sometimes media protects and defends the ruling government's interests to improve bilateral ties and create new friends. The language used by political figures in their diplomatic communications focuses on marketing the interests of countries or individuals to depict positive images and identities outside.

Regarding the above, People in North Korea believe that South Korea has a developed reputation as a pleasant, endearing, and affluent nation where soft power is actively changing people's attitudes (2019). Media representation of South Korea covers stories with non-conflicting content to construct a positive image of the country to promote good relations with North Korea. Non-conflicting content excludes reporting on tensions between North Korea and South Korea to depict a good relationship and convince the outside world. The publishing of non-conflicting content suggests the wellness of the relations between the two parties despite the tension looming behind the scenes. I suggest that media discourse contributes to readers' knowledge building through the judgements and evaluations made in news coverage by journalists.

A number of linguistically oriented studies on diplomatic discourse focus on language and media. Amer (2017), for example, compared news articles from *The Times of London*, *The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post* reporting on the Gaza war between 2008 and 2009. Amer examined the discursive practices and linguistic resources utilised for representing social actors. Findings reveal similarities in the representation of the countries involved in the Gaza

war in all four newspapers. These newspapers portrayed Israel as aligning itself to peace while Palestinian Hamas is portrayed as rejecting and refusing ceasefire and peace. Amer concluded that the publications' political slants, as well as their liberal and conservative ideological viewpoints, had an impact on how the Gaza war of 2008–2009 was covered in the press (Amer, 2017). The western media controls Palestinians' and Israelites' public opinion by creating negative and positive images of the Gaza war in terms of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries. Amer points out that the USA and UK's foreign policies influence the coverage of the Gaza war to depict Palestinians Hamas as violent and Israel as peaceful people. Amer concluded that the UK and USA governments indirectly influence the news coverage in these articles through their political orientation, ideologies and autonomy over other countries. Furthermore, the UK and USA are using the newspapers to position the Gaza war as well as the involved actors to influence public opinion through their ideologies as political actors. The current study is interested in analysing news articles from *The Herald* and *The Standard* to investigate the kind of knowledge being constructed in the newspapers for Zimbabwean citizens.

Another linguistic study on diplomatic discourse investigated discursive practices peculiar to news reporting on North Korea in *CNN*, *Newsweek*, and *The New York Times* (Kim, 2014). The study draws on Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus tools of analysis. According to the collocate list, US media outlets categorise the world's nations according to how supportive or hostile their political connections are to the US. In addition, the results of the concordance lines showed that US news media categorise countries into specific groups, as evidenced by patterns like rogue countries/states/nations like Iran and North Korea. Coban (2016) identifies a CNN effect, in which America controls countries through the content it covers on the CNN channel. Coban identifies an Al Jazeera effect, in which the power of the US is somehow neutralised in the coverage of events taking place in Africa and Asia. Likewise, Coban (2016) argues that the *CNN effect* constituted soft power and created an image or identity of the US as a global hegemonic power.

On the one hand, the *Al Jazeera effect* is portrayed as a counter-hegemony in terms of neutralising the power given to the US in *CNN* news coverage. The Al Jazeera effect emphasises empowering the marginalised or repressed nations or groups, such as Asia and Africa. Kim states that *The New York Times* coverage prefers using negative adjectives in news reporting as a tactic to marginalise involved parties (2014). Thus, the US is concerned about its image and position to the rest of the world and frames positive interpretations of its foreign policies. The media is more critical of the conflicting interests in the coverage of stories,

including incidences where they share the same views about political affiliations toward the US. The concordance lines also established that these publications *CNN*, *Newsweek*, and the *New York Times*, strongly associate North Korea and Iran with each other (Kim, 2014). The US media outlets stereotype other nations by articulating their ideological interests, which results in negative framing and representation of the involved actors.

This view of adverse reporting of other people was covered by Ali (2019), who shows how violent frames were used to depict Bin Laden. Ali (2019) focuses on comparing how *The Nation Press* of Pakistan frames the killing of Bin Laden. The study enacted news framing theory to show how dominant discursive frames were employed to construct the narratives about Bin Laden. Ali observed a negative depiction of the US and its actions using an ideologically driven lexicon such as “the US as an enemy” and “US imperialism” in the newspapers (2019:16). The framing of matters concerning terrorism has implications for public diplomacy, which is regarded as an essential tool for “soft power” (Nye and Joseph cited in Ali, 2019). As such, Ali named the ambivalence/US staged drama frame, sovereignty violation and Pakistan under US threat to overarching anti-American frames. The Ambivalence frame depicts Bin Laden’s stories as a staged spectacle that the US produced to fight terrorism. The US soldiers’ killing of Bin Laden is framed as a violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty. The narrative employed in the reporting was built around the US Navy Seals’ violation of Pakistan’s sovereignty. Pakistan under the US threat frame indicates the US’s role in destabilising Pakistan and controlling its nuclear resources. Mass media has become a platform where politicians advance their negotiations to persuade and manipulate the global public sphere (see 2.4.3) and other governments (Cohen cited in Coban, 2016:7). The concept of public spheres is explained and elaborated in section 2.4.3. Also, media news coverage does not guarantee a policy change, as shown by the coverage of the Bosnian atrocities and Rwandan genocide, where major western actors were reluctant to intervene (Coban, 2016). In other words, despite its function, the media has limitations in terms of power.

Sivandi and Dowlatabadi (2015) analysed the representation of negotiations on Iran's nuclear programme in two different newspapers: the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Tehran Times*. The positive depiction of the United States of America and Israel in terms of politics and behaviour is clear in the *Los Angeles Times*. At the same time, Iran is negatively portrayed using terms such as “deceitful” and “dishonest”. On the contrary, the *Tehran Times* positively depicts Iran’s intention and politics as honest and condemns USA behaviours. The study concluded that newspapers deploy diverse and opposing political ideologies through the manipulation of

language. The two newspapers used self-positive representation and negative-other representation, which is clear in their language. It is evident from their wording that the two publications utilised both positive portrayals of themselves and negative representations of others. Therefore, media outlets align with government ideologies to gain political favours and widen their market using language. Language is a tool that is deliberately used to achieve the hidden interpretation that newspapers expect. However, there are times when media organisations sharply criticise their governments in the name of democracy. Language is an instrument which is purposely manipulated to meet the hidden interpretation the newspaper expects.

Bahmani and Alharbi (2019) used the Appraisal framework to show various subtypes of Attitude (concerned with feelings, emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluations of things) that are encoded within selected news reports. They compared the attitudinal positioning in *CNN* and *Al Jazeera* English news reports on Iran's nuclear programme. The findings established that *Al Jazeera* used more evaluation (highly evaluated discourse) which was attributed to positive appraising of Iran's Nuclear programme but reinforced negative evaluation of Iran and the USA. They pointed out that *Al Jazeera* used Judgement more than other subsystems of Attitude. Meanwhile, *CNN* indirectly appreciates Iran's nuclear programme as a nuclear weapons programme, thereby invoking the reader's judgement. In other words, media coverage of diplomatic matters might negatively affect government and public relations. The government agenda-setting is achieved through *CNN* and *Al Jazeera's* selection of words in reporting on Iran's nuclear programme, which shows that some newspapers are guided by the government's agenda rather than portraying their independent views for a fair representation of events. Departing from the above studies, this study aims to investigate the role of language in knowledge building concerning diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. Furthermore, how language is used to frame and position the two countries is relevant in this study.

In another study, Hua (2008) used Critical Discourse Analysis to investigate the ideological similarities and differences in the editorials of *News Straits Times* (Malaysia) and *Strait Times* (Singapore) between 1973 and 2005. The study investigated the bilateral relations between Malaysia and Singapore. The findings demonstrated that each institution's position on the historical bilateral disputes represented the voices of each country's dominant group or the government. As a result, only worthy events related to bilateral matters were reported through a selective choice of words. For example, the use of emotive verbs and negative lexis implicitly

and explicitly showed the stances of each paper. The study shows that journalists choose words that reflect the ideologies of actors involved in bilateral relations and reveal their stances. The other factor is that the media voices the concerns of the countries and individuals by publicising actors' perspectives in the news articles for public consumption. My study argues that news reporters frame stories according to their editorial viewpoint, resulting in carefully selecting linguistic resources to achieve their agendas. The representation of the relations is governed by the language used to create positive or negative images and change the diplomatic narrative too. To strengthen this argument, Coban (2016) explains that the media are used to reprimand individuals, groups, or countries through the manipulation of language to legitimise specific policies and practices within a community.

The media are portrayed as a soft power resource which targets fulfilling a country's goal or vision. As such, soft power is viewed as a resource aimed at influencing individuals, groups, or countries to accept the ideas and practices of other actors. By so doing, the media are expected to satisfy the role of informing and educating the community because of their agenda-setting nature. For example, the media popularised President Mnangagwa's mantra "Zimbabwe is open for business campaign" to make the UK and international actors understand the new government's priorities. This issue has been given prominence in the media as a front-page story for a long time, giving the audiences what to think about. Zimbabwe was portrayed as having a new beginning, focusing on pragmatic economic-driven international relations and marking a departure from ideological and confrontational politics. State-controlled media reportage was anchored on promoting the new business trajectory, and the privately controlled media, while being critical of Zimbabwe's open-for-business mantra, by default popularised it as a top agenda.

There are specific ways to frame and construct news about international relations on a bilateral and multilateral basis, which show how journalists construct news frames to represent the ideologies of those in power to portray their interests and values. Given that they are not a part of my analysis, news frames are introduced to help readers understand the literature on diplomatic discourse in the media. The construction of news frames is influenced by the selection of what to produce and what not to produce. According to Ogenga, journalists have the authority to choose what to publish depending on their interests (2010). The number of times a story appears in a newspaper ends up shaping the media agenda in terms of persuading the public. Media discourses significantly inform the public on matters that positively and negatively affect communities, individuals, and groups. As a result, news reporting produces

knowledge based on how people understand the events or topics being covered. This study is interested in analysing the kind of knowledge built in Zimbabwean articles concerning diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the role of media as a soft power resource in the relations coverage.

The reviewed studies show that the media is considered a protector against government power, although it has its motivations and interests. Media may also be a terrible tool that spreads biased information and dominates communities with problematic ideologies and destructive behaviours. By so doing, the media can promote or incite conflict. The media contributes to readers' knowledge through judgements and evaluations made in news reporting by journalists. Linguistic choices are used to stereotype other countries and individuals by articulating their ideological interests. Contrarily, some linguistic choices promote foreign policies and dominion over countries in some instances, such as the situation with the Gaza war. Media is used indirectly to reprimand individuals and countries through language manipulation to legitimise community policies and practices. However, the media do not guarantee change of policies, as shown by media coverage of Bosnian atrocities and the Rwandan genocide, because they have limitations in terms of power. The media can select stories to report on and use frames to position countries or individuals negatively. Some media outlets align with government ideologies to give political favours to widen their market through their linguistic choices and vice versa. Media is portrayed as a soft power resource to persuade other actors who are not involved in bilateral relations through news reportage. The media are regarded as illuminating nations by showcasing local cultures and identities and building the foundation for stable foreign policy. They play a significant role in fostering international ties. Journalists can use violent frames to negatively portray other people to achieve the goals of an individual or a country. For example, the negative framing of Bin Laden is associated with terrorism that affects diplomatic relations with other countries.

### **2.3 Diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK**

Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom consist of democratic government systems that have been in a long-term relationship of tension due to the history of colonialism. The two countries are characterised by different political environments that have a bearing on how the citizenry perceives matters concerning diplomatic relations between the two countries. Hence, these differences lead to different notions of media professionalism and the role of media in the coverage of diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. This section is divided into

the colonial period, post-independence, and the period under study. It is broken up into these historical periods to give the background of the diplomatic relations between the two countries and to establish the period when the relationship was jeopardised. The colonial period helps to understand the relationship between the two countries and indicates the parties involved in the colonisation process. In addition, the section explores some of the critical agreements entered into by King Lobengula and the consequences. He had assumed sovereign and legitimate control of the entire Zimbabwean plateau after the subsequent defeat of the Rozvi state. The section discusses Cecil John Rhodes and the establishment of the British South African Company and its effect on black people. The Smith regime and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence are also critical in Zimbabwe's history. The post-independence describes the nature of the bilateral ties shared when Zimbabwe was under the rule of black people.

### 2.3.1 Colonial period

During the colonial era, Zimbabwe was referred to as Rhodesia and was given that name in honour of Cecil John Rhodes. From 1890 to 1980, Zimbabwe was a colony. The present-day Zimbabwean state perceives the pre-colonial period as an important starting point for its national reconstruction (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009). The post-colonial state purports to draw its liberation ethos from pre-colonial empires (2009).

After the destruction of the Rozvi empire, King Lobengula claimed sovereign and legitimate rule of the whole Zimbabwean plateau. King Lobengula, who had gained the sovereign and legitimate rule of the entire Zimbabwe, entered into many accords, culminating in the signing of the Rudd Concession in 1888 (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009). He received dishonest advice from trustworthy indunas who were bribed and tricked him into signing the Rudd Concession in 1888. Rhodes sought ways to bring the ownership and exclusive mining rights in Zimbabwe to finality through yet another agreement. The Rudd concession granted Rhodes the legal right to colonise Zimbabwe on behalf of Britain. The Rudd Concession stipulated that Lobengula and his successor would receive a monthly payment of one hundred pounds, that a gunboat would be stationed on the Zambezi River to defend Lobengula's domain, and that 1,000 rifles and 100,000 rounds of ammunition would be provided. Lobengula hastily dispatched his two Indunas to England to meet the Queen and dispute assertions made in the Rudd Concession after learning that he had been misled into signing a document that ceded all of his sovereign rights as the legitimate monarch of the entire kingdom and territory.

In 1890, after winning the Rudd Concession, the British Settlers took over Zimbabwe. 1890 is said to have been the first step towards the confrontation between the Ndebele and British white settlers (Nyere, 2016). The British did not find it difficult to settle in Mashonaland because they were regarded as saviours from the incessant Ndebele raids. The Ndebele raids often disrupted farming and mining activities, and this could not be allowed to continue by white settlers.

The Queen of England gave Rhodes, the founder and CEO of the British South African Company (BSAC), a charter to occupy Zimbabwe on behalf of Britain. Cecil John Rhodes sought to extend the British imperial conquest from the Cape to Cairo. As a result, Britain was ceded the right to colonise Zimbabwe. Due to his substantial financial resources obtained from the mining of minerals in South Africa, Rhodes was able to conquer Zimbabwe. The colonisation had been achieved through the duplicity of Rhodes' agents who misrepresented the clauses of the Rudd Concession to Lobengula. According to Mlambo and Raftopolous (2009), the Ndebele and the Shona rose violently against the BSAC in March 1896 in an uprising that eventually formed the basis of nationalism and future imaginings of an independent Zimbabwe (2009).

The first Chimurenga was a compelling demonstration of early African resistance movements. The first Chimurenga or uprising in Southern Rhodesia was a complex set of struggles over land, cattle, and taxes rather than a planned unified movement to overthrow the whites. One of the causes of the Shona uprisings was the loss of political authority through the settlers' disregard of indigenous chiefs in issues like the distribution and allocation of land and collection of taxes. The Ndebele uprisings resulted from the settler's inhuman treatment of the Ndebele and the contemptuous disregard of them as a people, as exemplified by the Ndebele's resettlement to Gwai and Shangani (Nyere, 2016).

Immediately following Zimbabwe's colonisation, Cecil John Rhodes placed the new Rhodesian province under the direct authority of his corporation, the British South African Company (BSAC). The British government granted BSAC power to rule Southern Rhodesia in 1889. Even though the majority of Settlers despised Company rule, the British government extended it for an additional ten years. The Settlers disliked the Company rule because it claimed ownership of all unallocated land and felt it had the right to sell it to landowners in Britain. Also, Southern Rhodesian settlers anticipated that land would be set aside for immigrants and future generations to use. After his passing in 1902, disputes over ownership

and control of the colony between the BSAC and white settlers occurred, leading to the colony's transition from Company to Settler authority. The Company argued that it was the rightful owner of all unallocated land and believed it had the authority to sell it to British landowners. On the other hand, the Settlers in Southern Rhodesia believed that the land should be kept for use by immigrants and future generations (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009).

British colonial authority over Southern Rhodesia was first declared in 1923. A Governor was nominated to represent the British sovereign, and a 30-member legislative assembly was formed (Asuelime and Simura, 2014). External issues were to stay in the hands of the British, and legislation concerning constitutional changes and laws discriminating against Africans was to be reserved for ratification by the British government.

Significant laws were passed to formalise the colonial state's racial nature. The 1930 Land Apportionment Act was the first, serving as the foundation for the racial development segregation policy (Novak, 2009). The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 divided Rhodesia's land according to race; as a result, Europeans were granted ownership of 50,8% of the country's total land, while blacks were given 30%. Most of the arable land went to white farmers, and this partition continued until post-independence. Moyana (1984) states that the Land Apportionment Act had formalised the division of Rhodesian Land into African and European areas and remained a cornerstone of segregation until a similar Land Tenure Act superseded it in 1969. Moyana points out that the Land Apportionment Act was based on the presumption that all Rhodesian land belonged to Europeans and that it was theirs to allocate as they saw fit (1984).

In 1953, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), and Nyasaland (Malawi) formed the Central African Federation. The federation was a loose political and economic structure focusing on issues relating to the future independence of the colonies (Gregory, 2014). The federation's charter had a ten-year lifespan and required a conference for renewal every seven years. In 1959, black Africans led several protests across the three colonies. The protests were primarily sparked by Rhodesia's severely restrictive racial policies, which caused the worst violence to occur in the country's southern region. Politicians in Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland disputed how much political and economic independence should be granted to native Africans (Gregory, 2014). By 1960, the leaders of the three colonies concluded that the Central African Federation charter would not be renewed. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland requested independence from Great Britain.

The impending end of the Federation and imminent independence of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland began to affect the African community in Southern Rhodesia. The 1961 constitution perpetuated white rule and domination acceptable to Her Majesty's government and the white settlers, even though it did not provide for independence. In fact, from 1961 to 1965, the most burning issue in white politics was the acquisition of independence. The movement towards independence acquired momentum with the election of 1962, which saw the newly formed Rhodesian Front win thirty-five seats out of the sixty-five seats contested. The white settlers were unwilling to place power in the hands of black people. They went further in declaring the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965 based on white minority rule (Nyere, 2022). The UDI was announced by the prime minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith, and it claimed the right of self-government for the white settler population of the country (Nyere, 2016). It was a white-only government run exclusively for the white settlers in the country. The black majority had no say in how the British colony was run. Part of Smith's mandate was to push the British government for independence. However, the British government, having seen how the segregationist government of South Africa operated, was not prepared to give the settlers control of the country (Nyere, 2016).

There were several consequences, but the least imposing was the response of the British government (and members of the Commonwealth of Nations), who merely stated their condemnation of the move. Within Rhodesia, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, Robert Mugabe (ZANU), and Joshua Nkomo (ZAPU) began a guerrilla war against the white settlers (Du Toit, 2015). The United Nations Security Council called for a boycott of Rhodesia and imposed economic sanctions. In 1968, the UN condemned Britain's lack of commitment to ending UDI through Resolution 253.

There was a struggle against colonial rule by the UK. From 1960 through 1970, the two nationalist organisations, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), formed in 1961 and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), formed in 1963, pursued liberation politics and remained dedicated to guerrilla warfare (Mlambo, 2013). ZAPU was led by Joshua Nkomo, ZANU by Ndabaningi Sithole, and Robert Mugabe eventually took over as leader. After ZANU split from ZAPU in 1963, there were violent fights between opposing supporters until the colonial government outlawed them in 1964 (Mlambo, 2013). The Second Chimurenga is thought to have started on April 28, 1966. When Rhodesian security forces attacked and killed seven militants from the ZANU's armed wing, the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), near Chinhoyi (Du Toit, 2015:68). The separation of land along racial lines

was evident. Land ownership injustices came to be seen as a significant grievance at the heart of both ZAPU and ZANU's fight to topple the Rhodesian government (Du Toit, 2015:69). Due to guerrilla warfare, the Smith regime's power was gradually eroded. After several failed attempts to unify the leading political parties, ZANU and ZAPU, in October 1976, the two entered into a tactical alliance known as the Patriotic Front.

Neither the British government nor the international community was prepared to recognise the internal settlement as a basis for independence. The internal settlement aim was to provide for a future state that would be non-racial, led by a predominantly black government, while retaining the white skills and expertise that all parties felt were vital for Rhodesia. An election was held to authenticate the settlement, which pitted the three African signatories against each other. Muzorewa won the election with a convincing margin of 64 seats, while Sithole had 14 seats and Chirau 6. The settlement was weakened by several factors, like a continuation of the war because the Patriotic Front was not involved in the arrangement. It did not receive wide international recognition, and popular support weakened because of Smith's clear dominance. As a result, Muzorewa failed to deliver most of the promises he made in his election campaign, and the impact of the one-and-a-half years of sanctions became more apparent (Gregory 1980). Essential commodities and fuel were critically scarce. All these pressures culminated in the Lancaster House Conference of 1979.

As a result, British Foreign Minister Lord Carrington organised a constitutional conference at Lancaster House in London in 1979 (Novak, 2009). It resulted in the establishment of the newly independent state of Zimbabwe. It ended the unlawful, white-dominated dictatorship that had ruled Rhodesia since the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in 1965. The conference aimed to bring a genuine majority rule in an independent Zimbabwe after Smith's regime. The Lancaster House Agreement, now regarded as one of the most significant triumphs of British diplomacy since World War II, was an early diplomatic victory for Margaret Thatcher's new Conservative administration (Gregory 1980). The parties to the conference were Britain, who chaired the proceedings as the colonial power, the Patriotic Front delegation led by Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, and Bishop Abel Muzorewa's delegation, which included Ndabaningi Sithole and Ian Smith (Novak, 2009). Bishop Muzorewa served as Zimbabwe-Rhodesia's first black Prime Minister (Gregory, 1980), and he was allied with Smith because they had joined hands to form the Rhodesia-Zimbabwe alliance. During the Lancaster talks, Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo were uncompromising on the issue of land, as it was the main agenda of the war (Novak, 2009). They wanted the land to be in the hands of the

black majority. The personnel of two liberation struggle armies, the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) and the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA), were optimistic about gaining land for their role in the liberation war (Gregory, 1980). The large populace (estimated at 80%) in rural Zimbabwe also looked forward to receiving land allocations since the war had displaced most of them (Novak, 2009). The root of the problem is that only 4,500 white Zimbabwean farmers possess 70%, or 11 million hectares, of the country's finest agricultural land (approximately 21% of the entire country) (Taylor & Williams, 2002:549).

The land question is politically significant in both the past and present in Zimbabwe today. The ongoing compensation problem for significant land restitution also consistently impedes any improvement in ties between Britain and Zimbabwe.

Despite the land being the fundamental and primary source of subsistence, the Lancaster House Constitution was remarkably silent on the subject. The Patriotic Front saw the land issue as a critical stumbling obstacle. The Lancaster House agreement was characterised by the British government's need to preserve the rights of white people (Mlambo, 2013). The British proposals prohibited land acquisition without the owner's consent and compensation. The land would be purchased on a "willing seller, willing buyer" basis, and in the event of compulsory acquisition for reasons of public interest, there would be adequate compensation based on current market prices (Taylor & Williams, 2002). The agreement stipulated that there were to be 100 members in the House of Assembly, of which 80 were to be elected on a common voter's role and 20 on a white voter's role (Asuelime & Simura, 2014). This gave the white people the power to veto any constitutional amendments to the Declaration Rights. The Patriotic Front protested this amending process, claiming that Commonwealth independence Constitutions had never used a similar mechanism. Due to this legislation, the Zimbabwean Parliament was subjected to onerous constraints, which prevented the administration from meeting public demands. The provision of the deprivation of property made it impossible for a future government to acquire land in the public interest (Asuelime & Simura, 2014). The unresolved land issue was only temporarily shelved following Britain and American promises to buy and develop the white-owned land without showing how much they would pay for compensation (Taylor & Williams, 2002). The Rhodesia Front and the nationalist parties were separated over a number of important issues such as race, citizenship, and parliamentary seats. However, the land question almost caused the negotiations to fail. The Lancaster Agreement negotiations were only saved after the UK offered money to acquire land for redistribution to

blacks in Rhodesia (Du Toit, 2015). This was contrary to the leading cause of the liberation struggle. There was further tension regarding land in the post-independence period.

### 2.3.2 Post-independence period

Zimbabwe came into being as a combination of the protracted liberation struggle followed by Lancaster House negotiations which laid an agreed framework for the transfer of power from the white minority government to a black majority government. Following independence, the government acknowledged and upheld the liberating terms and agreements outlined in London to end the conflict. During the 1980 to 1990 period, Zimbabwe and the UK shared sound bilateral relations where Zimbabwe enjoyed benefits such as foreign direct investment, loans, and humanitarian aid through non-governmental organisations (Ndimande & Moyo, 2019). The decade was marked by remarkable progress, given that Zimbabwe had been devastated by a destructive and violent war that had decimated it for two decades. Equally, the UK benefited from cheap raw materials from the mining and agricultural sectors (Raftopoulos & Sachikonye, 2001). Britain was determined to fight the enemies of Zimbabwe, which were poverty, disease, hunger, oppression and social injustice, to build a democratic Zimbabwe (Taylor & Williams, 2002:552). Some assumed that the UK was fighting the enemies of Zimbabwe to maintain its colonial powers, which resulted in diplomatic tensions between the two countries arising from land redistribution. However, the land question remained a bone of contention despite the mutual understanding between Mugabe and Thatcher. In particular, relations with the West and the UK were fairly warm and cordial at the time (Ndlela, 2005).

The constitution that resulted from the Lancaster House agreement, which put an end to Zimbabwe's liberation war in 1979, incorporated a number of compromises regarding minority rights, particularly with regard to the nation's future land ownership and guaranteed white representation in parliament (Raftopoulos & Mlambo, 2009). At independence, the dictates of the Lancaster House agreement gave special protection to the white Zimbabweans for the first ten years of independence (Taylor & Williams, 2002). The agreement stipulated that there was to be an entirely justifiable declaration of rights which was to be amendable only by a unanimous vote in the House of Assembly for ten years. There was ongoing dissatisfaction among some black Zimbabweans and the government about land ownership. The land has been a source of conflict in Zimbabwe since the colonisation of the white settlers and the black rural communities. The white settlers enacted heartless legislation concerning the land, marginalising black people.

There was a gradual deterioration in diplomatic relations between the UK and Zimbabwe from 1980 to 2000. The disagreements started in 1997 when the British government refused to compensate the land occupied by white people in Zimbabwe. Tony Blair denied being part of the agreement made during the Lancaster House Conference in 1979. Mugabe started attacking Britain and amended the Land Apportionment Act to benefit the black majority in Zimbabwe. The ZANU-PF government amended Sections of the constitution on property rights after 1990, and the Land Acquisition Act was passed in 1992 (Taylor & Williams, 2002:549).

The victory of the Labour Party in the UK has seen diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK deteriorating. The souring of the relations resulted from the Tony Blair government's ascendancy to power in 1997, and the same government denied committing to fund the purchase of the farmland for redistribution as agreed at Lancaster House in 1979 (Taylor & Williams, 2002). The Claire Short letter precipitated the Fast-track Land Reform in 2000. When the government's new draft constitution, which included a clause enabling land acquisition without compensation unless paid for by the British government, was defeated in February 2000, tension over land reform reached a boiling point. The land reform programme is projected in two diverse ways (Taylor & Williams, 2002:550). Ndlela (2005) argues that, on the one hand, Britain was liable for not fulfilling its agreement to finance the first phase of the land reforms from 1980-1997. The mandate came up during The Lancaster House Agreement in 1979. Mugabe and his allies have continuously attempted to justify the fast-track programme by equating it with the objectives of the liberation war of the 1970s, which were the removal of white supremacy and the reclaiming of the colonised territory.

On the other hand, the government of Zimbabwe was not implementing land reforms transparently. According to Ndlela, the UK House of Commons viewed the land reform scheme as unsanctioned and without legal conditions (2005). Taylor and Williams assert that the Zimbabwean government perceived the land reform programme as an urgent solution to solve the conflict between the blacks and the white people in Zimbabwe. By approving the Presidential Powers Temporary Measures Land Acquisition Regulations, Mugabe gave his administration the authority to acquire farms following the Land Acquisition Act (Taylor & Williams, 2002:550). Zimbabwe describes all its domestic and policy failures as created by Britain because of its colonial background and exploitation (Taylor & Williams, 2002). Early September 2000 saw the launch of Mugabe's fast-track scheme, which aimed to relocate 150,000 peasant farmers to the 2,102 officially gazetted lands before the start of the rainy season in November (2002:550). Likewise, Raftopoulos and Sachikonye reiterated that

Britain's anger led to an act of reprimanding Zimbabwe through economic sanctions to promote behaviour change, but Mugabe remained bold over the matter (2001). Britain wished to maintain its control over Zimbabwe's politics and economy (Raftopoulos, 2006).

Another factor for the souring of relations was the support of MDC by Britain. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was founded in 1999. It resulted from labour fights, constitutional politics, and a generation of human rights struggles based on the shortcomings of earlier attempts at opposition politics (Raftopoulos, 2006:8, Tshuma, 2021). MDC also drew support from the predominantly white large-scale commercial farming sector. The land reform was designed as a weapon to neutralise the strong opposition party (MDC) by the ruling government. ZANU-PF accused Britain of facilitating regime change by sponsoring MDC activities. MDC was portrayed as a Western puppet, an accusation MDC never attempted to refute (Asuelime & Simura, 2014). The Commercial Farmers Union, an all-white group based in Britain with vast farms in Zimbabwe, were the first to present Tsvangirai with a cheque in a televised ceremony (Alexander, 2000). They saw opposition sponsorship as the only way to halt land reform. Also, the confessions of Tony Blair in the British Parliament suggest that the Labour Party was closely working with MDC to effect regime change in Zimbabwe (Asuelime & Simura, 2014).

The United Kingdom accused Zimbabwe of breaking the law, abusing human rights, and compromising democratic principles (Chigora & Dewa, 2006, Mlambo, 2013). The UK submitted that Zimbabwe's land reform exercise challenged the policies of the UK and its allies. This act was interpreted as being rebellious against the principles of the World Bank. Zimbabwe had defaulted from paying back its loans to the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and other multilateral and bilateral creditors. Zimbabwe was suspended from accessing aid from IMF and World Bank. Zimbabwe was a beneficiary of World Bank credit facilities, and it owed large amounts of money by then.

The UK joined forces with the European Union in 2002 to put Zimbabwe under sanctions, including a travel and arms embargo and the UK's refusal to give financial aid to the Zimbabwean government. Selected government officials, military personnel and senior ZANU-PF members were prohibited from travelling to European countries. As a result, Zimbabwe declared its withdrawal from the Commonwealth in 2003, which meant it could no longer access funds from the institutions governed by the Commonwealth group, such as scholarships and developmental aid. Zimbabwe was also banned from participating in the

Commonwealth games, and the relations downgraded from a high commission to an embassy status (Taylor & Williams, 2002). Ganda (2016) argued that Zimbabwe was put in the spotlight because of the controversial land reform programme and received negative publicity on local and international platforms. Britain and the EU expressed that sanctions resulted from the violation of human rights during the land reform exercise, which was experienced in Zimbabwe during the Mugabe era (Ndimande and Moyo, 2018). These allegations ended in Zimbabwe being labelled as an enemy of freedom of the press, a transgression against the basic principles of democracy by the UK and the EU. Zimbabwe, however, defended her stance of being a democratic state since independence (Asuelime & Surimi, 2014).

The bilateral ties between Harare and London improved after the split MDC factions, and the ZANU-PF party agreed to create a Government of National Unity (GNU) in 2009 (Tshuma, 2021). The two formations, MDC-T and MDC-N, resulted from the party split on October 13 2005, over participation in senatorial elections (The New Humanitarian, 2005). The MDC national council had decided to participate in the election on November 26, but Tsvangirai reversed that decision. His opposers criticised the action as being undemocratic. Tsvangirai asserted that the party's grassroots were behind him and argued that the expense of a senate race for an already-crippled economy was unjustifiable (The New Humanitarian, 2005). The 2008 election gave birth to the GNU after the opposition leader of MDC-T, Morgan Tsvangirai, narrowly won the election, which called for a re-run. Morgan Tsvangirai of the MDC-T defeated Robert Mugabe in the general election, winning 47.9% of the vote to Mugabe's 42%. Tsvangirai, however, fell short of the constitutionally required 51%, thereby forcing a runoff between Mugabe and Tsvangirai (Human Sciences Research Council, 2008 in Mungwari, 2019:74). Thabo Mbeki facilitated the negotiations for the GNU, the former President of the Republic of South Africa, representing the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Tshuma, 2016). After brokering the GNU, Mbeki was quoted saying, "In the period preceding the 2002 Zimbabwe elections, the UK and the US, in particular, were very keen to effect this regime change and failing which to impose various conditions to shorten the period of Mugabe's presidency" (Tshuma, 2016). The parties agreed to focus their priority on restoring economic stability and the growth of the Zimbabwean economy (Novak, 2009). After the GNU was brokered, the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK improved. The GNU, which was established in 2009, officially came to an end with the general election in Zimbabwe in July 2013. Mugabe received 61% of the presidential vote to Tsvangirai's 34% (Tshuma, 2016).

In November 2017, Mugabe was ousted from office in a soft military coup, and Mnangagwa succeeded him as president. When Mnangagwa took office in 2018, Britain sent a representative to demonstrate its support for the new administration (Maodza, 2018). Mnangagwa underlined reform implementation and re-engaging Britain in his inauguration speech to strengthen ties between Harare and London (Maodza, 2018).

With Mnangagwa in charge, this re-engagement policy was maintained, but the speed at which Zimbabwe sought re-engagement with the west increased. Re-engagement was a deliberate effort by the Mnangagwa government to reach out and restore good relations with the UK and other western powers after decades of frosty relations and ostracisation of Zimbabwe from the international arena led to the imposition of restrictive economic and political measures. The initiative of the re-engagement discourse between the two countries was a result of the change of power from the Labour Party led by Gordon Brown to the Conservative Party led by David Cameron in 2010 (Ganda, 2016). The British government invited the Zimbabwean re-engagement team to London with the aim of intending to explore rebuilding the historic diplomatic relations between the two governments of Zimbabwe and the UK (Maodza, 2018). This marks the willingness of Britain to discuss the bilateral dispute that manifested in 1997 over the non-compensation of the land reform programme, where Britain refuted any colonial responsibilities to fund the purchase of land from white farmers for redistribution to landless people (Taylor & Williams, 2002). Tony Blair's refusal to accept responsibility for financing Zimbabwe's land reform programme marked the beginning of the conflict. It violated the Lancaster Agreement, whereby Britain pledged to pay for the land reform initiative (Mude & Chigora, 2017). This was backed by a commitment to send a trade delegation envoy to Zimbabwe between 2014 and 2015, where the discourse changed from isolation to re-engagement (Chirimambowa, 2015, cited in Ganda, 2016). Mugabe had used a demonising discourse against Blair and had, for example, referred to him as a "toilet". However, he did not use the same demonising discourse against his successor since the ascendancy of the Conservative Party (Jacobs, 2003). Matters came to a head, however, when Zimbabwe embarked on its Fast-track Land Reform Programme. Mugabe became angry after receiving a letter from the British Secretary for International Development, Claire Short, disputing the Labour Party's obligation to pay for the land reform initiative (Asuelime & Simura, 2014).

From 1980 to 1990, it is assumed that the Conservative Party had a soft spot for Zimbabwe as compared to the Labour Party, which portrayed an element of hostility. "Mugabe blamed Tony Blair's Labour government for renegeing on promises of funding land redistribution in

Zimbabwe made under the 1979 Lancaster House agreement” (Smith, 2015, Ndimande and Moyo, 2019). Mugabe did not blame the Conservatives, unlike the Labour Party, because they acknowledged colonial responsibilities, although they did not fund the purchase of the land. Mugabe had a mutual understanding with Thatcher during her term of office. Mugabe defended his stance on a state visit to South Africa, where he was quoted saying,

We did not send away whites. We took away land in accordance with what the British and ourselves had agreed upon – Margaret Thatcher’s government. That land reform programme, commercial land shall be taken from the farmers and be given to the Zimbabweans. So, it was all ‘constitutional’. If Blair’s England was no longer willing to pay for the land, should we have just folded our hands and said, ‘Oh, Lord almighty, I pray in the name of the father, the son and the holy ghost?’ (Smith, 2015).

Mugabe’s ideology tarnished the relations between the two countries because of the land redistribution in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe, the state-controlled media favourably portrayed the land reform initiative, whereas privately owned media did not (Mungwari, 2019). The media reported on the social inequalities and violations of human rights that occurred during the land reform process. The private-owned media vowed to tell the public and the international community about the ongoing crisis in Zimbabwe (Mukasa, 2003). The Zimbabwean government utilised *The Herald* as a tool of soft power to criticise the measures adopted by Britain to handle the land issue. *The Herald* advanced the government’s agenda to justify the land reform programme and criticise Britain’s shortcomings in compensation. On the other hand, private-owned newspapers supported Western countries’ goals by blaming how the fast-track land reform initiative was conducted in 2000 (Mukasa, 2003). The private-owned media underlined the terrible human rights violations that occurred during the land reform process, and the state-owned media concentrated on Britain’s reluctance to honour the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement.

### 2.3.3 The period under study, 2016 to 2020

Foreign policies are strategies, plans and decisions taken by governments to guide their actions in protecting and advancing their interests in the international arena (Taylor & Williams, 2002). Jacobs states that “states act in the manner they do because of the nature of the international system which they are part of, have been assigned or have chosen to play within the system” (1995:5). This is true of the role that the UK has assumed on Zimbabwe in the view of its foreign policy which emphasises on advancing principles of good governance, respect of the rule of law and human rights (Taylor & Williams, 2002). Mnangagwa has carefully directed

foreign policy in a way that favours the nation's integration into the international community, beginning with the African continent (Ndimande & Moyo, 2019:145). The clash in democratic principles such as human rights and the rule of law between the UK and Zimbabwe has contributed to the breakdown of relations between the two countries.

During the presidency of Robert Mugabe, Zimbabwe's foreign policy was represented by threats directed at the West, mainly Britain resulting from the Secretary of State for International Development Claire Short's letter addressed to Minister of Lands, Kumbirai Kangai, on 5 November 1997, which marked the genesis of the souring of relations (Ndimande & Moyo, 2019). An excerpt from her letter reads, "I should make it clear that we do not accept that Britain has a special responsibility to meet the costs of the land purchase in Zimbabwe. We are a new government from diverse backgrounds without links to former colonial interests. My origins are Irish, as you know; we were colonised, not colonisers" (Short 1997). This stance assumed by Short provides the reason for the deterioration of inter-country relations between Harare and London. The President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, was quoted as saying, "later, Prime Minister Blair told me that the British government he never led formally took the decision to repudiate the Lancaster House Agreement and regretted that in the end, his government had to accept it because Claire Short had succeeded to convince the UK public that it was indeed government policy" (Chronicle, 2016). However, Mnangagwa who was then the vice-president in 2015, was quoted saying "we cannot remain isolated; we wish to engage the international community and also be part and parcel of the forward-looking international community" (Nyangeni cited in Ndimande & Moyo, 2018:6). Ndimande and Moyo further argued that Mnangagwa's policy towards the West was pragmatic. He realised that he could not do much without involving the West, which was the opposite of Mugabe's position. Mugabe's position attracted a massive backlash from the former colonial masters resulting in the waning of diplomatic relations between Harare (Zimbabwe) and London (Britain).

The media dramatised the relationship breakdown by being likened to the end of a romance (Ndimande & Moyo, 2019). Mugabe declared: "Blair, keep your Britain and let me keep my Zimbabwe", and "The Blair I know is a liar" (Ndimande & Moyo, 2019:136). Bilateral relations between Harare and London had deteriorated to the point that preceding ambassador Christian Katsande's appointment to London in 2018 was turned down, considering that the Zimbabwean government did not have even one chief envoy to the UK for four years after the departure of the Ambassador Machinga in 2014. Mureriwa asserts that the past relations were affected by the arrogant personalities of Tony Blair, who did not honour Britain's obligation

towards the land reform question and Robert Mugabe, who showed no interest in the re-engagement. Mugabe focused on the Look East Policy, which emphasised self-reliance and seeking to build ties with the eastern countries rather than engagement with Britain (Ndimande & Moyo, 2019).

The Look East Policy was started in 2003 by the Zimbabwean government as a survival strategy after the souring of relations with the West due to the implementation of the Land Reform Programme in 2000 and alleged human rights abuses (Maodza, 2018; Ojakorutu & Kamidza, 2018). The Look East Policy was meant to increase cooperation between Zimbabwe and a few countries in Asia and East Asia, aiming to neutralise the economic power held against Zimbabwe by the West (Ojakorutu & Kamidza, 2018). The initiative resulted in the signing of mega-deals between Zimbabwe, Russia and China. The relations date back to the liberation struggle, where China supported Zimbabwe in its fight for independence from Britain (Mudyadzozo, 2019). Mugabe declared that there was no looking back in terms of engaging with China “We are turning to the days when our greatest friends were the Chinese. We look again to the East, where the sun rises, and no longer to the West, where it sets” (Alden, 2007 in Mudyadzozo, 2019:178).

Since the November 2017 ouster of Mugabe, diplomatic relations between Harare and London gradually improved, with more frequent interactions now taking place between the two, as attested to by Zimbabwe’s chief envoy to the UK, Ambassador Christian Katsande. The improved relations between Zimbabwe and the UK marked the beginning of a new approach which was neither East nor West. The thawing of relations between the two countries highlights the progress made under President Mnangagwa’s engagement and re-engagement drive, which is the country’s signature foreign policy initiative (Chitagu, 2018). The engagement campaign is more concerned with establishing new relationships, and re-engagement strongly emphasises rekindling ties with the UK, Commonwealth nations, and the EU bloc. The re-engagement discourse with the West manifested in the last years of Mugabe’s rule. The re-engagement of 2009 was from Britain to Zimbabwe, intending to preserve and address the concerns of white farmers whose land had been taken and also to usher in a new democratic dispensation after the GNU. The government considered the re-engagement programme an urgent priority as Mnangagwa rose to power. The post-Mugabe re-engagement was a deliberate move by the Mnangagwa government to chart a new era in international relations with the erstwhile estranged states or nations. The engagement focuses on attracting new players, and the re-engagement drive is meant to resurrect sour relations with the US and the UK. Unlike his

predecessor, Robert Mugabe, President Mnangagwa embarked on a journey to re-enter Zimbabwe into the international family of nations through the re-engagement process since his inauguration in 2017 (Maodza, 2018). He also reiterated the same in his inauguration speech, where he pledged to take the initiative to re-engage the countries with whom relations have turned sour (Maodza, 2018). Ambassador Katsande reiterated that Zimbabwe and the UK had experienced increased diplomatic relations, which have facilitated communication channels in the health, education, tourism, trade, and investment sectors. Ndimande and Moyo contends that,

Mnangagwa's strategy has been to engage Zimbabwe's neighbours, strengthen regional ties, engage, re-engage and strengthen Zimbabwe's relations with her traditional allies such as China, Russia as well as to re-set relations with Britain, the United States of America, the European Union (EU) and the West following a decade of toxic relations under the Mugabe regime (2018:3).

At President Emmerson Mnangagwa's inauguration, the then British Prime Minister, Theresa May, sent an exclusive representative to show London's support and affirmation of the new government (Maodza, 2018). Minister of State for Africa Harriet Baldwin, who was the exclusive representative of the UK Prime Minister Theresa May, said, "I brought a message (from Prime Minister May) that the UK government welcomes the messages we heard from the new president in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms and we are very pleased to hear that plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year" (Mugabe, 2018). Baldwin acknowledges the exit of Britain from the European Union to revert to their international trade policies. Mnangagwa was quoted saying,

Let us remember where we were and how we suffered as an isolated nation. In this new era, Zimbabwe is open to the world, and governments, businesses, and individuals all are looking to do business with us. The new Zimbabwe must embrace the international community to secure crucial foreign investment. These projects will create jobs, and foreign investment will inject crucial cash into our economy (Maodza, 2018 in Ndimande & Moyo, 2018:7).

This commitment showed that Mnangagwa was distancing himself from the discourse of hostile confrontation (Ndimande & Moyo, 2018). Mhlanga (2019) reported that the UK claimed that the re-engagement process could be affected if Mnangagwa's government does not implement political reforms following the violation of human rights in Zimbabwe. The UK Minister for Africa, Andrew Stephenson, confirmed telling Mnangagwa to prioritise the implementation of the economic and political reforms. *The Chronicle* of January 4, 2019, quoted UK Ambassador to Zimbabwe Melanie Robinson saying,

The UK is committed to the success of Zimbabwe. I can reiterate our commitment to everything we can do to help Zimbabwe along the pathway to a brighter and prosperous future in the interests of all the citizens of Zimbabwe—based upon strong and sustainable fiscal and economic reforms and human rights. I look forward to working hard and continuing to reinforce the relationship between our two countries for the interest of our people (Maodza, 2019).

The media coverage of the land question positively and negatively impacts individuals and communities. The UK government uses reforms as a soft power resource to convey the discourse of hope for a future Zimbabwe. However, political reforms are still an obstacle to mending the relations between the two countries. Reforms remain a pre-condition for normalising the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. Mnangagwa's re-engagement gives hope for the future of Zimbabwe regarding economic development to boost the economy of Zimbabwe.

The relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK during the Mugabe era was cordial from 1980 to the late 1990s. The relations started to deteriorate and were characterised by demonising discourses emanating from the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme in 2000 (Mude & Chigora, 2017). Britain expressed some concerns over violence and human rights abuses in implementing the land reform programme. Relations started to improve after the November 2017 ouster of Mugabe as his successor Mnangagwa inaugurated a new era of reforms aimed at re-engaging Britain and western countries in a bid to improve diplomatic relations. Mnangagwa ushered in a new era with a renewed emphasis on improving ties with the UK and re-engaging with the West through a new foreign policy. However, the new era suffered some major setbacks as Britain expressed concerns over human rights violations, the rule of law, repression of civil society and democratic opposition and electoral malpractices and imposed sanctions in 2019 (The Zimbabwe (Sanctions) (EU Exit) Regulations, 2019).

## **2.4 Media discourses**

The media discourses in Zimbabwe and globally are discussed in this section and their influence on international and local connections. It investigates the relationship between language and media regarding news coverage of diplomatic relations and media genres. To understand the nature of relations between the two countries, the previous section examined the nature of relations in the colonial period, post-independence, and the period under study. This section helps to contextualise the relationship and establish the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in Zimbabwean news articles from 2016 to 2020. Media signifies the everyday use

of language within a society to express ideological positions. Within the SFL and LCT frameworks, media discourses are crucial because they reflect the analysis of linguistic resources that allow us to establish the incidents of positioning and knowledge building in news items.

According to Bhatia, the phrase “media discourse” refers to “a number of diverse genres and subgenres of texts such as headlines, news reports, editorials, feature articles, comments, letters to the editor, book reviews, reviews, weather reports, and fashion columns”. In this sense, “media discourse” is an incredibly diverse and interdisciplinary pot of several genres (Sabao, 2013:24).

Research on media representation of diplomatic relations in news articles significantly examines how language is used in framing positions toward knowledge building. Peng (2004) investigated the coverage and representation of China in the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* between 1992 and 2001. The study compared the number of stories, media frames and favourability differences in the news media within the framing framework. The distinctions established by journalists in their news coverage promote a country’s ideology by taking sides to highlight the favourability differences. Journalists may cover stories about a country while simultaneously exposing it in a negative light. The study established that America had increased the coverage of China, but the tone remained slightly negative. The news coverage established “political frames”, “ideological frames”, and “economic frames” in the newspapers. Peng states that political frames are the news frames in the media that primarily reflect the US government’s political agenda and foreign policy. The ideological frame combines cultural, social, and ideological elements, and the manner in which foreign nations are portrayed in American news media frequently reflects the dominant ideology of the host nation. Instead of focusing on political and ideological differences, economic frames highlight the economic progress of a nation (2004:57-8). However, the findings also demonstrate that political and ideological frames concerning China are predominantly negative. Peng argues that news reporters define problems, show the causes, and make moral judgements, which suggests that journalists decide what to tell people and what not to tell. As a result, meanings are construed in news-making since journalists are responsible for the content and context of articulation.

Lian (2018) focuses on the use of Appraisal resources in diplomatic speeches by President of China Xi. Lian acknowledges the use of positive Attitude resources in diplomatic speeches to

recognise the achievements of international cooperation to build positive China discourse. The study found that Xi's diplomatic speeches at the Belt and Road Initiative and BRICS summit in 2017 shaped China's image and identity through a positive Chinese diplomatic discourse. Appraisal resources such as Contract were used to exclude other voices to position China's firm stance and force graduation resources, giving prominence to achievements made by international cooperation achieved through China's contribution. However, Diplomatic relations are reinforced through soft power to achieve set goals. Xi's diplomatic speeches create positive images and representations of China to the outside world and legitimise its voice.

In a similar study, Yousaf (2015) examines the perception of Pakistan in the Chinese and US news media. The study analysed the *Associated Press* of the United States and *Xinhua Agency* of China. The two news agencies' coverages of terrorism, economic consequences and international relations were addressed differently. The newspapers investigated the international frame, including stories focusing on the diplomatic relations between Pakistan and other countries. The study concluded that news coverage of international relations was positively reported in the *Xinhua Agency* to justify the mutual understanding in the history of their bilateral relations between Pakistan and other countries. Since the image and identity of a country are framed in the newsroom, ideological representations of a country are involved in the construction of the news. US hegemonic dominance plays a critical role in news media coverage of diplomatic relations. The *Associated Press* of the United States paints a picture of Pakistan as a country that targets vulnerable and minority groups. It lacks social tolerance through the words such as Islamic extremist. The role of media in diplomatic matters maps the outcome of relations between countries, individuals, or groups since they have the power to shape public opinion in societies.

A study more relevant to the current study is by Mungwari, who focused on state-run and privately owned newspapers and looked at how political tension was depicted in the media. He analysed *The Sunday Mail*, *The Herald*, *Daily News* and *The Standard* newspapers. He established that the political conflict in Zimbabwe is framed differently (2017:1). The ZANU-PF party was represented positively in the state-run press compared to the MDC, which was positioned negatively as seeking regime change in Zimbabwe. Mungwari stated that *The Sunday Mail* reported that privately controlled newspapers are siding with the ousted Vice-President Joice Mujuru, who was accused of starting a new government behind Mugabe in 2014 (2017). On the other hand, the conflict in Zimbabwe is portrayed adversely in the

privately owned newspapers in favour of the main opposition Party and how the latter is subjected to torture by the government. It details the infringement of human rights during elections and the seizure of land by the ruling party. The state-run newspapers accused MDC of a regime change agenda and called for sanctions against Zimbabwe. The media is responsible for information dissemination concerning people and events happening within a country or a community. Mungwari's study shows several things about reporting the political conflict in Zimbabwe. The reporting of the conflict indicates that the state-run media actively promote government propaganda through the use of evaluative language in their news coverage. The private-owned newspapers can be biased towards the opposition parties by portraying the infringement of human rights and an unequal justice system. Considering the newspaper's editorial slant, it is important to note that the frames journalists use can depict a country positively or negatively. Using evaluative language in reporting the conflict shows the responsibility ZANU-PF and the opposition parties take in promoting or destroying democratic principles and how they let down the people of Zimbabwe.

Entman (2007) contends that the media constructs situations and legitimises the interpretations of the situations by giving evidence in support of their interpretations. In other words, the newspapers in Zimbabwe create identities shaped by their culture and political policies. The representation of a country in news articles influences the public's perception of the identity, and the image is reinforced. Mungwari's findings revealed that privately-owned newspapers are biased towards the opposition. The state-owned newspapers have constructed a negative image of the opposition because of their political affiliation and language. This sets an interesting foundation for this study in terms of the relationship between the use of language and knowledge building in newspapers.

Willems (2005) examined the representation of Zimbabwe in British newspapers, namely *The Guardian* and *The Daily Telegraph*, since 2000. The study concluded that the newspapers use frames such as simplification, ethnicisation and marginalisation to reflect the perceived crisis being experienced in Zimbabwe. The social unrest in Zimbabwe is perceived as a bilateral disagreement based on the unresolved land issue with Britain (Willems, 2005). It should be noted that the media has taken centre stage to report the representation of the conflict in Zimbabwe. Willems argues that meanings and definitions of stories are controlled and guided by media coverage in newspapers. In addition, the framing strategies employed by the British newspapers made Zimbabwe suspect that Britain wanted to safeguard its colonial position, and the contrast between the black and white races justified the cause of Britain protecting its

interest in the former colony. The media negatively escalated the social unrest in Zimbabwe, manifesting from the bilateral disagreement between the two countries (Willems, 2005). As such, the media was inviting the international community to intervene in solving the conflict in Zimbabwe. Media plays a crucial role in informing the citizenry about the conflict in the country and its ties with other nations. Media coverage of the conflict is balanced between favourable and unfavourable. The UK media uses frames to promote policy, culture, and ideas while shaping the nation's image and identity. Contrarily, frames present Zimbabwe negatively regarding the social unrest connected to the government of Zimbabwe's autocratic governance. To safeguard its colonial interests, the UK distances itself from the socioeconomic ills impacting the people of Zimbabwe.

The findings reveal the role the media is playing in Zimbabwe. The media generates public forums where citizens can discuss the conflict in Zimbabwe, which impacts public opinion on issues affecting Zimbabweans. The state-run media uses soft power as a resource to promote a country's foreign policy and government's political agenda. As a result, positive images are created to attract the outside world. It also markets a country's economic progress to gain popularity and reinforce existing relations. In other words, the state-run media use language to reinforce achievements made by the Zimbabwean government. The different perspectives offered by the state-run and private-owned newspapers in Zimbabwe give readers a platform to compare their accounts and evaluate them against each other.

#### 2.4.1 Genres in media discourse

This section aims to describe the types of genres in media discourse. It explores the hard news genre, soft news genre and investigative news. The news genres are important because of the way they are written and the conventions they follow. In understanding the construction of positioning and stances, an important concept in the analysis of interrelation discourse analysis in texts is that of "voices" widely popularised by Bakhtin's (1981) work on dialogism, a concept theorised from a host of diverse theoretical insights as well as domains of scholarship.

The hard news genre is meant to convey current information where the writer exercises a great deal of detachment from the story they are writing with a guise of impartiality and objectivity. Its main aim is to announce the news as it happens or timeously. The soft news or feature genre gives liberty for the writer's explanations, comments, analyses and opinions. The soft news genre does not hide the intentions of the writer. Hard news allows me to analyse the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK because it reflects what is taking place and can help show how these

two countries are positioned in news articles. The assumption is that hard news is objective and impartial texts with less opinion and colour, a somewhat faithful reflection of reality with subtle ideological connotations and a guise of naturalness.

The media are thus an extensive discourse community and, as such, have seen the advent of diverse genres. They have also shaped these genres and subgenres typified by, among others, the news, advertising, press releases, features, and editorials. News is a major macro-genre in the media discourse. A macro-genre is composed of other genres, usually called a complex genre. Martin (1994) suggests the term macro-genre describes texts that include basic genres such as recount, report, explanation and exposition. According to Santosa (2009), news comprises three broad genres: hard news, soft feature, and investigative reports. Editorial is a soft news genre that reflects a publication’s official view on an issue or media house. It is a subjective opinion or argument supported by facts to either support or refute a stance. Bell (1991) also produced four categories: “hard news”, “feature articles”, “the headlines”, and “special topic news”. Figure 2.1 shows three categories of news, of which my study focuses on news reports such as hard news covering diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK.

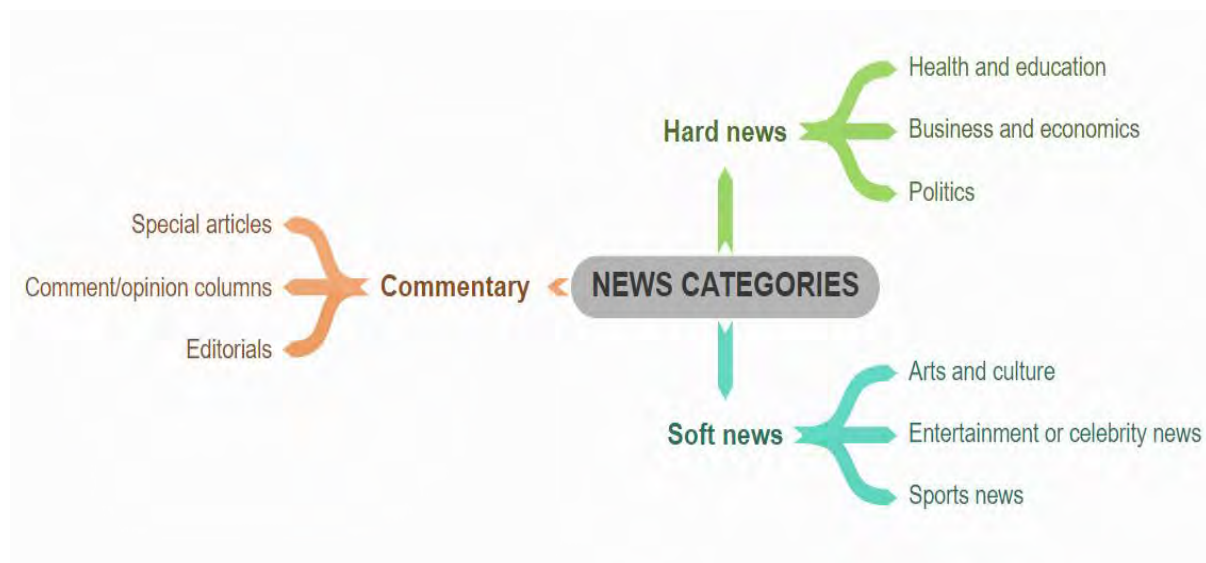


Figure 2.1: News genres

Thomson, White and Kitley (2008) state that the “hard news” is purported to be “neutral” and reports “simply the facts” (cited in Sabao, 2013:25). On the other hand, the commentary/editorials are generally viewed as “the subjective, emotive, and reactive discussion on events and people making news headlines” (Sabao, 2013:25).

For this discussion, the following categories will be employed as the genres in the news category: hard news, soft feature news, investigative reports news and special topic news. In general, hard news typically reports on public events like government decisions and disasters, global events, societal situations including the economy, crime, and environment, as well as national and global news, among other issues that are socially regarded as important” (ledema, Feez & White, 1994). According to White (1997:101) hard news refers to “reports typically associated with eruptive violence, reversals of fortune and socially significant breaches of the moral order”. In other disciplines, hard news is known as “straight news” and is categorised into matter-of-fact news, auction news and quote news (Santosa, 2009). Further to this, Bell defines hard news as “the newsmakers’ staple product: reports of accidents, crimes, announcements and other events which have occurred or come to light since the previous issue of their paper or programme, and it is a place where a distinctive news style will be found” (1991:3). Characterised by refraining from opinion and typified by a pursuit of objectivity, hard news reports are the heart of newspaper reporting and news bulletins broadcast on radios and TV channels. White (1997) categorises hard news into event stories and issue reports.

What is referred to as event stories are typically everyday stories that describe happenings in political circles, violence, crime, economic setbacks, and so forth. Issue reports are “more concerned on communicative events and acts, and express criticisms, warnings, discoveries, or announcements by some authorised source like politicians, community leaders and professional experts” (White 1997:101). However, there seems to be substantial overlap regarding the construction and focus of the two types as it has been observed that event stories too utilise communicatively grounded structures such as statements, opinions, and research findings, which traditionally are typical of issue reports. Such resources, however, only play a subordinate role in the construction of the event story and are restricted to a few instances. White argues that “if a story combines the description of material and communicative events in almost equal measures, the result is an event-Issue hybrid story” (1997:104)

Santosa states that the second genre in the news category is views or opinions. A view is “a piece of writing that comments on certain issues, others’ opinion, events or the condition of the environment” (Santosa, 2009:14). Typically, a view is critical and analytic and involves responses, opinions, or suggestions to related institutions and on issues and events that are sometimes covered in brief in hard news. This genre of news, according to Sabao (2013:26), “is typically explicitly subjective as it exposes the reporter’s subjectivities, opinions, and the opinions of others. The ‘view’/’comment’ is overtly critical and analytical, involving responses

or suggestions to current issues” (Sabao, 2013:26). These types of comments/editorials, like the editors’ comments, Olaniyan (2011) submits, are dissimilar to news reports which are generically “typified by ‘facticity’, ‘neutrality’ and ‘objectivity’” are “articles which express the opinions of the [reporter], editors or publishers on issues of public interest.” Olaniyan (2011) postulates that texts such as these “are often regarded as personal journalism because they project particular persons’ opinions on matters affecting the public” (cited in Sabao, 2013:26). Santosa (2009) argues that it is from views, more than news, that one can tell the ideological inclination of a newspaper. Several other researchers have analysed and described opinions or views in articles. Wang (2007) breaks opinion texts into three categories: editorials, which editors and other journalists write in the newsroom; newspaper commentaries, usually written by outside expert writers and letters to the editor, written by readers. Wang then submits, “Opinion texts are a specific type of persuasive or argumentative text that usually occurs in professional writing. Such texts aim to influence the opinions of readers on controversial issues” (2007:31). Van Dijk (1995) in Bell (1991) expressed that fashion opinion articles are the newspaper’s own views on issues and their principal characteristic is persuasive language.

Investigative news is an uncommon genre in the news category. Investigative reporters are a rare feature in a newsroom. The boundary between hard news and investigative news or between investigative news and opinion articles is not clear because the definitional characteristic of investigative news is the methods used to gather information for either hard news or opinion articles. Knight (2000) states that investigative news unearths significant information about matters of import using non-routine information-gathering methods.

Special topic news includes such stories as sports news, arts and entertainment, music, racing, and others that are clearly distinguished from other types of stories. In big media houses, journalists are assigned specific areas to report on, and within newsrooms, these are referred to as “desks” and are designed to focus on special topic news. According to Archkins and Tsakona,

Journalists mostly aim at creating and/or maintaining solidarity between readers and newspapers of the same political and ideological orientation. Journalists seem to create social events not only by selecting, evaluating, and often reframing what political or social actors do or say but also by acting as mediators: they either connect or multiply the acts and/or words of such actors by reproducing them in a variety of media events and text (2009:912).

News reporters are more interested in reinforcing and supporting the connection between a newspaper and its audiences/readers, who ideally share similar political views and aim to inform the public about matters of public interest or relevance. The above claims are corroborated as true if newspaper articles in Zimbabwean newspapers are analysed. Namawe (2020) explains that the two main participants in the discourse community are the intended readers and other journalists. Of interest is the assertion by Archkins and Tsakona (2009) that “news reports are not value-free representations of reality, but ideological constructs. Thus, the reported events are not important ‘by themselves’; on the contrary, they are chosen based on a certain ideological perspective, namely on the basis of specific – not always explicitly stated – values and beliefs. Their linguistic encoding depends on the reasons and goals of their publication. Therefore, different newspapers often present the ‘same’ events in a different way or different focus, so that each article reflects the political and ideological stance of the newspaper in which it appears” (2009:362). This is especially true in societies where the news media, specifically newspapers, are imagined as political tools which support hegemonies – the government of the day or opposition political parties.

The media is perceived to be powerful, and this arises from the observation that the nature and tone of the voices of news reporters, as well as editors and/or the media houses in the printed form, such as newspapers, have the proclivity to shape events in a country or community. Hobbs states:

So, ‘the journalist,’ like ‘the subject,’ is created by discourse and operates within its conceptual parameters. Yet, to be a journalist or other news producer is to be powerful, with the institutional apparatuses and techniques of the media intimately intertwined in the complicated embrace of power/knowledge. Indeed, more so than the human sciences, it is the discursive practices of the journalist which have the power to ‘make true’ regimes of truth that see the journalist participating (although unwittingly) in the “government” of modern society (2008:12).

The news reporter’s work makes factual and sometimes false renditions of truth. In fact, what makes a difference is the proliferation of voices in news reports that affect the audience with their presuppositions and biases, which will influence their reading of the news. The literature presented above explores different approaches to investigating newspaper articles. The power of media discourses influences certain kinds of citizens in Zimbabwe through the language used in news reporting. The news genre in media discourse promotes the readers’ culture, politics, and trading opportunities. The media have produced citizens who question the government concerning policy and decision-making on different platforms. Hence, some

citizens become critical and analytical of political and economic practices for the benefit of sound policies and decision-making in a country. The connection between the newspaper genre and readers is created through the discourse used by journalists. The readers' knowledge is built from what is reported and influenced by how these citizens interpret the stories to the best of their knowledge. In simple terms, media discourses have the potential to destroy or shape the image of Zimbabwe in the eyes of the citizens. The current study extends the linguistic interests in the language of media discourse, paying attention to the role of language in knowledge building in newspapers. The newspapers analysed in this study are written in English but published in different Zimbabwe newspapers.

The news genre in media discourse is vital in disseminating information about what is occurring in a country or internationally. The language employed in news reporting influences the interpretation of events and establishes a connection between the journalists and their audience. The idea that the media is strong comes from the observation that news reporters' and editors' voices and media organisations that publish their content in newspapers tend to influence events in a nation. The hard news genre is intended to deliver current information in which the writer maintains a high level of separation from the narrative under the pretext of impartiality and objectivity. Its primary purpose is to report news as it happens or in a timely manner.

#### 2.4.2 Theorising positioning in news media

This section describes the positioning and framing theories to establish their role in news reporting. It discusses how identities are framed and positioned in news articles. This section explores other frameworks used to analyse media discourse, focusing on diplomatic relations between countries and individuals. I justify using SFL and LCT as complementary frameworks to contextualise my study theoretically and empirically.

Positioning refers to how different countries, individuals and moral judgements are portrayed in relation to each other in discourse (Siebörger, 2018). Thus, positioning “describes language use in news reporting and genres to assign meanings to countries and their social practices” (Wenden, 2005:90). Meaning is construed by linguistic representation in news reporting and any other text. The positioning of countries in news articles relates them to significant behaviours and stances. This positioning of countries, individuals and groups is connected to legitimate or illegitimate stances that portray bilateral ties between Zimbabwe and the UK. Linguistic choices in news coverage portray various meanings; therefore, we expect news

reporters to frame and legitimise actions and stances in covering events. This implies that reporting influences the general view of diplomatic relations and the positioning of countries (Yaghoobi, 2009).

SFL and LCT help analyse the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK to understand the diplomatic relations shared between the two countries. The frameworks help to understand the conflict and the strategies used to resolve the misunderstanding between the two countries. The language choice recognises the contribution that linguistic resources can make to transform the situation in Zimbabwe and the relationship between the two countries. This contributes to readers' knowledge concerning how they perceive relations and the socioeconomic situation in Zimbabwe. The relationship between language and knowledge in reporting on diplomatic relations makes them significant components in knowledge building, considering the positioning of countries and individuals.

Positioning theory deals with social relationships focusing on characteristics we assign to ourselves and others during discursive interaction positions (Louis, 2007). It defines positioning as the discursive construction of individual narrations, which are used to construct the actions of individuals in a way that is understandable to the person (Louis, 2007). Positioning theory pinpointed that identities are framed and positioned in discourse. Although Positioning theory also draws from aspects of linguistics, its potential to reveal more about how the language of texts positions countries and how knowledge is reproduced in news articles is limited. On the contrary, my thesis will examine the language and knowledge that *The Herald* and *The Standard* reproduce concerning Zimbabwe and the UK.

Meanwhile, Framing refers to how people think about events and how they process them into their already existing set of experiences (Goffman, 1974). In studies of media and representation, the concept of framing is imagined as a conscious process of selection. At the same time, the news frames are defined as organising principles enacted by journalists to tell a coherent story (Chari, 2013). Framing involves selecting, organising and interpreting a story, which might influence differences in the news coverage of the same story (Chari, 2013). Entman (1991) argues that selection and interpretation influence the public's understanding; thereby, judgements and evaluations are implicated. Framing theory concerns the construction of frames by journalists in their news reporting, which legitimises the beliefs of the governments or groups. In this regard, reporters influence the selection and organisation of news, and they also share the same beliefs and culture with the readers. However, most

reporters' work is read by people of diverse beliefs and cultures (Chari, 2013). My study deviates from the concept of Framing since the linguistic resources used in news reporting show the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK.

Thus, this Framing frequently leads to biased reporting that is subjective and ideological, depending on a number of factors, most of which are unrelated to the information, nature, or importance of the news event or article being covered (Sabao, 2013). The pursuit of journalistic impartiality is replaced by developing frames for news and news reporting (Entmann, 1991). Through the Framing Theory, Entman (1991) explains that subjectivity and objectivity can be best construed by examining the frames that a journalist or story uses. Entman describes framing as "a way of choosing a few components of perceived reality and putting them together into a story that emphasises links between them to support a specific interpretation" (2007:167). Framing is important in explaining how the media subjectively choose which news items to report and the cultural, political, or otherwise factors that shape the "framing" of such news. Framing Theory is useful to examine the way the media selectively, deliberately, and intentionally pays particular "attention to certain events and then places them within a field of meaning" (Arowolo, 2017:2). Regardless of the forces attempting to influence how they function; the media can be seen as comprising an essential aspect of the public sphere in the modern environment (Habermas, 1989). This is because they are the primary news source on topics impacting the citizenry's well-being, allowing them to make crucial decisions due to the information they provide (Calhoun, 1992). The ideological positions expressed by the news reports are thus establishable by examining the story's underlying framing; based on such, we can conclude whether the journalistic voice has assumed a stance (Chari, 2013). Frames have the potential to reproduce and recontextualise knowledge in newspapers; therefore, the positioning of countries is realised in these frames. In other words, frames influence knowledge building in diplomatic discourse. The interest of this study lies in the relationship between the language used in news coverage and the role of this language in knowledge building for the citizenry of Zimbabwe, focusing on diplomatic relations.

In line with this, the views discussed above on the representation of countries and communities in the mass media possess significance in terms of the power possessed by the mass news media in influencing public discourse. A more in-depth comprehension of this power is more discernible by examining its background, chiefly couched theoretically within Marxism. Such power of the mass news media in influencing public perceptions of reality was conceptualised by Althusser (1970) from a neo-Marxist socialist theoretic perspective while exploring a

concept he termed “Ideological State Apparatuses” (ISAs). The term ISA refers to a few realities that manifest themselves to the direct observer in the form of distinctive and specialised institutions (Althusser, 1970). To a considerable extent, the institutions belong to either the private domain, typified by family or the public domain, exemplified by the media. However, this study is not interested in ideological state apparatuses in analysing the representation of relations in Zimbabwean news articles.

On the other hand, Gramsci’s concept of “hegemony” contextualises the nexus between establishable cultural aspects of social life and ideology. As a result, Fairclough notes that Gramsci and others coined the term “hegemony” to denote power and struggles over power (2003:45). Fairclough (1995) further submits that hegemony emphasises forms of power which depend upon consent rather than coercion and are sustained ideologically. Burton (1990) asserts that media professionalism is closely related to the principles that govern the organisation to the point where, in this aspect, professionalism becomes ideological (cited in Sabao, 2013:66). He contends that media professionalism is entwined with organisational principles, making it ideological in this sense and distorting power dynamics. Media professionalism skews power relations through the language used in the coverage of stories and events; some individuals or countries are given more relevance than others. For example, China is more prominent concerning bilateral ties with African countries (2.5). In understanding this, Fairclough suggests that hegemony is supported by the ordinary commonsense presumptions in everyday life (2003). Burton (cited in Sabao, 2013) broadens this perspective by arguing that “what hegemony does is to naturalise ideology itself, and all the values and beliefs built into ideology” (p66). By so doing, the media are an alternative means of communication used by governments as a soft power resource to influence the people’s minds concerning what is happening in the country (as shown in 2.2.1). In such a way, local Zimbabweans will view relations between the UK and Zimbabwe through what is published in the media and make judgements. The media influences public opinion through a careful selection of linguistic resources in their coverage of events. As a result, language is instrumental in shaping public opinion through shared values and practices.

In examining the media’s ability to propagate ideological stances, according to Burton (1990), the relevance of how mass media institutions operate can be seen in the fact that they wield such large amounts of influence. The projected agenda-setting function that the mass media plays reflect their perceived influence (Chari, 2013). This phrase, agenda setting, in the words of Burton, refers to “the method by which the news media decide which themes (the agenda)

should be of primary importance to the audience by frequently choosing these topics for news items” (1990:280). Alternatively, agenda setting references the media’s influence to shape not only what the public thinks but also what it thinks about. According to McCombs & Shaw (1972), cited by Griffin (1991), the news media tends to elevate the significance of issues on its news reporting agendas to the level of public concern. The power of the media is also underlined by Mudyanadzo (2019), who emphasises the importance of newspapers in ensuring democracy and the news medium, therefore, shapes democracy to a significant extent. Some have argued that “the news media play a critical role in a healthy democracy” (2019:477). According to Baran, “the amount of information in a news piece and its position teaches readers not just about a certain subject but also how much priority to assign to that matter” (1998:176).

The role of the audience aids us in understanding another approach to positioning, namely the concept of (re)presentation in Critical Discourse Analysis. Another significant factor is the target audience’s lack of interest in discourses and topics. These may result from restrictions imposed by the cultural, political, or social environment in which the media operate (Coban, 2016). By emphasising the “cardinal relevance of context and audiences”, as he puts it, Scannell highlights how crucial the audience is to the communication goal of newspapers (1991:11). The claim made here is that the discourses of the news media and news reporting are mostly if not entirely driven. Magadza observes that it is important to “acknowledge the fact that the consumers of media messages do not sheepishly and uncritically take in media messages because they are thinking beings with agency” (2016:35). Despite this being the case, Magadza also acknowledges “Through how they present those topics, the media can shape public conversation on a range of subjects” (2016:35). In addition, regardless of which newspaper gives a more accurate story of a similar reported incident, the target population or readership frequently tends to purchase news publications associated with their political inclinations and connections. According to Bell, “communicators are kind of slaves to their audience” (1991:14) in this way. The audience has the authority to stop watching, stop buying, or reject a media source.

As a result, the public plays a crucial role in news creation and in news publications’ survival. It is crucial to remember that every news publication producing print or broadcast content is a public institution (Magadza, 2016; Willems, 2006). As a result, the media must be knowledgeable about their target audience and the types of news they will find intriguing or repulsive. The way different events, acts, characters, and opinions are (re)presented in news discourses, according to Klaehn, “shapes public opinion in part” (2005:165). In a sense, public

opinion can be thought of as the conscious effort to shape or influence how the public perceives issues and points of view. As such, the media is wary of straying from what is acceptable to the larger homogeneous component of their readership. Therefore, one can contend that the media's primary purpose is to publicise the concerns of chosen audiences, whose viewpoints are (re)presented in news stories for consumption by the general public.

This brings a new dimension to hegemonic relations in society and how these are reflected in news and news reporting. Critical Discourse Analysis is "a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 1995:1) and can be used to show how media texts are often more sympathetic to "power" and evince hegemonic dynamics within a society in which the media outlet is operating. Burton, borrowing and developing on Gramsci's concept of hegemony, postulates that this concept, which evinces power dynamics in the media, refers to "the social and cultural power the elite and privileged members of society have over the rest" (1990:261) and how (re)presentations mirror such hegemonic relations. Klaehn goes further to argue that "mass media and other ideological institutions in society are predominantly agencies for the dissemination of ideas, values, perspectives, and necessary illusions that affirm existing patterns of power, [culture, politics] and privilege" (2005:187).

The media must, and it can be argued, align with the position of the public and relate their communicative purposes with that of their audience. Journalists run the risk of becoming pawns in political and language games and of real social struggles becoming ideologically biased and subjective in their reporting of news, deliberately expurgating any views and language regarded as straying from and not evincing sympathy for particular ideological inclinations (Willems, 2006; White, 1998). However, postmodern perspectives on CDA hold that journalists cannot refrain from encoding their ideologies in the news they write because all language encodes ideology. Journalists always have to decide what is newsworthy and cannot reflect a total view of reality. Their judgements of newsworthiness themselves reflect their ideologies.

Positioning or re(presentation) is relevant in diplomatic relations since it is an important aspect of diplomatic relations and politics. Diplomatic relations can be imagined as managing a country's politics. Politics and diplomatic relations are relevant to positioning in a manner that depicts the weaker and stronger parties on the international platform. Weisbrode argues, "For much of history, the terms 'diplomacy' and 'politics' have been intimate, as diplomacy

regulates and mediates politics between sovereign entities, which have principally meant nation-states and their governments” (Weisbrode, 2018:125). In addition, he notes that “Politics, by its association with government, is an occasion occupied with dispensing justice. Diplomacy, by its contraposition to war, is occupied with preserving peace” (128).

Politics as a genre has ceased to be as clear-cut a domain as it was traditionally imagined. It has transformed and become increasingly indistinct, especially as it intersects with mass news media and economic matters and activities. Political discourse is not thus only fashioned for but rather within the media event too – which also includes supporting social and diplomatic relations. Fetzer and Johanson point out that this is a crucial way for regular people to engage with politics, especially in political debates and interviews where political information is communicated in a dialogue-anchored fashion (2010). Governments and other political bodies prefer to concentrate on the production of politics, which occurs behind the scenes.

In contrast, political actors tend to concentrate on how politics is presented in the public domain, for which the mass media has been imagined as on (Habermas, 1991). It is, therefore, the politician’s task to utilise the available resources intrinsic to the contextual constraints and requirements of mass news media to provide a credible and respectable political message to a varied audience with potentially extremely diverse members (Fetzer & Johanson, 2010). As Wodak explains,

Management of politics considers political action, political decision-making processes and the traditional fields of action and control, such as law-making procedures, party politics and the relationship between legislative and active branches and the administration, as well as fields of public participation and opinion formation in politics (2008:297).

The media is universally used by the main political actors in the communication of political ideology. The Executive, judiciary and legislature serve as the three pillars of democracy. However, with the growth of media and its ability to reach every part of a country, it can be seen as the fourth pillar (Hansen, 2018). Because of this, it has often been referred to as the fourth estate due to its potential to reach large audiences. The media acts as the protector of the public interest by alerting the public to those who are causing them harm (Hansen, 2018). Fairclough (1995) and van Dijk (1991) show how populist elite ideologies can be mimicked in the news media and how such ideologies can be critiqued by examining the features of language used in the news texts. In recent years, the media has played a more significant role as the fourth estate of democracy in revealing and trying to stop corruption among government

officials. The media has played a critical role in covering judiciary and political decisions in Zimbabwe for the interests of the public. By allowing for the expression and consideration of all viewpoints, it serves the public interest in a pluralistic democracy.

The use of LCT and SFL to analyse positioning between Zimbabwe and the UK helps to establish meanings associated with the source of the information and the target. SFL and LCT provide the resources for analysing evaluative meanings in news articles to establish the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK. SFL explains how language choices in the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK produce specific meanings (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2014). At the same time, LCT offers descriptions of the fundamental ideas underpinning highly valued information (Maton, 2014). The Appraisal system reveals the linguistic resources responsible for showing aligning and disaligning with the sources of information to produce constellations. The two frameworks help to establish why people or communities individuate from statements or affiliates to specific information. Meanings derived from Appraisal analysis constitute the principles underlying the positioning of the two countries concerning their diplomatic relations. Readers understand the misunderstanding and the intervention strategies used by the two countries to normalise their relations through the usage and function of language.

From a Systemic Functional Linguistics perspective, Bednarek (2010) explains that the ideological positioning of the news can be best understood through the study of “subjectivities”. Research on media “subjectivities”, as Bednarek postulates, is often interested in three main aspects of language, which are “the writer’s/speaker’s perspective as shaping linguistic expression, the speaker’s expression of AFFECT towards propositions contained in utterances/texts and finally the speaker’s expression of modality or the epistemic status of the propositions contained in the utterance/text” (2006:20). She introduces a framework known as Evaluation. Bednarek further notes that “within the linguistic analytical framework of Evaluation, in concerning itself with the expression of a writer’s/speaker’s opinion, we are therefore able to trace the evaluations that are made through language to either a journalist, a news actor or a source” (2010:15-16). The analysis of mass media texts, Bednarek (2010) explains, often shows occurrences which express/expose a news reporter’s attitudinal evaluations and opinions about the different evaluative parameters. The concept of “Evaluation”, in this regard, is a cover term for

the expression of the speaker’s or writer’s Attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. The Attitude may relate to

certainty or obligation or desirability, or any of the other several sets of values. (Thompson & Hunston, 2000:5 in Bednarek, 2010:17-8)

Further to this, Bednarek (2010) provides a total of twelve dimensions through which, as couched within the theoretical framework of Evaluation, we can determine and observe the news reporter's subjectivities, attitudinal inclinations, or emotions with regard to the propositions that the journalist proposes in the news report. Bednarek tags these as "Comprehensibility, Emotivity, Expectedness, Genuineness, Importance, Necessity, Possibility, Reliability, Causality, Sourcing (evidentiality), Sourcing (style) and Mental state" (2010:19). In the same vein, she postulates that in undertaking such analyses of news stories, we are able to carry out what she calls "evaluations of comprehensibility" (2010:19). These concepts are concerned with "the degree to which journalists, news actors or sources evaluate entities, situations, states of affairs, or statements in stories as being within or outside the grasp of their understanding" (2010:19). The difference between Appraisal and the Evaluation framework is that Appraisal focuses on establishing evaluative resources for positioning Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations, while Evaluation facilitates the "expression of a writer's/speaker's opinion; we are therefore able to trace the evaluations that are made through language to either a journalist, a news actor or a source" (2010:15). In this regard, an examination of the linguistic resources used within news reports evinces the ideological inclinations of the Zimbabwean government concerning diplomatic relations with the UK. My aim in presenting Bednarek's Evaluation framework is to express the relationship between Evaluation and Positioning in media studies, although they are not enacted in my study.

The concept of voices is built into the Engagement system of Appraisal. The Engagement system draws on Bakhtin's 1981 concepts of dialogism and heteroglossia, and the social and cultural history of all relevant utterances is brought to the text by an utterance. The manner in which this positioning or stance is considered when expressing an opinion is directly related to Engagement. A significant tool in the investigation of media discourse, specifically within the hard news genre, has been the concept of the distribution of voices. Within the Engagement component, some evaluations have been dialogically expanded in addition to those that have been dialogically contracted. When a person goes through a newspaper, they are prone to feel the intervention of the ideological and political bias embedded in the newspaper. This results from the fact that news reporters add statements to highlight significant issues, which is described by Archakis and Tsakona as using "additional and evaluative elements and framing

devices” (2009:91) and which form aspects of the communicative roles of the mass news media. Language reflects social realities and aids in the construction and reconstruction of social reality and social life. It has the power to project identities in that people present themselves in particular manners to achieve their goals. Language is a significant tool in media discourse which helps to explore the kind of knowledge embedded in the news articles to reflect social reality and social life, including the implications of that knowledge to the public.

In media and representation studies, Framing is conceptualised as a deliberate procedure of selection. Frames have the potential to reproduce and recontextualise knowledge in newspapers; consequently, the positioning of countries is realised in these frames. Positioning theory emphasises how discourse frames and positions identities. Positioning or re(presentation) is a crucial aspect of diplomacy and politics. However, in this study, I use tools provided by SFL and LCT to analyse evaluative meanings in news articles to ascertain the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK. The two frameworks aid in determining why individuals or communities individuate from assertions or affiliate around certain information. In contrast to Framing and Positioning theories, Appraisal concentrates on establishing evaluative resources. I, therefore, use Appraisal to show how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned Zimbabwe and the UK regarding their diplomatic ties.

#### 2.4.3 Public spheres and knowledge building in media discourse

One of the media’s core jobs should be to democratise societies and people, allowing for a proliferation of diversity in ideas and viewpoints that embrace all social and other types of groups without prejudice (Calhoun, 1992). Habermas’ (1991) notion of the public sphere, first proposed in the 1960s, highlighted the crucial role of the media in advancing democracy. Habermas defines this concept of the “public sphere” as,

[A] realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed. Access is guaranteed to all citizens ... with the guarantee of freedom of assembly and association and the freedom to express and publish their opinions – about matters of general interest (1989:73-4).

The concept of the “public sphere”, according to Habermas, describes a space of “institutions and practices between the private interest of everyday life in civil society and the realm of state power” (1991:27). Calhoun notes that “what Habermas refers to as ‘the bourgeois public sphere’ comprised mediums of information and political participation, which include among them newspapers and journals as well as platforms for political discussions” (1992:10).

“Parliaments, political clubs, literacy salons, public assemblies, pubs and coffee houses, meeting halls and other public venues where socio-political talks occur” are the settings where it is said that public sphere dialogue takes place (Kellner, 2000:263). Habermas points out that,

The bourgeoisie public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public: they soon claim the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them over the rules governing them in the basically privatised but publicly relevant sphere (Habermas, 1989:27).

Despite pressures that attempt to influence how they operate; the media can currently be seen as an important aspect of the public sphere (Habermas, 1989). In undemocratic hegemonic contexts and optimal contexts, this is not always attained. The media is instrumental in shaping public opinion, which is significant in legitimising social, political, and economic issues. Agenda setting then takes over, and perception management within mass media news reporting is characteristic of the agenda-setting goal. Existing hegemonies use the power of representation (McCombs and Shaw, 2017) to market ideologies and express given political and ideological stances. In the same regard, Burton (1990) postulates that deliberate omission also constitutes a method of representation. Burton further observes that if a journalist chooses to omit the representation of communities within a given population, then that person is communicating something regarding their lack of significance and the relative significance of the people represented – the people whose voices are expressed (1990). The media act as an influencing factor that can affect a country’s public opinion and perspectives. There have been many critiques of Habermas’ (1991) conception of the public sphere. Fraser notes that the public sphere of the eighteenth century was also a “masculinist ideological construct” (Fraser 1990:62). Fraser and others have suggested that we should talk about multiple public spheres rather than one public sphere and that there needs to be a place for “alternative public spheres” where the oppressed people can discuss their views before presenting them to the dominant or bourgeois public sphere (1990). Fraser (1990) gives relevant examples of how “subaltern counterpublics” like feminist groups, workers, or minorities struggle sometimes succeed in placing their interests on the public agenda (cited in Marincea, 2013:75). Fraser argues that the arrangements that accommodate contestation among a plurality of competing publics better promote the ideal of participatory parity than does a single, comprehensive, overarching public (1990:66). Fraser contends that this would only benefit the socially dominant because they possess the discursive tools to make their arguments seem more convincing and the authority to establish discursive norms that work in their favour (1992). Fraser argues that an inclusive

public sphere requires social and economic equality. It indicates that Habermas' public sphere is exclusive since people are selected on their gender and social status or class. Calhoun emphasises that "The early bourgeois public spheres were composed of narrow segments of the European population, mainly educated, propertied men, and conducted a discourse not only exclusive of others but prejudicial to the interests of those excluded" (1992/1996:3 in Marinacea, 2013:98). This is true for Zimbabwe's public spaces as well, where only the wealthy and middle class participate in discussions that exclude minorities.

In line with the preceding, Habermas (1991) explains that the bourgeois public sphere comprises social spaces where individuals commune to deliberate on their common public affairs and organise against arbitrary and oppressive forms of social and public power. Critical within the concept of the public sphere is the promotion of democracy and inclusivity in matters involving the public for the sake of agreement. For instance, during the transition between Mugabe and Mnangagwa, private-controlled media concentrated on informing the public about what was happening in the ZANU-PF party and urging an end to battles and conflicts in favour of restoring the economy (Zirima, 2019). Zirima argues that the media involved civil society and academia through public debates in evaluating the meaning of the events that took place during the transition period, which means media can propagate peace among citizens by playing a decisive role in their coverage. During the transition period, the private-owned newspapers advanced the agenda of peacebuilding in Zimbabwe through a positive portrayal of the mass demonstrations and the coup (Zirima, 2019). Many viewed the military's ouster of Mugabe in November 2017 as a quiet coup.

In the present day, the "public sphere" is epitomised by the mass news media since they are still the significant space for facilitating maximum mass participation and debates on critical challenges that affect the masses at large. As a result, "the mass news media provide(s) proof of political events, issues, and activities, thereby enabling us to know the operation of politics in our society and to contribute more productively to that political process" (Burton, 1990 cited in Sabao, 2013:66). For example, the reporting of the August 1 killings in 2018 (in which six civilians were shot dead by soldiers in Harare) by both private and state-owned newspapers called for an investigation by civil society and the religious fraternity to determine the reason for killing innocent civilians. The killings threatened the effort to normalise ties between Harare and London through re-engagement. The reporting urged the government on these killings to launch an investigation into what took place to guarantee Zimbabwean democracy. Civil society participation promotes democracy by giving the public the responsibility and

opportunity to debate government issues without fear of being victimised. The resultant impact of this is that the mass media encourages participatory democracy.

I explain this concept within SFL and Appraisal theoretical concerns for this study. Bakhtin argues that for each utterance we make and the implications each of the utterances brings, there are always preceding utterances “with which a given utterance enters into a kind of relationship or another. Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organised chain of other utterances” (1986:69). For Bakhtin (1986), the notion of “voices” can primarily be conceptualised from two broad but interacting perspectives, which are “firstly as one of the products of the general language producing ‘language-intention’ of the speaker as well as a particular stylistically realised ‘language’ of a speaker – a language with its picture of the world” (Tjupa, 2010:6). In the context of the current study, it therefore becomes pertinent that in understanding the (re)presentation of diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and Britain in Zimbabwean news articles, we need to historicise the discourse within a preceding discourse that has shaped them dialogically.

The importance of Bakhtin’s theorisations in this study of positioning in diplomatic relations is best understood through an appreciation of the contexts in which such convictions are made. It is equally important to appreciate the discursive context of pre-existing texts that shape the texts under analysis (news reports) and how they inform their ideological positions dialogically. Burton (1990) explains that the media has the potential to proliferate public opinion by giving attention to issues which the masses may not have thought of, as well as that the media can also recommend manners to look at those news aspects. In this regard, the mass news media has the proclivity to influence public opinion regards to political issues and events. Through heteroglossic utterances in text, the Engagement system adopts and includes the concept of voices. The primary focus is on how speakers/writers constrict or expand the dialogic space to demonstrate how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned with respect to their diplomatic relations. Dialogic contraction tools limit or challenge alternative voices aiming to close down the dialogic space (Martin & White, 2005:117). Dialogic expansion creates space for alternative positions and spaces (Martin & White, 2005:102).

Likewise, I argue that the news media play a critical role in influencing Zimbabwean diplomatic discourses in various manners, thereby facilitating the spaces for dialogue in the Zimbabwean public spheres. The current study explores the formation of spaces of dialogue through media and public opinion to build knowledge. The role of knowledge building in

relation to public spheres is to facilitate and enrich public sphere discussions concerning the relations. The public sphere creates forums for discussion, allowing people to debate various viewpoints. The news writers build knowledge when reporting events while the public sphere comments on the stories. As a result, the news articles supply the knowledge, and the public sphere builds on that knowledge creating a public opinion about diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. The public discussions influence the change of policies by ZANU-PF and affect citizens' actions concerning the diplomatic relations between the two countries. This is in line with Fraser's (1992) argument on the concept of equality, which acknowledges multiple public spheres that embrace all without compromising equality to ensure that all social groups are included. The concept of public spheres shows a component of elitism since it cannot recognise the presence of inequality and antagonism within the existing structures compared to the ideologically created public (Fraser, 1992). Women and other minorities automatically become victims of exclusion in public debate. Considering the level of economic and social disparities in Zimbabwe, this study acknowledges that the newspapers analysed stimulate debate in multiple public spheres, which are not equal in their power and influence.

From a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theoretical underpinning, Van Dijk explores what he terms the media's undisputed power (1998). This has affinities in orientation with what McQuail (2000) terms "media power" to describe a possibility for the future or a statement of probability concerning effects under specific circumstances (cited in Sabao, 2013:66). Possessing power is tantamount to having the aptitude to do something, but not necessarily having to do it. The disparities between underprivileged people and the powerful often get worse when the government controls the media. The government-biased state media marginalise the voices of civil society. In other words, absolute authority produces social inequities within the existing structures.

In Zimbabwe, civil society and churches engage the public on issues concerning democracy and the welfare of the citizens (Ruzivo, 2020). The lay people and clergy constitute public spheres where people meet to discuss matters concerning the social unrest in Zimbabwe. Habermas explains that "actors of civil society articulate political interests and confront the state with demands arising from the life worlds of various groups. With the legal backing of voting rights, such demands can be strengthened by threatening to withdraw legitimation" (2006:417 in Marincea, 2013:175). These institutions, like the media, facilitate public sphere discussions since they disseminate information concerning the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK to the citizens. Their responsibility is to inform the public about results in debates

on current issues and events impacting citizens. For instance, The Council of Roman Catholic Bishops engaged the government concerning suspected abductions of opposition party members and human rights activists being carried out by state security in 2015 (Nyere, 2022). Marincea cited Scholte (2002:293-294), explaining that

civil society can enhance democracy in a number of ways. First, it can increase public participation by giving voice to stakeholders. Second, it can increase public awareness and understanding of laws and regulatory institutions through public education activities. Third, it can fuel debate and bring valuable input to policies. Forth, it can increase transparency through criticism, public pressure and mobilisation. Fifth, it can increase the accountability of regulatory agencies by monitoring the implementation and effects of policies and pressing for corrective measures (Marincea , 2013:177).

Similarly, the Zimbabwe Council of Churches is pushing the government to release the likes of Hopewell Chin'ono, who was arrested for exposing corruption activities against government officials (Chitando, 2020). Civil society's participation is essential in mitigating undemocratic actions taken by governments. The ruling elite (government), business elite, and middle-class elite (working class) have access to online and print newspapers to engage in public debates and use the internet. The elite has greater access to public sphere debate and has more significant discursive resources to engage in this debate than less-privileged Zimbabweans. The citizenry of Zimbabwe is involved in the ongoing political debates concerning social unrest and political conflicts affecting livelihood.

Zimbabweans are subjected to kidnappings, torture by state security, a lack of justice, and persecution of opposition members and civil society activists (World Report, 2021, Chitando, 2020). Without social justice, people live in fear. The public debates concerning the position of the re-engagement process with the international world bring together the elite and the lower classes in the nation's powerful public sphere. Fraser (1990) contends that Habermas's notion of the public sphere does not account for the social marginalisation of groups such as women and minorities. As a result of socioeconomic stratification in societies, numerous public spheres exist. Women's organisations provide a public sphere in which issues affecting them are discussed without men's involvement. Through contact, these organisations broaden women's social networks and deepen their understanding of Zimbabwe's situation as a country. They offer an environment that is free from restrictions and promotes equality. Although not everyone can access newspapers or participate in these public discussions, civil society organisations can spread information to the general public and encourage more interaction.

This study is significant in exploring the contribution made by private-owned and state-owned newspapers in facilitating discussions in Zimbabwean public spheres.

To summarise, public spheres provide forums for citizens to discuss issues related to their daily lives. To accommodate the interests of various categories of people, the public sphere should be inclusive of all individuals. Social and economic equality, according to Fraser (1992), is necessary for an inclusive public sphere. Fraser proposes multiple public spheres as opposed to Habermas' singular public sphere in which individuals are selected based on their gender or social status. Individuals have the right to congregate and discuss public matters and oppressive forms of social and public power. The news media report on political events, thereby enhancing understanding of the functioning of politics within societies. The news media promote public spheres by educating the public about issues that have an impact on their daily lives. Public opinion is significantly influenced by the news media, resulting in public discussions and debates. Individuals contribute positively to political and economic processes by reading and discussing media reports.

#### 2.4.4 The Media in Zimbabwe

The history of the media in Zimbabwe is divided into the colonial/nationalist era (pre-1980), the transitional era (1980-1990) and the post-transitional era (1990 to present) (Moyo, 2003). These eras are significant to this study since they coincide with differing approaches to foreign policy in Zimbabwe.

During the colonial era, the *Rhodesian Herald* (1891) and the *Bulawayo Chronicle* (1894) and the weeklies, *The Sunday Mail*, *Sunday News* and *The Financial Gazette*, were aligned to the ruling elite's ideology in Rhodesia (Mukasa, 2003). The *Rhodesian Herald* caters to the settler community's political-administrative needs and business needs. Its circulation was limited to the white settler community in Mashonaland (Moyo, 2003:3). Moyo explains that the newspaper covers official announcements, regional news, and local commentary on the socio-political issues affecting the settler population. Gale (1962) pointed out that the editorial stance of the *Rhodesian Herald* was to enhance the mining and agricultural interests of the white community and the colonial government. Furthermore, to foster solidarity and unity among all classes and sections of the white community (cited in Moyo, 2003:4). As the settler population grew, *The Bulawayo Chronicle* was introduced to provide coverage for the Matabeleland region.

Mukasa explains that the journalistic mentality of the time supported European cultural norms while disparaging African culture and political activism as the enemy of western civilisation and Christianity (2003:172). The ruling elite was aligned with the UK because of the land ownership in Rhodesia. Willems argues that “During this period, the development of mass media targeting Africans was therefore primarily aimed at an urban middle-class audience, leaving the rural population largely outside the reach of mass media” (2014:4). As black politics grew, so did black journalism and the black press, which helped politicians express their ideas and inspire people to join the emancipation struggle (Moyo, 2003:5). *The Bantu Mirror*, *The African Daily News*, *The African Parade*, and subsequently *Moto* were among the black press newspapers. Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU), two nationalist movements, had their newspapers based outside of Rhodesia. The expansion of the nationalist and religious press movements responded to the injustice, racism, and exploitation that characterised settler colonialism (Mukasa, 2003:173). Moyo argues that while black journalists like the late Willie Musarurwa and former minister Nathan Shamuyarira worked for these publications, they were owned and run by white liberals who were only interested in superficial reforms to the status quo (2003:5).

The Argus Printing and Publishing Company (APPC) was the key player in the media sector until its independence in 1980. The headquarters was in South Africa. The APPC, which was owned by Francis Joseph Dormer and Cecil John Rhodes, gradually grew to operate throughout all of Southern Africa following Cecil John Rhodes’ colonial objectives (Moyo, 2003:3). Chari (2019) argues that the transitional era saw the emergence of a neo-colonial press resembling the features of its predecessors. The Zimbabwean government owned the majority shares after buying the Zimbabwe Newspapers Group (Zimpapers). The Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust was established and funded by the Government, which was tasked with promoting the interests of the people in the national media.

The media in Zimbabwe includes the public and private media. Both public and private media provide the electorate with information about elections (MISA,2013). The Zimbabwe Newspapers Group (Zimpapers) dominates the print media industry in the country. The government holds the majority of the company's shares, 51.09%, while Old Mutual, one of the country's most prominent institutions, controls 23.80%, and private companies hold the remaining 25.11%. The Zimbabwean government owns 51% shares, which it acquired in 1981, intending to democratise the media landscape from the hands of colonialists (Chari, 2019, Moyo, 2003:10). The 51% of shares are entrusted to the Mass Media Trust on behalf of the

people of Zimbabwe. Zimpapers publishes *The Herald*, *Chronicle*, *The Sunday Mail*, *The Sunday News*, *Manica Post*, *H Metro*, *B Metro*, *Kwayedza* and *Umthunywa*. Most editorial appointments at the institutions are handled by the Ministry of Information (MISA, 2013).

To understand the operations of *The Herald* and *The Standard*, there is a need to know the contextual background of the publications. Zimpapers owns *The Herald*. The Zimbabwean government has editorial control and decides on what will be published in state-run newspapers such as *The Herald* and *The Sunday Mail* (Chari, 2019, Moyo, 2003).

*The Herald* is distributed in Harare, Mutare, Bulawayo, Gweru and Masvingo but reaches much further afield, targeting a broad readership (Media Monitor, 2020). According to the Zimbabwe Advertising Research Foundation's ZAMPS survey (Zimbabwe All Media Product Survey), *The Herald* has 1 411 819 readers, with slightly more than three-quarters of them urban and only one-quarter rural (Zirima, 2020). *The Herald* focuses 17% of its attention on politics and government, 24% on business and the economy, 11% on social and legal concerns, 16% on science and health, 2% on crime and violence, and 30% on the arts (Zirima, 2020).

*The Chronicle* is a daily newspaper published in Bulawayo and caters for readership in Matabeleland and the southern region. The newspaper has an estimated readership of 413 677 (Zirima, 2020). On Sunday, Zimpapers publishes *The Sunday Mail* and *The Sunday News*, which are regarded as family newspapers as they are usually read while people are relaxing at home (Mungwari, 2017). *The Sunday Mail* is the most widely read weekly newspaper, with a weekly readership of 1 364 210 (ZAMPS, 2015). It covers political, local, entertainment, and sport in depth compared to the daily Herald. *The Sunday News*, published in Bulawayo, has an estimated circulation of 18 000, targeting a younger audience (ZAMPS, 2015). The Manica Post is based in the eastern part of the country, published once a week, and has an estimated readership of 12 000 (ZAMPS, 2015). The newspaper group also has *Kwayedza* (Shona language) and *Umthunywa* (Ndebele language), which are in vernacular languages to cater for a readership which is in the lower end of the market.

Also, the New ZIANA community newspaper group is under public media. The formation of New ZIANA in 2002 was a move to replace ZIANA, which existed under the banner of the Zimbabwe Mass Media Trust as a subsidiary company. The government has a 100% controlling stake in New ZIANA Private Limited, formerly known as the Zimbabwe Inter-Africa News Agency (ZIANA) (Zirima, 2020). As the official government news agency, New ZIANA is responsible for gathering and giving information to local, regional, and international

consumers from a Zimbabwe and Pan-African perspective. Since 2002, it has also run a stable of local newspapers in different provinces through its community newspapers publishing subsidiary (CNP) (Media Monitor, 2020).

Individual members or organisations within the society own private media. The neoliberal philosophy that governs the private media, which sees the press as serving as a “watchdog or fourth estate”, directs the operations of the media (Chari, 2019). Against this backdrop, the government and private media share an adversarial relationship characterised by animosity (Chari, 2019). The private media is dominated by Alpha Media, a print media group with a daily publication, *Newsday*, circulated nationwide (Chitagu, 2018). A former journalist and entrepreneur, Trevor Ncube, owns the AMH, the second largest group (Media Monitors, 2020). Also, the group has a weekly business newspaper, the *Zimbabwe Independent*, with a circulation of around 30 000 (MISA, 2006). *The Standard*, a weekly newspaper published every Sunday, is another publication of Alpha Media Holdings (Media Monitors, 2020). Politics and government make up 16% of *The Standard's* attention, followed by business and the economy at 28%, social and legal issues at 13%, science and health at 5%, crime and violence at 1%, and the arts at 37% (Zirima, 2020).

Another privately owned newspaper, *The Daily News*, resumed publishing as a daily newspaper in March 2011 after a nine-year absence from the newsstands because of the bombing of its printing press in 2002 (Chitagu, 2018). *The Daily News* has an estimated readership of 949 175 in both rural and urban settings (Media Monitor, 2020). Other privately-owned publications include ZANU-PF's *The Voice*, *The Patriot*, *The Business Connect*, *The Weekly Business* and *The Worker* (Media Monitor, 2020). ZANU-PF is the government party, and these newspapers are aligned with the government party since they are sponsored and controlled by the Minister of Information.

The formation of *the Daily News* in 1999 completely changed the media landscape of Zimbabwe. The *Daily News* reached a readership of 100 000 compared to the state-run *The Herald* of 90 000 (Waldahl, 2004 cited in Chari, 2019). The estimated readership of *The Herald* is 1 411 819, and the *Daily News* is at 949 175 (ZAMPS, 2019). Its launch coincided with the formation of the Movement for Democratic Change, a prominent opposition party backed by a coalition of civil society organisations (Chitagu, 2018). *The Daily News* became a strategic conduit for ventilating political discontent. To tame militantly opposed media, the ZANU-PF government, whose hegemony was being denuded due to the mediocre performance of the

economy, promulgated the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act 2002 (AIPPA), which made the registration of newspapers and journalists mandatory (Chan & Patel, 2006). The Daily News refused to follow the law, resulting in its closure in September 2003. Moyo argues that,

*The Daily News, The Zimbabwe Independent and The Financial Gazette, have almost submerged the state-controlled media in directing public opinion on issues such as the economic crisis in the country, the land question and the DRC war where the government continues to be heavily involved (2003:2).*

Broadcasting, as is the case in print media, is dominated by Government-owned outlets. Spot FM, Radio Zimbabwe, Power FM, and National FM are the four primary radio stations operated by ZBC (Media Monitor, 2020). Spot FM broadcasts in English and caters for a mature audience aged 40 and above (Media Monitor, 2019). Located in Mbare, one of Harare's oldest suburbs, Radio Zimbabwe is a station that broadcasts 24 hours a day in Shona and Ndebele. Its programmes typically appeal to both urban and rural residents. Power FM is a 24-hour music station targeting young people (Media Monitor, 2020). National FM, formally Radio 4, is the most innovative through its inclusive programmes and is also an educational channel. The Harare-based channel broadcasts 24 hours a day in 17 local languages (minority languages), which include Tonga, Venda, Sotho and Kalanga. It focuses on news, music, and socio-cultural content (Media Monitor, 2020). ZBC also has one television channel, ZTV, which also broadcasts 24 hours. Election coverage is usually done through news bulletins and other Current Affairs programmes. The ZBC is accused of bias toward ZANU-PF since its editorial is inclined toward the government (Moyo, 2003). For example, the Media Monitor reported that between 31 May and 22 July, there was a 40% election period coverage on the incumbent President and ZANU-PF Presidential candidate compared to 11% and 8% for the closest opposition candidates. Moreover, 80% of news coverage of the ZANU-PF party compared to the 9% coverage of the MDC Alliance party (Moyo, 2003). This is enough evidence to show the hegemonic power of the government in controlling the media in Zimbabwe, which undermines democratic processes and principles in news reporting.

Public players in the broadcast sector include Zimpapers, which owns Star FM, a commercial national radio station based in the capital Harare (Media Monitor, 2020). Another station is ZiFM, which is owned by ABC Communications and offers, among other things, sponsored programmes, music programmes, and news about current events (Zirima, 2020). There are also commercial community radio stations in all the ten provinces which cater for the minority

groups in the communities in which they are found. Some of them include Hevoi FM, Skies FM, Capitalk Radio and Central FM (Media Monitor, 2020). Tight government restrictions on print and broadcast media over the past decade, and the economic and political exile of many journalists, led to the growth of a significant Zimbabwe-focused online news industry (Chikakano, 2019). Most online news media are hosted outside the country, but some reporters are in Zimbabwe. Others rely on news websites and *The Zimbabwean*, a weekly newspaper published in the United Kingdom and South Africa. This has opened up new platforms for public debates concerning Zimbabwean news (Raftopolous, 2006).

*The Herald* and *The Standard* are situated in the Zimbabwean media landscape in different forms. The private media has been crucial in refuting the official account of the Zimbabwe crisis in a setting where the state-owned media has been transformed into a supporter of all state policies. The private media's coverage of the Zimbabwe crisis raised local and international awareness of the government's widespread human rights violations during elections and the Fast-track Land Reform Programme.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

The chapter reviews relevant literature on diplomatic discourse and media discourses. The chapter explored linguistic studies in media discourses concerning the topic under study. Attention was given to the role of media in reporting diplomatic relations between countries and the significant role played by language in media discourse.

The key themes emerging from this chapter include using media as a soft power resource by governments. The literature review shows that linguistic resources are critical in positioning countries and individuals associated with the topics or events. Journalists employ linguistic resources to justify the worthiness of the news story to the public. In some instances, domestic and foreign policies influence news reporting on diplomatic relations between countries. Journalists use language to depict images of countries to readers, whether positive or negative.

The chapter also explored the diplomatic relations experienced between Zimbabwe and the UK from the colonial period to the present. It should be noted that the Lancaster House Agreement on the land issue in Zimbabwe contributed to the souring of relations between the two countries. Recent developments such as the re-engagement drive and the reform agenda have improved the relations. The media has the potential to strengthen the ties or destroy them through the use of linguistic resources in news reporting. The media accords the readers with

the platform to share their views on Zimbabwe's democratic and political situation. The discussions help the government realise the citizens' viewpoint and improve the situation between the two countries.

The state-owned and privately owned newspapers are influenced by their editorial slants in news reporting, which results in bias when reporting events. It should be noted that media is regarded as a soft power resource in setting the agenda of a country or community. Governments use media to advance their social and political goals to persuade or attract others. In most cases, governments tend to engage the media to set their records straight. This is evident, for example, in how the case of North and South Korea is reported by journalists and how the land reform programme was covered in 2000 in Zimbabwe. The private-owned newspapers in Zimbabwe depicted the ZANU-PF as corrupt and anti-democracy, considering the implementation of the land redistribution exercise. The government no longer use coercive measures to gain support or popularity, but the language of persuasion and production of consent are much less likely to attract international sanction. The role of media as soft power is significant in diplomatic relations since it reflects the culture and identity of a country, thereby supporting its foreign policy.

The private media will re-establish its relationship with marginalised groups and civil society (not necessarily aligned to the MDC) in the struggle for democracy, equality and access to resources. The private media must also critique the political economy of globalisation, "smart sanctions", and other positions adopted by the international community in relation to Zimbabwe. Interrogating the positions of both the opposition political parties and the international community will enable the private media to avoid playing into the hands of ZANU-PF, which has always characterised it as a mouthpiece of the opposition and an extension of foreign neo-colonial interests.

The media in Zimbabwe has the potential to reunite the country through the language they use in covering events since language facilitates representation and communication. Matters prioritised by the media promote public debates around the topic. *The Herald* and *The Standard* use linguistic tools to reunite the country and facilitate public sphere discussions by emphasising particular stories and events. For example, Mnangagwa's inaugural speech in 2018 emphasised engagement and re-engagement drive to revive diplomatic relations with other countries, including the UK. Using language to position Zimbabwe and the UK in news articles creates public debates arising from the political and economic stories covered by

journalists in newspapers. The public debate has an impact on reuniting the country if readers are exposed to both true and false reporting on what is happening between the two countries and when they engage each other to share their opinions. MacCombs argues that the amount of information in a news report and its position help readers understand what the topic is about and how much priority is assigned to it (1972:176). For readers to understand the reform agenda and re-engagement drive, public debates are essential to shed more light for citizens to appreciate these concepts in relation to development in Zimbabwe. Media fosters the idea that the matter is significant and generates public discussions around the matter of diplomatic relations with the UK (MacCombs, 1972). The similarities and differences portrayed in the newspapers facilitate public debates towards understanding the reform agenda implementation process and the removal of the imposed sanctions against Zimbabwe. People can learn about current events in the international, socioeconomic, political, and economic spheres from the media. As a result, the media aids its citizens' intellectual growth so they can have a constructive impact on their communities.

The public debates bear an impact on international relations concerning Zimbabwe and other countries. The news reporting in *The Herald* and *The Standard* greatly affects how Zimbabwe is painted in the stories. International relations are improved by positively depicting the main events, such as the economic and political reform agenda. The journalists carefully select the linguistic resources that persuade and attract international relations to promote trading opportunities. These two papers are critical in influencing Zimbabweans' views of diplomatic relations with the UK. The way the countries are positioned depicts a negative or positive image of the relations between the countries. The stories published in the news articles influence the topics discussed by the citizens and the readers' public opinion on diplomatic relations. The linguistic resources used in news reporting have the power to reunite the county or divide it; thus, the country's future lies in the coverage of diplomatic relations between the two countries in news articles.

## **CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS**

### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the theoretical foundations of my study. The study describes how news articles from *The Herald* and *The Standard* produce knowledge about diplomatic relations for Zimbabwe's citizenry. The study investigates the articles' interpersonal meanings, focusing on how news writers use linguistic resources to position Zimbabwe and the UK regarding their diplomatic relations. News writers produce knowledge about diplomatic relations by positioning Zimbabwe and the UK in their articles. I enacted the SFL's Appraisal framework to describe how language produces knowledge about diplomatic relations. The chapter describes critical realism's philosophy (3.2) and its significance in knowledge building and Semantics dimension from LCT (3.3) as a resource to examine how diplomatic knowledge is constructed in news articles and, lastly, SFL (3.4).

Furthermore, the chapter outlines LCT's concepts of constellations and cosmologies, which help to conceptualise the positioning and framing of diplomatic relations and the organising principles behind this positioning. Media discourse contributes to knowledge building through the judgements and decisions taken by writers in retelling stories concerning bilateral ties between countries. In news coverage, the language used is evidence of the decisions and judgements that news writers make. Given this study's context, examples will accompany the concepts described in this chapter to show how newspapers contribute to building diplomatic knowledge.

### **3.2 Critical realism**

Critical realism is a meta-theory that influences the way in which I view my data. The ontology and epistemology underpin my research. Critical realism is an ontological position explaining that the social world has a reality separate from the social actors that inhabit it (Rowan, 2016). The ontological foundations of Legitimation Code Theory are also influenced by a critical realism viewpoint, which is essentially in line with Bernstein's realist sociology of education, upon which LCT is based. The critical realism approach encourages me to examine beyond what the subject's reality is presenting and to investigate the various mechanisms and structures that might have an impact on how the subject constructs and perceives their reality. It promotes action and investigation into those aspects of the subject's reality that might not always be

visible but may nevertheless restrain and influence how the person behaves. The actual, the empirical and the real are recognised in critical realism as areas of reality.

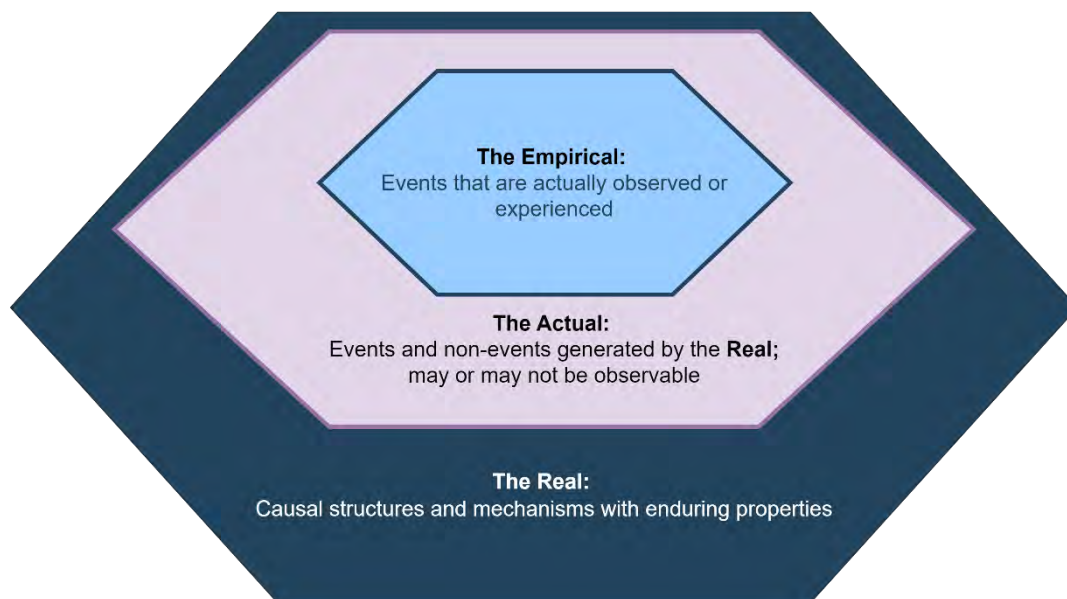


Figure 3.1: Critical realist stratified ontology (adapted from Saunders et al., 2009:139)

The actual is perceived as the events that occur, while the empirical is understood as the experiences attached to those events. The non-actual (the Real) is referred to as the structures, mechanisms and power tendencies that govern these events (Rowan, 2016). The analogy of the falling leaf (Baert, 1996 in Rowan, 2016) explains the fact that falling leaves are subject to gravity and influenced in the path by other mechanisms like wind or thermal currents. What an individual has observed is only a tiny part of everything that he could have seen (the Empirical), such as the falling leaves; a small fraction of the (the Actual) events occurring at any one point in time, such as gravity. What the person has not seen are the underlying causes (the Real) of a situation such as the wind. The individual cannot directly experience the true gravity of the circumstance. To figure it out, she must employ reasoning and sensory evidence from the observed empirical world (Saunders et al., 2009).

Rowan explains that “critical realists maintain that the knowledge gained at any specific point is real at that time and how we encounter certain situations becomes our natural world” (2016:51). Critical realists contend that knowledge is fallible and changeable, but the object of knowledge is real and therefore knowable (Siebörger, 2018). As an epistemological approach, critical realism recognises the positivist approach’s efforts by agreeing to external reality to the researcher (Baert, 2005). The distinction is that critical realism seeks to explain what we see

and feel in terms of the underlying reality structures that determine visible occurrences. Positivism is a philosophical approach associated with natural scientists that entail working with observable social reality to develop law-like generalisations (Saunders et al., 2009).

Bhaskar (2008) refers to mechanisms as tendencies or structures that are always present, whether actualised, realised or not. Many mechanisms are regarded as actual or non-actual, considering how these events happen. Bhaskar (2008) contends that mechanisms are developing, and as a result, active mechanisms or structures may trigger other inactive mechanisms within particular contexts. A series of experiences and events manifest through the interaction of these mechanisms. In this study, news reporting is characterised by active and inactive mechanisms that trigger interaction. The experiences and events realised from these interactions can potentially produce diplomatic knowledge about the diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK through positioning.

It is understood that mechanisms, when actualised, give rise to the events in the domain of the actual. Individuals or groups can experience the circumstances, and experiences occur in the empirical layer (Baert, 2005). The diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK are reported in *The Herald* and *The Standard*, considering different social and cultural experiences, attitudes and past experiences (Bourdieu, 1996). In diplomatic discourse, knowledge can act as a mechanism because it creates the possibility of certain events. News reporters use their knowledge to expose readers to diplomatic understanding. Knowledge about Zimbabwe and the UK's diplomatic relations could be a generative mechanism that triggers different events and experiences through news reporting practices influenced by reporters' inclinations to various political parties.

Critical realism includes a commitment to ontological realism and epistemic relativism. Ontological realism refers to the idea that reality exists independently of us; knowledge of truth is not reality but part of it. Ontological realism recognises that diplomatic news articles are produced by journalists and represent the actual world, and their purpose is to convey some information about what is being reported (Baert, 1995). These news articles are meant to convey meaning in light of how events are reported. Bhaskar (2008) explains that epistemic relativism means that people do not view the world from a vacuum for socially and historically situated people, and this situatedness still influences our perspectives. People only understand the world through socially produced knowledge, taking another form depending on the social-cultural situation (Maton & Moore, 2010). The news reporters have a fallible understanding of

the events they describe, informed by their background knowledge; influenced by their political inclinations (Siebörger, 2018). Zimbabwe's citizens build their understanding of the actual events based on what has been published or reported in news articles. Understanding these events is characterised by the news reporters' background knowledge blended with the readers' background knowledge. As a result, people's judgements are influenced by their knowledge and past experiences. These news articles describe the events taking place in the real world, and the reporting is based on the actual.

Critical realism helps uncover the positioning of diplomatic relations and the beliefs used by news reporters to underpin their representation of the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK in news coverage. I analysed the four news articles selected (Empirical data) from *The Herald* and *The Standard* newspapers. The activities and events readers observe in the four news articles concerning diplomatic relations between the two countries constitute the Empirical data analysed in my study. The Actual events that these data reports represent a small portion of events occurring between the two countries, such as the violation of human rights, economic and political reforms and normalisation of diplomatic relations. However, these Actual events may or may not be experienced or encountered by every citizen. Real mechanisms may or may not be actualised in particular contexts and may be seen to influence actors and events differently. Critical realism helps investigate the underlying mechanisms determining what actors do or think about Zimbabwe and the UK's diplomatic relations. Critical realism helps investigate what is being reported. It helps to assess the potential of various mechanisms, such as experiences and events, to persuade journalists to build and believe their reality.

### **3.3 Legitimation Code Theory: Semantics**

Legitimation Code Theory (LCT) is a sociological analytical framework designed to research and analyse knowledge practices (Maton, 2014). Primarily, it draws on philosophical traditions like critical realism (Bhaskar) and integrates and expands on ideas from the sociological frameworks of Basil Bernstein and Pierre Bourdieu. The way that LCT incorporates these sources and influences is thoroughly discussed by Maton (2014). This study draws on Maton's (2014) explanation of LCT. LCT consists of four active dimensions; Density, the fifth dimension, is not yet used. The Semantics dimension informs this research endeavour. The study adopts the LCT framework to analyse constellations formed in newspaper articles describing diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and Britain. This study describes the constellations that are built in these news articles.

LCT provides an appropriate theoretical framework for theorising knowledge about diplomatic relations because it can assess the organising principles that allow for knowledge building. LCT helps to analyse and understand the knowledge constructed in news articles from Zimbabwe and the UK's positioning concerning their diplomatic relations. The dimension of Semantics is made up of semantic gravity and semantic density.

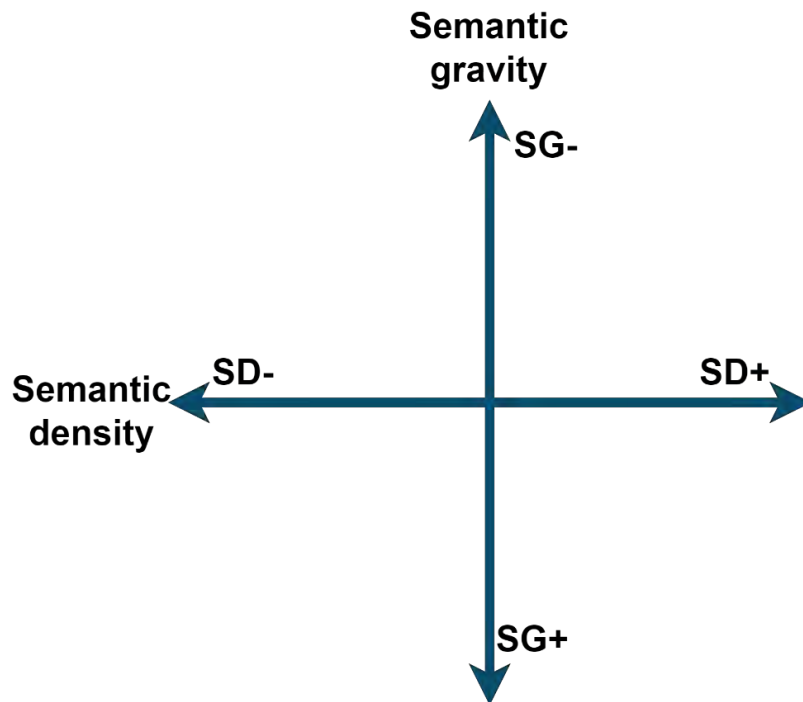


Figure 3.2: The semantic plane (Maton 2014:131)

Martin and Maton say, “The dimension of Semantics construes social fields of practice as semantic structures whose organising principles are conceptualised as semantic codes comprising semantic gravity and density” (2017:34). Semantic gravity symbolises the dependency of knowledge on its context. The more the meaning relates to its context, or in other words, the more concrete and specific meanings are, the stronger the semantic gravity is; the less context-dependent meanings are, the weaker the semantic gravity is (Maton, 2014; Martin & Maton, 2017). Semantic gravity is weakened when there is a move from more concrete practices to abstractions or generalisations. Strengthening semantic gravity is characterised by moving from abstract or generalisations to concrete ideas (Maton, 2014; 2013). In other words, semantic gravity describes the movement between abstract knowledge and concrete detail.

Semantic density describes the degree of condensation of meaning viewed as a continuum of strengths (Maton, 2014). Strengthening semantic density deals with the condensation of meanings into a concept, thereby making it dense with intertwined meanings, whereas weakening semantic density involves unpacking possible meanings of a concept and trying to present it in simple terms (Maton, 2014; Martin & Maton, 2017). The following illustration is an example of stronger and weaker Semantic gravity. Semantic gravity (SG+) is strengthened when meaning in context is specific, e.g. the fast-track land reform involved taking land in the hands of the whites and giving it back to blacks in Zimbabwe to address imbalances introduced during the colonial period. Weakening semantic gravity happens when there is an abstraction of meaning to a level where they are generalisable, e.g. distribution of resources such as land should be cognisant of historically disadvantaged groups of people. More meanings are condensed within practices if the semantic density is stronger and fewer meanings are condensed in a situation where the semantic density is weaker (Meidell Sigsgaard, 2012). Semantic density represents a continuum of complexity. For example, the use of the term “Fast-Track Land Reform Programme” is relatively strong in semantic density (SD+) because it stands for an entire programme in which many white-owned farms were redistributed to black people. Meanwhile, this phrase can be unpacked in the news by presenting images of white people deserting their farms and black people taking over. These images could be considered as having weaker semantic density (SD-) than the term “Fast-Track Land Reform Programme”. Martin and Maton (2017) write that moving from simple symbols to more complex concepts strengthens semantic density.

### **3.4 Constellations and cosmologies**

Constellations are viewed as symbolic social organisations that seem to be consistent from a specific point of space and time to actors with a particular cosmology or way of seeing the social world (Maton, 2014). A method of understanding relationships between ideas is provided by constellation analysis, which is a component of cosmological analysis from Legitimation Code Theory (Maton & Doran, 2020:51). Constellations describe structures of meaning (Maton, 2014). Different cosmologies or worldviews can also cause constellations to vary (Maton & Doran, 2020). Doran highlights that additional meanings in that constellation will likely be elicited by picking, valorising or emphasising any particular word or concept associated with a constellation (Doran, 2020). In other words, depending on how tight the constellation is, if you indicate that you hold one set of values, it will often be assumed that

you also hold a range of others (Maton, 2014). Constellations result from the interaction between clusters of practices, beliefs, ideas and attributes, or, for brevity, “stances” (Maton, 2014:152). Stances are clustered into groups shaped into constellations, groupings of stances. For example, the UK is associated with power and dominance and Zimbabwe is associated with poverty, dependence on aid and injustices in the article “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador” (see Table 3.1). Constellations are explained through signifiers known as central signifiers and associated signifiers (Maton, 2014).

Table 3.1: Characteristics associated with the UK and Zimbabwe

<b>The UK</b>	<b>Zimbabwe</b>
Power	Poverty
Dominance	Dependence on aid
Imperialism	Injustice

A central signifier is a term used to describe a label or theme that can typically describe all of the meanings in the constellation (Siebörger, 2018). Associated signifiers provide more examples that are related to central signifiers. For instance, the central signifier, “Zimbabwe”, is characterised by associated signifiers such as poverty, injustices and depending on aid (Table 3.1). The associated signifiers form a negatively charged constellation of Zimbabwe. The negatively charged constellation depicts an image of a brutal non-democratic government of Zimbabwe, and the positively charged constellation portrays the UK as powerful and upright. These clustering and constellating processes involve internal relations between ideas and stances in a constellation. Clusters are small groups of concepts that form parts of constellations that is a constellation may be made up of several clusters. Internal relations involve clustering ideas, practices, beliefs, and attributes through their association and contrasting with each other (Maton, 2014). Bourdieu (1991) explains that this organisation of constellations shapes “the space of possible”, that is, the range and combination of stances viewed by actors as possible within a field (Maton, 2014:152).

Maton states, “External relations imbue constellations with meaning from beyond stances” (Maton, 2014:152). Another definition of semantic density is the strength of relations between ideas. Constellations link ideas with each other, therefore strengthening the semantic density of those ideas (Siebörger, 2018:128). Constellations might condense more or fewer epistemological/condensed meanings that can be positively, negatively, or neutrally charged, such as the positively charged UK constellation and the negatively charged Zimbabwe constellation. (Maton, 2014). For example, the constellation associated with the UK

ambassador positively charges the reform agenda, re-engagement drive and the rule of law (see Table 3.2). In contrast, the implementation process, human rights abuses and electoral processes are negatively charged in the Zimbabwe constellation (see Table 3.2).

The relationships between a knowledge claim and the part of the world it describes are represented by epistemic relations. The term “social relations” refers to the relationships that exist between a knowledge claim and actors in the field of practice (Maton, 2014). Social relations in LCT involve feelings, moral principles, and identification with social groups (Maton, 2014). Epistemic relations to knowledge (ER) and social relations to knowledge (SR) are conceptualised as strength continuums ranging from stronger (+) to weaker (-). Given the platforms on which the information is shared, this might lead to diplomatic discourse weakening epistemic relations and enhancing social relations (Siebörger, 2018). How language is used in news reports may be a means by which diplomatic discourse exerts power over people and nations. For example, the central signifier, the reform agenda, is positively charged in the UK constellation, which shows Zimbabwe’s commitment to implementing reform policies. As a result, Britain positively charges the central signifier “reform agenda” (see Table 3.2).

The reform agenda is seen as a rescue package for Zimbabwe to come out of the economic and political challenges; thus, it is perceived as the central signifier. Anyone associated with the “reform agenda” is positively charged by Britain. The connections between Zimbabwe and the UK, including the reform agenda and moral assessments, are of interest to me. Constellations are an organisation of knowledge claims; for example, statements about bad and good governance can be contrasted in terms of theories, ideas and practices concerning various groups or communities. Constellations combine ideas, practices and attributes to contrast them with other groups (Maton, 2014). The table shows positive and negative constellations produced in the news article “*No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador*” from *The Herald*.

Table 3.2: Positively and negatively charged constellation associated with “Zimbabwe” in “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”

<b>Positively charged (reform agenda)</b>	<b>Negatively charged (non-implementation of policy reforms)</b>
The rule of law	Implementation process
Policy reforms	Human rights violations
Re-engagement	Violent activities

Table 3.2 indicates positively and negatively charged ideas associated with “Zimbabwe”. These ideas frequently cluster around one main idea or concept known as a central signifier (Siebörger & Adendorff, 2022). The central signifier is the reform agenda, and the associated signifiers

are economic and political reforms, re-engagement and the rule of law. Table 3.2 shows the Zimbabwe constellation in “No bailout for Zimbabwe, says UK ambassador” as negatively charged and positively charged. Catriona Laing positively charges the policy reforms and re-engagement drive. She criticises the non-implementation process of policies informing the decisions taken by the government of Zimbabwe on humanitarian grounds. She proposes an alternative for rekindling the relations, referring to Zimbabwe’s political and economic situation and calling for change. Laing positively charges the economic reform agenda crafted by the Zimbabwean government and humanitarian programmes offered to Zimbabwe by the UK. Britain opposes the non-implementation of the economic and political reforms promised by Mnangagwa at his inauguration ceremony in 2017. The negatively charged constellation of the allegations levelled against Zimbabwe’s government range from violations of human rights and the rule of law inscribed in Zimbabwe’s Constitution.

Both constellations indicate how the diplomatic relations between the two countries are positioned in news articles. For example, Laing claims that the relations are normal and that there is no bailout for Zimbabwe even though the country has honoured some of its debts. The international community should show interest in supporting Zimbabwe, and this will be realised if Zimbabwe addresses the governance issues and economic and political reforms. However, Laing states, “The UK remains the biggest funder of Zimbabwean programmes in *health and education sectors*”. Laing highlights that Zimbabwe is associated with violating human rights in the negatively charged constellation, while in the positively charged constellation, she expresses that Zimbabwe and the UK have a *shared history*. The contrast between these two constellations indicates that the two countries share the same history and culture, signalling normal relations. Britain maintains its control over Zimbabwe by pinpointing the negative actions happening in Zimbabwe. In the negatively charged constellation, the government is associated with “human rights abuses”, resulting in the negative positioning of Zimbabwe in the news articles. The constellation is linked to the re-engagement drive initiated by Mnangagwa and existing knowledge and experiences. By establishing particular constellations and comprehending their content, we might be able to extend the “space of possible”, creating a better understanding of the diplomatic relations and policies guiding them (Bourdieu, 1991). This makes readers understand how they interpret and assess the possibilities of mending relations and finding a solution to the conflict between the two countries.

Constellations are helpful in examining the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in various ways in news articles. Constellation analysis offers ways to see the relations between ideas and practices and analyse their role in knowledge building (Maton & Doran, 2020). By analysing how charged meanings are aligned and disaligned, constellation analysis can build value perspectives on the diplomatic ties between the two nations. Also, Constellations are crucial in determining the degree to which news writers take a stand on Zimbabwe-UK ties, noting each country's shortcomings and strengths. Constellations show how the Zimbabwean president and the country's governing elite are connected to changes in policy by constellating different ideas together and charging them to give meaning. The constellations allow the reader to learn about the diplomatic ties between Zimbabwe and the UK. The use of constellation analysis reveals how value perspectives are created and given established meanings in discourse communities.

Cosmologies provide organising principles that underpin the ideas and practices found in constellations. "Cosmologies are constitutive features of social fields that underlie the way actors and practices are differentially characterised and valued" (Maton, 2014:152). In other words, "a cosmology is the logic of the belief system or vision of the world embodied by activities within the social field" (Maton, 2014:152). The worldview produces constellations and charges them with meaning (Glenn, 2015). In light of the above, Maton separates a cosmology from Gellner's concept of ideology which is defined as a "system of ideas with a powerful sex appeal applicable to all systems of ideas or practices, including scientific theories: each has more or less sex appeal" (Maton, 2014:152). Cosmologies are a significant resource in this study, considering that framing diplomatic relations is influenced by underlying cosmologies. The representation of diplomatic relations in the news gives readers access to axiological cosmologies "where stances are measured in their comparative capacity to place knowers in a good light" (Maton, 2014:154). As such, similarities and differences realised from the news articles are sources of knowledge building from the underlying cosmologies. For example, the UK constellations' cosmology depicts that Britain upholds *power* and *dominance* over Zimbabwe (see Table 3.1). Equally the same, the UK is questioning the principles of democracy practised in Zimbabwe through *human rights injustices and violations* (see section 3.3). Constellation analysis offers a way of analysing how a set of ideas is structured and comparing the news articles to clarify the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK (Maton & Doran, 2020). The cosmology supports Britain's position and role as the custodian of the law and its former colonies' watchdog (see Table 3.1).

Cosmologies are a crucial analytical tool in my research because they reveal the practices and beliefs connected to Zimbabwe and the UK. By contrasting and comparing the selected news articles, cosmologies serve as sources for knowledge building concerning diplomatic relations between the two countries. The contents of constellations reflect cosmology (Glenn, 2015). Examining the organising principles used to position Zimbabwe and the UK in news items makes it possible to determine the nature of cosmologies behind diplomatic relations (Glenn, 2015).

### **3.5 Systemic Functional Linguistics**

SFL is connected to the work of Halliday (1994), and it is an approach to grammar and language that is engaged in understanding and evaluating the impact of different language choices in the construction of further communications. SFL views language as a semiotic system (Halliday, 1994). SFL analyses the language used in texts in the real world: newspaper articles and political speeches. SFL helps investigate how elements of language shape political beliefs and identities resulting from how language is used in different contexts or situations. By so doing, SFL describes how news reporters use language as a tool to express themselves in different ways. This study investigates how language is used as a resource in *The Herald* and *The Standard* news articles to frame relations between Zimbabwe and the UK since language is used to describe actions and circumstances in which the actions are taking place.

#### **3.5.1 Stratification of language**

As indicated in the introduction of this chapter, this study enacts the Appraisal framework developed from SFL to examine the use of evaluative language in reporting diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK in news articles. The purpose is to investigate the language elements used to achieve positioning and representation of diplomatic relations in events coverage.

SFL is a meaning-based linguistic framework that regards language as a resource for meaning-making (Matthiessen and Halliday, 1997). It focuses on how language functions to convey the meaning speakers or writers want to convey. SFL is concerned with the social context, and it is interested in how language influences this social context (Martin, 2010).

SFL takes a stratified approach to language since it emphasises language's function instead of the language's structure (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004). Language is perceived as having two

meaning-making strata; thus, “lexicogrammar responsible with semogenic potential for clauses and semantics, focused on the semogenic potential of texts” (Martin, 2016:37). The Ideational metafunction, Interpersonal metafunction, and Textual metafunction are present in all strata (Martin, 2010). Figure 3.6 represents the different strata of language in which text is analysed. First, phonology/graphology is concerned with sound, writing, and wording systems (Martin & White, 2005). Discourse semantics is concerned with meaning-making in the discourse of entire texts, whereas lexicogrammar is concerned with meaning-making through the clause. Clauses are divided into groups in lexicogrammar. These expressions are further divided into words, which may then be divided into morphemes. For example, “the old woman” is a nominal group, “blue” is a word and the prefix “pre-” in “premature” is a morpheme. In other words, discourse semantics is concerned with the meaning beyond the clause. Discourse semantics is the ways in which units of text larger than the clause contribute to meanings. The kind of relationship represented in abstraction is referred to as realisation (Martin, 2010). For example, the phonemes /h/, /i/ and /t/ realise the word “hit” at the lexicogrammar level. This word, in turn, may realise part of a negative Judgement of Propriety at the discourse semantics level in the accusation, “He hit me!” This, in turn, realises societal conventions in the context which dictate that it is wrong to hit someone else intentionally.

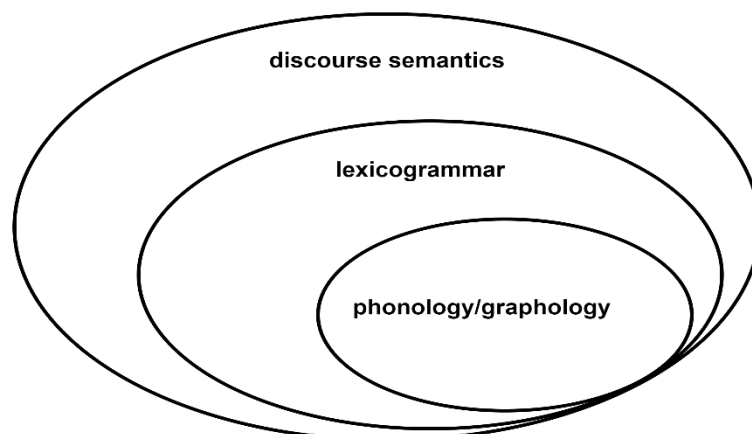


Figure 3.3: Strata of language (adapted from Martin and White, 2005:9)

The element of realisation refers to the process of making manifest options at every level or stratum (Halliday, 1994). The cline of realisation connects the strata of language. The three strata represent “different degrees of abstraction and are related in terms of realisation. Discourse semantics is more abstract than lexicogrammar; lexicogrammar is more abstract than phonology/graphology” (Zhang, 2020:30). The lexicogrammar and discourse semantics belong in the content plane, whereas graphology/phonology are part of the expression plane (Halliday,

1978). Martin explains, “The metafunctions provide an additional perspective on meanings that are organised realisationally as layers of abstraction. Each stratum of realisation is explored from the three perspectives of the three types of meaning and their effect on paradigmatic clustering (and the kinds of structure manifesting meaning of different kinds)” (2010:10). Discourse semantics is more abstract than lexicogrammar. It is concerned with units larger than the clause.

The language stratum is important in this study because it establishes the meanings of words used in news articles. The discourse semantics strata aid in demonstrating how units of text more significant than the clause contribute to interpretations relating to Zimbabwe and the UK’s positioning. It demonstrates the resources responsible for the construction of dialogue and interaction in the positioning of the two countries in the discourse semantic system of Engagement (Martin & White, 2005). These resources are associated with the enactment of the positioning of the two countries concerning their diplomatic relations.

### 3.5.2 The Ideational, Interpersonal and Textual Metafunctions

Language is characterised by three metafunctions that play different roles in news reporting. The Ideational metafunction relates to Field, as shown in Figure 3.3. The Ideational metafunction is concerned with the ideas presented in the language. It consists of the Experiential metafunction, which deals with the experiences expressed in language and the Logical metafunction (Martin, 2017; 2010). The Logical metafunction is concerned, among other things, with the logical meanings produced between clauses. The Logical metafunction also works at the level of the group. In the Experiential metafunction, clauses are analysed as containing Processes, Participants and Circumstances (Martin, 2017; 2010).

The Textual metafunction describes language’s use to structure a text or indicate structural relationships with other texts. The Textual metafunction relates to Mode, as shown in Table 3.3. It is concerned with how language is used to organise texts concerning Theme and Rheme. Theme and Rheme express the organisation of messages, the relationship between the clause, and the context of the situation in which events occur.

The Interpersonal metafunction concerns meanings realised in speakers’ and listeners’ interactions. The Interpersonal metafunction is related to Tenor, as indicated in Table 3.3. The Interpersonal metaphor is “a resource for enacting a wider range of social roles and relationships in relation to tenor, allowing interactants to calibrate their interpersonal relations

with respect to power (status) and contact (familiarity)” (Matthiessen et al., 2010:111). The meanings are expressed through attitudes, judgements, and feelings articulated in interactive acts with other people. The Interpersonal metafunction is responsible for setting up and maintaining social relations. It realises that a text’s Tenor or interactivity is made up of the speaker/writer’s persona, social distance and social status (Martin & White, 2005). In simple terms, the Interpersonal metafunction creates and maintains social relations and portrays participants’ functions in the communication process. The Interpersonal metafunction acknowledges that language is responsible for positioning identities or relations within the communicative message (Martin & White, 2005).

The Interpersonal metafunction involves mood and modality. Mood systems express interactional meanings, such as actions denoted by the clause through the interaction between the speaker and the listener. The Interpersonal metafunction is realised in the Mood system and viewed as goods and services because of exchanging meaning. Different roles and social relations peculiar to a community are enacted through these exchanges (Matthiessen, Teruya & Lam, 2010:9). The Mood system provides adequate information for comprehending language’s function in news articles and how the positioning is realised (Eggins, 2004). Modality consists of modalisation and modulation, focusing on the speaker’s opinion and judgment of the clause’s content and speech function. Hence, modalisation is concerned with probability and usuality, and modulation includes obligation and inclination (Martin, 2016). The Appraisal framework is a discourse semantic system grounded in the Interpersonal metafunction of language, and it is discussed in section 3.5 in detail.

Table 3.3: Metafunctions and meanings (redrawn from Humphrey, 2017:7)

<b>Dimension of context</b>	<b>Metafunctions of language</b>	<b>Meaning related to</b>
Field (topic or subject matter)	Ideational (Experiential and Logical)	Representing experience Reasoning, linking ideas through logical relations
Tenor (writer/audience roles)	Interpersonal	Interacting with audiences
Mode (channel of communication)	Textual	Organising coherent texts

Table 3.3 shows how the metafunctions relate to different dimensions of context and meanings, as explained above.

### **3.6 Appraisal**

The Appraisal framework was developed from the work in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) by Martin and White (2005), and it focuses on the evaluation of texts. As part of SFL, it

is concerned with the systematisation of interpersonal meaning in the text. The Appraisal framework has a solid theoretical base in SFL, which allows refinements for different situational contexts. The Appraisal framework investigates the ways in which text producers express evaluations and take stances in the language they use. In light of the above, Appraisal focuses on assessing and negotiating various attitudes in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the sourcing of values and reader alignment (Martin & Rose, 2003). The framework provides tools to examine how language is used to position and represent the diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK in news writing.

As a framework known for its ability to construe interpersonal meanings, Appraisal has been enacted in analysing media discourses. The Appraisal framework makes it possible to investigate the language used in news articles to indicate Zimbabwe and the UK’s social relations and identities.

Appraisal comprises three subsystems. Appraisal accounts for language resources that express emotions and attitudes (Attitude), the resources for assessing voices within and across texts (Engagement), and the amplification of both Attitude and the degree of Engagement (Graduation) (Martin & White, 2005). My explanation of the Appraisal subsystems draws extensively on Martin and White (2005) and also draws on their explanation of Appraisal in my analysis.

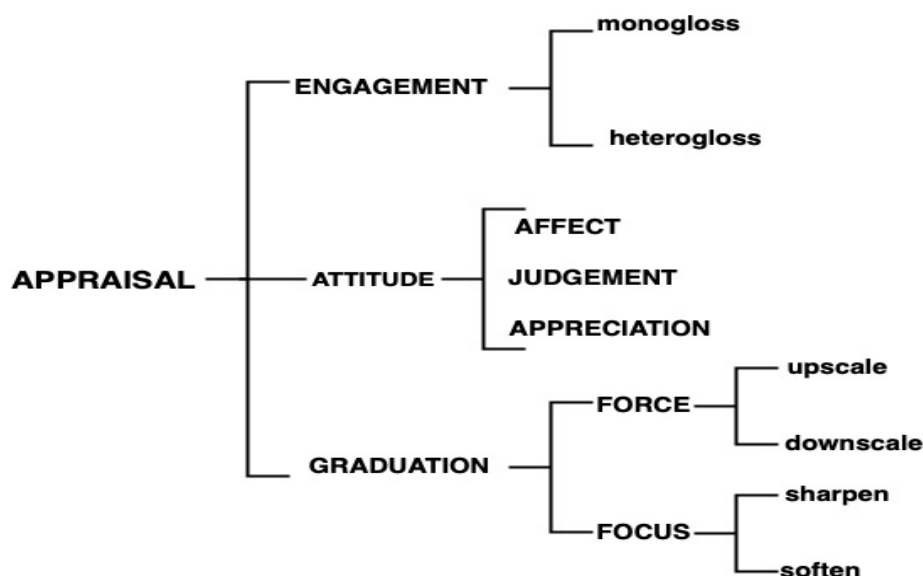


Figure 3.4: The Appraisal framework (adapted from Martin & White, 2005:38)

### 3.6.1 Attitude

Attitude is concerned with feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluations of things (Martin & White, 2005:35). It is realised in lexicogrammatical classes such as adjectives, adverbs and nouns or in longer expressions several words long (2005:42). Attitude involves gradable meanings which have the potential to be intensified and can be either positive or negative. This attitudinal classification aims to show how language expressions of evaluative meanings toward individuals, objects, or feelings occur inside a given discourse. My study focuses on news articles, and these emotions and judgements can be interpreted as belonging to the reporter, diplomat or politician quoted in the article. There are three kinds of Attitude: Affect (expressions of emotion or feelings), Judgement (evaluating people's behaviour), and Appreciation (enactment of evaluation of phenomena).

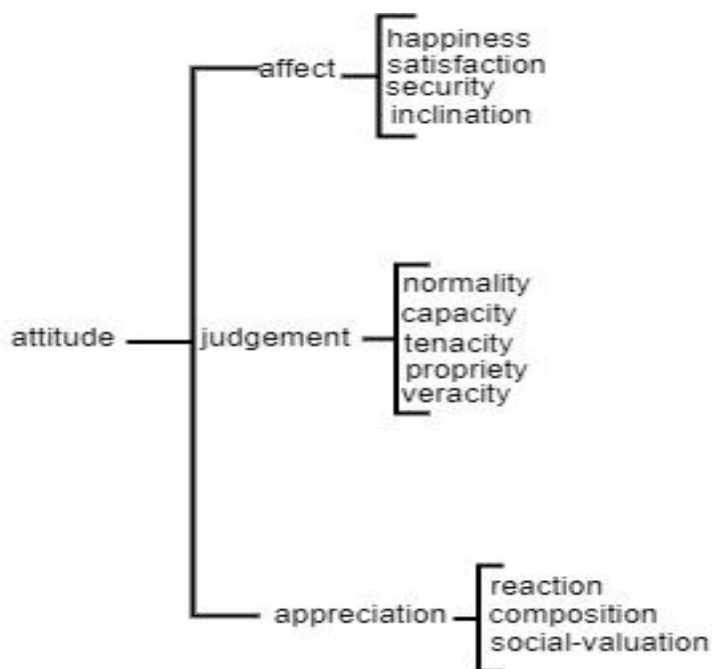


Figure 3.5: The Attitude system (adapted from Martin & White, 2005:38)

Affect is concerned with emotions and feelings as a reaction, and it is realised through sub-branches where emotions are grouped into Un/Happiness – focuses on personal matters (e.g., sadness, hate, happiness or love); Dis/Satisfaction: concerned with achieving objectives (e.g., displeasing, inquiring, or showing respect); In/Security – concerned with eco-social well-being (e.g., *anxiety*, *fear*, *confidence* or *trust*); and Dis/Inclination – an emotional response that is focused on the external party (e.g., “tremble”, “wary”, or “miss”) (Martin & White, 2005:49-51).

Happiness refers to feelings that result from emotions: “We are *very pleased* to hear that plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe this year” (positive Happiness). “The remark torched a storm, and the government of Zimbabwe was clearly *unhappy*” (negative Happiness). The adjective unhappy depicts the nature and behaviour of the speaker toward the relations between the two countries. Another example of negative Happiness is, “We *condemn* all violence, and we are keen to see all perpetrators of any violent activities are pursued with the full force of the law”.

In contrast, Satisfaction is concerned with feelings connected to the attainment of goals or frustration about the lack of attainment of goals. The examples are all derived from the news articles I have used as data, for example: “The UK Government very much *welcomes* the statements that have been made about the land reform by the Government of Zimbabwe” (positive Satisfaction). “We are *concerned* at the recent deterioration in the human rights situation and have expressed these concerns to the government” (negative Satisfaction).

Security is concerned with feelings that have to do with peace and anxiety. For example, “I am *very keen to encourage* Zimbabwean visitors to the UK, either to study – we have some of the best universities in the world – or for tourism” (positive Security). Laing expresses an element of security concerning studying and visiting the UK. She is confident that Zimbabweans can safely pursue their careers in the UK. The following example, “We are also *worried* about the lack of progress on the living up to the foundation of the rule of law as enshrined in the constitution” (negative Security), shows a lack of trust in the observance of the rule of law in Zimbabwe and the direction it is taking.

Inclination refers to positive or negative feelings towards an event which has not yet happened to the text sender. For example, “Obviously, we share with the Government of Zimbabwe *our desire* for there to be a situation where there is no violence at all on the ground” (positive Inclination). As illustrated in this example, expressions of fear of something that has not yet happened to the text sender can be coded as negative Inclination. “Actually, I prefer to think in terms of encouraging and providing positive incentives *rather than imposing sanctions*”. Laing is weighing incentives versus sanctions and indicates a sense of fear regarding introducing sanctions against Zimbabwe.

Judgement is concerned with human behaviour and how it relates to social norms. Judgement constitutes the semantic resource for construing behaviour evaluation in the context of institutional norms concerning how people should behave. Judgement is divided into Social

Sanction and Social Esteem. Social Sanction refers to behaviour that members of society view as morally right or wrong. Social Esteem refers to behaviour that may affect how much respect members of society may have for the target of the judgment (Martin & White, 2005). Social Sanction consists of Veracity and Propriety, and Social Esteem includes Normality, Capacity and Tenacity.

Normality relates to how particular an individual behaves and how special or unusual the behaviour is. For example, “While an investigation has been taking place, it does not appear to have been an urgent priority for the government, and *some of the government public statements have not been sympathetic to the family*”. The government’s behaviour is undesirable, and it shows no remorse about the disappearance of Itai Dzamara (negative Normality). The government shows unusual behaviour towards Dzamara’s family.

Capacity includes formulations linked to how capable the person is. “The Conservative government in the UK made a commitment to ‘*stand up for the rule of law and human rights in Zimbabwe*’, and this guides all our work here” (positive Capacity). Britain shows an element of seriousness towards upholding human rights and democracy in Zimbabwe. The following indicates that the government failed to provide information concerning the disappearance of human rights activist Itai Dzamara. “We have raised the case frequently, working closely with our colleagues from the EU. *The government response, both public and private, has been disappointing*” (negative Capacity). The government proved incompetent and reluctant to find the whereabouts of Dzamara.

Tenacity is concerned with the speaker’s level of commitment and dependability. For example, “But *even when things are tough, we continue* to dialogue and keep the pathway for normal relations” (positive Tenacity). Also, “We have *registered a complaint* with the Information Minister and the Foreign Ministry” (positive Tenacity). They are being judged with positive Tenacity for registering a complaint.

Veracity refers to how truthful and honest a person is. For example, (positive Veracity). “*You are right*, there is no bailout for Zimbabwe, and there will be no bailout for Zimbabwe” (positive Veracity). “I said to him that where we *disagree*, we should discuss our differences in a *mutually respectful way*” (positive Veracity). Laing is being truthful to Mnangagwa regarding their differences and how to solve them. As the UK, we have *made clear* our agreement will be dependent on progress on governance, the rule of law and human rights as

well as a track record on economic reform” (negative Veracity). Britain is being honest with its position regarding progress in governance.

Propriety describes whether the behaviour portrayed by a person is moral or immoral. For example, “we are grateful for the engagement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here in *trying to resolve and make straightforward* the future arrangements we have with Zimbabwe” (positive Propriety).

Martin and White (2005:56) describe Appreciation as a resource responsible for meanings construing our evaluations. Appreciation can evaluate the writer’s thoughts about the two countries regarding their overall reaction and bilateral ties. Appreciation is split into Reaction, Composition and Valuation.

Reaction is concerned with the impact of phenomena and their potential to capture attention. Assessing the immediate impact of positioning in terms of relations in news articles is significant in this research. For example, “I had a *good meeting*” (positive Reaction). “*We are pleased* to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year” (positive Reaction). “I am also accused by some in the opposition of backing the government! If I am honest, it is *frustrating*” (negative Reaction). The writer captures attention by using *frustrating* and *accused* and bringing out the impact of the opposition’s allegations in Zimbabwe. In both examples, Reaction is invoked and underlies inscribed instantiations of Affect. “Pleased” is positive Satisfaction, and “Frustrating” is negative Satisfaction.

Composition is a resource concerned with how well something hangs together or whether the parts of it fit well into a pleasing whole. For example, “You have spoken about setting out a path to normal relations between Zimbabwe and the international community and do all we can to encourage Zim to follow that path. May you elaborate on issues making present relations ‘*not normal*?’” signifies negative Composition. An analysis of Composition helps understand how the journalists perceive bilateral relations between Zimbabwe and the UK and assess their impact and complexity.

Valuation is concerned with the significance of the object or phenomenon and its value. For example, “While the investigation has been taking place, it *does not appear to have been an urgent priority* for the government, and some of the government public statements *have not been sympathetic* to the family”. Both of these are instances of negative Valuation. Valuation

is instantiated in the above examples to express the importance of the action to address the situation and its worthiness.

Affect is the core subsystem of Attitude, and Appreciation and Judgement are institutionalised Affect. Martin and White explain that one way to think about “Judgement and Appreciation is to see them as institutionalised feelings, which take us out of our everyday common-sense world into the uncommon sense worlds of shared community values” (2005:45). Decisions on what is coded under each subsystem were derived from what is being appraised in the text. Affect was used where feelings were expressed. If a behaviour is being evaluated, Judgement is enacted. Martin and White claim that Judgement reworks feelings in the realm of proposals about behaviour –how we should or should not behave and that some of these proposals become formalised as rules and regulations enforced by church and state (2005:45). Appreciation was used when things were being evaluated. The process of “appreciation reworks emotions into assertions about the value of things –what they are worth or not; some of these valuations get formalised in reward systems (prices, grades, grants, prizes, etc.)” (2005:45).

Inscribed Attitude refers to explicit expressions of evaluation, whereas invoked Attitude refers to indirect expressions of evaluation. The inscribed Attitude is understood as meanings that are not difficult to read, which are easy to be seen, whereas invoked meanings require interpretation of what was said. Martin and White explain, “There will always be people around who respond to a text in other ways; and where its appraisal is more evoked than inscribed, we might even argue that a range of readings is being facilitated, if not encouraged” (2005:230). This can be illustrated using the example, “*The remark torched a storm, and the government of Zimbabwe was clearly unhappy*”. “*Torched a storm*” is understood as a lexical metaphor that depicts a negative Judgement in Propriety against the UK’s resistance towards Zimbabwe’s programme of land reform without compensation. The negative implications (*torched a storm*) might provoke negative Security (Affect) on the Zimbabwean government depending on how they interpret and judge the UK to deny Zimbabweans freedom as a sovereign entity. The word “storm” is an example of negative Security, assuming that what a storm has in common with the situation mentioned here is that it threatens people’s peace and security in Zimbabwe. From the above example, different readers from different reading positions will identify different invoked meanings in a text. Compliant readings accommodate the reading position naturalised by the text. Readers typically interpret invoked meanings following the author’s intentions, but if they read resistantly or tactfully, they might not recognise all invoked meanings or might read other meanings (Siebörger, 2018). Compliant readers would not be happy with Britain and

sympathise with Zimbabwe's misfortunes. Resistant readings, on the other hand, may work against the grain of this naturalisation process and interpret *torched a storm* differently (Martin & White, 2005:231).

Doran expands on this concept by demonstrating how to establish afforded Attitude using axiological constellations in a text (2020). Siebörger explains that if readers have constellations similar to the author's, they will interpret invoked meanings the same way the author intends. However, if readers have constellations that differ from the author's, they interpret invoked meanings differently (2018:151). As a result, it is crucial in my analysis to consider how Attitude instantiation is expressed so that readers can see how they interact with the formation of constellations in the news articles.

The Interpersonal metafunction considers language as a tool of interaction responsible for showing attitudes and obligations. The system of Appraisal is an essential tool that can reveal how interpersonal meanings are realised through the Appraisal system. The Appraisal resources are enacted as a strategy to offer explanatory potential. It is crucial to investigate how news writers enact interpersonal meanings in news coverage, focusing on identifying both implicit and explicit meanings to describe what interpersonal work the text is doing to affiliate or individuate away from different kinds of readers.

### 3.6.2 Engagement

The Engagement system describes how text senders assess different proposals, source those assessments, and recognise other voices and resources for stancetaking and intersubjective positioning (Martin & White, 2005). The Engagement system draws on Bakhtin's 1981 concepts of dialogism and heteroglossia to inform Engagement, and the social and cultural history of all relevant utterances is brought to the text by an utterance. Therefore, Bakhtin argues that all linguistic utterances link a complex organised chain of utterances (1981). The dialogical approach of Bakhtin (1981) assumes that an utterance should not be viewed in isolation or judged solely on the basis of its speaker. It should be regarded as a link to other related utterances instead. According to Bakhtin (1981:428), interpersonal meaning is "social" and "dialogic" in nature, and every utterance reflects both the speaker's uniqueness and their opinion of other voices within a given discourse. Martin and White share the same understanding and acknowledge that the Appraisal framework shows the speaker's engagement level with all possible readers or listeners (2005). The manner in which this positioning or stance is considered when expressing an opinion is directly related to Engagement. It "deals

with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse” (Martin & White, 2005:35). But adding some “heteroglossic” categories, like denying and pronouncing utterances on which Engagement analysis can be done, represent the dialogic potential.

Expanding allows room for alternative voices or opinions about the topic being discussed, while contracting decreases that room. Within the Engagement component, some evaluations have been dialogically expanded in addition to those that have been dialogically contracted. The expansion category “actively creates space for alternative viewpoints and voices” (Martin & White, 2005:102).

To achieve this, Martin and White contend that the news reporter can allow dialogic expansion through positions or voices. Dialogic contraction resources challenge or limit alternative voices by constructing a dialogic space to ‘close down’ dialogue and suppress alternative stances (Martin & White, 2005:117). Alternative voices are limited in the dialogic contraction category, and diplomats’ evaluations are seen as the only alternative to know or believe through denials, counter-concur, and endorse expressions. The news reporters can also allow dialogic contraction regarding spaces of possible voices and positions. This minimises the space within which an alternative viewpoint could be placed. Employing epistemic and evidential modals, rhetorical questions, deontic modal structures, and quoted statements open up dialogic space for other voices in the dialogic expansion category, and readers are engaged in the evaluation process. News writers use Engagement resources to acknowledge previous voices and expect possible responses. In the following description of Engagement, I draw examples from the article “Zim, the UK on the cusp of breakthrough”. The difference between dialogically expanding and contract evaluations is best described as the difference acknowledged by stating and offering an opinion (Martin & White, 2005), as illustrated in Figure 3.6.

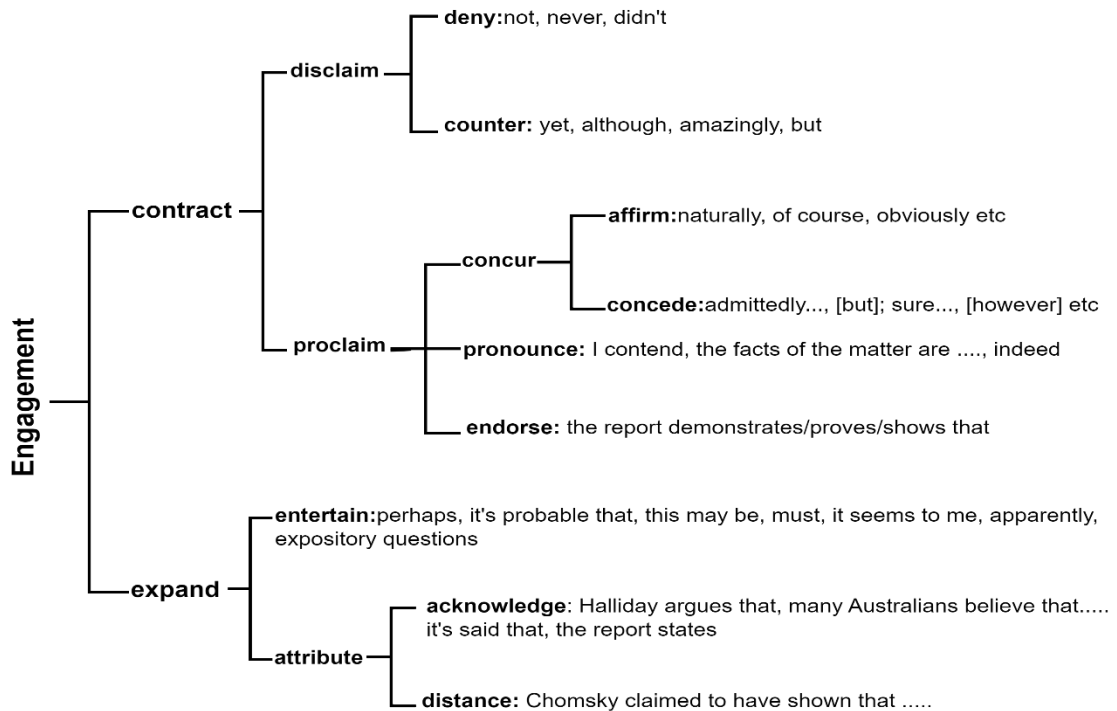


Figure 3.6: Systems of Engagement (adapted from Martin & White, 2005:134)

The distinction between monoglossic and heteroglossic Engagement is that the former rejects the dialogic aspect of an utterance while the latter accepts it. Martin and White (2005) divide Expand into Entertain and Attribute when an utterance is dialogically expansive. Entertain presents a particular scenario or idea as a possibility. By doing so, this category creates a dialogic room for additional options or diverse viewpoints. For example, “*I think* with the outline of the economic and political reforms that the President has set out, this will send a strong signal to investors around the world, said Minister Baldwin “. In other words, using “*I think*” enables other voices to contribute specific information about how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned in news stories and evaluate the relationship.

Attribute deals with formulations, where the authorial voice disassociates itself from the evaluation and projects it onto an external source. The presence of an outside voice that assumes control of a proposition’s evaluative meaning is necessary for attribution (Martin & White, 2005:111). Attribute is divided into Acknowledge and Distance. In Acknowledge, the text sender reports that a particular person is the source of the idea without expressing an opinion on that idea. The following illustration is an example of Acknowledge, “I had a good meeting with the President, and I have been able to say to him how much the UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year”, *she*

*said*, and also “*I think* there is more that can be done by government and the private sector to promote Zimbabwe as a tourist destination”.

Distance indicates how the authorial voice distances itself from the speaker to whom they attribute the evaluation. For instance, “To then have a newspaper *claim* that we had never contacted the government and that the individuals were spies was an outrage”. The following example also demonstrates Distance, “For the record, the story carried by the Sunday Mail on September 18, *claiming* that two British transport officials were spies, was fabricated”. As the Sunday Mail newspaper reported, Laing is distancing herself from asserting that the UK sent spies to Zimbabwe.

Meanings can result from utterances that contract the dialogic space, such as Proclaim and Disclaim. Proclaim is responsible for formulations performing the act of limiting the scope of dialogic alternatives in the ongoing dialogue instead of those directly rejecting the position. Proclaim is split into Pronounce and Endorse. Pronounce is concerned with situations where the authorial voice explicitly interjects itself into the utterance. For example, “*As the UK, we have* made clear our agreement will be dependent on the progress on governance”. Endorse refers to propositions from external sources accepted as valid and correct by the authorial voice. “As you *know*, the UK has made the decision to leave the European Union and take back control of our *own* international trade policies”.

Concur refers to the evaluation that the listeners or readers have already agreed upon, accepted, or taken for granted inside an utterance. The following illustration indicates Concur Affirm, “*Obviously*, we share with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there is no violence at all on the ground. It indicates approval towards ending violent activities happening in Zimbabwe. Also, “*Of course*, this is inaccurate, and it won’t stop us doing our job – which is to seek the widest possible range of views” indicates approval of going ahead with its business in Zimbabwe despite the challenges on the ground.

Disclaim accounts for utterances responsible for invoking an alternate position to reject it explicitly. Disclaim is divided into subcategories of Deny and Counter. Deny presupposes that an alternative voice makes a particular statement and then states that this statement is incorrect. For example, “There are *no* UK and EU sanctions in place on the wider economy, and the “sanctions narrative is a red herring”. Counter is concerned with utterances representing the current position as substituting the expected one. For example, “We are also worried about the lack of progress on living up to the foundation of the rule of law as enshrined in the constitution.

*But even* when things are tough, we continue to dialogue and keep the pathway for normal relations”. These are regarded as language elements to show the speaker’s attachment level to the proposition and negotiate interpersonal relationships between themselves and other interlocutors. In other words, Laing rhetorically employs negative terms to a significant extent while accepting full responsibility for their claims and displaying a strong commitment to what they are talking about.

Heteroglossic resources of Engagement measure how speakers weaken or strengthen the voices of others. Engagement focuses on the ways writers/speakers align themselves with certain positions/stances and how they disalign themselves with stances they disapprove of. If the news reporters align/disalign with certain stances or ideas concerning the bilateral ties between the two countries, this might create constellations that can weaken/strengthen their evaluations. Engagement also allows us to see how sources cited in news articles align or disalign with the positions of others mentioned in the articles.

### 3.6.3 Graduation

Graduation concerns the resources for scaling or grading on which intensity can be marked, offering speakers further opportunities to strengthen or weaken their utterances. Graduation offers two axes responsible for scaling Engagement and Attitude. The resources offered under the categories of Attitude and Engagement can all be graded up and down. Graduation concentrates on materials that significantly alter the force and Focus of an evaluation in a text (see Figure 3.7).

Depending on how powerful or weak they are, evaluative expressions in the Graduation category can be examined at various levels. The force and focus subsystems have two options: up-scale and down-scale, which prevent the overlap between the strong and weak and the sharp and soft. There are two types of force systems: quantification and intensification. Quantifications deal with the amount related to entities, whereas intensification concerns scaling qualities and processes. Force is a type of Graduation resource that intensifications, comparatives and superlatives can represent. Force pays attention to how gradable experiential attitudinal meanings are. It includes resources that intensify and quantify to upscale and downscale qualities and processes. For example, commenting on sanctions and Zimbabwe’s possible return to the Commonwealth, Minister Baldwin said, “These are all important issues, and we are *certainly* (Force: Upscale) all aware of these points that have been raised as you know both of these processes are international processes and the message that we are hearing

from the new Zimbabwe leadership is a *very positive* (Force: Upscale) one, and I am sure (we) will engage a *wide range of international participants* in terms of the steps of implementing changes in the future”. The use of “a wide range” means that the UK is serious about the reform policies and assumes that the policies will give a better life to the citizens. The use of “very positive” implies the existence of possibilities related to the reunion between Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations. In other words, “very” is strengthening and returning to normal through implementing the new policies promised by the Mnangagwa leadership.

Another example of Force Quantity is “We have a large and effective development programme in Zimbabwe, helping *hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans* every year with health, education, water and food security”. The number of people supported in Zimbabwe is indicated by the expression “hundreds of thousands”, reflecting the growth rate in various industries. The word “huge” in the following sentence, “What British business say to us is that they see the *huge* potential in Zimbabwe”, reflects the UK’s willingness to give Zimbabweans a better life and to raise hopes for the road to freedom. These resources for amplification construct meanings of varying intensities, and the amplification level can vary (Martin & White, 2005).

The Focus component, which deals with non-gradable resources, is another category in addition to this Force subcategory. Focus can increase or decrease the intensity of positivity or negativity. It entails the sharpening and softening of boundaries around non-scalable categorical meanings (Martin & White, 2005). Focus is responsible for grading according to prototypicality and how precise boundaries are mapped. Sharpen and soften are two terms in the focus system, which is a graduation method based on typicality. Sharpen uses “actual, genuine” to describe prototypes, and Soften uses “kind of, sort of” to characterise marginalised items. “There are about 140 000 people of Zimbabwean origin permanently in the UK, although taking into account temporary residents, students, visitors etc., the overall number will be *a bit* higher”. The term “a bit higher” is an example of Focus softening.

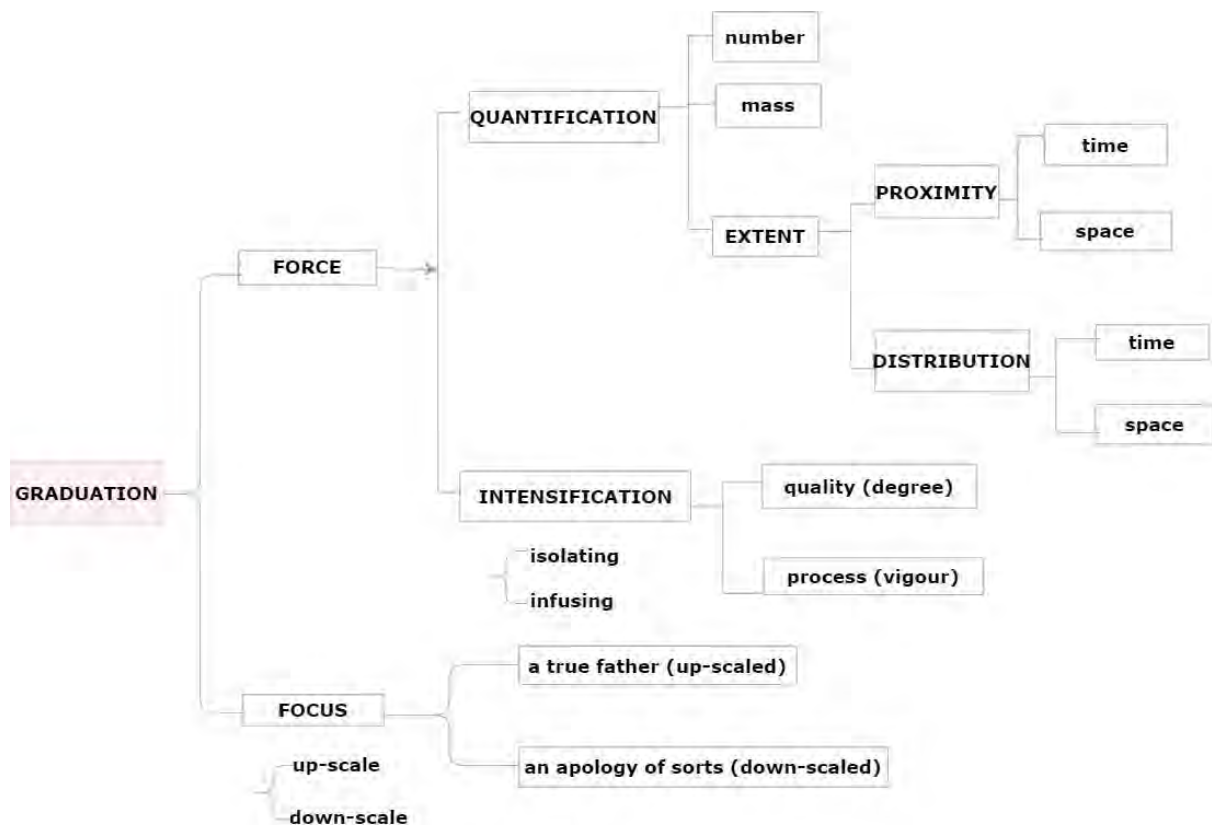


Figure 3.7: Systems of Graduation (redrawn from Martin & White, 2005:154)

Focus Sharpening seeks to identify the writer’s ideas in the value position and assists the writer in persuading the reader to share the writer’s ideas. Softening aims to maintain solidarity with those on the opposing side. Some examples of the Graduation resources are shown in Figure 3.7. The following example illustrates Focus Sharpening “Globally, Britain is very much a *champion* of free trade and open markets”. Minister Baldwin expresses a value perspective to show that they agree with Zimbabwe on the potential for trade between the two nations. The use of “champion” reflects Britain as the expert in promoting trade with other countries and expresses the possibility of improving the economic situation in Zimbabwe. It persuades Zimbabwe to act towards normalising relations between the countries. In the following example, “The UN does some crucial work here, *especially* on the development and the UN is important, alongside regional bodies, in peacekeeping missions across Africa”, Focus sharpening is marked by the word “especially” to stress the role of the UN on development programmes in Africa and to remind Zimbabwe that it is also a beneficiary if it considers implementing economic and political reforms. The use of “possible” in “As a diplomat, it is my job to try and talk to everyone and to do so as transparently as possible” reflects a high level of commitment and democracy of the UK. It demonstrates responsibility towards building a mutual relationship with the people of Zimbabwe. Graduation resources help reveal meanings

hidden in the language used by journalists and people representing countries the two countries. News articles also depict positive or negative images of Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations.

### **3.7 Affiliation and individuation in SFL**

In this section, I show the conceptualisation of affiliation and individuation, focusing on the language used in news coverage in Zimbabwe. The concepts of affiliation and individuation show how identities and communities are constructed by news reporters when reporting the diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. These concepts from SFL are crucial in my analysis regarding their potential to show meanings between the ideas and terms used in the news articles to create communities of beliefs within society. Affiliation and individuation are significant in SFL because of their ability to describe individual identities and community relations. These concepts explain the social process leading to how identities are constructed by sharing values, thus exploring the interaction between communities considering values and beliefs. As such, communities and identities are formed in the news articles, including shaping identities within the communities.

In SFL, individuation is viewed as a “cline between the reservoir and repertoire, which are defined as “a scale of communities of meaning” (Martin, 2006 in Inako, 2015:49). The concept of individuation was developed from Bernstein’s (2000) conceptions of reservoir and repertoire. Bernstein uses the term repertoire to refer to a person’s set of strategies and their analogic potential and the term reservoir to refer to the community’s set of sets and their potential (2000:158). Bednarek says, “Individuation relates to how an individual is different from the community” (2010:243). The key concept in the individuation hierarchy is the bond. Knight describes bonds as “the social semiotic units through which affiliation is negotiated in the social environment” and “the social semiotic (value/experience) units that couplings construe in the social context of affiliation” (2010:207). Also, Hood (2010:147) describes a bond as a unit of affiliation formed through ideational and interpersonal coupling when it “no longer needs to be negotiated” or when it is intended to be shared with others (cited in Inako, 2015:53). Calzada-Perez explains, “Individuation is complemented by the concept of a bond that is formed when communicants share couplings of experience and evaluation. Sharing bonds (establishing similarities or connections with others) makes individuals align (or affiliate) with a community (as part of a mechanism that runs in the opposite direction to individuation)” (Calzada-Perez, 2020:147). A bond is a social semiotic unit for affiliation,

instantiated as a coupling of ideational and interpersonal meanings (Inako, 2015). For example, positive attitude evaluations and meanings prevail in recurrent coupling patterns “the UK welcomes”, “we welcome”, and “pleased”. These structured couplings are now recognised as having built connections, creating a specific bonding orientation that welcomes readers into their society. The UK and Mnangagwa share the same values and beliefs as those who are anxious about Zimbabwe’s economic and political reforms. The positive attitude meanings show that Britain supports the new leadership and its reform agenda. It is interesting to explore how these bonds are formed in news articles by framing the bilateral relations between the two countries using appraisal resources. According to the individuation viewpoint, a community’s reservoir of meaning potential contains a specific set of meaning potential that is made specific in a person’s repertoire when activated by a particular person (Calzada-Perez, 2020:146). The individuation hierarchy “focuses on the relationship between the meaning potential in a culture and the meaning potential of individual language users” (Inako, 2015:48). Individuation can be described as “the relationship between the reservoir of meanings in a culture and the repertoire a given individual can mobilise” (Martin, 2008:35).

Affiliation describes the social process of constructing and negotiating communities through sharing values in interaction. Affiliation aligns people into cultures by subscribing to ideas and values that unite them as a group. At the same time, individuation differentiates people in cultures from each other by sharing different perspectives on some policies resulting in some community members withdrawing from the group. Individuals are associated with different repertoires of meanings from the main reservoir provided by their culture or community (Martin, 2010), as explained earlier. As shown below, the cline indicates the converse of individuation and affiliation, focusing on how people and their personas align with sub-cultures, master identities, and cultures (Martin, 2010).

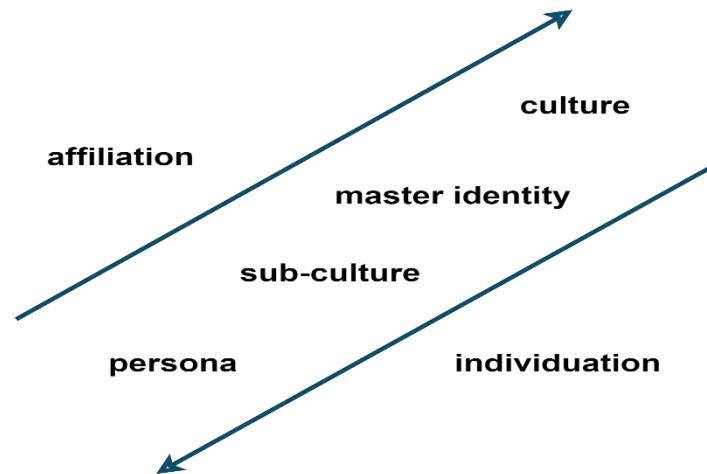


Figure 3.8: Individuation hierarchy (redrawn from Martin, 2010:28)

As seen from Figure 3.8, the bottom-up cline of affiliation exuded a social semiotic view regarding how individuals align themselves into groups or communities of diverse orders around varied types of couplings expected to be shared as bonds (Inako, 2015). On the two poles of the cline, where the reservoir and repertoire are located, are where they interact. There are the system, coding orientation, personality type, and individual (Martin, 2009:565). This study, where news reporters experience a fresh dimension of the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK, creates an opportunity to expand meaning resources in the repertoires of the respective actors and their communities. In other words, groups and individuals are brought together by values shared concerning the two countries' diplomatic relations. Individuation has the potential to show how people create their personae and differentiate themselves from others in their culture, master identity and subculture.

Knight (2010) views affiliation as a social process where individuals or groups affiliate around topics or events in news articles. Journalists use language in articles to affiliate with their readers. Similarly, in the articles, representatives of the two countries may propose bonds to seek affiliation with representatives of the other country. Identities can be recognised and negotiated through affiliation in discourse. Knight viewed “communing affiliation, laughing affiliation, and condemning affiliation” as three essential affiliation techniques for negotiating communal identities (2010:49). Knight (2010) gives an example of the occurrence of responsive laughter in conversational humour as an affiliating resource with the potential to function as communing, laughing off and condemning. Participants present one evaluative coupling when engaging in communing affiliation, discuss it in-depth, and identify themselves as part of the community. Knight states that people engaging in the laughing affiliation have

contrastive evaluative couplings and the risk of conflict. The tension does not threaten their shared values, and it is laughed off. Condemning affiliation causes participants to become tenser. Incompatible pairings are rejected rather than postponed due to the tension, which contradicts the shared ideals and obstructs the affiliation process (2010). The language used in the news coverage of the diplomatic relations might have a negative or positive affiliation in terms of knowledge building for the citizenry of Zimbabwe. He further argues that “we do not after all simply affiliate with feelings; we affiliate with feelings about people, places and things, and the activities they participate in, however abstract or concrete” (2008:58).

Journalists use language in articles to affiliate with their readers. Affiliation is realised between writers and a group of readers with a similar or different position referring to editorial texts, including any other texts (Liu, 2017). Martin and White explain that readers are social semiotic meaners who are regarded as “communities of readers positioned by specific configurations of gender, generation, class, and ethnicity” rather than as individuals (2005:62). Liu further argues that affiliation is not regarded as individual-to-individual communication, but a community-to-community communication as such, affiliation strategies are significant in examining the language used in positioning and representation of relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. The study investigates how affiliation influences negotiating the relationship between countries and shapes identities in reporting on diplomatic relations.

Affiliation is recognised between writers and readers with the same shared values or positions. Critical concepts to affiliation are couplings. Couplings are a way in which affiliation occurs in language, and they are a concept from the instantiation cline (Knight, 2010). Martin describes coupling as “the way in which meanings combine as pairs, triplets, and quadruplets or any number of coordinated choices from system networks” (2008:39). Understanding couplings reveals how communities affiliate. Affiliation concerns couplings responsible for how meanings combine as pairs, triplets, and quadruplets (Martin, 2008, cited in Liu, 2018). To create reader communities, news writers use couplings. Zappavigna et al., (2008) presents that when several evaluative couplings are concerned with consistent (positive or negative) assessments of the same or similar entity, they tend to group together.

Different evaluative interpretations of the reform program, violations of human rights, and sanctions establish communities of affiliation (Liu, 2018). Identities are realised through affiliation through how language is used in news reporting. For example, Catriona Laing’s coupling of negative judgements with the land reform programme shows that she favours

private property rights. Establishing how these meaning-making resources are produced and charged in news articles is vital. Martin (2008) states that people affiliate with feelings concerning people, places and things and their involvement in activities. It is essential to investigate the couplings between invoked Attitude and other systems of meaning and how the actors interpret their shared values (Knight, 2010). Affiliation and individuation helped to find how different groups are positioned in the articles. Couplings and bonds reveal how Zimbabwe and the UK affiliate with and individuate themselves from values and beliefs to maintain their positions. Through affiliation, people like Baldwin supported Mnangagwa's inauguration speech, in which he pledged to implement political and economic reforms, plans to hold free and fair elections and reengage with Britain to improve relations. The concepts of affiliation and individuation show how diplomats identify with specific ideologies and organisations, such as political and economic reforms, and distance themselves from violent behaviour and non-implementation of the reform agenda. Britain is interested in economic and political reforms, which makes them significant in Baldwin's repertoire.

Numerous studies in SFL explored the concepts of affiliation and individuation to express the way communal identities are formed in media discourse. For example, Zappavigna (2011, 2014) contends that affiliation on Twitter is ambient, with affiliation between different users of Twitter realised through the "findability" of the tweets. Because of the use of hashtags, tweets are considered searchable since the hashtags are linked to a keyword peculiar to the topic of the tweet. Because of this, they are described as a "form of metadata that can be used to indicate the 'aboutness' of the tweet"(Zappavigna 2014:2011). Zappavigna (2014) explored the concept of affiliation by sharing hashtags in Twitter exchanges. She says that hashtags are "ideational tags that couple and enact interpersonal meanings" (2014:91). Zappavigna contends that hashtags are considered tools that invite the news audience to associate themselves with the values coupled with the topic of interest. The individuation cline is conceptualised as bonds clustering into communities of different orders. The concepts of individuation and affiliation facilitate the linguistic investigation of the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in news articles about their diplomatic relations regarding how language is used to build readers' knowledge. The concepts are relevant in revealing how news reporters affiliate with the re-engagement drive and transformation of political reforms in Zimbabwe and individuate themselves from human rights abuses.

The article "Zim, the UK on cusp of breakthrough" shows how individuation and affiliation work. British Minister of State for Africa Harriet Baldwin draws meaning potential from the

UK and Zimbabwe cultures to express her point. This is illustrated when she said, “These are all important issues, and *we are* certainly all aware of these points that have been raised, and as you know, both of these processes are international processes, and the message that *we are hearing* from the new leadership is a very positive one, and *I am sure [we] will engage a wide range of international participants* in terms of the steps of implementing changes in the future”. Baldwin is included in the pronoun “we”, which refers to both the people and the government of Britain. In order to support her persona as the British Minister of State for Africa, Baldwin uses the pronoun “we” to distinguish herself and the UK from those who imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe. The use of the pronoun “we” demonstrates that Britain has actively participated in the development of its relations with Zimbabwe. She also affiliated herself with the new Zimbabwean government and western nations with the same assertion. Baldwin identifies herself and Britain as co-members of the news community, and she develops a bond with the new leadership and affiliates through the relationship they share.

I chose to use affiliation and individuation to investigate the positioning of Britain and Zimbabwe in news articles because of their potential to create values that bring people together within a community. These concepts present the diplomatic stance of the newspapers and indicate positive and negative aspects of the relations through couplings realised in the form of bonds. The study examines the nature of positioning through the linguistic choices journalists employ in covering diplomatic relations in relation to the meanings constructed from stories involving the two countries. The concepts were chosen to describe positioning because they reveal how media discourse is utilised to position Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations through similarities and differences in news coverage. The positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in newspapers encourages readers to support the implementation of the policy reforms in Zimbabwe. The negative assessments of the land reform initiative conflict with the goals of the Zimbabwean government, which prevents people from supporting the idea through recurrent couplings in the text. The concepts enable readers’ individuation and affiliation resulting from the Attitude, Engagement and Graduation instantiations in the news articles.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

This chapter reveals the significance of language in knowledge building concerning diplomatic relations. It briefly explains critical realism as a philosophy informing the study and its importance, since LCT and SFL are explanatory frameworks informed by realist assumptions.

The chapter discusses the importance of theoretical frameworks in analysing news articles. LCT and SFL are the appropriate frameworks for theorising diplomatic relations because of their potential to evaluate the organising principles that underpin knowledge building through language. LCT and SFL concepts established insights into positioning in the news articles that I otherwise would not have through a simple reading of the articles. The benefit of using these frameworks was that they revealed how the news reporter used language choices to build opposite value positions associated with the UK and Zimbabwe and the efforts to normalise diplomatic relations. The frameworks offer a way to understand and interpret the challenges in a broader cultural context between the two countries. The concepts of constellations and cosmologies and their role in knowledge building were discussed. It shows how constellations are connected to existing bodies of empirical knowledge and experiences.

Also, the characteristics of SFL and what makes it systemic were addressed in this chapter. Appraisal resources were enacted to show emotions, judge behaviour and evaluate the relations. The rationale for enacting SFL and LCT was discussed and how the Interpersonal metafunction is concerned with positioning identities and relations. The chapter discussed the contribution of Appraisal resources from an SFL perspective. The analytical tools described the language used in negotiating diplomatic relations and explained how interpersonal metafunction resources contribute to positioning bilateral relations. Lastly, I described individuation and affiliation as processes by which identities are marked out in society using language to shape society's identities. The next chapter presents the research methods to support and reinforce the research design, data collection, and analysis, building on my theoretical foundations.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter outlines this study's theoretical and methodological approaches to answer the research questions on the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK regarding their diplomatic relations in *The Herald* and *The Standard* news articles. The data collection and analysis processes show how the data was collected.

The chapter shows how I put together a corpus of forty-two articles under the news coverage between 2016-2020. This chapter forms the foundation of the data analysis process and the theoretical building of the study's findings. The data collection was targeted at the NewsBank Access South Africa database, and the research data was taken from *The Herald* and *The Standard*, published between 2016 and 2020. This chapter describes how data was collected and came up with a corpus comprising forty-two news articles from *The Herald* and *The Standard*. The main objective was to gather data and understand the language choices used in diplomatic relations news reporting and the knowledge built-in in news articles.

The study aims to reveal how language is used to report Zimbabwe and the UK's diplomatic relations. The theoretical frameworks were adopted to investigate news writers' linguistic choices to position the two countries and how readers are aligned into communities of shared value. Using two frameworks is regarded as complex because it involves two sets of relations between theory and data and relations between theories. Bednarek (2010) developed a three-pronged approach to analyse large amounts of data from media discourse. She used automated corpus analysis to identify trends on a lexicogrammatical level, including smaller-scale analysis using computerised and manual analysis methods. My study adopted Bednarek's meso-analysis to examine collocations of the names "UK" and "Zimbabwe" from selected news articles and micro-analysis to examine individual articles from *The Herald* and *The Standard* newspapers. The study's methodology consists of three stages. Stage 1 involved collecting news articles from *The Herald* and *The Standard* on NewsBank Access South Africa database from 2016 to 2020. Stage 2 involved identifying Zimbabwe and the UK collocations in the news articles. The collocations created a basis for selecting articles for fine-grained analysis in the descriptive account. Stage 3 involved fine-grained analysis covering three kinds of analysis: descriptive account, LCT and SFL, as shown in Figure 4.1. The descriptive account

gives the pre-theoretical descriptions of each article, and LCT involves identifying constellations and cosmologies underlying the constellations. SFL identifies and describes the linguistic resources in the articles that position Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their relations. The complementary analyses showed how linguistic resources achieve the goal of enacting positioning in news articles about diplomatic relations in the news articles. Also, the results reflect the kind of power used by news reporters in the coverage of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Fig 4.1 shows data collection and data analysis processes.



Figure 4.1: Schematic overview of the method used in this study

Maton et al. (2016) discussed three dynamics (zooming, refocusing, and alternating) used to maintain tensions between theory and data and tension between two theories. The purpose of maintaining these tensions is to allow for the full explanatory power of both theories to be brought to bear on the data while ensuring that the theory is not imposed on the data in a way that overwhelms it. I employed the three dynamics zooming, refocusing, and alternating, to

solve these tensions in my research. I explained each of the dynamics in the paragraphs that followed. The reason is that balancing data and theory avoids purely descriptive analysis with no explanatory power and prevents the theory from overwhelming the data so that no clear data findings emerge. Corpus analysis helped me familiarise myself with the data. This was achieved using collocations in corpus analysis to show the data patterns to identify individual articles for fine-grained analyses using LCT and SFL.

The tension of working with two complementary frameworks was addressed through the dynamic of alternating (Maton et al., 2016). In my data analysis, alternating made it possible to switch from SFL to LCT. The focus was on using both frameworks to analyse the same data set separately and a joint analysis including the two frameworks. Individual articles were analysed using SFL, followed by an LCT analysis of the same article. In simple terms, the LCT analysis provides an understanding of diplomatic knowledge building realised within the articles under analysis. At the same time, SFL indicates the linguistic resources used to show the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in news articles. Data were analysed using SFL followed by LCT (Doran, 2020). Following Doran (2020), I started with SFL analysis to establish linguistic resources used to position the two countries concerning their diplomatic relations and then LCT analysis to indicate the kind of diplomatic knowledge produced in each article (Siebörger, 2018). SFL analysis provided a description of language used in the news articles, allowing a detailed description of axiological constellations. This was achieved by alternating from one framework to another. The main aim of alternating the two complementary frameworks was to account for knowledge building and show the linguistic resources used.

Refocusing helps to remain focused on what needs to be done. Maton et al. explain, “Refocusing describes movements in either direction between *soft-focus* analysis that sketches a fuzzier outline of key issues and *hard-focus* analysis that commits to a sharper, more precise conceptualisation” (2016:103). I started with soft-focus analysis, which involves a sketch description of critical issues and then hard-focus analysis, which is more precise. By refocusing, it is possible to give context to words and concepts that are unclear in order to improve understanding. The fine-grained data analysis involved soft-focus analyses of the selected articles, which began with general descriptions without enacting LCT and SFL on the individual articles. The soft-focus analysis allowed data to speak for itself rather than be recast in the language of either theory (Maton et al., 2016:103).

The fine-grained analysis of individual articles required zooming, which involves moving from a wide-angle view of all data to a telephoto examination of micro-phenomena (Maton et al., 2016). Zooming is enacted in the movements from corpus analysis of the entire dataset (a wide-angle view) to a fine-grained analysis of individual articles (a telephoto view). I used telephoto analyses to ensure that the conceptual frameworks were related to the data and not just metaphorical or allusive (Maton et al., 2016). To achieve this, the corpus analysis informed the vast collocations trends resulting from the wide-angle analysis of all the articles. Also, these large trends were used for fine-grained telephoto analysis using LCT and SFL in the descriptive analyses. After the descriptive analyses, I zoomed out to a more comprehensive angle view to examine the cosmologies behind constellations established in chapters 6 and 7. I also made sure that the telephoto analyses did not continue to be segmented pieces of the overall problem situation by periodically returning to a broader view (Maton et al., 2016). This chapter provides a schematic outline of the methods employed in this study, as shown in Figure 4.1.

#### **4.2 Stage 1: Data selection and collection**

This section describes the selection and collection process of data. In Stage 1, the data was electronically selected and collected using the NewsBank Access South Africa database. NewsBank is an international business providing access to current and historical articles from thousands of publications to institutions such as government departments and university libraries (NewsBank, 2017a). The Access South Africa database contains the full texts of sixteen Zimbabwean newspapers covering the late 2000s (NewsBank, 2017b). After collecting and storing the articles, the next step was to create easy access to ensure that the corpus analysis software could be used accurately to generate helpful information (see Chapter Five). The data was saved as plain text (txt) files using UTF-8 encoding to make it usable for corpus analysis. The following paragraphs describe how data was catalogued and metadata stored on each article. I clicked on the A-Z source list, chose Location, and then searched for Zimbabwe. I identified the list of publications, chose *The Herald* and *The Standard*, and then clicked the Advance search option.

I selected news articles marked “NEWS” in the Access South Africa database in the newspaper section. I excluded Letters to the Editor from my targeted selection of the corpus data. Letters to the Editor are not part of the selected corpus because they give a writer’s opinion instead of reporting the actual situation on the ground. The following search criteria were used to select the news articles; “Britain all text; British all text; Zimbabwe relations”. I typed these terms

and clicked “all text” to include all news articles reporting the diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. I included the two varieties of the UK to capture all the articles reporting on diplomatic relations. The search results yielded 166 news articles from *The Herald* and *The Standard*. I refined my search to ensure that only relevant news articles marked diplomatic relations were selected. Following a refined search, forty-four news articles from the two publications were selected.

I separated the articles for analysis by naming them according to their publication date and headline. The metadata and copyright notices were not included in the text file. The only thing that was included in the text file was the title and text of the article from the first to the last paragraph. I describe below how the metadata was catalogued. This was done to minimise the chances of including unwanted data in the selected corpus for analysis. Articles retrieved from NewsBank Access included a header filler with metadata describing the article, such as

‘ZIM ON THE CUSP OF A BREAKTHROUGH’

HERALD, THE (HARARE, ZIMBABWE) – 2 JUNE 2018

Author/Byline: Noel Munjanja

Section: NEWS

Readability: 12

Grade level (Lexile:1690)

I clicked on the first relevant single article in my search results, copied the headline, and pasted it into Notepad. Then I copied the article’s text from the beginning of the first paragraph to the end of the paragraph above the copyright © sign and pasted it into Notepad. The text files were saved as “UTF-8 plaintext” as the encoding in *The Herald* or *The Standard* folders in the publication year’s subfolder. Also, the metadata was saved on the Excel spreadsheet, where I kept the article metadata. The spreadsheet contains the following information:

- **The number** is the number I give to each article, beginning with 1.
- **Filename** is the name that I saved the file under in the folder, and it followed this convention:  
Publication name (use “H” for *Herald* and “S” for *Standard*) – date (YYYY-MM-DD)-  
headline.txt. Hyphens were used to separate words. For example, “Herald-2020-02-02-

Zim-UK-on-the-cusp-of-breakthrough.txt” is an article from *The Herald* published on 2 February 2018 entitled “Zim, UK on the cusp of breakthrough”. I put dates as they are in the articles.

- **Publication** is the newspaper in which the article appeared (*Herald* or *Standard*)
- **Headline** is the headline as it appears in the article.
- **Date** is the article date in YYYY-MM-DD format.
- **Author** is the name of the author(s) in the byline. I used individuals’ names rather than group names (like Reuters) where possible. I used commas to separate the names of individuals.
- **Section** is the name of the section of the newspaper the article came from or its genre.
- **Word count** is the number of words in the article (type the number, not the name “words”).
- **Readability** is the number given after “Lexile” in the NewsBank database.
- **Notes** describe special/unusual information about the article, for example, if it is flagged as an opinion piece or written by a different individual/group than other news articles from the same publisher.

The metadata was stored as NEWS as classified in *The Herald* and *The Standard* newspapers and indicated in Access South Africa NewsBank database.

#### 4.3 Stage 2: Corpus analysis

This section describes how the corpus text was catalogued for analysis. It describes how I conducted the corpus analysis and used it to select specific articles for fine-grained analysis. Corpus analysis is significant in identifying recurring patterns in large amounts of linguistic data, which might be challenging to analyse manually. Collocations highlight which words are frequently connected with the names of specific search keywords in the data and can provide insight into how specific players or entities (such as Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom) are positioned in the data. I used AntConc v 3.5.9w (Anthony, 2020) to analyse the corpus (see Chapter Five). AntConc was used to identify collocates and keyword lists concerning Zimbabwe and the UK in this study. It began with particular collocations of each country to

identify concepts related to each country. Collocations reveal what words are frequently associated with the names of particular search terms in the data and can indicate how particular actors or entities (such as Zimbabwe and the UK) are positioned in the data.

Collocates of words do not occur in isolation. However, they are part of a complex network of semantic relationships which ultimately reveals their meaning and the semantic structure of a text or corpus (Brezina et al., 2015:141). Collocations help to show what words are associated with the names of each of the countries. Collocations are words that go together well; for example, Zimbabwe is associated with the collocates *imposed* and *commitment*. These collocates show the positioning of Zimbabwe in its diplomatic relations with the UK. Three criteria have traditionally been presented for recognising collocations. The first is distance, the second is frequency, and the third is exclusivity. The distance describes the region surrounding a node word (the word we are interested in) where we search for collocates (Brezina et al., 2015:140). Brezina et al. argue that the frequency with which a word is used is an important measure of how typical a word association is (2015). These collocations are significant in establishing how meanings are charged in *The Herald* and *The Standard* collected corpus. Corpus analysis helped identify the trends in the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in *The Herald* and *The Standard* news articles. These collocations formed the basis for selecting news articles for fine-grained analysis in Stage 3.

The following procedures were observed to ascertain the collocates of Zimbabwe and the UK in the corpus using AntConc. First, I loaded the corpus text and created a word list. I clicked the tool preference list and the keyword list. After that, I selected the reference corpus, added the British English 2006 (BE06) file, and created the keyword list (Baker, 2009). I created the keyword list using the BE06 as the reference corpus. I used BE06 because it is a corpus of written text like my corpus and because Zimbabwean English tends to follow the conventions of British English rather than American English.

The next step was identifying the collocates. *The Herald* and *The Standard* corpus text was loaded, and a word list was put together. I clicked the tool preference and selected collocates and applied. I searched for the keywords “Zimbabwe”, “UK”, and “Britain” in the collocates window and calculated the collocates for each search word separately. The span of words was applied, which is 5 words to the left and 5 words to the right. After typing the search word Zimbabwe, collocates were selected and grouped according to frequency. The minimum collocate Frequency for *The Herald* corpus was set at 5 and 3 for *The Standard* corpus text.

The larger the corpus, the higher the minimum collocate frequency. *The Herald* corpus was more significant than *The Standard* corpus because the former is a daily publication while the latter is a weekly publication. The minimum collocate frequency for the whole corpus text was set at 10. Figure 4.2 illustrates the collocation process for Zimbabwe and the results after using the AntConc corpus analysis software. I calculated the collocates of “Zimbabwe” and “UK” using the word form, selected the window span, and set restrictions on the minimum frequency of the collocate and its occurrence.

First, I loaded *The Herald* and *The Standard* corpus and chose the collocates tool to search for “Zimbabwe” and “the UK”. The following parameters were set, a minimum frequency of 8 and a span of 5L and 5R for both “Zimbabwe” and “the UK”. Next, I used the Mutual Information statistical measure to indicate the strength of the collocate (Baker, 2010). After that, I looked through the list of the strongest collocations to identify the ten strongest significant lexical collocations. This was achieved by putting together titles, names, surnames, and similar words mentioned in the collocation list (Siebörger, 2018). The process involved viewing the concordance of each collocation in AntConc to identify the titles, surnames and names of individuals, including words carrying the same meaning. In addition, propositions and pronouns were removed from the collocation list (Baker, 2010).

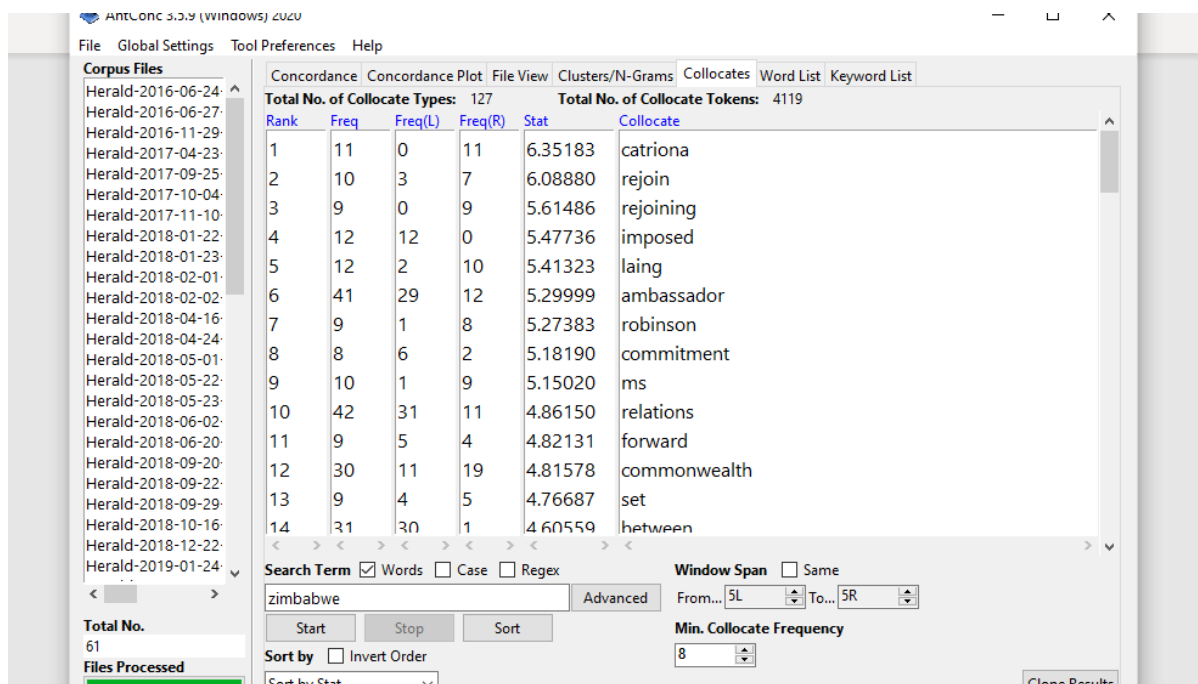


Figure 4.2: AntConc screenshot showing collocations of “Zimbabwe”

Articles for fine-grained analysis were selected following a careful process representing the patterns emerging in the corpus analysis. First, the selected ten articles for the descriptive analyses must have the highest number of Zimbabwe and the UK’s strongest significant lexical collocates. This was achieved through the use of the Concordance tool in AntConc. Next, the list was exported to Microsoft Excel to ensure that there were repetitions. After that, I used the CountIf function to capture the number of occurrences of each article (Siebörger, 2018). The process helped identify the articles with the highest number of strongest significant lexical collocations selected for descriptive analyses.

The table provided a list of words that helped identify Zimbabwe’s collocates and a list of concordance lines showing the co-occurrence of words and their frequency of appearance. I repeated the same procedure for other search words.

#### 4.4 Stage 3: Fine-grained analysis

The descriptive analysis began with brief descriptive accounts of individual articles for analysis. A complementary LCT and SFL analyses followed these. The LCT analyses aimed at establishing constellations and cosmologies underlying the positioning of diplomatic relations in news articles. SFL revealed how linguistic resources complement each other to show positioning in news articles. These were used to draw out the study’s findings on the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. The corpus analysis was carried out without LCT

and SFL, thus focusing on Zimbabwe and the UK's collocations and keywords. The study adopted a method of analysis developed by Doran (2020), which aims to show axiological constellations of axiological meanings in an Australian newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*. Doran carried out an evaluative Attitude analysis to investigate the detailed evaluation of texts and an Engagement analysis to establish the heteroglossic positioning of voices in texts.

Doran put together ideas and terms and charged them either positively or negatively to establish the nature of feelings and emotions, including judgement on a particular behaviour. Some clusters were combined to form axiological constellations, which defined the values and practices of axiological cosmologies (Maton et al., 2016). Doran classified evaluative attitude and heteroglossia to determine what is being appraised and its purpose. Doran identified the Source (UNSW Diversity Toolkit) and target (Australia was invaded) and charged them positively. The sources and targets generated clusters that eventually became constellations such as UNSW Diversity Toolkit and Historian Keith Windschuttle. From the categories, constellations were generated based on the news stories' sources and targets. Doran identified the underlying cosmologies revealed in the text by analysing the clusters. He linked these to constellations and cosmologies by aligning the source and ideas and then charging them positively or negatively. He proposes that a term rejected by one community may be accepted in another. For example, the community associated with the UNSW Diversity Toolkit is opposed to the term settlement, whilst the community associated with the Historian Keith Windschuttle supports it. The remainder of this section draws on Doran (2020) to explain his method.

Doran's method of analysis comprises the following steps:

- 1) Analyse all instances of evaluation for the source, target and charging (positive or negative. Analyse for Attitude – focus on the appraiser, appraised and polarity (positive or negative).
- 2) Group according to the source/appraiser.
- 3) Analyse the alignment or disalignment of information associated with the sources identified in steps 1 and 2. Use Table 3 to guide your analysis. Analyse for Engagement focusing on heteroglossia from sources identified in steps 1 and 2. Use table 3 to interpret the heteroglossic analysis regarding alignment/disalignment (positive/negative charging).
- 4) Add to the constellations built in Step 2.
- 5) Repeat across multiple texts, progressively building the constellations as necessary.

#### 4.4.1 Attitude analysis

I used the UAM Corpus Tool 3.3 software to annotate the corpora of written texts, which includes inbuilt annotation schemes. I adopted the UAM Corpus Tool inbuilt annotation schemes for Attitude, Graduation and Engagement systems and used the compliant reading position to describe the axiological constellations and meanings. Compliant reading conforms to the naturalised reading position of the text, and readers normally interpret invoked meanings in accordance with the author’s intentions. However, if they read with resistance or tactfully, they may not recognise all evoked meanings or may interpret them differently (Siebörger, 2018). I coded all choices using all Appraisal sub-systems (Affect, Judgement and Appreciation), Engagement and Graduation systems. I recorded my coding through the use of the UAM Corpus Tool.

Doran’s method is divided into two steps. Step 1 involves analysing all evaluation instances for the same source (what is doing the evaluation), target (what is being evaluated and the polarity of evaluation (positive or negative)). The analysis focused on the appraiser, appraised, and polarity, whether positively or negatively charged. Table 4.1 indicates Minister Baldwin as the appraiser who is appraising the economic and political reforms initiated by President Mnangagwa the appraised. This same article is drawn on as an example throughout section 4.4, as shown in Table 4.1. “Zim on the cusp of a breakthrough”.

Table 4.1: Evaluative attitude in *The Herald*

<b>Appraising item</b>	<b>Appraiser</b>	<b>Appraised</b>	<b>Charge</b>
Impressed	British Prime Minister	President Mnangagwa	Positive
Engaging	Minister Baldwin	Zimbabwe and Britain	Positive
Condemn all violence	Government of Britain	Government of Zimbabwe	Negative
Economic and political reforms	Minister Baldwin	President Mnangagwa	Positive
Impressed by statements	British Prime Minister Theresa May	Mnangagwa’s political and economic reforms	Positive
Welcomes the statements that have been made by the Government of Zimbabwe about the land reform	The UK Government	Government of Zimbabwe	Positive

This first analysis step focused on establishing whether the concepts are positively or negatively charged. It looked at the evaluation of Attitude in news articles. The instantiation of Attitude establishes the relationship between the source and the target. The relationship

between the source and target is based on what is being evaluated, what is doing the evaluation, and whether the evaluation is positively or negatively charged. Table 4.1 positively or negatively charges particular items; for example, the item “impressed” is charged positively because Britain is happy about the new developments in Zimbabwe concerning the reform agenda. I identified the source (the person associated with the proposition) and the target (where the information is directed), and the polarity (positive, negative or neutral charge). This analysis enabled the charging of items as either positive or negative.

The following analysis involved grouping them according to source/appraiser and target/appraised, as shown in Table 4.2. Following the coding process with the UAM CorpusTool, I identified sources that align or disalign with the UK and Zimbabwe. After that, I formed a cluster by identifying concepts and ideas related to or opposed to the sources. The identified clusters include Minister Baldwin, The UK Government and British Government, including targets related to the sources. Through the use of coding, the source and target were recognised and assigned a charge, either positive or negative. Table 4.2 shows the items that were charged based on Attitude. As a source becomes connected with a target’s charge, both become members of the constellation. For example, the UK Government attributes a positive charge to the term “President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms”, which indicates that it is also associated with a positive evaluation. As a result, the linguistic resources were identified to show how *The Herald* and *The Standard* position Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their relations. Doran’s analysis method helped identify the linguistic resources and establish the general trends of diplomatic positioning in the newspaper articles. For instance, Minister Baldwin is identified as the source of the following proposition “Zimbabwe and Britain were on a cusp of a major diplomatic breakthrough” where she promotes the normalisation of the relationship between the two countries. The understanding is that if one agrees with Baldwin, they are assumed to agree with the proposition. The source positively charges the target and aligns with it as well.

Table 4.2: Preliminary list of elements charged based on Attitude

Source	Target	Charge
Minister Baldwin	Zimbabwe and Britain	Positive
	The normalisation of the relations between London and Harare.	Positive
British Government	We condemn all the violence	Negative
	Perpetrators of violent activities, full force of law.	Negative
The UK Government	The UK Government very much <i>welcomes</i> the statements that have been made about the land reform by the Government of Zimbabwe.	Positive
The UK Government	We are <i>very pleased to</i> hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year.	Positive
	Support a transparent and fair mediated process	Positive
	President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms.	

Evaluations establish the relations between the source and the target. When the source becomes more associated with the target’s particular charging, both the target and the sources belong to the same constellation or bond network (Doran, 2020). On the other hand, if you align with an individual evaluation, there are chances of aligning with the source. From the above table, if an individual aligns with this evaluation, “*We support a transparent and fair mediated process*”, it is likely to associate with the source “the UK government”. The two belong in the same constellation since the UK government underlines the necessity for fair standards in Zimbabwe’s election institutions. The term “*transparent and fair mediated process*” indicates good governance and the backing of fair practices. It allows the United Kingdom to evaluate the fairness of electoral procedures in Zimbabwe. The use of the word “*support*” demonstrates a positive evaluation of the government of Zimbabwe towards normalising the relations between the two countries.

In contrast, negative assessments of *violence* are utilised to position the *perpetrators of violence* in the opposite constellation. The division results from the British government’s opposition to Zimbabwe’s electoral system. Britain’s viewpoints tend to align with Zimbabwe’s opposition parties and disalign from those of the government. This information explains the UK’s constellation, the rationale for distancing itself from violence during elections, and the argument about unfairly mediated processes during elections. For instance, the British government assigns a negative evaluation to the term “*perpetrators of violence*”, which is also appraised negatively. When negative judgments are utilised to position the source and the target in the opposite constellations, it aids in understanding the meanings of the other constellation and signifies individuation from a violent culture. In any case, the individuation perspective anticipates a meaning potential held in a community’s reservoir and concretised in an individual’s repertoire containing that particular set of meaning potentials activated by certain

persons (Calzada-Perez, 2020:146). The United Kingdom includes economic and political reforms as part of its repertoire, highlighting the significant distinctions between the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe. Individuation indicates how Britain differs from Zimbabwe, considering the culture of violence (see Chapter Three). Individuation is reinforced by the idea of bonds, which is created when participants exchange couplings of experience and evaluation with one another (Calzada-Perez, 2020:146). Individuals are more likely to feel a sense of alignment or affiliation with a community when they have a shared bond. Individuals can either align or attach themselves to a community through the formation of shared bonds or individuate themselves in the absence of such bonds (Calzada-Perez, 2020). This explains the linguistic resources that are responsible for the building of constellations in the articles that were selected.

#### 4.4.2 Engagement analysis

Stage 2 involved analysing how authors and speakers aligned and disaligned with values put forward in the news articles. Table 4.3 shows how Engagement was used to analyse alignment and disalignment. Doran argues that if a reader aligns with the source, there is a possibility of aligning with what the source promotes. He used the SFL tool of Engagement to show multiple voices in the text under study. Heteroglossia reveals whether a source aligns positively or negatively with the text's information. My study analysed the heteroglossia to establish whether there is alignment or disalignment in the text and what the source promotes. It is helpful to establish what is promoted by the source; for instance, the Engagement resources of Distance and Disclaim show disalignment (negative charging concerning the source), such as: "We *condemn* all violence, and we are keen to see all perpetrators of any violent activities are pursued with the full force of the law". The word "condemn" instantiates negative Judgement: Propriety. The word "condemn" signifies a disclaimer on violent activities, and Britain is disaligning itself with such behaviour. It calls for negative charging and judgement of perpetrators of violence in Zimbabwe.

Here the writer is against the violent activities experienced in Zimbabwe, which shows disalignment from the perpetrators of violence. This indicates negative charging concerning Mnangagwa's Government.

Table 4.3: Linguistic resources indicating alignment and disalignment (positive and negative charge)

Linguistic resources	Aligning/disaligning	Example
Positive attitude	Aligning Positive charge	Zimbabwe and Britain were on the <i>culsp of a breakthrough</i>
Positive attitude	Aligning positive charge	We are <i>very pleased</i> to hear that plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe this year.
Proclaim – Endorse	Aligning Positive charge	Obviously, we <i>share</i> with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there is no violence at all on the ground.
Negative attitude Judgement-Propriety	Disaligning Negative charge	We <i>condemn</i> all violence, and we are keen to see all perpetrators of any violent activities are pursued with the full force of the law.

Table 4.4 indicates heteroglossia and charging. The instances of heteroglossia are underlined throughout the table. For example, “‘I brought a message [from Prime Minister May] that the UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms, and we are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year,’ she *said*”. The word “said” is Expand: Acknowledge, and the source is the article author. The article’s author acknowledges what Baldwin says without explicitly aligning with it. “‘I brought a message that...” is Contract: Endorse, showing that Baldwin (the source) aligns with Prime Minister May. Table 4.3 fits my analysis since I am looking at how speakers open the interaction space for others to comment or give their opinions about the topic under discussion.

Table 4.4: Heteroglossia and charging

Instance	Source	Target	Charge
“‘I brought a message [from Prime Minister May] that the UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms, and we are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year”, <i>she said</i> .	Minister Baldwin	UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms, and we are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year,	Aligning positive charge
“‘Obviously, <i>we share</i> with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there <i>is no violence</i> at all on the ground.	UK government	Our desire for there to be a situation where there <i>is no violence</i> at all on the ground.	Aligning positive charge
Minister Baldwin <i>said</i> the UK Government was encouraged by President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms. She <i>said</i> deliberations also touched on the recent visit to Zimbabwe by Commonwealth Development Corporation officials.	UK government	The UK Government was encouraged by President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms. Deliberations also touched on the recent visit to Zimbabwe by Commonwealth Development Corporation officials	Aligning positive charge

Instance	Source	Target	Charge
“I had a good meeting with the President and <i>I have been able to say to him</i> how much the UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year”, <i>she said</i> .	Minister Baldwin	How much the UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year,	Aligning Positive charge
“ <i>As you know</i> , the UK has made the decision to leave the European Union and take back control of our own international trade policies.	UK government	The UK has made the decision to leave the European Union and take back control of our own international trade policies.	Aligning positive charge

From the analysis, I identified specific terms and ideas that group into constellations. Here, “*we share with*” is an instantiation of Contract: Endorse. Baldwin endorses the kind of relationship shared between the two countries. It invokes a favourable judgement of the non-violent situation in Zimbabwe and Britain emphasises promoting non-violent activities by the Government of Zimbabwe. Another example of Expand: Acknowledge is “*I have been able to say*”, and the source is identified as Baldwin. This is an instance of Affirm. Baldwin is the source that affiliates with Zimbabwe concerning the relationship between the two countries and demonstrates the need to apply non-violent strategies when addressing challenges in Zimbabwe. She closes the dialogic space by using “*we share with*”, thus endorsing the values and practices shared between Harare and London despite the current settings. The Engagement resources are significant in applying individuation and affiliation to account for interpreting the news articles to develop constellations. In a text, related meanings can be organised into a broader pattern; the relationship between these meanings is referred to as a coupling, and the patterns of couplings are referred to as syndromes (Zappavigna et al., 2008). Couplings are the occurrence of two or more possibilities from distinct locations inside the broad paradigm of a linguistic system. The positioning of Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom is determined by combining the various couplings, forming recurring patterns known as syndromes or complexes. For example, in “*UK Government welcomes* the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for *economic and political reforms*”, the UK government is coupled with economic and political reforms. The coupling reveals the relationship between the UK government and ongoing reforms in Zimbabwe’s economic and political systems. Words like “*welcomes*”, “*pleased*”, and “*happy*” are frequently used in conjunction with the government of the United Kingdom to underline the relationship. These terms are interconnected because they are part of the Attitude-Affect system. Graduation-Force illustrates the link between Affect and Force by intensifying the term *very pleased* (Zappavigna

et al., 2008). The positioning of the two countries illustrates patterns of evaluative meanings that influence the understanding of couplings and syndromes in news articles (Zappavigna et al., 2008). I demonstrated how the repetition of concepts referred to as couplings could establish positioning through individuation and affiliation. The expansion and contraction of dialogic spaces allowed sources to individuate and affiliate with particular values and practices, resulting in positive or negative positioning of the two countries. Utilising Engagement resources such as Distance or Disclaim allows additional voices to participate in the discussion and provide their perspective on the topic (see 4.4.2). When applying individuation and affiliation to account for interpreting the news articles, the systems of Attitude, Engagement and Graduation are significant elements to consider.

#### 4.4.3 LCT analysis

Analysing the grouping of terms and ideas presented in the table above, constellations are built from terms such as “*free and fair elections*” and “*economic reforms*”. These terms were chosen as associate signifiers because the conversation revolves around the reform agenda. The reform agenda is the central signifier since it summarises the entire constellation and connects the other words. These ideas invoke a favourable Judgement of the Mnangagwa government, strengthened by repeating the same terms “*free and fair elections*” and “*political and economic reforms*”. Considering the terms “*free and fair elections*”, one can choose to align with the values put across by the UK Government while disaligning with the values of the Mugabe Government. The Mugabe Government is associated with violations of human rights and the rule of law (see Chapter Two). In 2000, London accused Mugabe of beginning the Fast-Track Land Reform Program, which resulted in the deaths of white commercial farmers. If we take a closer look, we can build constellations in relation to the source and describe whether they align with or oppose Mnangagwa’s Government. Table 4.5 shows the constellations aligning with Mnangagwa, and the sources are positively charged.

From the above analysis, we can put together constellations built into the news article. Table 4.5 shows that the relationship between constellations builds from sources that align with or oppose the UK or Zimbabwe. The signifiers in the constellation were clustered and constellated together and axiologically charged. Clustering and constellation processes justify this study’s investigation of axiological constellations. According to Maton (2014), “Axiological meanings within the axiological cosmology of a field are frequently organised into clusters of meanings, that is, recognisable and repeating patterns of meanings judged by positive or negative

*charging*. Several clustered clusters can constitute an *axiological constellation*, showing the nature of the practices generated by axiological cosmologies (cited in Tilakaranta & Szenes, 2020:107). The constellations reveal the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK. The critical result of the souring of relations is the violation of human rights and the rule of law during the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme in 2000. The UK constellation opposes violent activities and killings of innocent civilians by the Government of Zimbabwe. This position reflects the souring of relations and the need to normalise the relations with the support of the new dispensation government of Zimbabwe. The UK constellation justifies the need to see a new Zimbabwe ready to implement economic and political reforms to develop its citizenry.

Table 4.5: Constellations associated with the UK Government

<b>Aligning with (positively charged)</b>		
<b>Source</b>	<b>Terms</b>	<b>Ideas</b>
Minister Baldwin	Breakthrough Pleased Obviously	“Obviously, we share with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there <i>is no violence</i> at all on the ground. ‘Zimbabwe and Britain were on the cusp of a major diplomatic breakthrough that could see the two countries soon engaging in various investment ventures underpinned on mutual benefit and interest.’
An official  The UK government	Welcomes Encouraged Free and fair elections Economic reforms	How much the UK welcomes the “statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year”, The UK Government was encouraged by President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms.
An official British Prime Minister	Free and fair elections Economic and political reforms	British Prime Minister Theresa May has been impressed by statements made by President Mnangagwa so far on economic and political reforms, which have sent important signals around the world about the country’s readiness for investment, an official has said.
The UK Britain	International trade policies European Union Engagement Future trade arrangements	“As you know, the UK has made the decision to leave the European Union and take back control of our own international trade policies. We are very grateful for the engagement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here in trying to resolve and make straightforward the future trade arrangements we have with Zimbabwe. Globally, Britain is very much a champion of free trade and open markets”.

The ideas and terms shown in Table 4.5 may have the capacity to generate more constellations. Aligning with ideas from one constellation can produce meanings from other constellations. For instance, aligning with the term *free and fair elections* to explain how elections are run in Zimbabwe, an individual can align with the terms *political reforms* to describe free and fair

elections. Also, this can produce other meanings concerning the source, terms and ideas. This reveals interpersonal evaluative meaning connected to specific communities or groups. This affords favourable judgement of Zimbabwe because free and fair elections are not associated with violence. The UK government is aligning with electoral processes that are free and fair. In other words, it is aligning itself with some aspects of the policies initiated by the new Government and its leadership. The term *we condemn all violence* reveals negative judgement towards elections that are not free and fair and the killings of the six civilians. It gives a negative judgement of Zimbabwe, and it is up to the reader to judge it as right or wrong (Doran, 2020). Britain distances itself from violent activities related to elections. From the constellations, one can decide to individuate or align with a particular community depending on the interpersonal meaning. If the reader is concerned about the term, *we condemn all violence* which is used to charge the killings of civilians by the government negatively; readers might disalign from Mnangagwa and therefore be aligned with the UK government by labelling Mnangagwa's actions as "violence". Using these terms in the constellations attracts different evaluations depending on the reader's context (Doran, 2020).

I encountered problems by using Doran's method in the Appraisal analysis section. To solve the problem, I added the Graduation system to analyse the types of attitudes indicated in Stage 1 of his method. The Graduation system contributed to constellation development concerning the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in the articles. Furthermore, it intensifies and quantifies the Attitude and Engagement resources to evaluate the language used to position the two countries concerning their diplomatic relations. Another deviation concerns the binary constellation system used in Doran's method. The binary constellation concept facilitated the development of multiple constellations in the article, "Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice". The multiple constellations helped us understand what is happening between the two countries and how they are positioned concerning their relations and cosmologies. The multiple constellations serve as a way of comparing the news articles to make clear the positioning of the two countries. The identified ideas and terms were associated with constellations underpinning Zimbabwe and the UK, which were either charged positively or negatively with the source or target.

Doran's method of analysis is still new, and published work is limited. I piloted his method in a different context, such as diplomatic relations between countries. I produced multiple constellations in my investigation, comparing my findings to Doran's binary constellations. The analysis demonstrated how the use of language in the two publications produced positions

regarding Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom's involvement in normalising or ruining their bilateral relations.

After applying Doran's method, I responded to research questions to interpret my analysis. I answered Question 1 by identifying constellations associated with Zimbabwe and the UK. I compared different constellations established in the articles focusing on re-engagement, engagement and reform agenda to evaluate the relations between the two countries. For example, the constellation associated with the UK emphasises the need to normalise the relations and intervention strategies focusing on development programmes to boost the economy of Zimbabwe. The re-engagement strategies, development programmes and reform agenda are crucial in normalising the relations between the two countries. The constellation associated with Zimbabwe focuses on implementing economic and political reforms as a way to revert to normality regarding diplomatic ties between the two countries.

I responded to question 2 by looking at appraisal resources involved in positioning Zimbabwe and the UK in the articles. The linguistic resources described the instantiation of Attitude, Engagement and Graduation systems.

Question 3 assisted in comparing the two studies using corpus results. This led to the selection of four articles for fine-grained analyses. I did this to answer research question 3 (refer back to 1.6). I analysed the corpus results in order to examine the common patterns that arose in the four articles.

I examined how the Zimbabwean media influences public opinion by establishing bad and favourable views of diplomatic ties with beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries in response to Question 4.

Question 5 demonstrated how language plays a crucial role in unpacking meanings in news articles. I presented the resources used to analyse positioning at the linguistic and knowledge levels. Evaluation resources assess attitude and interpersonal significance and demonstrate how Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom are positioned differently. The language resources influence how knowledge is created and reveal numerous clusters linked with Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom, combined to build constellations based on the cosmologies underlying the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Question 6 outlined how language resources influence the way in which news articles generate knowledge. In the thesis, I discuss how the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK is approached from various perspectives.

#### **4.5 Conclusion**

This chapter presents an outline of the data collection and analyses undertaken in this study and accounts for the relationship between the two frameworks. Doran's analysis method helped establish what is being evaluated, what is doing the evaluation and the charging. The appraisal resources Attitude and Engagement revealed the sources and targets, including instances of aligning and disaligning. I could thus reveal sources and the propositions they align with throughout the texts.

The reason is that balancing data and theory avoids purely descriptive analysis that has no explanatory power and prevents the theory from overwhelming the data so that no clear findings about the data emerge. I enacted zooming to show movements from corpus analysis of the entire dataset (a wide-angle view) to a fine-grained analysis of individual articles (a telephoto view). To achieve this, the fine-grained analysis was informed by the vast trends of collocations resulting from the wide-angle analysis. Also, these large trends were used for fine-grained telephoto analysis using LCT and SFL in the descriptive analyses. This was achieved by alternating from one framework to another, from LCT to SFL. The main aim of alternating the two complementary frameworks was to account for knowledge building and show the linguistic resources used in knowledge building.

I used Doran's method to suit the purpose of my study and data. I analysed news articles, focusing on the systems of Appraisal. The sub-systems of Attitude revealed the emotions, behaviour of the parties involved, and things appreciated by the sources in the news articles. Analysis of Engagement resources enabled tracking of how these opened room for dialogue by expanding and contracting dialogic space.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CORPUS ANALYSIS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The main focus of this study is on how language is used to position Zimbabwe and the UK in news articles concerning diplomatic relations. Corpus analysis is a tool used to analyse a large amount of data, including identifying emerging patterns in the data. My corpus analysis is modelled on Bednarek's meso-analysis layer of a three-pronged approach. My study adopted Bednarek's meso-analysis to examine collocations of the names "UK" and "Zimbabwe" from selected news articles and micro-analysis to examine individual articles from *The Herald* and *The Standard* newspaper as reported in Chapters Six and Seven. Collocations help to show what words are associated with the names of either country.

This chapter describes how I used corpus analysis to select articles for fine-grained analysis, as indicated in section 5.2. Finally, I show the insights the corpus analysis gives into the diplomatic positions and evaluations concerning Zimbabwe and the UK.

### **5.2 Report on the analysis**

This section describes the analyses of Zimbabwe and United Kingdom collocations in news items from *The Herald* and *The Standard*. *The Herald* corpus is offered in sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, whilst *The Standard* corpus is described in sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4. A summary of the analyses is provided in section 5.2.5, followed by the conclusion in section 5.3. It also explains how the numerous attributes associated with politicians active in bilateral ties were determined and how the techniques for searching for collocations are described.

#### 5.2.1 "Zimbabwe" collocations (*Herald* corpus)

The collocations of "Zimbabwe" were searched to show how diplomatic positioning is achieved by establishing the link between names of countries and words that describe various traits attributed to politicians involved in bilateral relations. It is vital to investigate the kind of couplings that invoke attitude and how the actors interpret their shared values (Knight, 2010). Collocations indicate that particular ideational and interpersonal meanings frequently couple with each other. In the context of SFL, couplings are utilised to propose bonds with putative readers of the news articles who would agree with those couplings and share the values

reflected in them. They play a crucial role in establishing positioning in news articles and how meanings are strengthened and weakened through evaluation.

The seventeen strongest raw collocations of “Zimbabwe” in the corpus of articles from *The Herald* are shown in Table 5.1, with a minimum frequency of 5 and a span of 5L-5R. The total number of times the collocation occurs is listed under Frequency, while “frequency L” refers to the number of times the collocation appears to the left of the country, and “frequency R” reveals the number of times it appears to the country’s name (Baker, 2010).

Table 5.1: Strongest raw collocations of “Zimbabwe”. Minimum frequency = 5, Span = 5L-5R

Rank	Collocate	MI score	Frequency	Frequency (L)	Frequency (R)
1	Rejoin	6.06033	9	2	7
2	Catriona	6.06033	10	0	10
3	Melanie	5.86768	7	0	7
4	Does	5.79729	5	2	3
5	Commitment	5.40825	7	5	2
6	Visited	5.38266	5	5	0
7	Imposed	5.38266	10	10	0
8	Rejoining	5.32336	9	0	9
9	Recovery	5.21233	5	2	3
10	Laing	5.12744	11	2	9
11	Robinson	5.06033	9	1	8
12	Return	5.06033	5	2	3
13	Ambassador	5.03927	34	24	10
14	Within	4.92282	5	4	1
15	Ms	4.85869	10	1	9
16	Head	4.79269	5	2	3
17	Engage	4.78022	7	5	2

The most significant pattern emerging from the collocations shows the tension between Zimbabwe and the UK, such as “*imposed*” and “*recovery*”. In contrast, another pattern shows the need for normalising diplomatic relations, such as “*rejoining*” and “*commitment*”. I refined the list of the collocations to present the strongest significant collocations in Table 5.2. These collocates were developed by removing prepositions and pronouns and combining titles and surnames with first names. For example, the name “Laing” refers to Catriona Laing, the former British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, who is reported as siding with the ruling party and the military-assisted coup against Mugabe in 2017. In the following paragraphs, I explain the significance of each of these collocates and what they show about the positioning of the UK in its diplomatic relations with Zimbabwe.

Table 5.2: Ten strongest significant lexical collocations of “Zimbabwe”.

“Zimbabwe” collocations	
1	Rejoin
2	Catriona Laing
3	Melanie Robinson
4	Commitment
5	Visited
6	Imposed
7	Recovery
8	Return
9	Head
10	Engage

**Rejoin(ing):** Zimbabwe’s strongest significant lexical collocates is “rejoin”. The collocation “rejoin” appears eight times and most frequently with “Commonwealth”. Zimbabwe is portrayed as advancing its desire to rejoin the Commonwealth after withdrawing its membership during the Mugabe dispensation. In one article, the Mnangagwa government is depicted as having a re-engagement drive to mend relations with particular countries.<sup>1</sup> This collocates is often used to show the willingness to be part of international organisations and that the new government has adopted new governance and leadership methods.

In another article, Nick Mangwana, the government spokesperson, shares that Britain benefits from this alliance if it rejoins the Commonwealth. In this article, Mangwana portrayed Zimbabwe as not dying to join the bloc but as part of the re-engagement drive.<sup>2</sup> However, the same corpus portrayed Zimbabwe as fully willing to rejoin the Commonwealth, as stated by the President of Zimbabwe. This refers to Zimbabwe as a sovereign country with a voice regarding actions and responsibilities.

**Ms Catriona Laing:** The second strongest significant lexical collocates of Zimbabwe, “Catriona”, refers to the British Ambassador to Zimbabwe. She was appointed in September 2014, and her term ended in 2018. She is relatively the most powerful ambassador who worked with both Mugabe and Mnangagwa governments regarding the re-engagement drive between Zimbabwe and the UK. During the attempted coup in 2017, she was suspected of cooperating with Mnangagwa.

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<sup>1</sup> “Moyo off to London”, *Herald*, 20 July 2019.

<sup>2</sup> “Govt blasts UK Lord’s recolonisation call”, *Herald*, 24 January 2019.

The collocation between Catriona and Zimbabwe occurs eleven times in eleven articles. In one of these articles, outgoing British ambassador to Zimbabwe, Catriona Laing, has commended improved ties between the two countries.<sup>3</sup> Another article describes how Britain and Zimbabwe find each other in resolving disputes. This is illustrated in this statement “Zimbabwe and its former colonial master, Britain, are finding each other – and there are actually a lot of positive moves being instituted by the latter”<sup>4</sup>. Finally, Laing talks about the normalisation of the diplomatic relations between the UK and Zimbabwe. *The Herald*, published on 23 May 2018, stated, “British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Catriona Laing, has done immensely well to normalise relations between London and Harare”.<sup>5</sup> Laing accompanies British envoys on missions to assess the situation in Zimbabwe and restore diplomatic ties. *The Herald*, published on 2 February 2018, stated, “Minister Baldwin was accompanied by British Ambassador to Zimbabwe Ms Catriona Laing and head of the Department for International Development for Zimbabwe and South Africa Mr Annabel Gerry”.

Laing met with Dr Christopher Mushohwe, Minister of State for Government Scholarships in the Office of the President, to discuss skills development in Zimbabwe. Mushohwe was quoted by *The Herald* on 23 May 2018 saying, “The United Kingdom is very key in that aspect so that we make sure that we can look at how best we can empower our people with skills development”. Ambassador Laing is positioned as a link between Harare and London responsible for diplomatic communication.

**Ms Melanie Robinson:** The third strongest lexical collocate of “Zimbabwe” is “Robinson”. In three articles this refers to Ambassador Ms Robinson, who replaced Laing as the British ambassador to Zimbabwe in 2019. Robinson is seen as a neutral diplomat without bias towards opposition parties or the ruling government. She held several meetings with Zimbabwean Foreign Affairs Minister Sibusiso Moyo concerning a trade agreement and new opportunities.<sup>6</sup> She is closely linked to development in the agriculture sector, which is regarded as the key to unlocking Zimbabwe’s economy. In order to promote agricultural growth, she acted as a facilitator at the signing of a trade deal between Zimbabwe and the UK. The economic partnership encouraged Zimbabwean farmers to increase their exports of horticultural products. The following statement expresses the relationship “Zimbabwe’s trade with the UK is always

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<sup>3</sup> “Envoys hails improved UK-Zim ties”, *Herald*, 22 September 2018.

<sup>4</sup> “Britain should start sleeping better at night” *Herald*, 23-May 2018

<sup>5</sup> “Britain should start sleeping better at night” *Herald*, 23-May 2018

<sup>6</sup> “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”, *Herald*, 4 December 2020.

open. It was open under the EU. It is now that we have a separate trade agreement, and that is an opportunity for us to deepen and widen in future”. She is reported as committed to seeing Zimbabwe implement economic and political reforms to become a democratic nation.<sup>7</sup>

**Commitment:** The fourth strongest significant lexical collocate is “Commitment”, associated with the country’s willingness to mend the souring relations with Britain. This collocation appears eight times in the corpus in seven articles. Four articles talk about boosting the relations between the countries and the UK’s level of commitment to the success of Zimbabwe. The commitment is indicated when Robinson reiterated that the UK is willing to help Zimbabwe in every aspect. The words “commitment” and “willingness” are linked because Robinson put effort into improving the agriculture sector by signing a separate trade agreement. Another article describes Mnangagwa’s commitment to implement the political and economic reforms and Zimbabwe’s willingness to rejoin the Commonwealth.<sup>8</sup> The other two articles report the need to show serious commitment to implementing the reform agenda to experience a change in Zimbabwe. The article reported Minister Howe saying, “therefore, the onus must remain on the government of that country to demonstrate a true commitment to change”.<sup>9</sup> The collocation “commitment” is connected with the government of Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom. The collocate shows names of people like the government of the UK and the government of Zimbabwe who can provide insights concerning the positioning of the two countries in the news articles. Zimbabwe is encouraged to portray genuine commitment towards change as evidenced by the following statement: “Therefore, the onus must remain on the government of that country to demonstrate a true commitment to change”. Even Britain is depicted as committed in the following statement: “It is important to stress that our commitment to the people of Zimbabwe did not stem from being an EU member”. Both countries have demonstrated the significance of committing to the development of Zimbabwe as a country, not as individuals. The understanding is that the government of Zimbabwe needs to demonstrate at least some degree of commitment to change the current state of affairs.

**Visited:** The fifth strongest significant lexical collocate of “Zimbabwe” is the word “visited”, associated with the envoys coming to Zimbabwe from the UK missions. The collocation occurs five times in three articles. In one of the articles, Britain’s former Africa Minister Rory Stewart

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<sup>7</sup> “Zimbabwe’s reform agenda wins endorsements”, *Herald*, 10 May 2019.

<sup>8</sup> “Zimbabwe’s reform agenda wins endorsements”, *Herald*, 10 May 2019.

<sup>9</sup> “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

came to Zimbabwe to attend the inauguration of President Mnangagwa. In his inauguration speech, Mnangagwa expressed willingness to normalise relations with the UK.<sup>10</sup> Another visit to President Mnangagwa involved Minister Harriet Baldwin, whose agenda was investment prospects in Zimbabwe. The envoy was encouraged by Mnangagwa's message on political and economic reforms and optimistic about mending relations. Baldwin acknowledged how Britain was satisfied with Mnangagwa's message concerning the progress in economic reform.<sup>11</sup> However, Baldwin emphasised that the UK is against violent activities and emphasised that whoever is involved in violent activities should be brought to book.<sup>12</sup> These visits occurred during and after Mnangagwa's inauguration and are associated with the message of implementing the reform agenda. They reaffirmed the United Kingdom's dedication to improving Zimbabwe's economy and putting an end to the conflict that had been ongoing throughout the time of the administrations of both Mugabe and Blair. Finally, in another article, Robinson hailed Mnangagwa for "spearheading major reforms to enhance the country's electoral process, upholding human rights, liberalising the media and respecting other freedoms enshrined in the constitution".<sup>13</sup>

**Imposed:** The sixth collocate of Zimbabwe is the word "imposed". This collocation appears 13 times in the corpus. The collocation "imposed" is associated with the sanctions placed on Zimbabwe by the EU and supported by the UK. Four articles portray these sanctions as obstacles in Zimbabwe's development and livelihoods. For example, "His [Mnangagwa] government has hired not less than five public relations firms from the United States and Britain to lobby western capitals for the removal of sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe beginning in 2001 due to governance deficits".<sup>14</sup> The other articles discuss removing the imposed embargoes on Zimbabwe and highlight that SADC condemns these illegal sanctions as addressed by the Zimbabwean government. This condemnation has resulted in a campaign against the imposed sanctions by SADC members, "In support of your commendable efforts, in February this year at the World Economic Forum, South Africa made a clarion call to the international community to assist Zimbabwe and support the reform efforts that your government has embarked on by lifting the unfair and unjustified sanctions that have been imposed on Zimbabwe."<sup>15</sup> In addition,

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<sup>10</sup> "Queen keen to mend Zim-UK ties", *Herald*, 22 May 2018.

<sup>11</sup> "Zim ups re-engagement drive with the UK, Diaspora", *Herald*, 27 July 2019.

<sup>12</sup> "Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough", 2 February 2018.

<sup>13</sup> "Zimbabwe's reform agenda wins endorsements", *Herald*, 10 May 2019.

<sup>14</sup> "Only genuine reforms will bring change" 3 November 2019. *Standard*

<sup>15</sup> "Zimbabwe's reform agenda wins endorsements", 10 May 2019-*Herald*

President Ramaphosa said, “Sanctions had serious implications on the country’s population and development”.<sup>16</sup> The word “imposed” has negative implications regarding the economy and development in Zimbabwe, and even the region is fighting for the removal of sanctions.

This collocation shows that the region is concerned about the development of Zimbabwe. The pronouncements of these imposed embargoes also have severe implications on the region regarding trade. The region’s perceptions are to win the international community to engage with Zimbabwe to solve the diplomatic conflict that resulted from the land reform program. This proves an extensive ongoing dialogue between Mnangagwa and Britain concerning removing the imposed sanctions. This reveals the extent to which Britain and its allies should work with Mnangagwa’s government to remove the illegal embargoes, as mentioned by SADC. In one of the articles, Minister Baldwin said that a “number of countries were involved in placing these measures on Zimbabwe, and there are some processes to be followed as far as sanctions are concerned”.<sup>17</sup> Thus the word “imposed” points to the sanctions on Zimbabwe and discussions about what is required to remove them.

**Recovery:** Zimbabwe’s seventh strongest significant lexical collocate is the word “recovery” associated with the diplomatic ties between the two countries. It also refers to USA sanctions under the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act which blocked Zimbabwe’s access to international markets<sup>18</sup>. For example, “The flip side, however, is that if the TSP was a poor policy, it would not need help to fail. Clearly, there is some sort of fear that Zimbabwe could be on an economic recovery path”. This word reveals the relative positions of the two countries and the reasons for their deteriorating relations. The position of the UK is determined by sanctions and the conditions for lifting restrictive measures. Zimbabwe is portrayed as willing to improve its status quo by implementing reforms to alleviate the challenges faced by its people. It is evidence of the mutual understanding that Zimbabwe and the UK enjoyed before the land reform programme in 2000, as reported in the newspapers. On 10 May 2019, *The Herald* reported that the President of South Africa called to remove the imposed restrictive measures to facilitate a smooth recovery process in Zimbabwe, which attempts to reinforce the concept of re-engagement towards maintaining the existing relations. For example, “When South African President Cyril Ramaphosa visited the country in March this year for Zimbabwe-

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<sup>16</sup> “Zimbabwe’s reform agenda wins endorsements”, 10 May 2019-*Herald*

<sup>17</sup> “New Brit Africa minister in town pledges closer cooperation scheduled to meet president today”, *Herald*, 1 February 2018.

<sup>18</sup> “Zimbabwe can rise again”, *Herald*, 30 December 2019.

South Africa Bi-National Commission (BNC), he pledged to support Zimbabwe's economic growth and reform efforts. He called on the West to immediately remove all sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe to allow unhindered recovery".

In another article, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni advocates for lifting sanctions against Zimbabwe since they have affected its economy and hindered Zimbabwe's recovery effort.<sup>19</sup> *The Herald*, 10 May 2019, stated, "He unequivocally called for the removal of the illegal sanctions, which have been blamed for frustrating economic recovery efforts". *The Herald* reports that bilateral ties between the two countries have been affected by a lack of support from International development partners; hence, removing sanctions marks the first step towards Zimbabwe's recovery programme.<sup>20</sup> Mr Hill said, "We are also working with partners in government, such as the Department for International Development and the Foreign & Commonwealth Office, to ensure that efforts to support the macro-economic recovery in Zimbabwe are aligned with support for UK business overseas".

**Return:** The eighth strongest lexical collocation is the word "return". This word relates to the willingness to rejoin the Commonwealth after Mugabe withdrew Zimbabwe's membership in 2003.<sup>21</sup> This indicates the souring of relations between Zimbabwe and the UK; therefore, the word "return" is associated with mending relations between the two countries. Zimbabwe is reportedly showing strides to re-engage the UK, supporting Zimbabwe's move to rejoin the Commonwealth. For example, Dr Moyo announced that "Zimbabwe would follow the steps necessary to rejoin the Commonwealth after appropriate preparations".<sup>22</sup> In one article, Minister Baldwin and Minister Moyo talked about Zimbabwe's possibility of returning to the Commonwealth.<sup>23</sup> For example, Minister Baldwin said that "they had a fruitful engagement focusing on various issues, including sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe by the European and Zimbabwe's possible return to the Commonwealth". Mnangagwa is on record for initiating the need to rejoin the Commonwealth through his re-engagement drive. Baldwin commended sanctions, but she thinks Zimbabwe should rejoin the Commonwealth even though the sanctions are in place. She points out that the UK is fully aware of that, but it requires

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<sup>19</sup> "Zimbabwe's reform agenda wins endorsements", *Herald*, 10 May 2019.

<sup>20</sup> "UK boost, for ED's 'open for business' policy", *Herald*, 22 December 2018.

<sup>21</sup> "Zimbabwe-Britain perfect opportunity", *Herald*, 23 January 2018.

<sup>22</sup> "Brexit no deal could cost Zim US\$4,6 million" *Herald*, 5 May 2019.

<sup>23</sup> "New Brit Africa Minister in town. Pledges closer cooperation...scheduled to meet president today", *Herald*, 1 February 2018.

international processes to be considered.<sup>24</sup> For example, “These are all important issues, and we are certainly all aware of these points that have been raised, and as you know, both of these processes are international processes, and the message that we are hearing from the new Zimbabwe leadership is a very positive one, and I am sure (we) will engage a wide range of international participants in terms of the steps of implementing changes in the future”. *The Herald* reports on Minister Moyo’s visit to London from 10 to 14 July 2019, which is part of the re-engagement drive.<sup>25</sup> Following the above, Minister Moyo informed the parliament of Zimbabwe that the re-engagement efforts yield fruits from the new government’s desire to rebuild the country’s image and return to its place in the international community.<sup>26</sup> This is indicated in the following statement, “Despite the continued existence of illegal economic sanctions, which must be unconditionally removed, the country’s re-engagement efforts are paying dividends as the Second Republic led by President Mnangagwa remains committed to rebuilding the country and engaging the broader family of nations”. Laing was accused of meddling in Zimbabwean politics and said, “As a diplomat, it is my job to try and talk to everyone and to do so as transparently as possible”. She indicated that she does not take sides but is comfortable working with those in leadership.

**Head:** Zimbabwe’s ninth strongest significant lexical collocation is the word “head”. The collocate refers to increasing the cooperation between Zimbabwe and the UK concerning economic and trade activities before Britain exits the European Union.<sup>27</sup> The word is related to Zimbabwe and the UK since it refers to the head of the government of Zimbabwe and the UK or the head of the EU. It seems the cooperation will be increased if Zimbabwe walks their reform agenda.<sup>28</sup> For example, “We talked about our relationship, and I talked about how important it was for the United Kingdom when President Mnangagwa made his commitment to significant economic and political reforms and to uphold the human rights that are in the Constitution”. One article mentions Annabel Gerry, who was part of the envoy that came to Zimbabwe to explore ways of mending relations and areas where the UK can offer assistance.<sup>29</sup> The same minister accompanied Minister Baldwin to talk about the involvement of the UK in

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<sup>24</sup> “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough”, *Herald*, 2 February 2018

<sup>25</sup> “Moyo off to London”, *Herald*, 10 July 2019.

<sup>26</sup> “Reengagement efforts paying off-SB Moyo”, *Herald*, 17 October 2020.

<sup>27</sup> “UK offers Covid-19 vaccines assistance”, *Herald*, 24 December 2020.

<sup>28</sup> “UK offers Covid-19 vaccines assistance”, *Herald*, 24 December 2020

<sup>29</sup> “New Brit-Africa Minister in town, pledges closer cooperation, scheduled to meet president today”, *Herald*, 1 February 2018.

investment opportunities and some of the projects being funded by the Department for International Development (DFID), a department of the UK government.<sup>30</sup> “Head” also refers to the EU head of Delegation to Zimbabwe Ambassador Philippe Van Damme, who refused to comment on the EU’s position concerning the scrapping of sanctions against Zimbabwe ahead of Brexit.<sup>31</sup>

On 25 July 2017, *The Herald* commented on Britain’s act of rejecting Zimbabwe’s new head of mission to the UK, Retired Anselem Sanyatwe. The following statement supports the rejection of Sanyatwe, “We learn that Zimbabwe nominated a new Head of Mission later, but Great Britain rejected this particular individual for what some might call emotional reasons”. The reason was the individual’s involvement in the land reform programme in 2000. However, Zimbabwe wanted its choice to be accredited, but Britain maintained its stance.<sup>32</sup> The collocation is significant in positioning diplomatic relations because it depicts what Mnangagwa, the head of the country, is expected to achieve ahead of economic recovery.

**Engage:** Zimbabwe’s tenth strongest significant lexical collocation is the word “engage”. The word “engage” is frequently associated the Mnangagwa’s mantra “open for business” after his ascendancy to power in 2017. The collocation describes bilateral relations between Zimbabwe and the UK and what needs to be done to restore the relationship.<sup>33</sup> It shows the depth of the relationship between Harare and London during the Mugabe and Mnangagwa eras, including Harare and London’s contributions towards maintaining the relations. On 9 November 2019, *The Herald* stated that Mnangagwa’s foreign policy is clear and focuses on engaging and re-engaging, including that the country is open for business.<sup>34</sup> This is indicated in the following statement: “This is yet another significant indication that the re-engagement policy of President Mnangagwa is on the verge of delivering bountiful prospects”. It emphasises the theme of re-engagement and normalisation of relations between the two countries, reinforcing the desire to transform the undesirable situation in Zimbabwe. In two articles, this collocation refers to the “implementation of reforms to the country’s benefit”.<sup>35</sup> The word “engage” is related to reform

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<sup>30</sup> “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough”, *Herald*, 2 February 2018.

<sup>31</sup> “Brexit could boost Zim-EU relations”, *Herald*, 24 June 2016.

<sup>32</sup> “Brexit: Why Zim is not taking advantage?”, *Herald*, 25 July 2017.

<sup>33</sup> “Queen keen to mend Zim-UK ties”, Harare-22 January 2018.

<sup>34</sup> “Special envoy meets President”, *Herald*, 9 November 2019.

<sup>35</sup> “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough”, *Herald*, 2 February 2018

implementation because it is the only way Zimbabwe can liberate itself from the imposed restrictive measures.

Minister Moyo was quoted talking about the acceleration of the re-engagement programme, which will open a pathway for normalising relations after the appointment of Mr Dominic Raab as the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Affairs in 2019.<sup>36</sup> Ms Laing was reported dismissing allegations that she is partial to the ruling party at the expense of the opposition. Laing said, “To the opposition I have been very clear with them that the pathway that we have set out for Zimbabwe to return to normal international relations would be open to any government in Zimbabwe, and if the opposition had won the election, it would have been Nelson Chamisa, I would now be paying a departure call on”.<sup>37</sup> She revealed that Britain has a well-outlined plan to re-engage Zimbabwe regardless of who is in power.<sup>38</sup>

Through its reform programme, *The Herald* presents a picture of a Zimbabwe eager to restore diplomatic relations. The collocations of “Zimbabwe” depict the origin of the conflict and the impact that the proposed economic and political reforms will have on Zimbabwe. The term “imposed” is used to describe the continual conflict occurring in Zimbabwe. In the news coverage, the collocations depict the relationship between Zimbabwe and sanctions, diplomatic relations, and the economy to illustrate the deterioration of relations and the desire to normalise relations between the two nations through a re-engagement effort. The word “engage” underlines the new dispensation government’s concern over the frosty relations that have negatively impacted Zimbabwe’s economy and trade with the UK. As a means of wooing Britain and other western nations, it is related to Mnangagwa’s slogan, “Zimbabwe is open for business”. *The Herald’s* portrayal of Zimbabwe suggests a spirit of reconciliation and a readiness to go forward. Ambassador Laing and Ambassador Melanie, representing Britain in Zimbabwe, portray the efforts to restore diplomatic relations and their contributions to Zimbabwe’s recovery as a metaphor for the importance of re-establishing diplomatic relations.

### 5.2.2 “UK” collocations (*Herald* corpus)

This section describes the collocates of “UK” in *The Herald* corpus. Table 5.3 presents the strongest raw collocation of “UK” with a minimum frequency of 8 and a span of 5L-5R, and

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<sup>36</sup> “Zim ready to engage UK”, *Herald*, 26 July 2019.

<sup>37</sup> “British envoy bids President farewell”, *Herald*, 20 September 2018.

<sup>38</sup> “British envoy bids President farewell”, *Herald*, 20 September 2018.

Table 5.4 shows the ten strongest significant lexical collocations of “UK”. The common theme emerging from the tables is that “UK” is associated with Zimbabwe in terms of development, trade and envoys from the UK to Zimbabwe.

Table 5.3: Strongest raw collocations of “UK”. Minimum frequency = 8, Span = 5L–5R

Rank	Collocate	MI score	Frequency	Frequency (L)	Frequency (R)
1	Zim	7.19749	12	7	5
2	Market	6.76092	7	2	5
3	Covid	6.18239	5	4	1
4	Envoy	6.09492	5	2	1
5	Zimbabwean	5.53853	6	5	1
6	Ambassador	5.07386	10	2	8
7	Government	5.05460	18	2	16
8	Trade	4.82483	10	7	3
9	Development	4.65882	5	2	3
10	Between	4.65532	9	9	0
11	S	4.50138	23	7	16
12	Has	4.16744	15	1	14
13	Zimbabwe	4.10991	37	19	18
14	The	4.06105	156	117	39
15	Foreign	3.95357	6	0	6

Table 5.4: Ten strongest significant lexical collocations of “UK”

“UK” collocations	
1	Zim/Zimbabwe
2	Market
3	Covid
4	envoy
5	Zimbabwean
6	Ambassador
7	government
8	Trade
9	Development
10	Foreign

**Zim/Zimbabwe:** The name “Zim” appears 12 times in 10 articles in *The Herald* corpus. Zimbabwe is depicted as a country that has been alienated from the UK for various reasons. Zimbabwe’s decision to redistribute the land used by the minority white farmers is one factor contributing to the deterioration of relations.

The collocate is associated with the “UK” concerning the appointment of Retired Colonel Christian Katsande, Ambassador to the UK.<sup>39</sup> Dr Sibanda said, “It is hereby notified that His Excellency the President has, in terms of section 110(2)(i) and 204 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No.20) Act, 2013, appointed Retired Colonel Christian M. Katsande as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland”. *The Herald* stated, “Col. Katsande, a retired soldier, is a former military attaché to Britain, where he served as a diplomatic green-horn in the 1980s”. Katsande’s appointment serves to negotiate to normalise the relations since he was once attached to Britain in the 1980s. Mnangagwa said, “Zimbabwe was preserving rather than hiding its colonial past, and so there should be much better relations with the British”.<sup>40</sup> As stated by Mnangagwa, the emphasis is on reviving the bilateral ties between the two countries.

“Zim” is also associated with British Minister of State Harriet Baldwin and Minister Sibusiso Moyo’s meeting in 2019, where Baldwin acknowledged the progress concerning the implementation of reforms.<sup>41</sup> For example, “In a meeting in London with Foreign Affairs and International Trade Minister Dr Sibusiso Moyo yesterday, British Minister of State for Africa at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Ms Harriet Baldwin gave the reforms the thumbs-up, while UN communications specialist Mr Sirak Gebrehiwot made similar remarks in Masvingo while speaking to journalists on the sidelines of a media workshop on Monday”. One article mentioned that Britain is interested in helping Zimbabwe put resources together to compensate the white farmers affected during the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme.<sup>42</sup> This is indicated in the following statement between Minister Moyo and Minister for Africa Baldwin in 2018, “Britain is keen to assist Zimbabwe to identify resources to compensate former white commercial farmers who lost farms during the land reform programme, an issue that triggered the standoff between Harare and London at the turn of the millennium”. In addition, Zimbabwe is keen to develop critical skills to boost and enhance industrialisation for the benefit of the people.<sup>43</sup> For example, In 2018, Minister of State for Government Scholarships Mushohwe said, “There was nothing that could stop the country’s partners from assisting to ensure that skills development programmes were supported”.

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<sup>39</sup> “Katsande appointed Zim ambassador to UK”, *Herald*, 16 April 2018.

<sup>40</sup> “Zim expects good relations with UK”, *Herald*, 31 October 2020.

<sup>41</sup> “UN-UK note Zim reforms”, *Herald*, 11 July 2019.

<sup>42</sup> “Zim-UK relations move to another level”, *Herald*, 24 April 2018.

<sup>43</sup> “Zim-UK in talks to bridge the skills gap”, *Herald*, 20 June 2018.

The new trade agreements between the two countries are portrayed using the collocation between “Zim/Zimbabwe” and “the UK”. On 4 December 2020, *The Herald* confirmed the signing of an Economic Partnership Agreement motivated by a slight improvement in the relations in 2020. The meeting between Minister Sibusiso Moyo and Ambassador Robinson resulted in the signing of a trade agreement that gives free and open access to Zimbabwean trade into the UK in 2020.<sup>44</sup> Robinson said, “We have agreed on a new trade agreement which provides free and open access to Zimbabwean trade into the UK”. The term “Zimbabwe” positions the UK as an entity with decision-making authority over its former colony.

**Market:** The collocation of “market” with “UK” is associated with trading agreements and opportunities for Zimbabwe in the UK. The trade is facilitated by the interim Economic Partnership Agreement, where Zimbabwe benefits from duty-free and free market access to the UK and EU member countries. *The Herald*, published on 16 April 2019, mentioned that the UK is one of the primary source markets and export destinations for Zimbabwean products in the EU; hence the education programs were offered to local companies concerning export opportunities in the UK market.<sup>45</sup> Britain’s Department for International Trade leader, Mr Hill, said, “Under the agreement, Zimbabwe is enjoying duty-free, quota-free market access to the UK and other EU members. Since 2012, the United Kingdom has been one of the major source markets and export destinations for Zimbabwean products in the EU”. In another article, ambassador Katsande talks about the UK as a potential source market and the efforts to establish Honorary consuls to facilitate development.<sup>46</sup> Katsande said,

Well, let me try and give a bit of context to that question. What we are doing is to pursue the establishment of Honorary Consuls in the various regions within the UK because the source market is big. We believe the presence of Honorary Consuls in Scotland, Ireland (Dublin), and also in England, like in places Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds or so, will give a lot of access to many people, not only for our Diaspora community to access consular services but even potential investors, so that they give us effective communication through these consuls.

The Honorary Consuls are meant to improve diplomatic relations and to widen economic trade between the two countries. The UK is positioned as a source of trade markets to stimulate Zimbabwe's economy in various sectors. The focus is on international trade to improve

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<sup>44</sup> “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”, *Herald*, 4 December 2020.

<sup>45</sup> “Exports to UK up 276 percent”, *Herald*, 16 April 2019.

<sup>46</sup> “Zim ups reengagement drive with the UK”, *Herald*, 27 July 2019

Zimbabwe's standard of living. Zimbabwe is depicted as eager to maximise trade opportunities but constrained by its unfavourable conditions that must be addressed.

**Covid:** The third strongest significant lexical collocation of "UK" is the word "Covid", which refers to an offer made by Britain to vaccinate 20% of Zimbabwe's population. Britain's Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ms Robinson, made that commitment to Vice President Chiwenga. *The Herald*, 24 December 2020, stated, "Britain has offered to vaccinate 20 percent of Zimbabwe's population, the most vulnerable 3 million people, against Covid-19 when the British vaccine is ready, and Government will be mobilising resources to cover those not vaccinated by development partners". This gesture improves the relationship between the two countries.<sup>47</sup> This collocation positions the UK in terms of willingness to mend the diplomatic ties with Zimbabwe and ensure that Zimbabwe observes human rights and the rule of law to better its citizens. This positions the UK as a sender of aid and Zimbabwe as a beneficiary of the aid in a subordinate position to the UK.

**Envoy:** Britain's government sent several envoys to Zimbabwe on different missions to discuss the bilateral ties between the two. These visits happened soon after the change of power from Mugabe to Mnangagwa in 2017. First, in February 2018, Minister of State for Africa Harriet Baldwin visited Zimbabwe to explore ways of mending the relations that turned sour over land redistribution. Baldwin met with Sibusiso Moyo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, to discuss sanctions and the chances of rejoining the Commonwealth.<sup>48</sup> The second "envoy" is associated with an attack on the Foreign Affairs and International Trade Minister, Sibusiso Moyo, during the re-engagement drive focusing on strengthening relations between the two countries. He was assaulted by Zimbabweans residing in the UK over the living conditions in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe summoned the Charge d'Affaires of the UK, Great Britain and Northern Ireland over the matter and advised the UK government to prosecute the perpetrators involved in the assault.<sup>49</sup> Ambassador Paveyn Musaka said, "The Ministry, therefore, calls for the government of the UK to take all measures necessary to bring the perpetrators of the violence against the Minister to book for their actions". The third use of "envoy" is associated with the outgoing British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Catriona Laing, when she commended the improved relations during her farewell with Vice-President

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<sup>47</sup> "UK offers covid-19 vaccine assistance", *Herald*, 24 December 2020.

<sup>48</sup> "New Brit Africa Minister in town pledges closer cooperation", *Herald*, 1 February 2018.

<sup>49</sup> "Moyo attack govt summons UK envoy", *Herald*, 17 July 2019.

Chiwenga. She served in Zimbabwe from 2014 to 2018. She expressed that “the relationship is on a much sounder footing now”,<sup>50</sup> although it suffers challenges along the way. For instance, “Outgoing British Ambassador to Zimbabwe Catriona Laing has commended improved ties between her country and Zimbabwe following two decades of strained relations that followed the implementation of the country’s land reform programme”. The word envoy relates to Laing’s visit to Vice-President Chiwenga to bid farewell and express her concerns over reviving the relations representing the UK. Laing witnessed the transition from Mugabe to Mnangagwa and the 2018 elections. However, she emphasised the importance of implementing economic and political reforms as a way forward.

The fourth use of “envoy” refers to the Acting British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Simon Thomas, during his visit in October 2018 to the Speaker of the National Assembly, Jacob Mudenda, which focused on exploring ways of improving relations. He said, “We have had a very useful meeting this morning; this was a courtesy and introductory call on the Speaker as part of our engagement with Zimbabwe”. He talked about strengthening the relationship between parliaments. He pointed out that the Zimbabwe parliament oversees the government while implementing the reforms because legislators approve policies on behalf of the citizens and oversee the implementation process.<sup>51</sup>

The last use of “envoy” refers to the Director for Africa in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Mrs Harriet Matthews, the West and Southern Africa Director in the UK’s Department for International Development, Ms Debbie Palmer, and British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ms Melanie Robinson, who visited in November 2019. *The Herald*, published on 9 November, stated, “Top Foreign and Commonwealth Office official dealing with Africa Mrs Harriet Matthews is here to assess progress on reforms and yesterday delivered a special message from British Prime Minister Boris Johnson to President Mnangagwa”. The purpose of the visit was to deliver a special message from British Prime Minister Boris Johnson to President Mnangagwa. They talked about the re-engagement process and emphasised two things. First, the envoy headed by Matthews ensured Zimbabwe that the Prime Minister and the UK government followed the events happening in Zimbabwe. Second, Matthew’s report could include what is happening on the economic front, political front and humanitarian front. She

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<sup>50</sup> “Envoy hails improved UK-Zim ties”, *Herald*, 22 September 2018.

<sup>51</sup> “Envoy seeks closer ties between UK-Zim lawmakers”, *Herald*, 16 October 2018.

stresses that the UK is a very close ally of Zimbabwe and is committed to its success and people.<sup>52</sup>

**Zimbabwean:** The fifth strongest significant lexical collocation of “UK” is the word “Zimbabwean”. This collocate refers to Zimbabwe people who live in the UK and the products manufactured and produced in Zimbabwe. *The Herald*, 25 September 2017, mentioned that the UK looked down upon the Zimbabwean mission in London when they rejected Ambassador Katsande who was appointed to represent the country in the UK.<sup>53</sup> *The Herald* stated that “We learn that Zimbabwe nominated a new Head of Mission later, but Great Britain rejected this particular individual for what some might call emotional reasons”. The same article talks about travel regulations concerning dual British-Zimbabwean nationals. They must have valid travel documents, such as a visa or an endorsed entry clearance, to re-enter the UK because the visa was introduced after a standoff between Zimbabwe and the UK in 2000. In addition, it focused on the prospects of Brexit regarding the Zimbabwean economy and the British-Zimbabwean relationship. Finally, it emphasised that more than 300 000 Zimbabwean families reside in the UK, making it difficult to ignore the relationship.<sup>54</sup>

In the other articles, “Zimbabwean” is associated with trade between the two countries. *The Herald* reported that the UK released a direct commercial loan to Zimbabwe to improve Zimbabwean firms’ competitiveness.<sup>55</sup> The government spokesperson George Charamba said, “To improve Zimbabwean firms’ competitiveness, the UK and *The Standard* Chartered Bank partnered to lend companies in the private sector US\$100 million”. Ms Robinson mentions the new trade agreement, enabling Zimbabweans free and open access to trade in the UK. Robinson said, “The UK is supporting Zimbabwean products, and the products are doing well on the market”.<sup>56</sup> This coverage shows an improvement in relations through the support offered by the UK to Zimbabweans. This collocation reinforces the shared ties between the two countries in terms of trade and Zimbabweans living throughout the UK. The United Kingdom is portrayed as tolerant and concerned about Zimbabweans who have relocated to the country since the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy.

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<sup>52</sup> “UK special envoy meets president”, *Herald*, 9 November 2019.

<sup>53</sup> “Brexit: why is Zim not taking advantage”, *Herald*, 25 September 2017.

<sup>54</sup> “Brexit: why is Zim not taking advantage”, *Herald*, 25 September 2017.

<sup>55</sup> “Govt clarifies \$100m UK loan cash woes links”, *Herald*, 22 May 2018.

<sup>56</sup> “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”, *Herald*, 4 December 2020.

**Ambassador:** The word “ambassador” in *The Herald* corpus refers to envoys representing the UK and other countries in Zimbabwe. First is the former UK Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Catriona Laing. *The Herald* mentions that Laing has achieved a lot in trying to mend the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK.<sup>57</sup> It further reports that she had an opportunity to work with Mugabe and Mnangagwa. She said, “I have got that relationship back to a more grown-up, more beneficial and constructive level of engagement where both parties raise issues of concern, and we try to find the way forward”.<sup>58</sup>

Second, the British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ms Robinson, is associated with the new trade agreement between Zimbabwe and the UK, which is a step ahead on the part of Zimbabwe.<sup>59</sup> “We talked about some of the opportunities between our countries. The new trade agreement unlocks trading opportunities for Zimbabweans farmers after Brexit. Robinson said, “We have agreed on a new trade agreement which provides free and open access to Zimbabwean trade into the UK”. Second, Robinson said Britain is willing to work with Zimbabwe to fight and intervene in the health crisis concerning the Covid-19 pandemic and Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) shortages.<sup>60</sup>

Another article refers to the visit of the Acting British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Mr Simon Thomas, to the Speaker of the National Assembly, Advocate Jacob Mudenda. The visit focused on ways of exploring relations that turned sour after the land redistribution programme in Zimbabwe.

Two articles from the corpus talk about the appointment of retired Colonel Christian Katsande as an ambassador to the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland in 2018.<sup>61</sup> In July 2019, Katsande expressed that Britain is Happy with Mnangagwa’s message of addressing the reform agenda, and Zimbabwe is encouraged to implement the political and economic reforms.<sup>62</sup> Ambassador Katsande commented that Zimbabwe is interested in establishing Honorary Consuls in various regions in the UK because of the significant source market.

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<sup>57</sup> “Zimbabwe-Britain perfect opportunity”, *Herald*, 23 January 2018.

<sup>58</sup> “Envoy hails improved UK-Zim ties”, *Herald*, 22 September 2018.

<sup>59</sup> “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”, *Herald*, 4 December 2020.

<sup>60</sup> “Britain backs Zim pandemic effects”, *Herald*, 7 August 2020.

<sup>61</sup> “Katsande appointed Zim ambassador to UK”, *Herald*, 16 March 2018.

<sup>62</sup> “Zim ups re-engagement drive with UK, Diaspora”, *Herald*, 27 July 2019.

The last articles discuss the meeting between British Africa Minister Harriet Baldwin and Zimbabwean Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Dr Sibusiso Moyo in February 2018. Baldwin was accompanied by the British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Catriona Laing, and the Head of DFID Zimbabwe, Mr Annabel Gerry. As mentioned above, Baldwin's mission was to understand the situation on the ground and find areas where the UK could offer a helping hand.<sup>63</sup> This collocation plays an integral part in positioning the UK as more powerful and Zimbabwe as less powerful regarding resources to develop Zimbabwe.

**Government:** "Government" is the seventh strongest significant lexical collocation of "UK" and appears 18 times in nine articles. The collocation refers to the government of Zimbabwe and the UK government. Mostly, it talks about the envoys representing the UK government and their visits to various offices in Zimbabwe. For example, as mentioned above, the government of Zimbabwe summoned the Charge d'Affaires of Great Britain, the UK and Northern Ireland over the attack of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and his delegation in London. The acting secretary for Foreign Affairs and International Trade was reported as expressing dissatisfaction with the government of Zimbabwe and called for the prosecution of the perpetrators.<sup>64</sup> As mentioned above, Ambassador Paveyn Masaka said, "The Ministry, therefore, calls for the government of the UK to take all measures necessary to bring the perpetrators of the violence against the Minister to book for their actions".

These articles discuss Zimbabwe's willingness to re-engage with the UK to normalise their relations. The UK government is committed to seeing Zimbabwe implement the reform agenda, including respecting the rule of law and human rights.<sup>65</sup> The other focus is on facilitating trade opportunities for Zimbabwean firms in the UK, which resulted in the signing of trade agreements to improve the economy of Zimbabwe.<sup>66</sup> The government of Zimbabwe is reported as being not happy with the remarks made by UK lawmaker Lord Adrian Palmer (in January 2019) to recolonise Zimbabwe in the name of protecting the lives of the citizens due to the protests by MDC Alliance supporters and civil society.<sup>67</sup> *The Herald* stated, "Government has described as regrettable and unfortunate remarks by UK lawmaker Lord Adrian Palmer calling

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<sup>63</sup> "New Brit Africa Minister in town pledges closer cooperation scheduled to meet president today", *Herald*, 1 February 2018.

<sup>64</sup> "SB Moyo attack: Gvt summons UK envoy", *Herald* 17 July 2019.

<sup>65</sup> "Zim on cusp of breakthrough", *Herald*, 2 February 2018.

<sup>66</sup> "Brexit: Why Zim is not taking advantage", *Herald*, 25 September 2017.

<sup>67</sup> "Gvt blasts UK Lord's recolonisation call", *Herald*, 24 January 2019.

for Britain’s recolonisation of Zimbabwe on the pretext of safeguarding the lives of its citizens following last week’s violent demonstrations orchestrated by MDC-Alliance and its affiliates”. The word “government” is used to positively position Zimbabwe because of the willingness to implement the reform agenda and plans to hold free and fair elections. Britain is positively positioned through the development programmes and the trading opportunities between the countries. However, Britain is negatively positioned due to imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe, and Zimbabwe is negatively positioned due to human rights violations and unfair electoral processes.

**Trade:** The eighth strongest significant lexical collocation of “UK” is the word “trade”, associated with trade relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. The collocation is mentioned ten times in three articles and discusses the UK’s willingness to formalise and normalise trade relations. Trade reflects the level of relationship between the countries and the goods and services exchanged in the process. The British ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ms Robinson, mentioned that the two countries are enjoying excellent trade relations amounting to US\$400m of trade in goods from Zimbabwe to the UK.<sup>68</sup> Robinson said, “We have excellent trade relationships at the moment over US\$400 million of trade in goods from Zimbabwe go to the UK”. She said that the UK aims to increase trade and economic cooperation, evident in the trade agreement between the two countries.<sup>69</sup> *The Herald* reports that Zimbabwe benefits from duty-free, quota-free market access to the UK and other EU countries under the Interim Economic Agreement.<sup>70</sup> Robinson said, “Under the agreement, Zimbabwe is enjoying duty-free, quota-free market access to the UK and other EU members. Since 2012, the United Kingdom has been one of the major source markets and export destinations for Zimbabwean products in the EU”. The word “trade” signals the economic development taking shape and the support given to Zimbabwe by the UK.

**Development:** The collocate “development” is associated with Mnangagwa’s re-engagement drive. One article mentions that the head of the Department for International Development for Zimbabwe and South Africa, Annabel Gerry, was part of the meeting between Harriet Baldwin and President Mnangagwa. The Department of International Development is assisting projects in Zimbabwe and is committed to investing in various projects in the private sector.<sup>71</sup> In

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<sup>68</sup> “JUST IN” Britain ready to work with Zim, Envoy”, *Herald*, 23 October 2019.

<sup>69</sup> “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”, *Herald*, 4 December 2020.

<sup>70</sup> “Exports to UK up 276 percent”, *Herald*, 16 April 2019.

<sup>71</sup> “Zim on the cusp of breakthrough”, *Herald*, 2 February 2018.

addition, the investment is based on adherence to the reforms set by the president. The second article discusses the Minister of Health's appreciation of development partners' assistance to the health sector.<sup>72</sup> Chiwenga said, "They also talked about the restructuring exercise of the Ministry of Health and Child Care as well as the important support the health sector is getting from development partners". The other article reports that the presidential Press Secretary, George Charamba, said there is a direct link between the improvement in the supply of cash through the loan from the Commonwealth Development Corporation, known as the UK's Development Finance Institution. The CDC availed a \$100m loan in support of Zimbabwe's businesses (food processing, manufacturing and agricultural sectors).<sup>73</sup> As mentioned above, "Companies in food processing, manufacturing and agricultural sectors are likely to benefit from the loan for capital expenditure or working capital".

**Foreign:** The last strongest significant lexical collocation of "UK" is the word "foreign". It refers to UK Foreign Secretary Boris Johnson from 2016 to 2018 and Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Sibusiso Moyo.<sup>74</sup> The collocate is associated with the foreign affairs ministry responsible for diplomatic relations and communication with other countries. The foreign affairs ministries represent countries on different platforms marketing their products to attract more friends. One of the articles in the corpus talks about Minister Moyo's visit to the UK to attend a Global Conference for Media Freedom. The Minister plans to engage with the office of Her Majesty's Government to strengthen the bilateral ties.<sup>75</sup> As mentioned above, Foreign Affairs spokesperson Sheppard Gwenzi said, "In addition to attending the Conference, the Minister would seek to engage with officials of Her Majesty's Government with a view to further strengthen Zimbabwe's bilateral relations with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland".

*The Herald's* coverage of the diplomatic relations appears to support the decisions taken by the government of Mnangagwa. The publication supports the UK and its actions towards Zimbabwe as a country. "UK" collocations portray an improvement in the relationship between the two countries, marked by trade agreements and various development programmes to strengthen the ties. Also, the word "envoy" shows the interest of the UK government in sending various diplomatic envoys to Zimbabwe to explore ways of mending relations and areas of

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<sup>72</sup> "UK offers Covid-19 vaccines assistance", *Herald*, 24 December 2020.

<sup>73</sup> "Gvt clarifies \$100m UK loan cash woes link", *Herald*, 22 May 2018.

<sup>74</sup> "UK backs Zim's return to the Commonwealth", *Herald*, 1 May 2018.

<sup>75</sup> "Moyo off to London" *Herald*, 10 July 2019.

need to improve the lives of Zimbabweans. *The Herald* presents the Zimbabwean government in a positive light by highlighting the UK envoys' support for the Zimbabwean government's reform agenda and intentions to organise free and fair elections in 2018. The Zimbabwean government is pleased with the signals sent by British envoys, emphasising the significance of rebuilding relations between the two countries. The effort demonstrates that Mnangagwa's government is concerned about regular Zimbabweans and is working hard to normalise the country's condition.

These claims frame identities and position the relations between the two countries, directly or indirectly influencing public opinions. Naturally, this has implications for the knowledge built by *The Herald* for public consumption. By so doing, *The Herald* has the power to attract and persuade actors to support their practices and policies. *The Herald* is regarded as the watchdog over the executive, legislature and judiciary and should be neutral in its news coverage. As a result, public debates on the diplomatic relations between the two countries are sparked by *The Herald's* emphasis on the issue's significance. By valuing diplomatic ties and the government's perspective, *The Herald* advances the goals of the Zimbabwean government. Being impartial enables *The Herald* to report events as they occur to further its objectives. *The Herald* also helps the Zimbabwean government by publishing news based on facts and the truth to represent the country and its leadership accurately.

### 5.2.3 “UK” collocations (*Standard* corpus)

The collocations of “UK” in *The Standard* are grouped into three major areas: trade agreements, normalisation of relations and the representatives. The strongest raw collocations of “UK” in *The Standard* corpus are examined to show the positioning of the countries in terms of their relationship. The UK is depicted as endorsing the leadership of Mnangagwa by sending an envoy to represent it during President Mnangagwa's inauguration in 2018. *The Standard* highlights corrupt activities and human rights violations during Mugabe's reign and supports Mnangagwa's regime. Table 5.5 presents the strongest raw collocation of “UK” with a minimum frequency of 8 and a span of 5L–5R. Table 5.6 shows the ten strongest significant lexical collocations of “UK”.

Table 5.5: Strongest raw collocations of “UK”. Minimum frequency = 3, Span = 5L–5R

Rank	Collocate	MI score	Frequency	Frequency (L)	Frequency (R)
1	Remains	8.10085	3	2	1
2	Minister	6.61452	3	2	1
3	Made	6.58989	4	2	2

Rank	Collocate	MI score	Frequency	Frequency (L)	Frequency (R)
4	Clear	6.42278	3	1	2
5	Cl	6.33532	3	2	1
6	Zimbabwean	6.17485	3	3	0
7	Human	5.55241	4	2	2
8	Rights	5.51589	4	2	2
9	EU	5.40486	5	0	5
10	Said	5.37839	4	3	1
11	Into	5.33532	3	1	2
12	Zimbabwe	5.08293	14	9	5
13	No	4.97984	4	4	0

Table 5.6: Strongest significant lexical collocations of “UK”. Minimum frequency = 3, Span = 5L–5R

“UK” collocations	
1	Remains
2	Minister
3	Made
4	Clear
5	Zimbabwean
6	Human rights
7	EU
8	Said
9	Zimbabwe
10	No

**Remains:** The first strongest significant lexical collocate of “UK” is the word “remains”. It appears three times in three articles. The collocate “remains” refers to Britain’s ability to provide financial assistance to Zimbabwe in various sectors. *The Standard*, published on 30 October 2016, stated, “In the meantime, the UK *remains* one of the two largest donors here supporting the people of Zimbabwe through the humanitarian programme in response to the drought as well as health, education, livelihoods and governance”.<sup>76</sup> This places the United Kingdom in the position of affluence, while Zimbabwe is in the position of receiving aid. In *The Standard* article, published on 15 March 2020, Britain’s Defence Minister Earl Howe said that “the UK remains aligned to the EU’s restrictive measures on Zimbabwe during the transition period”.<sup>77</sup> The word “remains” is linked to Britain’s position pertaining removal of sanctions against Zimbabwe. Because of human rights abuses during the Fast-Track Land

<sup>76</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

<sup>77</sup> “Allies tell Mnangagwa reform only choice”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

Reform Programme in 2000, the EU and the UK collaborated to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe. In the same article, Howe contends, “The country remains one of the UK’s 30 human rights-priority countries”. Zimbabwe is positioned as a country with little choice but to comply with the United Kingdom’s demands to enjoy diplomatic relations with it. The United Kingdom is positioned as exercising control over Zimbabwe to normalise relations.

**Minister:** The second strongest significant lexical collocation of “UK” is “minister”, which refers to Britain’s Defence Minister Earl Howe, Minister for Africa, the first UK minister to visit Zimbabwe after two decades, in 2018. It appears four times in two articles. The word “minister” indicates individuals appointed by the government to represent the country in different portfolios. The ministers mentioned above deliver messages from British Prime Minister Theresa May to give assurance of support to the new dispensation government led by Mnangagwa. One article mentions that Howe is interested in mending the relations to achieve the common purpose of both countries to improve the lives of Zimbabweans.<sup>78</sup> For example, Laing said,

The changes were welcomed, most importantly, by Zimbabweans themselves. We think that the new president Emmerson Mnangagwa has made a good start in trying to set Zimbabwe back onto a positive trajectory. It is still early days. Everyone has their eye on the elections later this year. They must be credible, transparent, and free from intimidation for Zimbabwe to be fully welcomed back into the international community. Nevertheless, these first steps look positive.

The meeting was between President Mnangagwa, the Minister for Africa, and Ambassador Laing. *The Standard* reported that this could only be achieved by implementing economic and political reforms by the government of Mnangagwa. Minister Howe emphasised the importance of encouraging Zimbabwe to carry out the reform agenda to revive the diplomatic relations between the countries. Howe said, “However, we have to face the reality that no package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms”. *The Standard*, published on 23 March 2017, stated that “This unique dataset provides minutes of meetings and other relevant communications between the British High Commission, Harare, the Prime Minister’s Office, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Cabinet Office and the Ministry of Defence, London, as well as the US Department of State

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<sup>78</sup> “Allies tell Mnangagwa reform only choice”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

and the US Embassy in Harare”.<sup>79</sup> The term “minister” is commonly used to refer to government officials who represent their respective countries in meetings with members of the government of Zimbabwe.

**Made:** The third strongest significant lexical collocation of “UK” is the word “made”. The collocate is mentioned four times in one article. First, “made” refers to the commitment by the UK to ensure that human rights and the rule of law are observed in Zimbabwe. Laing said, “The Conservative government in the UK made a commitment to stand up for the rule of law and human rights in Zimbabwe”. Secondly, Laing emphasised that the support rendered to Zimbabwe does not include a government bailout, which shows that the UK is clear regarding areas that need help. As mentioned above, Laing said, “You are right – there is no bailout for Zimbabwe, and there will be no bailout for Zimbabwe”. In other words, Britain continues to give humanitarian support to Zimbabwe but does not clear the debts owed to international financial institutions. Finally, it is linked to the products produced in Zimbabwe and exported to the UK. Laing said, “Rather than thinking just of goods on British shelves, one of Zimbabwe’s greatest exports should be tourism – attracting British and other tourists and their spending power here”. Britain asserts that there is still trade between the two countries despite the soured relations.<sup>80</sup>

**Clear:** The fourth strongest significant lexical collocate of “UK” is the word “clear”, which refers to the transparency between Zimbabwe and the UK concerning the support given to Zimbabwe by Britain. It appears three times in two articles. In one article, it is reported that Zimbabwe and the UK’s relationship is transparent in terms of their goals, which is to improve the conditions of living of Zimbabweans.<sup>81</sup> Laing said, “The UK already puts substantial funding into Zimbabwe, more than \$100 million per year. Our programmes include basic services, agriculture and livelihoods, wealth creation, governance and the rule of law”. The emphasis is on the UK’s support given to Zimbabwe during these trying times. The collocate is also associated with President Mnangagwa’s willingness to prioritise the availability of jobs in Zimbabwe and the urgency of implementing the reform agenda.<sup>82</sup> Laing asserts, “He knows that will need substantial investment, both domestic and foreign, and that will require a serious reform agenda. That will include stabilising the economy and sorting out the currency,

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<sup>79</sup> “Gukurahundi-secrets-revealed”, *Standard*, 23 April 2017.

<sup>80</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

<sup>81</sup> “Potential for Zim to grow hope to rejoin commonwealth”, *Standard*, 28 January 2018.

<sup>82</sup> “Potential for Zim to grow hope to rejoin commonwealth”, *Standard*, 28 January 2018.

reforming the public sector, robust protections for investors, making it easier to do business here, clearer guarantees on land and resolving the compensation issues”. The word “clear” is associated with the implementation of clear policies by Zimbabwe and the stances taken by Britain to stabilise the situation in Zimbabwe.

In two articles, Laing mentions that the UK’s support of Zimbabwe does not include bailouts. However, Zimbabwe paid some of its debts, and it is in the process of clearing the World Bank and African Development Bank arrears. Therefore, the UK has made it understandable that their support will be influenced by addressing the rule of law and human rights violations, including a clean record of economic reforms.<sup>83</sup> Because of this, the collocation shows the willingness of Zimbabwe to address the reform agenda and clearing what it owes international organisations. Laing stated, “Zimbabwe has cleared its arrears with the International Monetary Fund and is trying to clear the debt it owes to the World Bank and African Development Bank”. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the UK advocates that its support is only strengthened by Zimbabwe’s willingness to improve its citizens’ livelihood by desisting from corrupt activities and violation of human rights.

**Zimbabwean:** The fifth strongest significant lexical collocation of “UK” is “Zimbabwean”, associated with trade agreements, immigrant families, and twinning Zimbabwean and British cities. The collocate “Zimbabwean” appears three times in one article. The articles in the corpus mention Ambassador Catriona Laing in the initiative to strengthen trade activities between the two countries and ensure the competitiveness of the British industries.<sup>84</sup> She said, “I think the trade situation could be improved. There are some great British companies and brands which are highly visible in the Zimbabwean market, including Jaguar-Land Rover, Barclays, Standard Chartered, Unilever, British Airways, FastJet etc., and if the business environment here improved, there would be more”. The discussion focuses on improving trading opportunities between the UK and Zimbabwe to enhance their diplomatic relations. The UK is presented as providing Zimbabwe with chances to cooperate with different British businesses. In addition, the collocate is associated with Zimbabwean families living in the UK and their immigration status.<sup>85</sup> As mentioned above, Laing said, “We do not have a separate immigration policy for

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<sup>83</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

<sup>84</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 December 2016.

<sup>85</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

Zimbabwe, and everything we know suggests there is probably no ‘typical’ Zimbabwean migrant”.

**Human rights:** The sixth strongest significant collocation of “UK” is the phrase “human rights”, which is connected to the violation of the rule of law in Zimbabwe as stipulated in the Constitution of Zimbabwe. The collocations “human” and “rights” were joined to form a significant collocation of “human rights” because human refers to everyone who has moral entitlement in the country. Britain’s Defence Minister Earl Howe expressed UK’s concern about human rights in Zimbabwe in March 2020.<sup>86</sup> Howe stated, “We are seriously concerned about human rights in Zimbabwe”. One of the articles released on 23 April 2017 demonstrates the UK’s concern over the Zimbabwe National Army’s brutal actions against people in Matebeleland in the early 1980s.<sup>87</sup> It stated, “The current British government policy is to stand up for human rights and the rule of law in Zimbabwe, and we have a record of doing so strongly”. The USA has censured and condoned government employees who violated human rights. *The Standard*, published on 15 March 2020, stated that “The United States last week slapped State Security minister Owen Ncube, a close Mnangagwa ally, and Zimbabwe’s ambassador to Tanzania Anselem Sanyatwe with travel bans and asset freezes, accusing them of human rights abuses, including the killing of protesters”. Zimbabwe is perceived as a lawless nation with government officials who violate the rule of law to maintain their positions of power. The articles reveal that human rights abuses began shortly after independence, and the Mnangagwa administration continued the same practices.

**EU:** The seventh strongest significant lexical collocates of “UK” is “EU”, which refers to the European Union. It appears five times in four articles in the corpus. The European Union is portrayed as being in joint agreement regarding imposing sanctions on Zimbabwe. In three articles, it is reported that no UK or EU sanctions are placed on Zimbabwe's economy.<sup>88</sup> Laing said, “There are no UK or EU sanctions in place on the wider economy, and the ‘sanctions’ narrative is a red herring”.<sup>89</sup> It is understood that sanctions were placed on individuals, not on the economy of Zimbabwe.

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<sup>86</sup> “Allies tell Mnangagwa reform only choice”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

<sup>87</sup> “Gukurahundi secrets exposed”. *Standard*, 23 April 2017.

<sup>88</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

<sup>89</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

The EU is also associated with the UK concerning Britain's withdrawal from the EU, where Zimbabwe stands to lose trade benefits since it exports various products to the UK.<sup>90</sup> *The Standard*, published on 5 May 2019, stated that "Zimbabwe stands to lose at least 5% of its yearly exports to the United Kingdom in the case of Britain leaving the European Union without a deal, a new United Nations agency report has shown". The EU is depicted as the major player in terms of the restrictive measures placed upon Zimbabwe, and the UK remains aligned to that despite its withdrawal from the EU.

**Said:** The eighth strongest significant lexical collocation of "UK" is the word "said". The word "said" appears three times in one article and is associated with Britain's Defence Minister Earl Howe. As mentioned above, "Howe said Zimbabwe remained on the UK's 30 human rights priority countries as Mnangagwa's government continued with the persecution of opposition supporters and civil society activists".<sup>91</sup> The article accounts for Britain's position concerning the sanctions against Zimbabwe during the transition period. Howe acknowledged that the UK is not in total agreement with the EU's approach to sanctions and emphasised that Zimbabwe will not be removed from the UK's 30 human rights priority countries because of the persecution of opposition supporters by Mnangagwa.<sup>92</sup>

**Zimbabwe:** The ninth strongest significant collocate of the "UK" is the country "Zimbabwe". It is associated with normal relations, UK's immigration policy, human rights, exports, and bailouts. One of the articles reported that Britain's Defence Minister Howe expressed worry over the economy of Zimbabwe. He said, "The economic crisis in Zimbabwe is very serious indeed". The prices of commodities are beyond the reach of the poor, and inflation has skyrocketed over the past years. The articles in the corpus mentioned the significant development in normalising the relations and acknowledgement of the trade relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. For example, this collocation shows the interest of both countries in returning to normal relations. Catriona Laing said, "It is in the interests of both Zimbabwe and the UK to return to normal relations, but the terms need to be right for the benefit of our two peoples. The Conservative government in the UK committed to stand up for the rule of law and human rights in Zimbabwe, and this guides all the work here".<sup>93</sup> *The Standard*, published on 5 May 2019, stated that "Zimbabwe stands to lose at least 5% of its yearly exports to the United

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<sup>90</sup> "Brexit no deal could cost Zim US\$4.6 million", *Standard*, 5 May 2019.

<sup>91</sup> "Allies tell Mnangagwa reform only choice", *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

<sup>92</sup> "Allies tell Mnangagwa reform only choice", *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

<sup>93</sup> "No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador", *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

Kingdom in the case of Britain leaving the European Union without a deal, a new United Nations agency report has shown”. The article indicates that the United Kingdom is Zimbabwe’s most important trading partner, and the two countries must retain their commercial ties. Laing clarified the immigration status of Zimbabweans living in the UK. She emphasised, “We do not have a separate immigration policy for Zimbabwe, and everything we know suggests there is probably no “typical” Zimbabwean migrant”. This describes how the United Kingdom supports human rights irrespective of nationality.

**No:** The tenth strongest significant lexical collocation of “UK” is the word “no”. The collocation “no” depicts the negativity on the side of the United Kingdom towards addressing the situation in Zimbabwe. The collocate “no” portrays the UK’s position concerning the humanitarian support given to Zimbabwe, which excludes the clearing of debts.<sup>94</sup> As mentioned above, Laing said, “You are right – there is no bailout for Zimbabwe, and there will be no bailout for Zimbabwe”. In addition, *The Standard*, published on 30 October 2016, highlights Britain’s stance, which implies that the UK and EU did not impose sanctions against Zimbabwe but restrictive measures on individuals. Finally, the article mentioned that if the UK left the EU without a trade agreement deal, Zimbabwe would tend to lose trade agreements since it exports goods to London.<sup>95</sup>

The UK is positioned favourably in *The Standard* due to its efforts to normalise diplomatic relations with Zimbabwe. Britain is portrayed as compassionate and supportive through its development programmes in Zimbabwe. The UK is portrayed as a trading partner facilitating Zimbabwean goods’ availability on the British market. The collocations portray the UK as a nation that upholds its rule of law and democracy through its migration policy that welcomes Zimbabweans. By sending envoys to assess the situation in Zimbabwe and identify disadvantaged areas to promote trade and development programmes, the UK projects an image of concern for Zimbabwe. The collocations describe the policy positions of Zimbabwe and the UK and elaborate on what must be done to improve the situation in Zimbabwe.

#### 5.2.4 “Zimbabwe” collocations (*Standard* corpus)

The “Zimbabwe” collocations are divided into two themes. The first theme focuses on the credit lines extended by the International Monetary Fund, European Union, World Bank and

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<sup>94</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

<sup>95</sup> “Brexit no deal could cost Zim us4,6million”, *Standard*, 5 May 2019.

the UK to Zimbabwe. The second theme emphasises Zimbabwe’s internal and external problems as a country. The fourteen strongest collocations are presented in 5.7. Collocations were refined to come up with the ten strongest significant lexical “Zimbabwe” collocations, as presented in Table 5.8.

Table 5.7: Strongest raw collocations of “Zimbabwe”. Minimum frequency = 3, Span = 5L–5R

Rank	Collocate	MI score	Frequency	Frequency (L)	Frequency (R)
1	Bailout	6.91943	3	3	0
2	West	6.50439	3	2	1
3	Crises	6.40486	7	0	7
4	Nichols	6.18247	3	1	2
5	Real	6.07143	5	4	1
6	Ambassador	5.72679	7	5	2
7	Service	5.69704	3	1	2
8	Relations	5.52711	8	4	4
9	Problems	5.50439	3	1	2
10	Might	5.50439	3	2	1
11	Current	5.50439	3	2	1
12	Crisis	5.50439	3	2	1
13	Continued	5.50439	3	2	1
14	Pay	5.46000	4	0	4

Table 5.8: Strongest significant lexical collocations of “Zimbabwe”. Minimum frequency = 3, Span = 5L–5R

Zimbabwe collocations	
1	Bailout
2	West
3	Crises/crisis
4	Real
5	Ambassador
6	Service
7	Relations
8	Problems
9	Might
10	Pay

**Bailout:** The first strongest significant lexical collocation of “Zimbabwe” is the word “bailout”. The collocate “bailout” is associated with Zimbabwe regarding clearing debts owed to international institutions. *The Standard*, published on 30 October 2016, contends that Ms Laing explained that there is no bailout for Zimbabwe unless it clears all outstanding debts for credit lines to be opened. Laing said, “You are right – there is no bailout for Zimbabwe, and there will be no bailout for Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has cleared its arrears with the International Monetary Fund and is in the process of trying to clear the debt arrears that it owes to the World

Bank and African Development Bank”. The clearing of debts is the key to open credit lines, and it is marked by the government’s progress in implementing political and economic reforms.<sup>96</sup> The UK is clear that it will support Zimbabwe in various programmes to benefit the citizens, but it is not clear about the money Zimbabwe owes to the African Development Bank and the World Bank. However, the UK is portrayed as willing to help Zimbabwe, ensure trade between the two countries, and finance education, agriculture, and health sectors to improve people’s lives. It depicts the United Kingdom as the wealthy nation and Zimbabwe as the submissive nation in its request for a bailout.

**West:** The second strongest significant lexical collocation of “Zimbabwe” is “West”. The word “West” is linked to Margret Thatcher’s government and the Land Reform agenda. It portrays Zimbabwe as an enemy to the nation’s progress and the West as the protector of democratic values. As mentioned above, “When the new dispensation policy was at its apex, the first country to warm up to the idea of normalisation of Zimbabwe’s relations with the West was the United Kingdom whose motive, however, was to set up a trap using compensation as a bait and government unwittingly walked into the trap, thereby betraying the people who voted it into power”. It refers to the colonisation of Zimbabwe and social injustices, which are believed to be orchestrated by the West.<sup>97</sup> *The Standard*, 13 November 2019 stated, “One sore point of the liberation struggle was the uneven and untenable distribution of land, which saw a small white minority of 4% own and control over 80% of the land”. The reports are on criticism of the West concerning the situation in Zimbabwe during the Mugabe era regarding normalising relations between London and Harare. *The Standard*, 13 November 2019, reiterated, “So, by 2000, when Western countries began to suspend government-to-government aid and later impose targeted measures, the Zimbabwean economy was already in a deep hole, the politics already violent and the behaviour of political elites long corrupt and predatory”.<sup>98</sup> It is thought that the West’s slow withdrawal of financial assistance to Zimbabwe contributed to the country’s economy’s decline. The word “West” is associated with financial aid, land reform programme and the downfall of the Zimbabwean economy.

Another article reports on the soft stance taken by London towards the Mnangagwa government. The West is portrayed as the source of sanctions against Zimbabwe, while the

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<sup>96</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

<sup>97</sup> “Govt must extricate itself from trap of compensation”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

<sup>98</sup> “Zimbabwe how sanctions became a geopolitical foot”, *Standard*, 13 November 2019.

SADC is campaigning to remove these restrictive measures.<sup>99</sup> As mentioned above, “Zimbabwe has also won the backing of the Southern African Development Community and the African Union to lobby against the sanctions”. The UK is portrayed as part of the West. The UK is lobbying for the implementation of genuine political and economic reforms to benefit the people of Zimbabwe before the uplifting of the sanctions.<sup>100</sup> *The Standard*, published on 15 March 2020, stated, “Meanwhile, Britain’s Defence Minister Earl Howe told the House of Lords last week that London would not soften its stance against Mnangagwa’s government until it implements genuine political and economic reforms”. *The Standard*, published on 15 March 2020, holds the view that despite UK’s backing for Zimbabwe, London desires for constitutional reform in Harare. This is related to the collocate “West” in that it is held responsible for Zimbabwe’s struggling economy and people’s woes.

**Crises:** The third collocation that shows the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK is “crises”. It is linked to the problems being experienced by Zimbabweans, which include power blackouts, fuel shortages, medicines, banning foreign currency use and inflation.<sup>101</sup> *The Standard*, 13 November 2019, reported that inflation had risen dramatically in the last three months. In June, the government banned the use of foreign currency, sending the country into a downward economic spiral”. The crises are associated with Mugabe’s decision to redistribute the land, resulting in souring relations between the two countries and imposing restrictive measures.<sup>102</sup> As mentioned above, *The Standard*, 13 November 2019, “Ask the ruling elite in Zanu PF; they will tell you the problems started when Robert Mugabe decided to redistribute land from a handful of white commercial farmers to the majority black population”. Mugabe was compelled to handle his domestic problems without involving the UK through the Fast-Track Land Reform initiative.

In two articles, “crises” refers to Zimbabwe’s economic meltdown and the need to address the situation. Mnangagwa is depicted as the person who can turn around the situation in Zimbabwe if he can end human rights abuses and implement reforms to benefit the people of Zimbabwe.<sup>103</sup> Howe stated that “My Lords, I acknowledge the noble Lord’s long-standing and close interest in Zimbabwe and its people, and I agree that we must continue to give hope and encouragement

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<sup>99</sup> “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

<sup>100</sup> “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

<sup>101</sup> “Zimbabwe how sanctions became a geopolitical foot”, *Standard*, 13 November 2019.

<sup>102</sup> “Zimbabwe how sanctions became a geopolitical foot”, *Standard*, 13 November 2019.

<sup>103</sup> “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

to all those who want to see the genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe”, The Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD) expressed its concern on the government pace towards addressing the political, electoral, security and economic reforms. These concerns were expressed during their meeting with the British Ambassador Melanie Robinson, US Ambassador Brian Nichols and EU Ambassador Tim Olkkonen.<sup>104</sup> Britain’s Defence Minister Earl Howe stated, “Our focus at the moment is on mitigating the worst impacts of the economic crisis and concentrating on the most vulnerable Zimbabweans”. The word “crisis” is related to inflation in Zimbabwe and explains how the poor economy affects the citizens.

**Real:** The fourth strongest significant lexical collocation of “Zimbabwe” is “real”, which is associated with crises in Zimbabwe. It describes the actual situation and the forces behind it. For example, one article mentions that the anti-sanctions campaign is used to divert the people of Zimbabwe from the actual causes of the problems in the country. USA ambassador to Zimbabwe Brian Nichols said, "The SADC anti-sanctions campaign, orchestrated by the government of Zimbabwe, is really an effort to distract the people of Zimbabwe from the real causes of Zimbabwe’s profound problems”.<sup>105</sup> The word “real” describes actual events (corrupt activities and economic crises) that are significant in Zimbabweans’ lives.

On the other hand, the UK justifies that the restrictive measures only target a group of individuals, not the people of Zimbabwe. “It is these sanctions, they [the ruling elite in ZANU-PF] argue, that precipitated the economic crisis that has endured and worsened over the years, reaching breaking point”. *The Standard* emphasises that corrupt activities and human rights abuses might be the actual causes of strife in the country. It also reports that the UK and the US are meddling in the internal affairs of Zimbabwe by showing support for opposition members, such as Tendai Biti’s case with the Russian businesswoman.<sup>106</sup> *The Standard*, 18 December 2020, stated, “Biti was arrested on 4 December for allegedly calling Aleshina an ‘idiot’ and exchanging harsh words with her”. The word “real” is connected to Biti’s case because Zimbabwe tried to distract people from important national issues by focusing on insignificant incidents like this.

Another article mentions that the actual reason for the crises in Zimbabwe is not sanctions but the failure to uphold the country’s Constitution. Laing contends, “There are no UK or EU

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<sup>104</sup> “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

<sup>105</sup> “British hypocrisy exposed” *Standard*, 18 December 2020.

<sup>106</sup> “British hypocrisy exposed” *Standard*, 18 December 2020.

sanctions in place on the wider economy, and the ‘sanctions’ narrative is a red herring”. Failure to observe the Constitution of Zimbabwe points to bad governance, poor leadership and corruption by political elites.<sup>107</sup> For this reason, Zimbabwe must address the corruption activities and governance principles founded on the rule of law to normalise relations with the UK and the international world.<sup>108</sup> As mentioned above, *The Standard*, 13 November 2019, stated, “But, this does not and cannot exonerate ZANU-PF and the government for triggering and creating the economic crises by its retrogressively corrupt and undemocratic policies and practices”.

**Ambassador:** The fifth strongest significant lexical collocate of “Zimbabwe” is the word “Ambassador”. It is associated with Zimbabwe’s ambassador to Tanzania, Anselem Sanyatwe, mentioned in conjunction with the 1 August 2018 demonstrations that killed six civilians. He was involved in human rights violations and the killing of protesters and was slapped with a travel ban and assets freezes.<sup>109</sup> *The Standard*, 15 March 2020, stated, “The United States last week slapped State Security minister Owen Ncube, a close Mnangagwa ally, and Zimbabwe’s ambassador to Tanzania Anselem Sanyatwe with travel bans and asset freezes, accusing them of human rights abuses, including the killing of protesters”.

The second article is linked to Britain’s ambassador to Zimbabwe from 2014 to 2018, Catriona Laing. Laing expresses the interests of both countries to mend the relations between them. She emphasised that London advocates for Zimbabwe’s rule of law and human rights to return to normal. However, she is unequivocal that the UK will not bail out Zimbabwe.<sup>110</sup>

In two articles, the collocate “ambassador” is associated with the EU ambassador to Zimbabwe, Philippe Van Damme. He commented on the slowness of implementing the reforms process and indicated that the EU is not part of the regime change in Zimbabwe. However, he is quoted as working with the government to align the laws to the new Constitution.<sup>111</sup> The EU ambassador issued a statement confirming the EU’s willingness to engage and support the

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<sup>107</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

<sup>108</sup> “Zimbabwe how sanctions became a geopolitical foot”, *Standard*, 13 November 2019.

<sup>109</sup> “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

<sup>110</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016.

<sup>111</sup> “Why EU is working with Mugabe”, *Standard*, 18 February 2018.

reform agenda through the re-engagement drive if Zimbabwe's government is committed to implementing reforms to benefit its citizens.<sup>112</sup>

**Service:** "Service" is the sixth strongest significant lexical collocate of "Zimbabwe". The collocation is associated with the large amounts of money Zimbabwe owes to international financial institutions. Zimbabwe is reported as failing to service its debts soon after grabbing the land from the white commercial farmers.<sup>113</sup> *The Standard*, 13 November 2019, stated, "The violent land seizures caused a sharp decline in agricultural production, a key basis for exports, putting pressure on forex reserves and further weakening the currency. This led to Zimbabwe failing to service its multilateral debt obligations for six months". "Service" also refers to essential social services such as education and health. *The Standard* reports that Zimbabwe received 40% external funding for education and health, which proves that sanctions are targeted at individuals and have no effects on the social service provisions financed by the UK.<sup>114</sup> *The Standard*, 13 November 2013, stated, "Western countries are reluctant to accept that back in 2000, their abrupt withdrawal of direct budget support precipitated a social service crisis in Zimbabwe. But it did. It should be reiterated, however, that they do not owe Zimbabwe anything".

**Relations:** The seventh strongest significant lexical collocate of "Zimbabwe" is the word "relations", associated with the diplomatic ties between the two countries. It appears 39 times in the corpus in four articles, of which five talk about normalising the relations between Harare and London.<sup>115</sup> It describes investing opportunities with the new dispensation and emphasises the transition between the Mugabe era and the Mnangagwa era. Mnangagwa urged Zimbabweans to want free, fair, non-violent and credible elections in Zimbabwe to prove the existence of a new Zimbabwe. This collocation reveals the positioning of the diplomatic relations between the two countries and the causes of the souring of the relations. It is evidence of the mutual understanding that the two countries enjoyed before the land reform programme in 2000, as reported in the newspapers. On 30 December 2019, *The Herald* reported that

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<sup>112</sup> "Why EU embraced ED govt", *Standard*, 18 February 2018

<sup>113</sup> "Zimbabwe: How sanctions became a geopolitical football, scapegoat for repression and corruption", *Standard*, 13 November 2019.

<sup>114</sup> "Zimbabwe: How sanctions became a geopolitical football, scapegoat for repression and corruption", *Standard*, 13 November 2019.

<sup>115</sup> Why-the-EU-is-working-with-Mugabe *Standard*, 2016-10-23; "Allies-tell-Mnangagwa-reforms-only" *Standard*, 2020-03-15, "Govt must extricate itself from trap of compensation", *Standard*, 15 March 2020; "No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador", *Standard*, 30 October 2016

Mnangagwa emphasised that “no country exists in a vacuum”, which attempts to reinforce his idea of engagement and re-engagement towards building new relations and maintaining the existing relations.

President Mnangagwa prioritises building relations with the UK and the international community. He is depicted as the right candidate to implement economic and political reforms to benefit the citizens of Zimbabwe.<sup>116</sup> *The Standard*, published on 18 February 2018, stated, “We engage with this government on reforms. If the government indeed pursues economic and political reforms, which are to the benefit of the people of this country, we will engage with this government”. In another article, Catriona Laing described bilateral relations as rooted in shared history, culture and language. She is depicted as advocating for the non-violation of human rights and the rule of law to normalise the relations: “We are concerned at the recent deterioration in the human rights situation and have expressed these concerns to the government. However, we are also worried about the lack of progress on living up to the foundation of the rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution”.<sup>117</sup> *The Standard* reported that bilateral ties between the two countries had been affected by a lack of progress on the rule of law, human rights and economic and political reforms. EU ambassador to Zimbabwe Philippe Van Damme said, “We have taken note of a transition, and we have reconfirmed our willingness to engage with the country's authorities on the basis of its economic and political reform process”.<sup>118</sup> Mnangagwa is presented as having the ability to change the course of events for the benefit of the populace. Mnangagwa should thus seek to reinstate the rule of law and put reforms into effect.

**Problems:** The eighth strongest significant lexical collocation of “Zimbabwe” is “problems”, which appears two times in one article. It refers to the challenges faced by the country of Zimbabwe and the handling of internal affairs. First, the government of Zimbabwe is reported to have accused the US and the UK of meddling in its internal affairs. This is followed by the comments made by the representatives of the two countries concerning Tendai Biti’s case against the Russian businesswoman.<sup>119</sup> *The Standard*, published on 18 December 2020, stated, “A true democracy leaves no space for arbitrary arrests of opposition political figures. We will watch the developments closely in Tendai Biti’s case”, the US embassy tweeted”. The

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<sup>116</sup> “Why EU embraced ED govt”, *Standard*, 18 February 2018-*Standard*

<sup>117</sup> “No bailout for Zim says UK ambassador”, *Standard*, 30 October 2016

<sup>118</sup> “Why EU embraced ED govt”, *Standard*, 18 February 2018-*Standard*

<sup>119</sup> “US, British hypocrisy exposed”, *Standard*, 18 December 2020.

concerned people's internal affairs should be addressed by the concerned people, and stop blaming the ruling party. The US ambassador to Zimbabwe, Brian Nichols, expressed that the anti-sanctions campaign is an effort to divert the people of Zimbabwe from the root causes of their problems.<sup>120</sup> *The Standard*, published on 18 December 2020, stated, "So in October, Nichols told VOA Zimbabwe Service: "The SADC anti-sanctions campaign, orchestrated by the government of Zimbabwe, is really an effort to distract the people of Zimbabwe from the real causes of Zimbabwe's profound problems". The word "problems" portrays a negative position on Zimbabwe's detention of opposition party members on private disputes that can be resolved in court without government intervention.

**Might:** "Might" is the ninth strongest significant lexical collocate of "Zimbabwe". The articles highlight the possibilities of reinstating the credit lines by the world bank to improve the economy of Zimbabwe.<sup>121</sup> "Might" is a weaker epistemic modality that depicts some doubt about Zimbabwe getting open credit lines from financial institutions. For example, "On the other hand, has the World Bank indicated though, that it will look favourably on Zimbabwe that it might lend to Zimbabwe to pay off for improvements?" Britain's Minister of Defence revealed the tightening of sanctions if Britain ceases to be an EU member.<sup>122</sup> *The Standard*, published on 15 March 2020, stated, "Howe hinted that Britain, which pulled out of the EU this year, might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year". This indicates a probability of Britain strengthening its position against Zimbabwe, given that the conditions are not met. There is a clear indication regarding implementing economic and political reforms for Zimbabwe to get support from the UK. The collocate "might" seems crucial in establishing the relationship between the two countries. It demonstrates the uncertainties surrounding the withdrawal of sanctions and reinstatement of credit facilities to Zimbabwe by western nations.

**Pay:** The tenth strongest significant lexical collocation of "Zimbabwe" is "pay". The collocate "pay" is associated with the land issue between Zimbabwe and the UK. The articles in the corpus talk about what is stipulated in the Constitution of Zimbabwe concerning compensating white farmers. The Constitution states that the UK must compensate white farmers for land, and the government of Zimbabwe must provide for the improvements.<sup>123</sup> For example, "But,

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<sup>120</sup> "US, British hypocrisy exposed", *Standard*, 18 December 2020

<sup>121</sup> "Why EU embraced ED gvt", *Standard*, 18 February 2018

<sup>122</sup> "Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only", *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

<sup>123</sup> Why EU embraced ED gvt", *Standard*, 18 February 2018

should the United Kingdom pay white farmers for their farms taken since 2000?” *The Standard* mentions that compensating the white farmers by the Zimbabwean government should be condemned since there is no justification for the act.<sup>124</sup> These articles seem to present the idea of compensation as enshrined in the Constitution to end the land issue in Zimbabwe. Henceforth, the involved parties should honour the Lancaster House Agreement because Zimbabwe has no money to clear its outstanding debts. *The Standard*, published on 18 February 2018, stated, “On the other hand, has the World Bank indicated though, that it will look favourably on Zimbabwe that it might lend to Zimbabwe to pay off for improvements?” The collocate “pay” is an indicator of positioning Zimbabwe and UK relations.

*The Standard* indicates policy positions concerning land compensations and improvements, although Britain diverts from the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement. *The Standard* portrays Zimbabwe as owing substantial amounts of money to financial institutions, including the World Bank. This image is portrayed through words such as “bailout” and “pay” to reinforce Zimbabwe’s unfavourable standing. Zimbabwe is expected to pay off its obligations before these financial institutions may extend its foreign credit lines to boost its economy. The Zimbabwe collocates demonstrate that the Zimbabwean administration cannot implement the reform agenda. Words like “trouble” and “crisis” describe Zimbabwe as a suffering nation with few alternatives to open its path to recovery. The word “relations” reveals the diplomatic relations before and after the Fast-Track Land Reform plan and its effects on Zimbabweans in general. The collocates show the other side of a debt-ridden Zimbabwe that needs help to escape its problems.

### 5.2.5 Summary

*The Standard* portrays Zimbabwe as a country with a failed economy that needs intervention programmes to stabilise the economy and the livelihood of the citizens. *The Standard* reports on the causes of the effects, how it affects the poor communities in Zimbabwe, and how it benefits the elite and disadvantages people experiencing poverty. It also depicts Zimbabwe as unable to implement economic and political reforms to benefit the people by using violent activities to restrain people from enjoying democratic policies. The policy decisions made by Mugabe and Mnangagwa reflect disengagement from the people, who challenge the Government’s power and authority over implementing these policies. *The Herald* portrays the

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<sup>124</sup> “Gvt must extricate itself from trap of compensation”, *Standard*, 15 March 2020.

tension between the UK and Zimbabwe through the lens of restrictive measures imposed on Zimbabwe. Contrarily, *The Herald* depicts the need for normalising diplomatic relations between the two countries. Zimbabwe is portrayed as willing to mend the relations, and the UK is represented as assisting Zimbabwe. The Mnangagwa government is depicted as being on a re-engagement drive to mend relations with particular countries. *The Herald* portrayed Baldwin as acknowledging progress concerning the implementation of reforms. *The Herald* confirmed the signing of an Economic Partnership Agreement in 2020, motivated by a slight improvement in relations.

*The Standard* portrays Ms Catriona Laing and Ms Melanie Robinson as sources in the reports commenting on the re-engagement drive initiated by the Mnangagwa government. The Zimbabwean government is judged as undemocratic based on the policies they promote and political behaviours. These two ambassadors are depicted as challenging the violation of human rights and the rule of law in Zimbabwe and reinforcing the desire to implement democratic principles. The coverage talks about how the zeal to mend the relations was jeopardised by the killing of six protesting civilians on 1 August 2018, where the UK condemned the military's involvement. *The Standard* uses soft power to strengthen the values and mobilise public opinion regarding the government's political values and policies. In *The Herald*, Laing is portrayed as doing immensely well to normalise relations between London and Harare. Robinson is seen as a neutral diplomat without bias towards opposition parties or the ruling government. Laing and Robinson's portrayal of Zimbabwe suggests a spirit of reconciliation and a readiness to go forward. *The Herald* portrays the efforts to restore diplomatic relations and contributions to Zimbabwe's recovery for the benefit of re-establishing diplomatic relations.

The clearing of debts is a significant theme closely related to normalising relations between the two countries. The collocates like "service", "pay" and "clear" highlight the urgency in repaying the debts to realise a smooth transition in Zimbabwe. The UK is portrayed as facilitating the opportunity to support other development programmes. However, Britain will not bail out Zimbabwe by paying its debts. This suggests that the UK is positively positioned, which might create public debate. In contrast to Mnangagwa's leadership, this support demonstrates a concern for the population of Zimbabwe.

### 5.3 Conclusion

The corpus analysis addressed various themes in reporting the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. *The Standard* reported that the violation of human rights and the rule of law is rampant in Zimbabwe, which has resulted in restrictive measures against Zimbabwe. Restrictive measures are covered in different ways in the news articles. *The Standard* views them as sanctions against specific individuals by the United Kingdom and the European Union. Regarding restrictive measures, the European Union is portrayed as the dominant actor. The impression is that Zimbabwe is at fault despite the Lancaster House Agreement in 1979; hence Zimbabwe was supposed to affiliate with Britain.

Collocates such as “recovery” and “return” indicate the ongoing efforts to mend the relations between the two countries. However, the recovery of Zimbabwe has some conditions to be fulfilled before returning to normalcy. Zimbabwe is expected to implement the reform agenda to win the heart of the UK. However, the longer it takes to implement the reform agenda, the more the suffering continues in Zimbabwe. The most controversial thing is that the UK is always on the record saying the sanctions are targeted at individuals.

In both UK and Zimbabwe collocations, ambassadors are used to exploring ways of mending the relations. Sending envoys to Zimbabwe is represented to be a good deed in *The Standard*, and it positions the UK more favourably. Zimbabwe seems to understand the purpose of the visits and declares its willingness to re-engage the UK to normalise the ties to benefit its citizens.

Both news articles mention Catriona Laing and Melanie Robinson's roles in improving relations between London and Harare. This is highlighted in words such as “commitment”, “development” and “trade”, which provide more information for public debate concerning the UK's position. However, words such as “human rights” and “problems” create an impression of the actual situation in Zimbabwe and the UK's expectations of the policies being implemented by the government. The way Zimbabwe is exposed may be enough evidence to show the violent activities happening in the country. The news articles provide enough information on violating the rule of law, influencing the public debate on social platforms. Readers might agree that the reform plan should be supported because they believe it will lead them to freedom in light of the existing situation.

Words such as “bailout”, “crises”, and “problems” appeared in Zimbabwe to show that the country is going through a crisis that Mnangagwa’s government should address. *The Standard* used these words to remind the leadership that the country was under siege and going through repression and corruption due to selfish people. This is a clear indication that transformation is needed to solve the problems being experienced by ordinary Zimbabweans. These problems might lead to internal conflicts within the Zimbabwean society as reflected in the language of reporting in the news articles, which call for the fine-grained analysis of individual articles to explore how these collocations position the two countries considering their diplomatic relations. The descriptive analysis is reported in chapters six and seven.

## **CHAPTER SIX:**

### ***THE HERALD* – FINE-GRAINED ANALYSIS**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the data from *The Herald* according to evaluations relating to Attitude, Engagement and Graduation. Reports on each descriptive account of the four articles are outlined. The descriptive account gives the pre-theoretical descriptions of each article, and LCT involves identifying constellations and cosmologies underlying the constellations. SFL identifies and describes the linguistic resources in the articles that position Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations. Four articles are chosen to represent some of the most relevant lexical collocations of Zimbabwean and British diplomatic ties for the descriptive analysis, as illustrated in Chapter Five. Fine-grained analysis was conducted on four articles, two from each newspaper, selected to reflect the trends found in the corpus analysis. As depicted in Figure 4.1, the chapter consists of fine-grained analysis covering three types: descriptive account, LCT, and SFL analyses. The report on these analyses begins with a descriptive account of the news articles “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough” and “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit” from *The Herald* (Appendices 1 and 2).

This includes a report on SFL analysis describing linguistic resources enacted to establish the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their relations. An LCT constellation analysis follows this to reveal the citizens’ knowledge built in these articles (6.2.3). I discuss the article’s usage of linguistic resources using SFL, then report on the LCT analysis and constellations, and conclude with a conclusion summarising the article’s trends. Section 6.2 provides a descriptive account of the article “Zim, UK on the cusp of breakthrough” see Appendix 1a. The data from “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit” are described in Section 6.3 (see appendix). These analyses focus on the use of language in the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK diplomatic relations.

Finally, I summarise the conclusions drawn from the analyses concerning the positioning of the UK and Zimbabwe in 6.2.4.

## **6.2. “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough”**

### 6.2.1 Descriptive account

The article “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough” (see appendix 1a) was published on 2 February 2018, during the era of President Emmerson Mnangagwa. It describes the manifestations of the souring of diplomatic relations and the steps taken toward normalising the ties. Minister Harriet Baldwin visited Zimbabwe on her appointment as Minister of State for Africa to deliver a message from Prime Minister Theresa May on the economic and political reforms. She was in the company of the British Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ms Catriona Laing, and the head of the Department for International Development for Zimbabwe and South Africa, Mr Annabel Gerry. State visits show the highest degree of mutual friendship between countries and influence the economic and political positions of the involved countries. During her visit, Baldwin expressed optimism regarding the status of the relations, described as on the edge of a breakthrough. The article highlights Britain’s concerns against violence in Zimbabwe and encourages the government to reprimand perpetrators of violence. Baldwin expresses Satisfaction with the statements made by Mnangagwa on his ascendancy to the presidency. Britain is concerned about implementing economic reforms in Zimbabwe and plans to hold free and fair elections on 30 July 2018 (Ndakaripa 2020, Mare 2020, Raftopoulos 2019). The minimum principles of free and fair are specified in the 2013 Zimbabwean Constitution. When observer missions and civil society organisations watch the electoral process throughout the election period, elections are considered free and fair (Mavedzenge 2021; Raftopoulos 2019). It also describes trade arrangements and future investment programmes between Harare and London. The souring and thawing of relations is the primary topic under discussion with the new dispensation in Zimbabwe and the way forward.

### 6.2.2 SFL analysis

One of the main strengths of the SFL perspective is that it offers a comprehensive view of evaluative resources, including instances of Attitude and positioning and the sources of these evaluative stances in discourse. SFL provides a model that allows us to examine the evaluative choices made in the discourse semantics of texts. The Appraisal system is described in detail in 3.5.

I adopted Doran’s (2020) axiological constellation analysis method to analyse Attitude and Engagement to describe the knowledge developed in the news articles and the linguistic

resources used to build the knowledge (see Chapter Four). I extended Doran's method by including the Graduation system to establish how feelings are graded through sharpening or softening the boundary of the proposition (Inako, 2015). SFL and LCT's complementary approach helps describe how attitudes and moral evaluations underpin diplomatic practices in bilateral relations between countries. The analysis helps understand how news articles position countries and individuals with particular sources or targets to construe meanings. LCT and SFL help to provide insights on knowledge building through the language used in news reporting.

#### 6.2.2.1 Attitude and Graduation analysis

This section examines the selected kinds of attitudinal values portrayed in the news articles and establishes whether they are inscribed or invoked. I do not comment on every Attitude instantiation but describe a few to give a general impression of how the article used Attitude to make meanings. Attitude analysis focuses on the language of the text. Table 6.1 describes the polarity of the evaluation, positive or negative, what is being evaluated and/or appraised, and what is doing the evaluation of the appraised (Doran 2020). Table 6.1 identifies the type of attitude instantiated in the article to establish the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK. For example, the appraising item "very grateful" is related to Baldwin (Appraiser), who evaluates the engagement between her and the Foreign Affairs Minister in Zimbabwe. This demonstrates that the article's positioning of the two countries is based on Positive Happiness. The source is the person who is the source of information, and the target is the person or thing being charged and axiological charges that may result in constellations.

The evaluations reveal the connection between the target and the source. The source is associated with a target's particular charging, which explains that the source and target are part of the same constellation. If the source negatively charges a target, that shows that the target belongs in the opposite constellation to the source. For instance, Britain negatively charges violence, violent activities, and perpetrators of violence, making part of the negative evaluation. In other words, aligning with the negative evaluation, you agree that it is wrong because of its willingness to assist Zimbabwe.

In Paragraph 2, the article shows instances of Appreciation: Reaction by using words such as "impressed" and "welcomes" to show that Britain is interested and keen to see Zimbabwe standing on its feet. The use of "important" instantiates Positive: Reaction to the stated economic and political reforms. For example, "British Prime Minister Theresa May has been impressed by statements made by President Mnangagwa so far on economic and political

reforms, which have sent *important* signals around the world about the country’s readiness for investment, an official has said”. This function is to uplift and persuades Zimbabwe to do the right thing. *The Herald* uses soft power to engage Zimbabwe and the international world in believing there is a change in economic and political policies. This signifies an open position towards reviving the relationship, marked by a positive charge and alignment.

Table 6.1: Evaluative Attitude in “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough”

Appraising item	Appraiser	Appraised	Polarity	Attitude Type
Breakthrough	<i>The Herald</i>	Zimbabwe, the UK	Positive	+Satisfaction
Welcomes	<i>The Herald</i>	President Mnangagwa	Positive	+Reaction
Impressed	Theresa May	Statements made by President Mnangagwa on political and economic reforms.	Positive	+Reaction
Important signals	An official	Statements made by President Mnangagwa on political and economic reforms.	Positive	+Reaction
Very grateful	Baldwin	Engagement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Positive	+Happiness
Very pleased	Baldwin	Zimbabwe and Britain	Positive	+Satisfaction
Fair	Baldwin	Mediated process	Positive	+Propriety
Transparent	Baldwin	Mediated processes	Positive	+Composition
Condemn	Britain	violence, violent activities, perpetrators	Negative	-Propriety
We support	Britain	Transparent and fair mediated process	Positive	+Satisfaction
Very positive one	Baldwin	Zimbabwe leadership	Positive	+Reaction
Encouraged	The UK Government	President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms	Positive	+Happiness
Enhancing	<i>The Herald</i>	Relations between Zimbabwe and the UK	Positive	+Judgement
Very important	Baldwin	Investments	Positive	+Valuation

The following table is a revised version of the first one, which shows patterns more transparently. It has relabelled appraiser as “source” and appraised as “target”. The source is the person who is the source of information, and the target is the person or thing being charged and axiological charges that may result in constellations.

Table 6.2: Preliminary list of charged elements based on Attitude in “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough”

Source	Target	Charge
<i>The Herald</i>	Zimbabwe and the UK	Positive
	President Mnangagwa	Positive
	Relations between Zimbabwe and the UK	Positive
Theresa May	Statements made by President Mnangagwa on political and economic reforms	Positive
An official	Statements made by President Mnangagwa on political and economic reforms	Positive
Baldwin	Statements made by President Mnangagwa on political and economic reforms	Positive
	Zimbabwe and Britain	Positive
	Investment ventures	Positive
	President Mnangagwa	Positive
	Zimbabwe leadership	Positive
Britain	Normalisations of relations between Harare and London	Positive
	Violence, violent activities, perpetrators	Negative
UK Government	President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms	Positive

In paragraph 2 of the article, there are Attitude and Graduation instantiations. This is illustrated in “impressed”, where graduation choices adjust inscribed Attitude by degree. The expression “impressed” inscribes the value of Appreciation: Reaction but invokes Affect: Satisfaction. British Prime Minister Theresa May has been impressed by statements made by President Mnangagwa *so far* on economic and political reforms, which have sent important signals around the world about the country’s readiness for investment, an official has said”. In paragraph 2, the strength of the evaluation is limited by “so far”, which is downscaling Quantification: Distribution: Time. Graduation choices invoke attitudinal interpretation showing negative and positive attitudinal values. For instance, the expression “condemn” inscribes negative Judgement: Propriety as well as upscaling infusing Intensification: Vigour. There is a negative judgement of violent activities in Zimbabwe, which results in the unfavourable positioning of Zimbabwe in this part of the article. Britain disaligns itself from violent activities and the perpetrators of violence.

The use of “breakthrough” in paragraph 4 instantiates positive Satisfaction evolving around the economic and political reforms which impressed Theresa May. It means that both countries are closer to achieving a good relationship with each other. This positive stance points to the willingness of Britain to normalise the relations based on the progress initiated by Mnangagwa. Minister Baldwin expressed high optimism concerning normalising relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. For example, Baldwin was quoted saying, “I had a good meeting with

the president, and I have been able to say to him how much the UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for free and fair elections this year”. The word “welcomes” inscribes a positive Reaction but also invokes positive Satisfaction with the stance Mnangagwa took to follow democratic principles.

In paragraph 8, Britain positively charges Mnangagwa and his new approach concerning free and fair elections, including the reform agenda. On the contrary, paragraph 9 negatively charged violence and perpetrators of violence. Britain is positively aligning with the new approach and the re-engagement drive, which might boost the economy of Zimbabwe and its image to the outside world. The word “welcomes” inscribes Positive: Reaction. It is repeated four times in this article to show the level of Appreciation concerning the new approach taken by the President and his willingness to stop human rights violations and observe the rule of rule in Zimbabwe.

In paragraph 8, the word “welcomes” appears for the third time “I brought a message that the UK Government *welcomes* the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms and we are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe late this year”.

In paragraph 11, Baldwin says, “I had a good meeting with the President, and I have been able to say to him how much the UK *welcomes* the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future of Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year”, she said.

The word “welcomes” also appears in paragraph 12 when Baldwin says, “The UK Government very much *welcomes* statements that have been made about land reform by the Government of Zimbabwe, and we support a transparent and fair mediated process around that”. This makes it apparent that Britain is concerned about the land reform programme and is ready to see a transparent and equitable mediation process in the government of Zimbabwe’s land redistribution exercise.

Britain aligns with the plans to hold free and fair elections and economic and political reform programmes. The Positive: Satisfaction value expressed as “very pleased” instantiates upscaled Intensification Force to show a positive evaluation of the new approach initiated by

Mnangagwa. The phrase “very pleased” demonstrates the UK’s positive attitude towards Zimbabwe, which positions the country positively and whoever is behind the initiative.

In paragraph 9 of the article, Baldwin says, “We *condemn* all violence, and we are keen to see all perpetrators of any violent activities are pursued with the full force of the law”. The word “condemn” instantiates Negative Judgement: Propriety. The word “condemn” signifies a disclaimer on violent activities, and Britain is disaligning itself with such behaviour. It calls for negative charging and judgement of perpetrators of violence in Zimbabwe. Britain aligns with the government of Zimbabwe but distances itself from violent activities and perpetrators of violence in Zimbabwe.

Paragraph 12 introduces Positive Appreciation coupled with Mnangagwa. The word “transparent” inscribes positive: Composition and “fair” inscribes positive: Propriety. The phrase “we support” inscribes positive: Satisfaction regarding this process. This article positively praises the Mnangagwa leadership through the assessment made by the UK concerning the economic and political reforms, including the plan to hold transparent elections. Graduation upscaling Intensification is invoked in words such as “very much” and “very important”, inscribing upscaled positive: Valuation to align and affiliate with the new era. The economic and political reforms invoke a favourable Judgement towards Mnangagwa, which is evident throughout the article. Using words such as “free and fair” and “transparent” invoke this Judgement.

In paragraph 13 of the article, there are Attitude and Graduation instantiations. Minister Baldwin said: “These are all important issues, and we are certainly all aware of these points that have been raised, and as you know, both of these processes are international processes, and the message that we are hearing from the new Zimbabwe leadership is a very positive one, and I am sure (we) will engage a wide range of international participants in terms of the steps of implementing changes in the future”. The word “positive” inscribes positive: Reaction and “very” upscale Force. The new government of Zimbabwe is positively positioned and aligned with the value positions that will benefit the country if set conditions are met.

In paragraph 14, the word “encouraged” inscribes positive: Happiness and invoking positive Judgement: Capacity of Mnangagwa as able to lead the country and reinforces the use of “breakthrough” in the headline. The positive Judgement of Mnangagwa is emphasised throughout the article, and it suggests that the judging is coming from reconsidering the land reform programme, which should follow a transparent process. Upscaled Force such as the use

of “very” in “very pleased” and “very much” reinforces the positive Judgement used to signal the potential to normalise the relations between the two countries and position Zimbabwe as a reformed entity.

This article portrays the UK’s efforts to revive the sour relations, the implementation of the economic and political reforms and the transparent and fair mediated land reform process. This is revealed in the bonds instantiated through coupling Mnangagwa and the reform agenda with positive Judgement, Appreciation and Satisfaction. For example, these are expressed through “welcomes statements” by the President of Zimbabwe. This coupling appears multiple times in the article. Prime Minister May is introduced in paragraphs 3 and 8 to strengthen Positive Satisfaction regarding Mnangagwa’s new approach and statements concerning the willingness to bring change in Zimbabwe. For example, “British Prime Minister Theresa May has been impressed by statements made by President Mnangagwa so far on economic and political reforms”. This might mean Zimbabwe is suffering from its past experiences and the consistent use of “welcomes” shows that the UK is aligning itself with the new reforms.

In paragraph 16, Baldwin uses an inscribed Attitude to intensify the evaluation of Mnangagwa’s statements. For example, “we are very grateful for the engagement...” is used to upscale the trade agreements between the two countries and the possible way forward. The word “grateful” instantiates positive Happiness in this paragraph. The inscribed Attitude is perceived as positive and flagged to intensify the Attitude. It demonstrates the positive attitudes and evaluations towards Mnangagwa and his new approach. I conclude that Baldwin is inclined towards Mnangagwa and is positively associated with the engagement drive. However, there are also instances in which negative Attitude shows where Baldwin disaligns from the Zimbabwean government, for example, in the condemnation of violence and human rights abuses.

In paragraph 17, the word “enhancing” inscribes positive Inclination because it refers to anticipated positive events in Zimbabwe and the UK. *The Herald* said Minister Baldwin met Foreign Affairs and International Trade Minister Lieutenant General Sibusiso Moyo (Retired) on Thursday, discussing ways of enhancing relations between Zimbabwe and the UK.

The overall patterns discussed in this article explain Zimbabwe and the UK's favourable positioning in it. The portrayal of the UK's interest in seeing Zimbabwe recover is one of the general patterns. This is accomplished by the employment of Appreciation resources in this news story, such as "welcomes," "impressed," and "important." Zimbabwe is positioned

favourably due to Britain's evaluation of Mnangagwa's new approach. According to the news article, the new strategy focuses on economic and political reforms, including plans to conduct free and fair elections. It denotes a flexible stance towards resuming diplomatic ties between the two nations. However, there is a typical pattern regarding the UK's criticism of violent acts in Zimbabwe. The UK is portrayed as opposing aggressive behaviour and wanting to see those who commit acts of violence punished.

#### 6.2.2.2 Engagement analysis

The analyses in this section are concerned with the Engagement system in the Appraisal framework (see Chapter Three). The attitude analysis develops the list of sources that are axiologically charged. The focus is on what is advanced in the sources to establish the meanings they align with. This is achieved by identifying where there are multiple voices in the text. Table 6.3 shows the target, source, charge, and examples drawn from the article “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough”.

The linguistic resources indicate where the source aligns with the target and positively or negatively charges the target. The analysis of the news article shows the presence of heteroglossia, which is characterised by multiple voices. Some are heteroglossic regarding the number of explicit references to external voices or positions. In some instances, other voices are introduced to be challenged, resulting in strengthening the writer's position. In the text, the UK engage their voices and activities.

The use of Expand: Entertain in paragraph 8 shows a positive degree of alignment and affiliation towards Mnangagwa's new approach in Zimbabwe. Minister Baldwin declares the willingness of Britain to support Zimbabwe when she says, “I brought a message (from Prime Minister May) that the UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms and we are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year”, *she said*. She intends to reinforce their position toward normalising the relations between the two countries. The word “she said” indicates that the article's author acknowledges what Baldwin says without explicitly aligning with it. It establishes the connection between Britain and the idea, creating positive charging and alignment with the information. The author used the phrase “she said” three times throughout the article. In paragraph 8, Baldwin uses Contract: Endorse in “I brought a message that...” to show that Baldwin (the source) aligns with Prime Minister May.

Table 6.3: Heteroglossia and charging in “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough”

Example	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement type
“ <i>I brought a message [from Prime Minister May] that the UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms and we are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year</i> ”, she said.	Baldwin	the UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Endorse
“ <i>I brought a message [from Prime Minister May] that the UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms and we are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year</i> ”, she said.	Baldwin	the UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
We are very pleased <i>to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year</i> ”, she said.	Baldwin	the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
has been impressed by statements made by President Mnangagwa so far on economic and political reforms, which have sent important signals around the world about the country’s readiness for investment, <i>an official has said</i> .	May	statements made by President Mnangagwa so far on economic and political reforms, which have sent important signals around the world about the country’s readiness for investment.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
that <i>could see the two countries soon engaging in various investment ventures underpinned on mutual benefit and interest</i> .	Baldwin	engaging in various investment ventures	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
“ <i>I had a good meeting with the President and I have been able to say to him how much the UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year</i> ”, she said.	Baldwin	UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge

Example	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement type
“I had a good meeting with the President and I have been able to say to him how much the UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year”, <i>she said</i> .	Baldwin	the UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
“ <i>Obviously</i> , we share with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there is no violence at all on the ground.	The UK	share with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there is no violence at all on the ground.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Concur
Minister Baldwin <i>said</i> her meeting with President Mnangagwa discussed wide-ranging issues on mutual relations and the new era in Zimbabwe.	Baldwin	her meeting with President Mnangagwa discussed wide-ranging issues on mutual relations and the new era in Zimbabwe.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
<i>We share</i> with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there is no violence at all on the ground.	The UK	Situation where there is no violence at all on the ground	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Endorse
And <i>I think</i> with the outline of economic and political reforms that the President has set out, this will send a strong signal to investors around the world”, said Minister Baldwin.	Baldwin	outline of economic and political reforms that the President has set out.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
This <i>will</i> send a strong signal to investors around the world	Baldwin	send a strong signal to investors around the world.	Alignment (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
and I think with [the] outline of economic and political reforms that the President has set out, this will send a strong signal to investors around the world”, <i>said</i> Minister Baldwin.	Baldwin	I think with [the] outline of economic and political reforms that the President has set out, this will send a strong signal to investors around the world.	Alignment (Positive charge)	Expand : Acknowledge
I am sure (we) will engage a wide range of international participants in terms of the steps of implementing changes in the future.	Baldwin	engage a wide range of international participants in terms of the steps of implementing changes in the future.	Alignment (Positive charge)	Contract: Pronounce

Example	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement type
“ <i>As you know</i> , the UK has made the decision to leave the European Union and take back control of our own international trade policies.	Baldwin	the UK has made the decision to leave the European Union and take back control of our own international trade policies	Alignment (Positive charge)	Contract: Concur

At the same time, Baldwin charges Mnangagwa positively in paragraph 8 when she says, “We are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold a free and fair election in Zimbabwe this year”. Baldwin uses self-representation to convince members of the Zimbabwean government of the support rendered to Zimbabwe and their future trade agreements and transparent electoral process. The phrase “to hear that”, which instantiates Expand: Entertain, gives hope and encourages Zimbabweans who want genuine political and economic change. The words “very pleased” instantiates upscaling Intensification: Degree through the positive evaluation of the plans to hold free and fair elections in 2018. Britain positively aligns with the plans; hence Zimbabwe is also positively charged because of this initiative.

Minister Baldwin uses Proclaim: Concur to indicate that Britain shares the same knowledge and the same value position as Zimbabwe concerning violence matters. For example, in paragraph 9, “Obviously, we share with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there is no violence at all on the ground”. She negatively disaligns with violent activities against civilians and disagrees with those behind mobilising people to perpetrate violence in communities. The word “obviously” appears twice in the article, and it works to affiliate the Zimbabwe government with the UK. The phrase “*we share with*” is an instantiation of Contract: Endorse. Despite the current settings, Baldwin endorses the values and practices shared between Harare and London.

On the other hand, Zimbabwe approves and participates in the ongoing investment projects initiated by the UK through businesses. Baldwin specifies that she intends to support the new leadership if they stop committing gross human rights violations.

In paragraph 11, Baldwin says, “I had a good meeting with the President, and I have been able to say to him how much the UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for free and fair elections this year”. Baldwin Acknowledges herself in “I have been able to say to him” to acknowledge meeting Mnangagwa and the statements he made after ascending to power. This is an example of Expand: Acknowledge, where Baldwin is identified as the source of

information. It indicates a positive alignment between the source (Baldwin) and the target (Mnangagwa's statements). This acknowledgement results in positive charging and demonstrates hope in Mnangagwa's expectations towards developing the country.

Minister Baldwin frequently uses Proclaim: Pronounce to show a higher commitment toward normalising relations. For example, in paragraph 13, she says, "I am sure (we) will engage a wide range of international participants in terms of the steps of implementing change in the future". The source emphasises the need to develop trade between Zimbabwe and the UK. Baldwin's projection aligns with Mnangagwa's re-engagement drive to boost the economy of Zimbabwe. The assertion reinforces the relations and creates a positive bond between the two countries. The positive depiction of relations is defined by the statements made by Mnangagwa about economic and political reforms and a transparent election process.

In paragraph 16, Proclaim: Concur is used to imply that Baldwin's audience, including the Zimbabwe government, has shared knowledge with the UK government regarding the UK's exit from the EU. When she says, "As you know, the UK has made the decision to leave the European Union and take back control of our own international trade policies", she specifies that the exit from the EU is an advantage to Zimbabwe regarding direct trading opportunities with the UK.

The use of Entertain in paragraph 15, "I think with [the] outline of economic and political reforms that the President has set out, this will send a strong signal to investors around the world", depicts Baldwin's positive charging regarding holding free and fair elections in Zimbabwe. Baldwin's expression reveals an element of hope in resolving and mending the relations if the reform agenda is implemented for the benefit of Zimbabweans. She believes that the reforms act as a catalyst in boosting the business sector and attracting more investors to Zimbabwe. She emphasises building the economy and shunning violent activities pre-elections and post-elections.

Increased commitment to normalising diplomatic relations is among the general patterns that emerge from the use of Engagement resources. This is accomplished by utilising Proclaim: Pronounce. It is stated that Britain demonstrates its support by being willing to expand trade opportunities between the two countries. Entertain is used to demonstrate this degree of positive alignment and affiliation with Mnangagwa's new approach in Zimbabwe. Baldwin supports Harare and London's shared values and customs despite the current circumstances.

This demonstrates a desire and commitment to normalise diplomatic relations between the two nations.

### 6.2.3 LCT analysis

The constellations show how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned in the news articles as meanings are charged and recognised in different communities (Doran, 2020). The LCT analysis indicates two constellations: the first is associated with the UK, and the second is connected to Zimbabwe. From the Attitude and Engagement analysis, maps of source-related constellations were created. The identification of these constellations required the clustering of concepts that have a positive charge or negative and the subsequent alignment with a source. These constellations are presented in tables 6.4 and 6.5. The central signifiers “UK” and “Zim” are mentioned in the headline, which signifies a shared relationship between the two countries. The axiological constellations demonstrate stances taken by journalists to reveal the nature of the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK and how they align and disalign with ideas and terms to identify value positions.

The analysis demonstrates the source, the person who is the source of information, and the target is the person or thing being charged and axiological charges that may result in constellations. Baldwin builds a well-developed positively charged constellation around Zimbabwe’s reforms and a small negatively charged constellation around violence, as shown in Table 6.4. Table 6.5 establishes a constellation built by the authorial voice in the article, which negatively charges the behaviour of Blair’s government for not fulfilling the obligations committed under the Lancaster House agreement. Some words align with the values shown in the constellations, whereas some disalign with the values depicted by the sources. For example, in paragraph 15, Minister Baldwin said, “I think with [the] outline of economic and political reforms that the [Zimbabwean] President has set out, this will send a strong signal to investors around the world”. She aligns with the economic and political reforms outlined, which affords President Mnangagwa a favourable judgment concerning his leadership. Also, it signals that the UK supports the idea of a transparent and fair mediated process concerning elections.

Tables 6.4 and 6.5 indicate terms, ideas and sources that developed into more prominent constellations. The term “breakthrough” signifies resolving past conflicts, which led to mending relations between the two parties. I describe how constellations are built up in the text, as shown in the tables. The term “breakthrough” in paragraph 4 and the headline signifies the beginning of a new relationship between the two countries. The economic and political

reforms have been depicted as things done by Zimbabwe to improve the situation in the country, so individuals or groups of people may align with “economic and political reforms” within Zimbabwe. This analysis shows a positive alignment between the two countries, indicating Zimbabwe’s positive positioning in the article. A favourable judgement is afforded if a community upholds the values associated with Zimbabwe.

Table 6.4: Constellations associated with “Zimbabwe” in “Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Sources	Terms	Ideas
Minister Baldwin	Political and economic reforms	The messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms	UK government	Violence, violent activities	We condemn all violence, and we are keen to see that all perpetrators of any violent activities are pursued with the full force of the law”.
	Strong signal Investors	With the outline of economic and political reforms that the President has set out, this <i>will</i> send a strong signal to investors around the world.			
	Free and fair elections	The UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms, and we are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year.			
Minister Baldwin	Cusp Breakthrough investment  Mutual benefit and interest	Deliberations also touched on the recent visit to Zimbabwe by Commonwealth Development Corporation officials.  Zimbabwe and Britain were on the cusp of a major diplomatic breakthrough that could see the two countries soon engaging in various			

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Sources	Terms	Ideas
		investment ventures underpinned on mutual benefit and interest.			
	New approach	the UK Government was encouraged by President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms.			
The UK	Transparent, fair mediated process  No violence	We support a transparent and fair mediated process around [land reform].  We share with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there is no violence at all on the ground.			

Table 6.5: Constellation associated with “UK” in “Zim, UK on the cusp of breakthrough”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning (negatively charged)		
Sources	Terms	Ideas	Sources	Terms	Ideas
<i>The Herald</i>	Turn of the millennium  Administration	The relations soured at the turn of the millennium over the land issue in the wake of the refusal by the Labour administration of Mr Tony Blair to honour obligations entered into with the Tory administration of Margaret Thatcher in 1979.			

The constellations associated with Zimbabwe indicate positive statements aligning with Britain’s position on what is happening in Zimbabwe. Throughout the article, the statements made by Baldwin and the UK show solidarity toward building the new Zimbabwe for the betterment of the people of Zimbabwe. For example, “As you know, the UK has made the decision to leave the European Union and take back control of our own international trade policies. We are very grateful for the engagement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here in trying to resolve and make straight forward the future trade arrangements we have with Zimbabwe”. The constellations depict a positive evaluation of Mnangagwa’s economic and political reforms. The articles portray a Mnangagwa ready to transform the country by holding free and fair elections. This is expressed in the statement made by Baldwin in paragraph 4

“Zimbabwe and Britain were on the cusp of a major diplomatic breakthrough that could see the two countries soon engaging in various investment ventures underpinned on mutual benefit and interest”. The reporter constructs a positively charged statement associated with mending the relations and positively charged information aligned with Mnangagwa and his plans. The positive positioning is evident throughout the article creating positive evaluations of Mnangagwa and his policies. The statement positively associates Mnangagwa with the UK demonstrating positive alignment and affiliation.

The UK and Baldwin constellations reveal positive charging throughout the article. The central signifiers in these constellations are reforms and free and fair elections. In paragraph 14, the words “encouraged” and “new approach” signal a new beginning directly related to Mnangagwa. Repeating these words indicates a matter of urgency in addressing the situation in Zimbabwe. These words are constellated with “transparent and fair” to align with the new approach. The constellations demonstrate value positions that are positively aligned and charged concerning the new developments in Zimbabwe. The words are constellated with Mnangagwa and his ability to recognise the need to change the policies. The evaluation is strengthened in relation to how the present Zimbabwean leadership perceives policies, and readers align and affiliate with Mnangagwa and his new approach. Britain exerts its power by monitoring the new approach to the economic and political reforms by the Mnangagwa government.

The constellation associated with Zimbabwe agrees with what is presented in the constellation associated with the UK. The constellation constructs a positive evaluation of Zimbabwe and the UK. Baldwin positively charges information about economic reforms and free and fair elections and negatively charges information about human rights violations. A positive image of Britain creates the impression that a lot has been done to improve the situation in Zimbabwe. In my analysis, Zimbabwe is positively positioned within the constellations because of its purported effort to mend relations through the reform agenda and other initiatives. The positive positioning is evident in both constellations; for example, when Baldwin says in paragraph 16, “We are very grateful for the engagement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here in trying to resolve and make straightforward the future trade agreements we have with Zimbabwe”. The word “grateful” demonstrates the ability to appreciate the dialogue between the two countries trying to resolve trade agreements. Minister Baldwin demonstrates positive alignment and positive evaluation of the developments in Zimbabwe despite negative evaluation and disaligning with the violation of the rule of law in Zimbabwe.

Dr Sibusiso Moyo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, acknowledges the government's challenges concerning human rights violations but still aligns himself with the new policies. The information provided by Baldwin strengthens the stances and positions taken by the UK toward building the economy of Zimbabwe. The analysis shows how language choices in the article develop positive evaluations associated with Mnangagwa. The fact that the implementation might not take off should be considered apart from the pre-conditions set by Britain towards removing embargoes. Reforms are critical in both constellations to ensure that the country abides by international laws and improves relations between the two countries. For example, in paragraph 7, Minister Baldwin said, "She had a cordial engagement with President Mnangagwa and was optimistic about the normalisation of the relations between London and Harare". The example demonstrates Britain's desire to work on improving the situation through the use of words such as "optimistic". The constellation demonstrates Baldwin positively aligning with the value position concerning mending the relations. The word "cordial" signifies a genuine image of Britain and, therefore, is a positive evaluation. Minister Baldwin affiliates with the statements made by President Mnangagwa about adhering to democratic governance in Zimbabwe. There is an indication of the positive positioning of Zimbabwe as ready to fix the negativity to attract foreign investments.

Table 6.4 shows the constellation associated with the UK, which indicates the terms, ideas and sources that may build into two prominent constellations. The relations revolve around sources that align/disaligns with Zimbabwe. In this case, using the term "support" in paragraph 12 describes the willingness of the UK to normalise the relations if economic and political reforms are implemented. Most signifiers are positively associated with Zimbabwe and the UK, except for a few where Zimbabwe is charged negatively in paragraph 9. This indicates alignment with a community that would accept a "transparent" and "fair mediated process" to describe the implementation process of the economic and political reforms.

In paragraph 9, the terms "condemn" and "perpetrators" indicate a strong negative alignment with the people involved in violent activities. Baldwin is aligning with the government of Zimbabwe and against people involved in violent activities. In other words, the government remains in her positively charged constellation, and perpetrators of violence are in the separate negatively charged constellation. The idea that the perpetrators must be brought to book indicates positive alignment with those against violence and negative alignment with those who support violence. These words refer to those involved in abusing the rule of law and persecuting innocent civilians. The words belong together in the negatively charged "Zimbabwe"

constellation to maintain Britain's stance toward human rights violations in the country. Using the term condemn to describe the nature of human rights violations invokes the negative Judgement of perpetrators of violence. Baldwin positions perpetrators of violence negatively without specifying who they are and aligns the government of Zimbabwe to her side against perpetrators of violence. The government of Zimbabwe is positioned negatively by those who oppose violent activities against the people of Zimbabwe.

At the same time, statements made by Baldwin demonstrate negative positioning associated with opposing alignment in paragraph 9 "We condemn all violence, and we are keen to see that all perpetrators of any violent activities are pursued with the full force of law". The statement shows that the UK is concerned about Zimbabwe and its wellbeing, hence the negative Judgement regarding the matter of violence. Baldwin specifies her intentions towards bringing to book all who abuse human rights in Zimbabwe.

The "Zimbabwe" constellation is positively charged with terms such as "cusp", "breakthrough" and "economic and political reforms". The constellation suggests that the UK and Zimbabwe are positioned as almost reaching a breakthrough in strengthening their relationship based on implementing economic and political reforms in Zimbabwe. At the same time, Britain is encouraged by this new approach that reflects the willingness to improve relations. The term "breakthrough" positions Zimbabwe and the UK positively and aligns with Harriet Baldwin as the Minister of State for Africa. The Baldwin constellation indicates a favourable judgement of the target. The source (Minister Baldwin) aligns with Mnangagwa's new approach to economic and political reforms, a favourable judgment and evaluation. In other words, there is affiliation and alignment towards a particular community that believes in shared values. In paragraph 4, When she says, "Zimbabwe and Britain were on the cusp of a major diplomatic breakthrough that could see the two countries soon engaging in various investments underpinned on mutual benefit and interest", she associates Britain with new developments to fulfil the set agenda. Identities are created through shared values concerning the implementation of the reform agenda.

The constellation associated with the UK negatively charged Blair's government. Table 6.5 establishes a constellation built by the authorial voice in the article, which negatively charges the behaviour of Blair's government for not fulfilling the obligations committed under the Lancaster House agreement. The article portrays the acts of the Blair administration as the reason for the iced relations between the two countries. The relationship between the UK and

Zimbabwe deteriorated due to the administration of Tony Blair's refusal to sponsor land acquisition in Zimbabwe.

The LCT investigation identified general trends in the knowledge built about Zimbabwe and UK relations in the article. Baldwin creates a solid favourable charged constellation around Zimbabwe's reforms, and she creates a subtler negative charged constellation around violence. She supports the proposed political and economic reforms, which gives President Mnangagwa a positive assessment of his leadership. Additionally, the article conveys that the UK agrees with the concept of an impartial and open election-mediation process. Another pattern builds a constellation created by the article's author that criticises Blair's administration for acting in a way that violates the commitments made under the Lancaster House agreement. There are signs that Zimbabwe is positioning itself favourably as being prepared to address the challenges that are deterring foreign investment.

#### 6.2.4 Conclusion

In the article, Zimbabwe and the UK are associated with positive charging except for a few instances where perpetrators of violence are charged negatively and disaligned from. Blair's constellation is charged negatively because of not honouring the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement. Blair's government was negatively evaluated based on its refusal to fund the land in Zimbabwe, resulting in souring relations between the two countries. Zimbabwe is positively positioned in most instances to establish the connection between the two countries. The article depicts the UK as creating business opportunities to boost the economy of Zimbabwe to alleviate poverty in all circumstances.

The SFL analysis establishes positive Judgement associated with positive evaluations of the reform agenda and mending the relations between the two countries. It also reveals the plans for re-engagement and engagement drive to attract foreign investments in Zimbabwe. The instantiations of positive Judgement and Appreciation influence the reader's mind to depict reconciliation between Harare and London as being for the betterment of Zimbabwe. In contrast, the UK distances itself from violent activities in Zimbabwe and disaligning from the perpetrators of violence. The negative charging is strengthened by using words such as "condemn" in the article. The positive evaluation of the relationship gives Zimbabweans hope for an improved economy and political stability. It builds the readers' happiness and confidence in the present ruling government by repeating the word "welcomes" throughout the article.

The cosmologies underlying this article concerning the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in their relations address the re-engagement process and implementation of the reform agenda. This is evident in meetings between the envoys and Zimbabwe's government, trying to mitigate the economy's collapse. The article appeals to the concept of a "breakthrough" influenced by Mnangagwa's new approach that addresses the reform agenda, free and fair elections and re-engagement and engagement process. This article promotes a positive dialogue among the readers' respecting the bouncing back of the economy and non-violent elections with sound electoral policies. The statements influence public debates by creating positive sentiments towards the UK and Zimbabwe governments based on the willingness to reform Zimbabwe's economy and political situation.

The positive charging of the re-engagement drive and reforms led to a positive evaluation of Mnangagwa and his leadership, who were portrayed as honest and reformed politicians. This builds readers' trust and support for the leadership because they reasonably execute economic and political processes that satisfy the citizens. It also promotes public engagement in these matters that concern their livelihood. The article aligns readers with the current Zimbabwe-UK governments while disaligning them from "violence" and the Blair government's actions. *The Herald* is encouraging the acceptance of the reform agenda as Mnangagwa's government frames it and is not allowing any room for criticism of either Zimbabwe or the UK government's actions.

### **6.3 "UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit"**

#### 6.3.1 Descriptive account

This article was published on December 4, 2020, and this article was published almost three years after the one reported in the previous section (see appendices). It explains the willingness of the UK to increase the level of engagement in terms of relations and investment prospects in Zimbabwe amid Brexit. The article's heading assures the readers that the UK supports the engagement and re-engagement drive introduced by Mnangagwa after his rise to power. This is happening in the context of Mnangagwa's mantra "Zimbabwe is open for business". This "mantra" relates to this article regarding the need to improve the economic trade and development projects between Zimbabwe and international businesses. The ascendance of Mnangagwa in power in 2017 changed the discourse between Harare and London regarding renewing bilateral relations and investment opportunities. As shown in this article,

Mnangagwa's ascendancy to power still had an impact in 2020 since the UK is still interested in investing and developing trade opportunities with Zimbabwe. The then-Prime Minister of the UK, Theresa May, acknowledged the leadership in Zimbabwe by sending various envoys to explore the situation on the ground and the kind of help the UK could offer to Zimbabwean businesses.

The British Ambassador Melanie Robinson expresses the need to mend the relations during her visit to Foreign Affairs and International Trade Minister Sibusiso Moyo. The visit focused on increasing trade and economic cooperation before the exit of Britain from the EU. She emphasised the importance of the meeting since it was the last one before Britain's exit from the EU. The signing of an Economic Partnership Agreement between Zimbabwe and Britain signifies the interest in boosting economic relations favouring Zimbabwe. The Economic Partnership Agreement aimed to establish a free and open trade corridor for Zimbabwean trade in the UK. The statements made by Robinson justify or elaborate on the importance of renewing the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK by engaging Zimbabwean farmers in horticulture farming. Regarding agricultural exports to the United Kingdom, Zimbabwe was the UK's most important trading partner before the renewal of relations. However, Robinson mentioned that "the UK still had reservations" about implementing the reform agenda in Zimbabwe, which might become a drawback in mending relations.

### 6.3.2 SFL analysis

One of the main strengths of the SFL perspective is that it offers a comprehensive view of evaluative resources, including instances of Attitude and positioning and the sources of these evaluative stances in discourse. SFL provides a model that allows us to examine the evaluative choices made in the discourse semantics of texts. The Appraisal system is described in detail in 3.5.

#### 6.3.2.1 Attitude and Graduation analysis

This section describes the unfolding of meaning-making resources to show how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned in this article. Table 6.6 indicates the appraising item, appraiser, appraised, polarity and Attitude type.

In paragraph 1 and the Headline, a positive: Reaction is instantiated in the phrase "scales up" and is associated with the UK's exit from the EU; "The United Kingdom (UK) wants to scale

up trade and economic cooperation with Zimbabwe ahead of its official exit from the European Union (EU)”. This invokes positive: Satisfaction; it means that Zimbabwe and the UK are closer to addressing the trade restrictions between the two countries. Paragraph 1 reinforces the headline of the article. The positive Satisfaction of the UK is associated with improving trading opportunities with Zimbabwe before leaving the EU. It describes the potential and ability of the UK to increase trading opportunities by reversing previous sanctions against Zimbabwe. The statement aligns the UK and Zimbabwe in their efforts to transform the new Zimbabwe and promote the re-engagement drive.

The word “thawing” describes relations between Zimbabwe and the UK in paragraph 3, inscribes a Positive: Reaction and invokes a feeling of Positive: Satisfaction. The Reaction indicates positive assessments from the article’s author regarding the progress in trade and economic cooperation between the two countries. The author indicates the willingness to solve disagreements that emanated from the land question in Zimbabwe (par. 4). These words mark the improvement of relations to show the possibility of trade in the near future and how the process can be expedited if Zimbabwe implements the reform agenda.

Table 6.6: Evaluative Attitude in “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”

Appraising item	Appraiser	Appraised	Polarity	Attitude Type
Scales up	<i>The Herald</i>	The UK	Positive	+Reaction, +satisfaction
Thawing	<i>The Herald</i>	Relations	Positive	+Reaction
Imposed embargoes	Author	Zimbabwe	Negative	-Happiness
Struck off the sanction list	Author	81 officials and eight local companies	Positive	+Happiness
Improve	Author	Relations between the two countries	Positive	+Reaction
Transition	Ambassador Robinson	Before the UK leaves the EU	Negative	-Security
Support	Ambassador Robinson	UK	Positive	+Tenacity
Pleasing	Ambassador Robinson	the discussions	Positive	+Satisfaction
Willing	Zimbabwe	Reform agenda	Positive	+Inclination
Cannot be finalised	Pres Mnangagwa	Reform agenda process	Negative	Neg+Satisfaction

I rearranged terms and ideas to clearly understand the source and the targets of evaluation in Table 6.7. The analysis points to positive charging of “reform agenda”, “relations” “trade agreements”, and President Mnangagwa. Negative charging is associated with “sanctions” which resulted from the Fast Track Land Reform Programme in 2000. What is evaluating and

what is performing the evaluation in this article are outlined in Table 6.7. Evaluations set the foundation for the relationships that exist between the source and the target.

Table 6.7: Preliminary list of charged elements based on Attitude “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”

Source	Target	Charge
<i>The Herald</i>	The UK	Positive
	Relations	Positive
Author	Trade	Positive
	Zimbabwe’s differences with many western countries	Negative
	Embargoes on Zimbabwe	Negative
	Sanctions list	Positive
	Relations between the two	Positive
	Pres Mnangagwa	Positive
Ambassador Robinson	Before the UK leaves the EU	Positive
	Zimbabweans who are in trade	Positive
	the Zimbabweans	Positive
	the discussions	Positive
Pres. Mnangagwa	Reform agenda	Positive
	Reform agenda process	Positive

The perspective on sanctions indicates a negative evaluation and charging of sanctions. The article made a once-off evaluation demonstrating negative charging to disalign with Britain’s stance about the imposed restrictive measures. The reporter says, “The EU imposed embargoes on Zimbabwe in 2002 after the launch of the fast-track Land Reform Programme but had eased most of them by 2013 when 81 officials and eight local companies were struck off the sanctions list”. The word “imposed” in paragraph 5 of this article instantiates invoked negative Happiness since sanctions are a sad event for Zimbabwe and are inconsistent with Zimbabwe’s values. The sanctions are regarded as a measure for Zimbabwe to realise the need to reconsider matters of democracy and good governance in its day-to-day activities. The reporter describes the striking off embargoes as a sign of mending relations between the two countries. The easing of various embargoes, which is a pleasant development for Zimbabwe, is reflected in the word “struck off”, which invokes positive Happiness for readers aligned with these Zimbabwean officials and companies. Britain is clear concerning its position on the removal of sanctions. It has the power to determine what/whom to scrap from the list, thus exercising its power over the government of Zimbabwe.

Paragraph 6 describes the diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK through the phrase “appearing to improve”. As mentioned, “Zimbabwe and the UK recently signed an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) as relations between the two are appearing to improve”. The term “improve” inscribes a positive Reaction, whereas “appearing to”

instantiates Focus: Softening, since we are not sure whether the relations are improving, but it appears as they are. The instantiation shows the relations between the source and the target and is positively charged. The choice of language demonstrates Zimbabwe's potential to reform for its citizens' betterment.

The seventh paragraph concentrates on Britain's exit from the EU, using the word "transition" to represent the interim period preceding the ultimate exit. Robison said, "We had a meeting with Honourable Minister SB Moyo, and this was an opportunity to meet I think for the last time, before the UK ends its transition period of leaving the EU". The word "transition invokes Negative Security since it is an unstable, uncertain time for the UK. Prior to its departure, Britain portrayed itself as concerned about the future of Zimbabwe and as the power centre of its development.

Paragraph 11 describes one of the Zimbabwean products (blueberries) doing well in the UK. It strengthens the positive attachment with economic trade and emphasises economic development prospects between the two countries. Ambassador Robinson expresses the importance of economic trade to boost the economy of Zimbabwe by accessing UK markets when she says, "We look forward to those exports growing and growing". She expresses positive Inclination in "we look forward". She downscopes Force: Quantification: Number in "one of the most successful Zimbabwean products in the UK is blueberries" to demonstrate a thriving market through the exportation of blueberries. The term "one of the most successful" strengthens the evaluation and shows positive values associated with the UK. The word "most" upscales Intensification: Degree. Robinson utilised "one" to illustrate a single example of an export well received in the UK and indicate that the two countries had advanced economic growth.

The word "support" in paragraph 12 is a positive Judgement of Tenacity towards the UK, in other words, a positive self-judgement. It shows Robinson wants to give Britain's position regarding the assistance rendered to Zimbabweans willing to trade in the UK. This example, "What we are trying to do now more is to support Zimbabweans who are trying to trade in the UK is to connect them to those markets", outlines the British government's strategy to protect trade and commerce with Zimbabwe before exiting the EU. Despite being criticised, Zimbabwe is depicted as fortunate to have access to these markets.

The use of Affect in paragraph 15 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade indicates some developments in trade between the two countries. For example, in a statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade said: “In a marathon meeting that saw discussions range from the usual topics of human rights, corruption and the rule of law, it was *pleasing* to note that Zimbabwe and the UK are looking to increase trade cooperation through the export of agricultural produce, cooperate in mitigating the adverse effects of climate change, debt relief, as well as exploring *increased* investment in renewable energy”. The word “pleasing” inscribes positive Satisfaction, and The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade used it to align with the UK. In this example, “pleasing” describes Zimbabwe as fairly treated by the UK, and it signifies an element of trust which is positively evaluated. The word “increase” upscales Force: Quantification to strengthen trading opportunities between the two countries. Britain agrees with Zimbabwe regarding increasing export facilities in the agriculture sector. It appears that Britain is interested in the agriculture sector because most white commercial farmers used to export farm produce to the UK before the fast-track land reform in 2000. Despite the restrictive embargoes on Zimbabwe, Britain is positioned favourably due to its efforts to expand trade cooperation with the country.

Paragraph 18 explicitly expresses a positive evaluation of the economic and political reforms. Zimbabwe is positively evaluated through the expression, “Zimbabwe has made it clear that it is willing to walk the talk on the reform agenda, which is a process that cannot be finalised like an event”. The term “finalised” inscribes negated positive Satisfaction regarding Zimbabwe’s commitment towards implementing the reforms. The inscribed negative evaluation of the reforms is invoked by “cannot”, which changes the evaluation from a positive to negative. It implies support for Mnangagwa’s reform plan but signals that more time is required to complete the process. The government is saying that reform is “a process that cannot be finalised”, which positions the reforms as something that cannot be concluded but is always ongoing. On the surface, this is an acknowledgement that reforms are so important that they must be constantly attended to, but sceptical readers may view this as an excuse for slow progress on reforms. The word “willing” instantiates a positive Inclination towards implementing the reform agenda. The author’s goal is to educate the public on government policy and the initiatives taken to implement it. Zimbabwe is positioned as being prepared to pursue reforms.

Paragraph 21 uses inscribed Attitude in the following statement “President Mnangagwa has championed the implementation of several reforms in areas such as security, the economy,

media and justice delivery, and this has not gone unnoticed”. In this example, the word “championed” inscribes a positive Tenacity towards Mnangagwa for continuing the reforms and invokes positive Happiness to describe the effort put in by Mnangagwa to transform the policies and signifies a positive stance toward good governance in Zimbabwe. The term “several” is used to upscale Force: Quantification to single out achievements made by Mnangagwa in respect of the reform agenda. It indicates the number of implemented reforms. It suggests that there is an improvement toward achieving the set agenda, but much has to be done to reach the target.

In this article, the phrase “deepen and widen” encodes a positive inscription of upscaling Quantification: Mass which flags positive Capacity. This is upscaled through the Force: Quantification revealed in “separate trade agreement” to signify open trade access between Zimbabwe and the UK without the EU’s interference. If the implementation of the reforms is resolved, the separate trade agreement between the two countries will demonstrate the extent of anticipated trade relations. These are prospective future developments that might boost the economy of Zimbabwe.

The metaphor “to walk the talk” emphasises the commitment put forward by Mnangagwa to the implementation of the reforms during his tenure as the President. Mnangagwa is portrayed as having a level of understanding and concern toward the people of Zimbabwe and believing in change and democracy. Metaphors promote alignment and affiliation between the Mnangagwa and the UK, thereby demonstrating the potential to mend the relations if certain conditions are met.

Mnangagwa's use of metaphors such as "willing to walk the talk" is one of the general trends that emerge from this article's Attitude and Graduation analysis. Utilising positive Satisfaction and Happiness demonstrates that Zimbabwe and the UK are closer to resolving their trade restrictions. The UK is portrayed as desiring to expand its commercial territory in Zimbabwe, whereas Zimbabwe is focused on reviving diplomatic relations. The use of Force: Quantification in “one of the most successful Zimbabwean products in the UK is blueberries” denotes open trade access between Zimbabwe and the UK without interference from the EU. The phrase "one of the most successful" is used to illustrate a growing market through blueberry exportation. The separate trade deal between the two countries illustrates the scope of projected commercial links, which may benefit Zimbabwe's economy. Another general trend

implies that progress is being made towards implementing the reform agenda, but more work remains to be done. The UK expresses a commitment to effective governance in Zimbabwe.

### 6.3.2.2 Engagement analysis

This section considers instances of multiple voices in the news article. The linguistic resources informing the analysis are shown in Table 6.8. The sources were analysed to reveal meanings they align to.

Disclaim: Counter is used in the text to contrast the previous state of Zimbabwe's relations with the EU with its current state. For example, in the paragraph, "The EU imposed embargoes on Zimbabwe in 2002 after the launch of the fast-track Land Reform Programme but had eased most of them by 2013 when 81 officials and eight local companies were struck off the sanctions list". The word "but" instantiates Disclaim: Counter in paragraph 5. The author uses "but" to counter the first statement explaining the removal of some of the imposed embargoes. The EU and Britain are portrayed as taking the initiative towards removing the embargoes against Zimbabwe to revive their bilateral ties.

The reporter uses negation in the form of Contract: Deny demonstrating that the reform agenda is a process that requires time to be implemented, for instance in "Zimbabwe has made it clear that it is willing to walk the talk on the reform agenda, which is a process that cannot be finalised like an event", (paragraph 18). The government is closing dialogic space around the idea that reforms take time to implement using the modal "cannot" in this sentence. The Zimbabwean government disaligns with the proposition to fast-track the implementation process but aligns with the willingness to see the reform agenda yielding fruits shortly.

The use of the Expand: Entertain in "The thawing of relations between Zimbabwe and Britain and the envisaged boom in trade could further give impetus to Zimbabwe's engagement and re-engagement drive" shows positive charging in relation to the source and alignment. The modal "could" instantiates Expand: Entertain. Robinson entertains that the thawing of relations opens ways for engagement and re-engagement through the modal "could". This means that what she states is positioned as a possibility, but she leaves space open for other voices, which may be envisaged a boom in trade would not give impetus to the re-engagement drive. It allows room for readers to align with the idea of normalising relations between the two countries. She aligns and positively charges the idea of improved relations being put forward. The use of "could" indicates a possibility for promoting trade between the two countries to reinforce the

re-engagement drive. The UK and Zimbabwe are positively positioned regarding their stance to resolve the conflict.

Table 6.8: Heteroglossia and charging “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement type
The thawing of relations between Zimbabwe and Britain and the envisaged boom in trade <u>could</u> further give impetus to Zimbabwe’s engagement and re-engagement drive.	Ambassador Melanie Robinson	Further give impetus to Zimbabwe’s engagement and re-engagement drive	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
There are many products that find themselves into the shelves of the UK and indeed we have a project with farmers here in Zimbabwe to help them meet UK standards and access markets in the UK <u>and so we</u> look forward to those exports growing and growing.	Robinson	look forward to those exports growing and growing	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Justify
“We took a trade mission last year to connect horticulture farmers to supermarkets in the UK, we <u>will</u> continue to do those proactive things that <u>will</u> allow Zimbabwe’s trade to go up in the future with the UK”.	Robinson	continue to do those proactive things that will allow Zimbabwe’s trade to go up in the future with the UK”	Aligning (positive aligning)	Expand: Entertain
Ambassador Robinson <u>said</u> her government still had reservations on Zimbabwe’s reforms and implored the Government to keep driving forward, the implementation of the reforms.	Robinson	The UK government still had reservations on Zimbabwe’s reforms and implored the Government to keep driving forward, the implementation of the reforms	Aligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
Ambassador Robinson said her government <u>still had reservations</u> on Zimbabwe’s reforms and implored the Government to keep driving forward, the implementation of the reforms.	Robinson	Zimbabwe’s reforms	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Counter

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement type
As part of the country’s economic revival strategy which is primed towards attaining an upper middle-income economy by 2030, President Mnangagwa has <u>said</u> the agricultural sector is expected to play a key role.	President Mnangagwa,	The agricultural sector is expected to play a key role	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
Zimbabwe has <u>made it clear that</u> it is willing to walk the talk on the reform agenda, which is a process that cannot be finalised like an event.	Mnangagwa	Willing to walk the talk on the reform agenda	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Endorse
Zimbabwe has made it clear that it is willing to walk the talk on the reform agenda, which is a process that <u>cannot</u> be finalised like an event.	Mnangagwa	be finalised like an event.		Contract: Deny
The EU imposed embargoes on Zimbabwe in 2002 after the launch of the fast-track Land Reform Programme <u>but</u> had eased most of them by 2013, when 81 officials and eight local companies were struck off the sanctions list.	<i>The Herald</i>	had eased most of them by 2013, when 81 officials and eight local companies were struck off the sanctions list.	disaligning (positive charge)	Contract: Counter
We have <u>agreed</u> on a new trade agreement which provides free and open access to Zimbabwean trade into the UK.	Robinson	new trade agreement which provides free and open access to Zimbabwean trade into the UK.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Concur
“We had a meeting with Honourable Minister SB Moyo, and this was an opportunity to meet <i>I think</i> for the last time, before the UK ends its transition period of leaving the EU”, said Ambassador Robinson.	Robinson	for the last time, before the UK ends its transition period of leaving the EU.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement type
“We had a meeting with Honourable Minister SB Moyo, and this was an opportunity to meet [and] I think for the last time, before the UK ends its transition period of leaving the EU”, <u>said</u> Ambassador Robinson.	Robinson	We had a meeting with Honourable Minister SB Moyo, and this was an opportunity to meet [and] I think for the last time, before the UK ends its transition period of leaving the EU	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
<u>In a statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade said:</u> “In a marathon meeting that saw discussions range from the usual topics of human rights, corruption and rule of law, it was pleasing to note that Zimbabwe and the UK are looking to increase trade cooperation through the export of agricultural produce, cooperate in mitigating the adverse effects of climate change, debt relief, as well as exploring increased investment in renewable energy.	<i>The Herald</i>	In a marathon meeting that saw discussions range from the usual topics of human rights, corruption and rule of law, it was pleasing to note that Zimbabwe and the UK are looking to increase trade cooperation through the export of agricultural produce, cooperate in mitigating the adverse effects of climate change, debt relief, as well as exploring increased investment in renewable energy.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
<u>it was pleasing to note that</u> Zimbabwe and the UK are looking to increase trade cooperation through the export of agricultural produce, cooperate in mitigating the adverse effects of climate change, debt relief, as well as exploring increased investment in renewable energy.	Robinson	Zimbabwe and the UK are looking to increase trade cooperation.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Endorse
Six new independent television stations have been licensed to operate, and the opening of the airwaves <u>has been hailed as</u> a crucial step towards promoting transparency.	<i>The Herald</i>	a crucial step towards promoting transparency.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge

Robinson uses Proclaim: Pronounce to demonstrate alignment and affiliation toward the support rendered to Zimbabwe. Most of the statements pronounced by Robinson elaborate on the trade opportunities and reinforce the relationship between the source and the target, thereby creating a positively charged bond between the two countries. Robinson justifies Britain's actions through its involvement in economic development programmes between Harare and London. In one example, "we have a project with farmers here in Zimbabwe to help them meet UK standards and access markets in the UK and so we look forward to those exports growing and growing", she uses "and so" instantiate Contract: Justify contracting the dialogic space around the idea that the exports will grow by giving reasons why she believes they will grow. At the same time, it reveals Zimbabwe's support for boosting its economy. Robinson demonstrates inclusiveness in mobilising resources to show that the UK is willing to revive Zimbabwe's economy. The article positively positions the UK and depicts a positive image of Britain to Zimbabwe. Soft power is used to depict the UK positively to demonstrate to the outside world that they support the re-engagement drive and persuade its former colony to engage in democratic practices.

In paragraph 7, Entertain recognises the UK's exit from the EU. She says, "We had a meeting with Honourable Minister Moyo, and this was an opportunity to meet I think for the last time, before the UK ends its transition period of leaving the EU". This implies that Robinson's audience and Minister Moyo have shared knowledge with the UK government regarding the UK's exit from the EU. The transition period is set to mend relations and create opportunities for Zimbabwe before leaving the EU. The UK is portrayed as concerned about the future of Zimbabwe after its exit from the EU, and Zimbabwe is prepared to benefit from this decision. The quotation above, "I think", entertains the possibility that this is the last time she will meet with Moyo before Brexit. She leaves space open for the possibility that she may have to meet him again before Brexit.

The use of Expand: Acknowledge in paragraph 7 shows a positive degree of alignment with Mnangagwa's new approach in Zimbabwe. Robinson declares the willingness of Britain to support Zimbabwe when she says, "We had a meeting with Honourable Minister SB Moyo, and this was an opportunity to meet, I think for the last time, before the UK ends its transition period of leaving the EU", *said Ambassador Robinson*. She intends to reinforce their position toward normalising the relations between the two countries. Robinson is cited as the source of these words and aligns with them. The words "said Ambassador Robinson" indicate that the

article's author acknowledges what Robinson said without explicitly aligning with it. It establishes the connection between Britain and the idea of leaving the EU, creating positive charging and alignment with the information. The author used the phrase "she said" twice throughout the article, referring to statements made by Robinson.

Robinson endorses the trade agreement between Zimbabwe and the UK in paragraph 8. In the following statement, "We have agreed on a new trade agreement which provides free and open access to Zimbabwean trade into the UK", and the use of Proclaim: Endorse in "which provides" signifies the importance of trade between the two countries. Robinson assures Moyo about the trade opportunities resulting from free and open market access. Britain positively aligns itself with the proposition and regards it as correct. Robinson and Moyo positively charge the idea of the new trade agreement to indicate the level of engagement between the two countries. However, Robinson expresses concern over the reform agenda implementation process. She said, "The government still had reservations on Zimbabwe's reforms", which negatively judges Zimbabwe's reforms. The use of Contract: Counter in "still" introduces something which counters some of her previous positive comments about Zimbabwe. The proposition is the UK's point of view which might attract voices to comment on the same matter.

The analysis shows that Robinson frequently uses Proclaim to express Britain's engagement in particular activities. For example, "Zimbabwe's trade with the UK is always open. It was open under the EU. It's now that we have a separate trade agreement, and that is the opportunity for us to deepen and widen in the future". In the example, Robinson uses "we" and "us" to proclaim its commitment to supporting and developing Zimbabwe's economy through engaging in various trade activities. I conclude that Britain is positively charged and aligned with the proactive development in Zimbabwe. Soft power positions the UK in a favourable manner regarding its stance on boosting the economy by equipping farmers with the necessary tools. The propositions made by Robinson upgraded Britain's value position.

Robinson used Expand: Entertain as in "we" and "we will" throughout the article to proclaim their activities and voices concerning their position. The Entertain resource "we will" shows alignment and affiliation to their pronouncements, proving it is not a personal stance. The "will" instantiates Expand: Entertain that it entertains possibilities that are not currently a reality. It indicates that the decisions represent the UK value position regarding re-engaging Zimbabwe. The use of "we" indicates affiliation and takes an authoritative stance since it refers

to the UK. In most cases, Robinson used “we” when discussing economic and trade development between the two countries.

The author couples Engagement resources to position Zimbabwe and the UK positively. Examples of couplings referring to Robinson are “increased trade cooperation” and “increased investment”, and Robinson is negotiating her position as the UK’s representative in Zimbabwe, where she shares the positive values expressed in the separate trade agreement between the two countries.

One of the general trends in this article is Robinson's use of Engagement resources to expand dialogic space. As opposed to mitigating the negative effects of climate change, Engagement resources are used to expand the dialogic space to enable discussion and debate about trade, environmental issues, financial aid, and investment. Robinson employs Proclaim: Endorse in “We have agreed on a new trade agreement which provides free and open access to Zimbabwean trade into the UK”, which signifies the importance of trade between the two countries and demonstrates alignment and affiliation with the support provided to Zimbabwe. This suggests that the EU and the UK are depicted as taking the initiative to lift the embargoes against Zimbabwe to revive their bilateral relations. The article presents a favourable view of the UK to Zimbabwe. Another pattern focuses on the non-implementation of the reform agenda. Robinson utilised Contract: Counter in “still” to express concern regarding the reform agenda implementation process.

### 6.3.3 LCT analysis

The analysis establishes the basis of the constellations developed considering the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in this article. I describe three sets of constellations: those built by the UK, those built by Zimbabwe’s government (including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade) and those built by *The Herald*. Tables 6.9, 6.10 and 6.11 show the sources, ideas, and terms coming from the text. These divisions show the constellations which are demarcated by the sources.

The constellation associated with the UK in “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit” was developed after grouping terms, ideas and sources into a significant constellation. Ambassador Robinson is the source that constitutes the constellation associated with the UK. The constellation represents the positive value positions developed through charged

propositions. Most of the information is aligned with the value position except in one instance where the information is disaligned with the value position. The constellation builds a positive evaluation of the re-engagement drive and trading opportunities, thereby positively charging the UK.

The headline “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit” introduces the willingness of the UK to increase its trading opportunities with Zimbabwe. In the article, the scaling up of the cooperation is emphasised through positive charging of the relations and the repeated word “cooperation”. Mnangagwa’s new economic and political reforms approach is constellated with investment ventures. The positive charging is strengthened by using the words “separate trade agreement” and “opportunity to deepen and widen”. The trade agreement is constellated with Mnangagwa because the plans to implement the political and economic agenda are attributed to him.

Table 6.9: Constellation associated with “Robinson” in “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
Ambassador Robinson	Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA)	An Economic Partnership Agreement as relations between the two are appearing to improve,	Ambassador Robinson	Zimbabwe reforms  Implementation	The UK government still had reservations on Zimbabwe’s reforms and implored the government to keep driving forward, the implementation of the reforms.
	Opportunities	About some of the opportunities between our countries.			
	Project Farmers Standards Market Exports	We have a project with farmers here in Zimbabwe to help them meet UK standards and access markets in the UK, and so we look forward to those exports growing and growing.			

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
	Engagement  Re-engagement drive	The thawing of relations between Zimbabwe and Britain and the envisaged boom in trade could further give impetus to Zimbabwe's engagement and re-engagement drive.			
	Trade agreement  Opportunity	Zimbabwe's trade with the UK is always open. It was open under the EU. It's now that we have a separate trade agreement, and that is an opportunity for us to deepen and widen in future."			

The UK constellation is built from Robinson's positively charged information associated with Economic Partnership Agreement and improved relations between Harare and London. The constellation describes the intervention strategies employed by the UK to improve trading activities. The terms "opportunities" and "support" portray Britain as an understanding country ready to engage Zimbabwe despite the imposed embargoes. When she says, "that is an opportunity for us to deepen and widen in future", she expresses the need to revive trade between the two countries. A positive evaluation and alignment are established in the proposition. The positive intentions of Britain are depicted as honest and genuine towards boosting trading opportunities between the two countries. Britain uses the positive representation to clarify restrictive measures in this constellation.

The use of soft power frequently appears in this article. In several instances, Robinson used soft power to build a positive image of the UK to legitimise its trade agreement with Zimbabwe and change its attitude by implementing its foreign policy. Britain uses soft power to mobilise and shapes a favourable picture of the government of Zimbabwe and public opinion. Words such as "trade mission" portray the re-engagement drive as a good thing that results in good

relations between the two countries. At the same time, Robinson positively charges Britain, referring to Zimbabwe's poor economy. For example, "We took a trade mission last year to connect horticulture farmers to supermarkets in the UK; we will continue to do those proactive things that will allow Zimbabwe's trade to go up in the future with the UK". Britain assures the government of Zimbabwe by engaging farmers to supply their products in their country to dismiss the matter of sanctions.

Britain expresses the lack of visible change in this constellation's reform agenda. Britain openly criticises the progress of the implementation process and encourages Zimbabwe to quicken the process to attract other interested investors. This is evident in the statement, "government still had reservations on Zimbabwe's reforms and implored the Government to keep driving forward, the implementation of the reforms". The word "reservations" demonstrates Britain's negative evaluation and charging of the Government, which might affect the trading opportunities between the two countries. People will align with this information if they share the sentiments and affiliate with the UK. As a result, communities are created if people sense that the government is disadvantaging them in accessing resources.

Robinson and the reporter use the language to attract readers concerning exporting goods from Zimbabwe to the UK. Words such as "markets", "exports", and "products" are frequently mentioned in this article to demonstrate to readers the intervention strategies employed by the UK to facilitate economic trade between the two countries. Robinson associates with the words specifying the importance of introducing Zimbabwe into the UK market. The words indicate how Zimbabwe depends on the UK market to boost its economy and how Britain controls the economy of its former colony. In simple terms, Britain controls the market and the products exported to their country to support agricultural activities in Zimbabwe. The markets and exports are perceived as ways Britain exerts its power to convince readers about its role in normalising the relations and promoting economic trade in Zimbabwe.

Mnangagwa is described as "a friend of everyone and an enemy of none". This becomes his slogan when addressing people at various forums. This is a sign of reconciliation and business-oriented to prove to the UK that the government has reformed for the betterment of citizens. Mnangagwa is constellated with the re-engagement and engagement drive to upgrade the economy of Zimbabwe in all circumstances. This slogan has been associated with signing a separate trade agreement (EPA) to increase trading opportunities between the two countries.

This mirrors a strong positive charging and evaluation of Mnangagwa, his new policies, and those who align with him. Mnangagwa's position is legitimised in the readers' eyes.

The negative charging of the constellation is weakened by the word "imposed" in paragraph 5 and "disagreements" in paragraph 4. The reporter used these words to emphasise the sanctions resulting from the Land Reform Programme. The word "disagreements" charges the UK negatively, referring to sanctions and the land question. If the Land Reform Programme is negatively charged and evaluated, the readers disalign with Mnangagwa and affiliate with the UK. At the same time, the reporter charges the EU positively using "eased most of them by 2013". In this section, the UK is constellated with the EU as part of the group of "western countries", so positive charging the EU also positively charges the UK. Here "eased" positively evaluates Britain and the EU and disassociates themselves from negative charging by Zimbabwe. This strengthens the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK, resulting in the positive positioning of the UK constellated with easing the sanctions.

*The Herald* constellation in Table 6.10 reveals the possibilities of compensating white farmers to develop the land. This matter dates back to the Lancaster House Agreement signed in 1979, where the British government agreed to compensate the white farmers and Zimbabwe for financing improving the land. The article says that Mnangagwa's government signed a historic agreement with the white commercial farmers to compensate them for land improvements. The reporter reinforces the idea of compensation to strengthen the evaluation of Mnangagwa and his new approach.

The reporter positively positions President Mnangagwa as licencing new media outlets to promote transparency in the government; that is, he allows a greater diversity of independent media outlets which can report critically on his government. The information reinforces the impression of his willingness to implement the reforms, which results in the further thawing of relations between the UK and Zimbabwe. The author stated, "six new independent television stations have been licensed to operate, and the opening of the airwaves has been hailed as a crucial step towards promoting transparency". This positively charges the constellation and supports the UK's idea of transparency in some previously questioned areas. The reporter portrays a positive representation of Mnangagwa, who is trying to meet *The Standards* set by the UK. The use of the word "promoting" demonstrate a genuine commitment by Mnangagwa to honour some of the proposals put forward by the UK to improve their relations. The reporter

aligns with Mnangagwa and affiliates with championing several reforms in the media and the economic sectors.

*The Herald* constellation’s positive charging is strengthened by using words such as “hailed”, “championed”, and “primed”. The reform agenda is constellated with Zimbabwe because Mnangagwa is portrayed as focusing on the implementation process. Britain supports the move and encourages Zimbabwe to keep driving forward to meet its expectations. The reporter mentioned Mnangagwa by name to show a strong value position related to the constellation and Mnangagwa’s identity as the promoter of democracy in Zimbabwe; for example, in paragraph 21, “President Mnangagwa has championed the implementation of several reforms in areas such as security, the economy, media and justice delivery and this has not gone unnoticed”.

Table 6.10: Constellation associated with “Zimbabwe” in “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”

Aligning with (positive charge)			Disaligning with (negative charge)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
<i>The Herald</i>	Championed Implementation Reforms	President Mnangagwa has championed the implementation of several reforms in areas such as security, the economy, media and justice delivery and this has not gone unnoticed.			
	Hailed Transparency	Six new independent television stations have been licensed to operate, and the opening of the airwaves has been hailed as a crucial step towards promoting transparency.			
	Imposed embargoes, Land Reform, Sanctions list	The EU imposed embargoes on Zimbabwe in 2002 after the launch of the fast-track Land Reform Programme but had eased most of them by 2013 when 81 officials and eight local companies were struck off the sanctions list.			
	Economic revival strategy Primed	As part of the country’s economic revival strategy which is primed towards attaining an upper middle-income economy by 2030, President Mnangagwa has said the agricultural sector is expected to play a key role.			

	<p>Historic agreement</p> <p>White commercial farmers</p>	<p>Recently, a historic agreement was signed between the Government and white former commercial farmers for compensation for improvements on the land from which they were evicted after occupation in the 1980s.</p>			
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The constellations developed by the Zimbabwe government in “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit” were developed after grouping terms, ideas and sources into significant constellations. Sources such as Mnangagwa and *The Herald* produced a constellation associated with Zimbabwe. Using terms such as “economic revival strategy” indicates alignment with the UK considering the context of the relations between the two countries. The positioning indicates particular values being upheld in Zimbabwe towards reviving the economy. In support of the beliefs and practices, the government of Mnangagwa initiated a new approach targeting the economy of Zimbabwe to improve its livelihood. The constellation built by Zimbabwe shows how Zimbabwe positions the UK, and in this article, it is positioned positively.

Paragraph 15 introduces the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade statement. The ministry is associated with increasing trade with the UK in the agricultural sector. The words “pleasing” and “cooperation” carry a positive charge by mentioning the possibilities of increasing trade cooperation between the two countries. The statement strongly charges Zimbabwe’s government constellation, which is a sign of mutual agreement to improve the relations through import and export.

In paragraph 16, the reporter continues positively charging the trade cooperation using “benefit”. The reporter explores Covid-19 vaccination as one of these areas where Zimbabwe benefits from improved relations, such as the Covid-19 vaccine. The position of the UK is legitimised through its intervention strategies and the support rendered to minimise deaths through Covid-19. Britain is constellated with the Covid-19 vaccine as its supplier. The use of soft power is significant in the language used by the reporter to depict a positive picture of Britain. The word “benefit” points to the importance of the improved relations between Zimbabwe and the UK.

Table 6.11: Constellation associated with “Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade” in “UK scales up cooperation ahead of Brexit”

Aligning with (positive charge)			Disaligning with (negative charge)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
Zimbabwe’s government	Trade cooperation  Investment	In a marathon meeting that saw discussions range from the usual topics of human rights, corruption and rule of law, it was pleasing to note that Zimbabwe and the UK are looking to increase trade cooperation through the export of agricultural produce, cooperate in mitigating the adverse effects of climate change, debt relief, as well as exploring increased investment in renewable energy.			
Zimbabwe’s government	Cooperation	Through continued cooperation, Zimbabwe seeks to benefit from the newly approved Covid-19 vaccine which the UK is rolling out in its millions.			

In the constellation associated with Zimbabwe, the reporter reinforces the stances established by Mnangagwa concerning the agreement signed between the Government and the former white commercial farmers. Tensions over the fast-track land reform aggravated the crisis in Zimbabwe. Mnangagwa plans to solve the problem by establishing a new agreement concerning compensation for improvements on the land that white farmers formerly occupied. The author stated, “Recently, a historic agreement was signed between the Government and white former commercial farmers for compensation for improvements on the land from which they were evicted after the occupation in the 1890s”. The positive charging of the Zimbabwe constellation is also associated with Mnangagwa, which ultimately aligns him with the British government. The phrase “historic agreement” points to the importance of this agreement.

*The Herald* constellation is characterised by positively charged evaluations and meanings concerning part removal of some of the sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe in 2002 (see Chapter Two). The reporter positively charges the easing of some sanctions by the EU and Britain. The constellation demonstrates positive alignment and evaluation of the attempt to strike off some of the embargoes, which creates a positive image of the UK. When he says, “... but eased most of them by 2013 when 81 officials and eight local companies were struck off the sanction list”, the words “eased” and “struck off” indicate effort toward normalising. The one in control, the UK, can perform that action to the receiving end, Zimbabwe. I discovered the use of soft power exerted by the UK to convince Zimbabweans about the effort to improve their relationship with Zimbabwe. Overall, the article does not paint the Zimbabwean government as a culprit.

However, it positively charges it in numerous ways while still expressing reservations over the slow pace of reforms.

The patterns that emerged from the three sets of constellations show that the re-engagement drive and trading prospects are positively assessed, which is advantageous to the UK. Britain is portrayed as having sincere intentions to increase trade prospects between the two nations. The UK seeks to expand markets and exports to promote commercial trade and normalise diplomatic relations between the two countries. Mnangagwa is associated with the effort to improve Zimbabwe's economy under all conditions through re-engagement and engagement. Though Britain still expresses disapproval of the slow-moving improvements in Zimbabwe, it favourably charges the country in many other ways.

#### 6.3.4 Conclusion

The article builds on three sets of constellations: the UK's and Zimbabwe's governments and *The Herald's*. The UK government supports Mnangagwa's new approach to political and economic reforms to the extent that it initiated and supported development programmes in Zimbabwe. Ambassador Robinson's statements align Zimbabwe with the UK in strengthening trading and reviving the economy of Zimbabwe. The alignment and disalignment are seen in the way ideas are charged. For example, the term "economic revival strategy" is charged positively and aligned with normalising relations between the two countries. As a result, Zimbabwe has been positively positioned in this article for most of the part. However, the UK expressed reservations about the slow pace of reforms in Zimbabwe.

The article reports on the historic trade agreement between Zimbabwe and the UK to promote farming activities in Zimbabwe and trade between the two countries in general. The specific examples of improving trade that Robinson cites come from the agricultural sector. The EPA is positively charged and constellated with a re-engagement drive, economic revival strategy and the agricultural sector. Robinson uses positive: Inclination as a strategy to persuade Mnangagwa to fully utilise the trading opportunities associated with signing the new trade agreement. This plays a significant role in upscaling Intensification and Quantification to strengthen Robinson's Attitude instantiations. Robinson intends to depict a good picture of the UK in the readers' minds to strengthen Zimbabwe's economic recovery.

In most instances, Robinson's language involves Engagement to prove Britain's genuine commitment to open-access trading opportunities. She endorses the EPA as the chance to

strengthen trading ties between the two countries. However, she uses Engagement: Counter on the progression of the reform agenda when she says, “her government still had reservations on Zimbabwe’s reforms”, where “still” instantiates Counter. Robinson does not affiliate entirely with the Zimbabwe government but uses negative charging to point out that the UK expects reforms to proceed more quickly.

Mnangagwa is constellated with “promoting transparency”, “implementing several reforms” and “a historic agreement signed between the Government and white commercial farmers”, which is significant in portraying a positive image of him and his readiness to implement fair practices. The reporter used the word “several” to quantify the number of reforms already implemented by the President and strengthen his positive evaluation. The reporter uses Engagement Acknowledge to show positive alignment with the UK’s demands regarding the implementation process.

#### **6.4 Conclusion: *The Herald* – fine-grained analysis**

The analyses of *The Herald* articles establish findings concerning the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in their diplomatic relations. The articles depict a positive picture of both countries towards normalising the relations.

The analyses revealed linguistic resources that influence positioning through Attitude, Graduation and Engagement to build axiological constellations. The analyses show how language choices build constellations associated with Zimbabwe and the UK, revealing their values regarding diplomatic relations. The first article, “Zim, UK on the cusp of breakthrough”, reported ideas and stances related to the re-engagement process and the progress of the economic and political reforms. Baldwin revealed Happiness associated with the statements made by the Zimbabwean President concerning the reforms creating a valuable position towards reviving the relations and the Zimbabwean economy.

The second article reported ideas and stances about trading opportunities between Zimbabwe and the UK. The reporter portrays Ambassador Robinson as responsive to the situation in Zimbabwe and its needs, creating a strong value associated with development programmes. The reporter portrays a positive picture of Mnangagwa, who is portrayed as having taken crucial steps towards building the new Zimbabwe. The initiative towards democracy is realised through implementing some of the reforms, such as licencing independent television stations. The analysis reveals value positions that align with Mnangagwa and reinforce what is seen as

his initiatives to implement democracy in Zimbabwe. Mnangagwa uses language to express that the “agricultural sector is expected to play a key role”.

*The Herald* positions Mnangagwa as addressing corruption, the rule of law, and human rights violations. It also describes the re-engagement and engagement process and the reform agenda. *The Herald* reports the new developments in trade between the two countries and how progress can be made in that area. The two countries are represented in a positive way appealing to the readers. The reporter presents Robinson, Baldwin and Moyo as critical players in negotiating reconciliation between Harare and London through development programmes that benefit Zimbabwe. Robinson and Baldwin reinforce positive initiatives, and in the second article, Robinson only expresses reservations about the pace of reforms in Zimbabwe. Facilitating and promoting trade plays an essential role in boosting the economy of Zimbabwe, and Britain is trying by all means to remain a key player in the agriculture sector. *The Herald* justifies Zimbabwe’s fast-track land reform programme resulting from Britain’s refusal to fund a land redistribution programme per the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement. This is done in a way that disaligns from the Blair government in the UK but does not level criticism against the UK governments that were in place at the time when the articles were published. However, according to Mnangagwa’s new approach, Zimbabwe and the UK are portrayed as willing to fix the problems that affected their diplomatic relations.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: *THE STANDARD* – FINE-GRAINED ANALYSIS

### 7.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a fine-grained analysis of two news articles published in *The Standard*, in which I profile linguistic resources and constellations found in them. Data from both articles is analysed using the Attitude, Engagement and Graduation systems. I describe the linguistic resources used to position the UK and Zimbabwe and the constellations built in the articles, mirroring the method and structure used in Chapter Six. The report on these analyses begins with a descriptive account of the news articles “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”, published in 2016 and “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”, published in 2020 by *The Standard*.

Sections 7.2.1 and 7.3.1 provide descriptive accounts of the articles “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador” and “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice” (see Appendix 2). This is followed by reports on SFL analyses to describe the linguistic resources used in the articles and some conclusions to establish insights provided in this study (sections 7.2.2 and 7.3.2). Reports on LCT analyses are included together with constellations and axiological meanings produced within the article (see sections 7.2.2.1 and 7.3.3.1). These analyses focus on the language used in positioning Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations.

In the end, the chapter shows what is established in these analyses concerning using language to position Zimbabwe and the UK about their diplomatic relations in the newspapers. Zimbabwe is portrayed in *The Standard* as expecting Britain to contribute or donate substantial sums of money and provide extra help. However, Laing emphasised that Britain is not bailing out Zimbabwe through the use of “no bailout”, indicating that there is no additional assistance in terms of budgetary support to the government of Zimbabwe. The UK is positioned as exerting power by stating that there is a lack of progress on governance, the rule of law and human rights. The Laing constellation negatively charged the Zimbabwe government and self-praised the UK and herself regarding the development programmes. The use of “development” invokes positive Security, and “helping” inscribes positive Capacity and paints a positive picture of the UK. Laing exercises power over Zimbabwe by referring to the laws prescribed in the Constitution of Zimbabwe and expressing concerns about how Zimbabwe is living up to these laws. The language reflects the nature of the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK

by selecting parts of the interview to report on. Both constellations portray the power and control possessed by Britain and its positioning in the media. One significant element in this article concerns the reform process, which dominates in the constellation associated with the Laing.

Lastly, I summarise the conclusions of the fine-grained analyses concerning the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in 7.2.4.

## **7.2 “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”**

### 7.2.1 Descriptive account

The article “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador” was published on 30 October 2016, during the era of President Robert Mugabe (see Appendix 2a). The bailout discussed in this article refers to Zimbabwe’s expectation that Britain lends or donates large sums of money to cover its debts and budgetary support. Britain is prepared to bailout Zimbabwe if there is progress on governance, human rights, the rule of law and a track record on economic reform. This is done in this statement, “As the UK, we have made clear our agreement will be dependent on progress on governance, the rule of law and human rights as well as a track record on economic reform”. The Fast-track Land Reform Programme in 2000 signals the height of the souring of the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK.

The interview was between Catriona Laing, the British Ambassador to Zimbabwe from 2014 to 2018 and Tangai Chipangura, the Deputy Editor of *The Standard* newspaper. The interview concerns what would be required for normalised relations between the UK and Zimbabwe. Mugabe was known for his demonising discourse towards Britain for dishonouring the Lancaster House Agreement in 1979. As a result, the Fast-track Land Reform Programme jeopardised relations between the two countries in 2000, and because of this, Britain imposed sanctions against Zimbabwe, closing credit lines (see 2.3.2). The bailout, reform process and normalising relations are the primary topics under discussion in this article. The concept of a bailout entails the United Kingdom assisting Zimbabwe in repaying its outstanding debts to international monetary organisations and lending huge amounts of money to Zimbabwe in the form of budgetary support. Britain refused to bail out Zimbabwe due to its desire to see improvement in governance, human rights, the rule of law, and economic reforms.

In 2016, Mugabe was no longer seen as an influential leader of ZANU-PF or the government. This was the case even though he had held this position for decades. His power was waning

due to the divisions within ZANU-PF, particularly the one affiliated with the country's vice president at the time, Mnangagwa. Grace Mugabe's participation in ZANU-PF politics and her alliance with the G-40 faction harmed President Mugabe's leadership (see Chapter Two).

The article as an interview is a slightly different genre from the other articles I have analysed in my study. The article allows Laing a large amount of space to bring across her positioning of the UK and Zimbabwe and does not consult other sources of information, like a normal hard news article. This means that the article is less heteroglossic than most, and those constellations built in it are produced solely by Laing. It also means that *The Standard's* editorial influence is limited only to selecting what parts of Laing's words they wanted to publish. The article was selected for fine-grained analysis because Laing represented the UK in Zimbabwe, which suggests that she views the situation between the two countries with a different lens, unlike outsiders.

#### 7.2.2 SFL analysis

One of the SFL perspective's key features is that it provides a complete view of evaluative resources, including instances of Attitude, Graduation and positioning, and the sources of these evaluative attitudes in discourse. SFL provides a model for examining the evaluative choices made in textual discourse semantics. This section describes how the resources for meaning-making resources were used to position Zimbabwe and the UK in this article. The Appraisal system is described in detail in 3.5.

##### 7.2.2.1 Attitude and Graduation analysis

This section examines the kinds of attitudinal values portrayed in the news articles and establishes whether they are inscribed or invoked. Table 7.1 shows the Attitude instantiations found in the article, including the polarity of the evaluation (positive or negative), what is being evaluated (appraised) and what is doing the evaluation (the appraiser). In this section, I do not comment on every Attitude instantiation but describe a few to give a general impression of how the article uses Attitude to make meanings. Table 7.1 defines the type of Attitude instantiated in the article to position Zimbabwe and the UK.

The attitudinal inscription is revealed in the Headline to show negated positive Security in "no bailout" and is repeated in paragraph 11. The use of "bailout" invokes positive Security for Zimbabwean readers. The UK is portrayed as reinforcing its set conditions so that Zimbabwe will be eligible to receive new funding from these institutions to support the reform process's

implementation and increase investment in critical infrastructure and human capital. Laing used the phrase “no bailout” to indicate that Britain is unwilling to contribute or provide substantial quantities of money to Zimbabwe.

In paragraph 4, “helping hundreds of thousands” upscales Quantification: Number to describe the number of Zimbabweans receiving help from the UK as “We have a large and effective development programme in Zimbabwe, helping hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans every year with health, education, water and food security”. Ms Laing used numbers to strengthen the evaluation and to show positive values associated with the UK. The word “development” invokes positive Security, and “helping” inscribes positive Capacity. In the same sentence, the phrase “every year” upscales Quantification: Extent: Distribution: Time to describe the duration of the development projects in Zimbabwe. Force is used to show the extent of the diplomatic relations and how Britain positively supports development programmes in Zimbabwe. As a result, a positive alignment is realised, making it more difficult to argue against Ms Laing’s statement.

In paragraph 5, Laing said, “The British Council works with the embassy to ensure that there is a wide understanding of British culture in Zimbabwe. And there are extremely close people-to-people links in lots of other small ways too, from links between our fire services to education links, to the twinning of Zimbabwean and British cities”. The use of “wide” upscales Extent: Distribution: Space portrays that many people in many places in Zimbabwe have an understanding of the British culture. This upscaling Graduation flags a positive: Valuation. The expression explains the importance of the relationship between the two countries. The emphasis is on sharing culture, which signifies intimate ties. “Extremely close” is used to upscale and strengthen the evaluation to show the degree of the relations. The word “extremely” is upscaling Intensification: Degree and “close” is upscaling Quantification: Extent: Proximity: Space and also flags a Positive: Reaction. Laing charges positively and evaluates “people-to-people links”, possibly to compensate for the fact that “government-to-government relations” are often complicated, as mentioned in the following paragraph.

In paragraph 6, the expression “strong” encodes positive Valuation, which is gradable. It is intensified by “extremely” as in “There are extremely strong British business links here.” There is a positive Valuation of the British links, and “extremely” intensifies “strong” using Degree. The phrase “deep relationship” upscales Intensification: Degree, which also flags a positive Valuation of the relationship.

The statement “The Conservative government in the UK made a commitment to stand up for the rule of law and human rights in Zimbabwe” (in paragraph 8) inscribes a positive Attitude in support of the implementation of the reform process. The term “stand up for” invokes positive Tenacity. The phrase explains the level of intervention the UK expresses to ensure that the rule of law and human rights are upheld in Zimbabwe. This is done by appraising “the Conservative government in the UK”, using positive Judgement and implies that whoever aligns with Britain aligns with democratic values. The UK will continue to criticise the wrongdoings in Zimbabwe for the benefit of the citizenry, which invokes emotions in the readers. The result produces a community of believers aligned with the UK and those against democratic values. The terms “governance”, “the rule of law”, and “human rights” are positively charged and invoke positive Attitude, thereby upscaling positive evaluation of the UK.

In paragraph 9, the words “concerned” and “worried” inscribe negative Security as shown in this statement, “We are concerned at the recent deterioration in the human rights situation and have expressed these concerns to government. We are also worried about the lack of progress on living up to the foundation of the rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution”. The word “worried” indicates a lack of trust in how Zimbabwe upholds the rule of law. The UK government’s attack on human rights violations is based on factual evidence. London is vouching for a long-lasting solution to end human rights violations to improve the relations between the two countries. The government of Zimbabwe is continuously negatively judged through the economic conditions and the immoral behaviour portrayed by the ruling political party. This is done in this statement, “We are concerned at the recent deterioration in the human rights situation and have expressed these concerns to government. We are also worried about the lack of progress on living up to the foundation of rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution”.

Table 7.1: Evaluative attitude in “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”

Appraising item	Appraiser	Appraised	Polarity	Attitude type
No bailout	Laing	Zim	Negative	Negated +Security
Close	Laing	People-to-people links in lots of other small ways too, from links between our fire services to education links, to the twinning of Zimbabwean and British cities	Positive	+Reaction
Strong	Laing	British business links here.	Positive	+Valuation

Appraising item	Appraiser	Appraised	Polarity	Attitude type
Deep	Laing	Relationship between the UK and Zimbabwe	Positive	+Valuation
Frustrating	Laing	Relationship between the UK and Zimbabwe	Positive	-Satisfaction
Concerned	Laing	The recent deterioration in the human rights situation	Negative	-Security
Worried	Laing	The lack of progress on living up to the foundation of rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution	Negative	-Security
Fabricated	Laing	The story carried by the <i>Sunday Mail</i> on September 18, claiming that two British transport officials were spies	Negative	-Reaction -Veracity
Disappointing	Laing	The government response, both in public and private	Negative	-Reaction -Propriety -Satisfaction
Accused	Some in the opposition	Laing	Negative	-Propriety
Inaccurate	Laing	A perception that talking to particular individuals is somehow an endorsement of their policies.	Negative	-Reaction -Veracity
Important	Laing	Anyone applying for a visa does familiarise themselves with the process before applying and give enough time for the application to be processed before their trip.	Positive	+Reaction
Clear	Chipangura	UK support to Zimbabwe excludes government bailouts.	Positive	+Composition
Stand up	Laing	The Conservative government in the UK.	Positive	+Tenacity
Encourage	Laing	Zimbabwean visitors to the UK.	Positive	+Happiness
Encourage	Laing	Catriona Laing	Positive	+Tenacity
Complaint	Laing	The Information Minister and the Foreign Ministry	Negative	-Satisfaction
Development	Laing	Large and effective programme	Positive	+Security
Helping	Laing	Hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans	Positive	+Capacity

The news writer used language to evaluate the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. Most of the words in this article are not from the news writer but from Laing. In this article, there are several instances of the word “large” as in “The UK remains one of the two largest donors” in paragraph 11. The word “largest” upscales Quantification: Mass to express the size of its contribution to Zimbabwe. The phrase “one of the two” downscales Quantification: Number to show that the UK is one of the countries that contribute most to Zimbabwe. In Paragraph 40, Laing said, “There was a large increase in migration between 2000 and 2008”. The word “large” upscales Quantification: Mass in terms of the migration “between 2000-2008”, upscaling Quantification: Extent: Distribution: Time during this given period. Time is marked

to show when the migration event occurred between the two countries. The statement serves to illustrate that “Zimbabweans make a huge contribution to British society” and flags a positive Reaction towards Zimbabweans’ contribution. This positions readers to read “there was a large increase in migration between 2000 and 2008” as positively positioning Zimbabwe. In the statement “There are about 140 000 people of Zimbabwe origin permanently in the UK”, the word “about” softens Focus and “140 000” upscales Quantification: Number to express the number of Zimbabweans permanently living in the UK.

Britain is positively judged for its willingness to normalise the situation between the two countries. This is done in this statement, “It is in the interests of both Zimbabwe and the UK to return to normal relations, but the terms need to be right for the benefit of our two peoples. The Conservative government in the UK made a commitment to “stand up for the rule of law and human rights in Zimbabwe”, and this guides all our work here”. The evidence to support this case is the word “stand-up” that instantiates positive Tenacity towards the UK’s commitment to return to the normal. In particular, the British government advocated for implementing human rights laws, and London will only agree to new funds being allocated to Zimbabwe if reforms take place. For instance, “As the UK, we have made *clear* our agreement will be dependent on progress on governance, the rule of law and human rights as well as a track record on economic reform”. The word “clear” inscribes positive Composition, and “reform” inscribes positive Propriety towards UK’s agreement. This Attitude instantiation in this clause complex works together with “agreement”, “progress”, “rule of law”, “human rights”, and “reform”. Each coupling of Attitude with ideational meanings, for instance, the word “UK”, proposes a bond in a bond network, creating a community of those who affiliate around “governance”, “the rule of law”, “human rights”, and “economic reform”. The UK is committed and ready to help the government of Zimbabwe if the set conditions are fulfilled. The phrase “we have made it clear” positively depicts London, prompting the readers to align with Britain and positively judge it. Laing uses “clear”, which is a sign of democratic principles, thereby aligning with the reform agenda process but individuating from undemocratic principles practised in Zimbabwe. A community is created based on shared values concerning the progress of the rule of law and human rights implementation. A bond network brings the readers together.

In Paragraph 16, Laing used Affect and Judgement to exonerate herself from the accusations of supporting the government made by the opposition parties in Zimbabwe. She said, “I am also accused by some in the opposition of backing the government! If I am honest, it is frustrating. As a diplomat, it is my job to try and talk to everyone and to do so as transparently

as possible”. The word “accused” inscribes Negative: Propriety implying that those in the opposition who are accusing her behaviour as inappropriate. In the same paragraph, the word “frustrating” instantiates negative Satisfaction associated with Laing’s feelings towards the accusations made by the opposition elements in Zimbabwe.

In paragraph 18, the word “inaccurate” instantiates a negative Reaction towards the perception that talking with someone is the same thing as endorsing him/her and also invokes negative Veracity. Laing said, “Of course, this is inaccurate, and it won’t stop us from doing our job – which is to seek the widest possible range of views”. Laing is positioning her critics from the opposition negatively as giving inaccurate information.

In paragraph 26, Laing said, “I think the trade situation could be improved. There are some great British companies and brands which are highly visible in the Zimbabwean market”. The word “improved” inscribes positive Valuation, which is unrealistic because it talks about a scenario that does not exist. The term “highly” instantiates upscaling Intensification: Degree and “visible” invokes positive Reaction. The UK is positively positioned in terms of its willingness to strengthen the economic trade between the two countries. Laing uses “highly visible” in her self-evaluations of the British businesses and brands making rounds in the Zimbabwean market.

In paragraph 31, Laing expresses British concerns over the disappearance of human rights activists in Zimbabwe, such as Itai Dzamara. She said, “We have raised the case frequently, working closely with our colleagues from the EU. The government response, both in public and private, has been disappointing”. The word “disappointing” inscribes a negative Reaction towards the government’s response. However, it also invokes negative Propriety towards the government for not doing the right thing and responding better. It also inscribes Negative Satisfaction since Laing is dissatisfied with the government’s response concerning the disappearance of human rights activists.

Laing uses the word “fabricated” to dismiss a story reported in *The Sunday Mail*. In the following clause complex, “For the record, the story carried by the *Sunday Mail* on September 18, claiming that two British transport officials were spies was fabricated”. The word expresses a negative Reaction towards the report and negative Veracity regarding *The Sunday Mail*’s fabrication of the story. In paragraph 20, Laing said, “We have registered a complaint with the Information Minister and the Foreign ministry”. The word “complaint” inscribes negative Satisfaction with *The Sunday Mail*’s assertion that British transportation authorities were spies.

Laing positively evaluates the diplomatic relationship using metaphorical items. For example, in paragraph 2, she says, “The Zimbabwe-UK relationship is rooted in shared history, culture and language. At the heart of our relationship are people-to-people links”. The metaphor “at the heart” emphasises the relationship between the two countries, which is anchored by the involvement of people in the development programmes. She uses the metaphor to emphasize the importance of “people-to-people links”. The metaphor is used to upscale the Degree of the importance of these links. In turn, this is used to argue that Zimbabwe and the UK will have a close relationship even if “government-to-government relations are difficult”. The metaphor allows the readers to align with the UK and its development programmes in Zimbabwe.

Laing said, “What British business say to us is that they see the huge potential in Zimbabwe, but they are concerned about the lack of policy predictability and particular concerns on the application of rule of law” (paragraph 28). The word “huge” is upscaling Quantification: Mass representing the business prospects awaiting Zimbabwe provided the rule of law is respected. The word “potential” invokes positive Inclination and positive Valuation regarding Zimbabwe’s worth as a business partner or a destination for investment. The word “concerned” inscribes negative Security towards lack of policy predictability in Zimbabwe by British businesses. In other words, this suggests Britain’s authority over Zimbabwe’s economic trade.

The general patterns revealed in this analysis are the use of Graduation resources to strengthen the stances taken by Laing in this interview. Laing used Quantification: Number, and Mass to express the size of Britain’s contribution to Zimbabwe and to show that the UK is one of the countries that contributed most to Zimbabwe. Graduation resources are used to positively position the UK regarding its commitment to Zimbabwe and the UK’s immigration policy. Negative Security often indicates a lack of trust in how Zimbabwe upholds the rule of law through “worried”. Favourable Judgement is used to charge the Conservative government in the UK positively. Laing’s linguistic choices like “disappointing” inscribe a negative Reaction towards the Zimbabwean government’s response, invoking negative Propriety towards the government for not doing the right thing and responding better. The article also inscribes negative Satisfaction, showing Laing’s dissatisfaction with the government’s response concerning the disappearance of human rights activists. The Attitude resources establish Laing as having power and influence in Zimbabwe’s government. She used the Attitude resources to compliment the UK, criticise her opponents and evaluate the Zimbabwean government.

Table 7.2 is a revised version of Table 7.1, showing patterns more clearly. It has relabelled Appraiser as “Source” and appraised as “Target”. This table shows the charged elements based on attitude across the news article. The relabelling has been done in keeping with Doran’s (2020) method. The instantiations are charged positive or negative, which are later upscaled or downscaled. The Zimbabwean government is evaluated negatively. The Judgements evolve around the deterioration of the human rights situation and the rule of law in Zimbabwe. These negative judgements point to the malicious intentions of the government of Zimbabwe, failing to curb violent activities against ordinary citizens.

Table 7.2: Preliminary list of charged elements based on Attitude

Source	Target	Charge
Laing	Zim	Negative
Laing	People-to-people links in lots of other small ways too, from links between our fire services to education links, to the twinning of Zimbabwean and British cities	Positive
Laing	British business links in Zimbabwe	Positive
Laing	A solid foundation	Positive
Laing	Government-to-government relations	Negative
Laing	The recent deterioration in the human rights situation	Negative
Laing	The lack of progress on living up to the foundation of rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution	Negative
Laing	These “concerns” [about the recent deterioration in the human rights situation]	Negative
Chipangura	That UK support to Zimbabwe excludes government bailouts	Positive
Laing	[a] bailout for Zimbabwe	Negative
Laing	Backing the government!	Negative
Laing	A perception that talking to particular individuals is somehow an endorsement of their policies	Negative
Laing	Zimbabwean visitors to the UK, either to study – we have some of the best universities in the world – or for tourism.	Positive
Laing	“Sanctions” narrative is a red herring	Negative

#### 7.2.2.2 Engagement analysis

The linguistic resources informing the Engagement analysis are shown in Table 7.3. The Engagement resources were used to show the interaction between different voices in the article (see Chapter Three). The Engagement resources reflect the nature of the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK through the selected parts of the interview with Laing. The article allows Laing a large amount of space to bring across her positioning of the UK and Zimbabwe and does not consult other sources of information, like a regular hard news article. This means that the article is less heteroglossic than most, and those constellations built in it are produced solely

by Laing. The Attitude analysis developed a list of axiologically charged sources (see Table 7.2). This section focuses on what the sources advance to establish the meanings they align with. Table 7.3 indicates the target, source, charging, and Engagement types of instantiations from the article “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”.

The use of “no” instantiates Contract: Deny in the Headline “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”, to describe Laing’s position towards providing additional financial assistance to the government of Zimbabwe. In paragraph 1, “however” instantiates Contract: Counter in “However, the alleged behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by the British have not slowed Mugabe’s attacks against London each time he gets a chance to address people”, to replace the denied expectation with an alternative by the interviewer. In the clause complex, “does not” instantiates Contract: Deny to convince readers that Mugabe assaults London whenever he addresses the public. Chipangura utilised the denial resource to limit dialogic space and win the readers’ acceptance.

The use of “not” is also evident in paragraph 5 as “our two governments have not always and will not always agree on everything”. This instantiates Contract: Deny. Another example of Contract: Deny is used in “We don’t have a separate immigration policy for Zimbabwe and everything we know suggests there is probably no “typical” Zimbabwean migrant”. The negation indicates that Laing denies suppositions that she imagines some of her audience may have about immigration from Zimbabwe to the UK. The information is incorrect and not aligned to Britain but to individuals interested in tarnishing the image of the government of Britain. This information is implied by Chipangura’s question, “What is the UK’s immigration policy on Zimbabwe?” The use of negation indicates a substantial degree of commitment towards the idea that there is no separate immigration policy for Zimbabwe. Laing closes the dialogic space for other alternative positions regarding Zimbabwean migrants.

The use of “I said” instantiates Contract: Endorse in “I said when I presented my credentials to President [Robert] Mugabe in October 2014 that our two governments have not always and will not always agree on everything. I said to him that where we disagree, we should discuss our differences in a mutually respectful way” (paragraph 7). Laing closes the dialogic space to communicate her viewpoint. By using this expression, Laing expresses her subjectivity and persuades her audience to accept her arguments without hesitation.

In paragraph 10, the interviewer uses Contract: Endorse to align with certain information and sources. This is done in the statement, “You have made it clear that UK support to Zimbabwe

excludes government bailout”. Chipangura aligns with Laing’s statement to identify her with the idea and close the room for other alternative perspectives. In another example, Chipangura puts across a genuine request for information from Laing, “Why is budgetary support not on the agenda?” to seek information from her concerning bailing out Zimbabwe. Chipangura opens the dialogic space seeking information on the matter of whether or not the UK would give Zimbabwe a bailout.

In paragraph 11, Laing says, “You are right – there is no bailout for Zimbabwe and there will be no bailout for Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has cleared its arrears with the International Monetary Fund and is in the process of trying to clear the debt it owes to the World Bank and African Development Bank”. The clause “you are right” instantiates Contract: Concur to reinforce the strength of Laing’s statement regarding bailing out Zimbabwe. She utilized the Concur resource before her assertion to increase its persuasiveness regarding lending or donating large sums of money to Zimbabwe.

The use of “no” in “there is no bailout” in paragraph 11 denotes a solid negative conviction by Britain concerning a rescue package for Zimbabwe. Laing employs negation and Contract: Deny assuming full responsibility for her standpoint and demonstrates her strong commitment to her proposition. Britain clarified that it would not give Zimbabwe a hand regarding the payment of arrears and budgetary support. The word “no” restricts other voices. Notably, Laing couples negation with both positive and negative evaluations. She uses negated terms when promoting the UK or criticising the Zimbabwe government. This is done in the statement, “We don’t have a separate immigration policy for Zimbabwe, and everything we know suggests there is probably no “typical” Zimbabwean migrant”.

Table 7.3: Heteroglossia and charging in “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
<u>However</u> , the alleged behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by the British have not slowed Mugabe’s attacks against London each time he gets a chance to address people.	Chipangura	The alleged behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by the British have not slowed Mugabe’s attacks against London each time he gets a chance to address people.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Counter

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
However, the alleged behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by the British have <u>not</u> slowed Mugabe's attacks against London each time he gets a chance to address people.	Chipangura	The alleged behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by the British have not slowed Mugabe's attacks against London each time he gets a chance to address people.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
I <u>said</u> when I presented my credentials to President [Robert] Mugabe in October 2014 that our two governments have not always and will not always agree on everything.	Laing	Our two governments have not always and will not always agree on everything.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: pronounce
I <u>said</u> to him that where we disagree, we should discuss our differences in a mutually respectful way.	Laing	Where we disagree, we should discuss our differences in a mutually respectful way.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Pronounce
It is in the interests of both Zimbabwe and the UK to return to normal relations, <u>but</u> the terms need to be right for the benefit of our two peoples	Laing	The terms need to be right for the benefit of our two peoples	aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Counter
You have <u>made it clear that</u> UK support to Zimbabwe excludes government bailouts.	Chipangura	UK support to Zimbabwe excludes government bailouts.	aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Endorse
Once a track record is established, Zimbabwe <u>will</u> be eligible to secure new funds from these institutions to support delivery of the reform process and to boost investment in vital infrastructure and human capital.	Laing	Eligible to secure new funds from these institutions to support delivery of the reform process and to boost investment in vital infrastructure and human capital.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
These new funds <u>will</u> , <u>however</u> , only become available if the shareholders of the international financial institutions agree.	Laing	These new funds will only become available if the shareholders of the international financial institutions agree.	aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain Contract: Counter

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
You also stated categorically that your country <u>does not</u> back any party, faction or person,	Chipangura	The UK backs any party, faction or person.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
<u>yet</u> you're constantly and openly accused by senior government officials of meddling in local politics, including even training opposition elements for effective anti-government protests.	Chipangura	Constantly and openly accused by senior government officials of meddling in local politics, including even training opposition elements for effective anti-government protests.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Counter
<u>Of course</u> , this is inaccurate, and it won't stop us doing our job – which is to seek the widest possible range of views.	Laing	This is inaccurate, and it won't stop us doing our job – which is to seek the widest possible range of views.	aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Concur
it <u>won't</u> stop us doing our job – which is to seek the widest possible range of views.	Laing	Stop us doing our job – which is to seek the widest possible range of views.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
<u>For the record</u> , the story carried by the Sunday Mail on September 18, <u>claiming</u> that two British transport officials were spies was fabricated.	Laing	The story carried by the Sunday Mail on September 18, claiming that two British transport officials were spies was fabricated.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Proclaim: Pronounce
For the record, the story carried by the Sunday Mail on September 18, <u>claiming</u> that two British transport officials were spies was fabricated.	Laing	Two British transport officials were spies was fabricated.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Expand: Distance
To then have a newspaper <u>claim</u> that we had never contacted government and that the individuals were spies was an outrage.	Laing	We had never contacted government and that the individuals were spies	Disaligning (negative charge)	Expand: Distance
There <u>are no</u> UK or EU sanctions in place on the wider economy and the “sanctions” narrative is a red herring.	Laing	There are UK or EU sanctions in place on the wider economy	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
<u>I think</u> the trade situation could be improved	Laing	The trade situation could be improved	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
if the business environment here improved.	Laing	There would be more	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
What British business <u>say</u> to us is that they see the huge potential in Zimbabwe.	Laing	They see the huge potential in Zimbabwe.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
<u>but</u> they are concerned about the lack of policy predictability and particular concerns on the application of rule of law.	Laing	They are concerned about the lack of policy predictability and particular concerns on the application of rule of law.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Counter
while an investigation has been taking place, it <u>does not</u> appear to have been an urgent priority for government.	Laing	It is an urgent priority for government	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
and some of the government public statements <u>have not</u> been sympathetic to the family.	Laing	Some of the government public statements have not been sympathetic to the family.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
We <u>don't</u> have a separate immigration policy for Zimbabwe	Laing	The UK has a separate immigration policy for Zimbabwe	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
everything we know suggests there is probably <u>no</u> "typical" Zimbabwean migrant.	Laing	There is probably no "typical" Zimbabwean migrant	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
<u>everything we know suggests</u> there is probably no "typical" Zimbabwean migrant.	Laing	There is probably no "typical" Zimbabwean migrant.	Aligning (positive charge)	Proclaim: Pronounce
Zimbabweans make a huge contribution to British society, in particular in health and sport – <u>although</u> there are Zimbabweans across all parts of the British economy.	Laing	There are Zimbabweans across all parts of the British economy.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Counter

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
There was a large increase in migration between 2000 and 2008, <u>but</u> since dollarisation the numbers have reduced.	Laing	Since dollarisation the numbers have reduced.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Counter

In paragraph 15, Chipangura said, “You also stated categorically that your country does not back any party, faction or person, yet you’re constantly and openly accused by senior government officials of meddling in local politics, including even training opposition elements for effective anti-government protests”. She utilizes the counter resource to demonstrate her position on supporting any party or faction in Zimbabwe. She is explicitly declaring non-involvement in political activities. Laing also employs Contract: Counter to strengthen her position, confront the other speakers, and point out their errors.

In paragraph 15, Chipangura uses Contract: Deny instantiated by “does not” in “You also stated categorically that your country does not back any party, faction or person; yet you’re constantly and openly accused by senior government officials of meddling in local politics, including even training opposition elements for effective anti-government protests. Would you like to respond to this?” to probe Laing to clarify the matter of meddling with other parties in Zimbabwe. However, she is quoted saying, “Of course, this is inaccurate, and it won’t stop us doing our job – which is to seek the widest possible range of views”, which suggests disaligning with and disclaiming the assertion made by the interviewer. Laing uses Contract: Deny instantiated by “won’t” to show that nothing will prevent them from performing their duties. Laing’s response negatively charges the assertion and the source. Laing is closing dialogic space to exclude voices that suggest that accusations of bias will stop Laing from doing her job and disclaims the idea that Laing and the UK support either the government or the opposition and disaligns from them.

In paragraph 18, Laing agrees with the interviewer to prove that they share the same knowledge through the use of “of course” to instantiate Contract: Concur. It was Laing’s strategy to employ this Engagement resource to win the audience over to her perspective. She assumes that the reporter shares her viewpoint that talking to people does not imply supporting them. In the process, she closes the dialogic space through which she articulates the justifications for her criticism by the senior government officials and the opposition in Zimbabwe. She employs “of course” to strengthen the power of her statement.

In paragraph 20, the word “claim” in “To then have a newspaper claim that we had never contacted government and that the individuals were spies was an outrage” indicates that Laing distances herself from the newspaper claims regarding British spies and attributes it to *The Sunday Mail*. The word “claim” instantiates Expand: Distance, and “claiming” is coded as Expand: Distance in “For the record, the story carried by *The Sunday Mail* on September 18, claiming that two British transport officials were spies was fabricated”,(in paragraph 19). The speaker, Laing, establishes an element of distancing herself from the newspaper’s claim, which shows disalignment from the statement advanced by *The Sunday Mail*. This results in *The Sunday Mail* (source) being negatively charged, and Laing disaligns from the source and the proposition. Laing distances herself from the propositions that the two British transport officials in Zimbabwe are spies., as claimed in *The Sunday Mail*. Laing expands dialogic space here but makes it very clear that her voice contradicts that of *The Sunday Mail*.

The use of Expand: Entertain appears in several instances, such as “I think”, which is repeated three times in this article (paragraphs 26, 29 and 41). It indicates Laing’s position concerning the relationship between the two countries. Laing expresses alignment and acknowledgement that the trade situation could be improved, judging from the number of British businesses operating in Zimbabwe. This is done in this statement, “I think the trade situation could be improved. There are some great British companies and brands which are highly visible in the Zimbabwean market” (paragraph 26). She engages the audience in her evaluation and convinces them to concur with her statement. Laing expands the dialogic space concerning improving the trade between the two countries and promoting Zimbabwe as a tourist destination. She is entertaining possibilities of improvement of the relationship between the UK and Zimbabwe, which have not materialised yet.

Throughout the interview, Laing uses Contract: Pronounce instantiated by “for the record” in “For the record, the story carried by *The Sunday Mail* on September 18, claiming that two British transport officials were spies was fabricated”, to dismiss accusations concerning two British transport officials. The source “we” refers to the UK embassy and Britain, which signifies alignment and affiliation to their pronouncements, proving it is not a personal stance. This is done in this statement, “We don’t have a separate immigration policy for Zimbabwe, and everything we know suggests there is probably no “typical” Zimbabwean migrant” (paragraph 37).

In another example, the phrase “everything we know suggests” instantiates Contract: Pronounce, and it aligns with the target “there is probably no ‘typical’ Zimbabwean migrant”.

Using such language, Laing displays her subjectivity and aims to convince readers to accept her position without a doubt. By drawing the reader's attention to her point of view, Laing opens dialogic space strategically in places. She uses both the opening and closing of dialogic space to achieve her aims.

In another clause complex, Laing uses Contract: Counter instantiated by "although" in "Zimbabweans make a huge contribution to British society, in particular in health and sport – although there are Zimbabweans across all parts of the British economy", to demonstrate that Zimbabweans contribute to the British economy (Paragraph 39).

In paragraph 40, Laing uses Contract: Counter, instantiated by "but", "There was a large increase in migration between 2000 and 2008, but since dollarisation the numbers have reduced", to show that her assertion contradicts the previous statement. In this interview, Laing uses Contract: Counter on several occasions to refute some of the allegations concerning the migration policy and supporting opposition entities in Zimbabwe.

The article shows the frequent use of Deny and Counter by Laing, which forms a pattern to strengthen the closure of dialogic space. Laing uses the Deny resource to dismiss Zimbabwean senior government officials' allegations of meddling in local politics. In order to demonstrate her strong commitment to what she is saying, she uses the words "no" and "not" to reject alternative perspectives relating to the utterances. She employs Entertain to attract more opinions about the reform process and how to enhance the trade situation between the two countries. There appears to be a misunderstanding between the two countries regarding the reform process. What reforms does Zimbabwe need to implement to maintain the possibility of regular ties with the UK? There is a potential for misunderstanding on what kind of reforms are needed. Laing refers to the Constitution of Zimbabwe: "We are also worried about the lack of progress on living up to the foundation of the rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution".

This article describes Laing's use of Deny and Counter resources to refute allegations against her and the United Kingdom. This is crucial for readers to comprehend Laing's perspective on diplomatic relations and Zimbabwe's participation in British government-initiated activities. She employs Counter to reject opposing viewpoints regarding the statements to demonstrate her strong commitment to what she is saying. She utilises Entertain to solicit other opinions regarding the reform process and how to improve the trade situation between the two nations. Laing's use of Engagement resources assists in positioning Zimbabwe. This pattern

strategically opens dialogic space in specific locations, and Laing utilises both the opening and closing of dialogic space to accomplish her goals.

### 7.2.3 LCT analysis

In this section, I build on the Attitude, Graduation and Engagement analyses presented in 7.2. The Attitude analysis developed the list of sources and targets that are axiologically charged. I describe two sets of constellations: those built by Laing and those built by interviewer Chipangura, the deputy editor of *The Standard* newspaper. Because Laing is the interviewee, her speech is recorded the most, and her set of constellations is much more well-developed than that of Chipangura. The focus is on what the sources advance to establish the meanings they align with. Tables 7.4 and 7.5 have established two broad maps, one of each set of constellations. The tables show the terms, ideas and sources that may be developed into other constellations.

The terms “human rights”, “the rule of law”, and “economic reforms” appear in both constellations. These terms encode positive charging in both constellations, resulting in positive alignment. These are set of values that people usually align with positively. The word “reforms” charges Zimbabwe negatively regarding the non-implementation of the stated economic and political reforms. Using the term “progress on governance” indicates alignment with the community that values the rule of law. It shows that Britain rejects the terms “sanctions”, “accused”, “meddling” and the idea that restrictive measures were imposed against Zimbabwe. The term “imposing sanctions” indicates disalignment with the community that accepts that Zimbabwe is under reprimand.

Catriona used words such as “highly visible” to charge Britain’s businesses positively. She refers to successful British companies operating in Zimbabwe and the need to improve the business environment in Zimbabwe. Thus Laing’s constellation indicates bonds of interpersonal evaluative meaning associated with specific communities with the same values. Identities are created by using negative and positive charging. For example, Chipangura uses the term “meddling” to describe the involvement of Laing in Zimbabwe’s internal politics in support of the opposition leaders. This affords a pro-government community’s negative judgement of Ms Laing since this was an interview between the news reporter and Ms Laing. If this comes across a community aligning with the “meddling” stance, then Laing will be positively judged. The Laing constellation builds positive and negative charging of Zimbabwe. Moreover, she uses more negative charging to position Zimbabwe in her constellation.

Ms Laing repeats the phrases “rule of law” and “human rights” to negatively charge Zimbabwe towards human rights violations, creating an instance of Britain disaligning from such violent activities. Laing is creating affiliating bonds shared by communities who subscribe to these values. She individuates herself and the UK from the lack of progress on satisfying the rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution of Zimbabwe.

Table 7.4: “Laing” constellation in “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
Laing		That our two governments have not always and will not always agree on everything.	Laing	Governance, the rule of law, human rights, economic reform	Our agreement will be dependent on progress on governance, rule of law and human rights as well as a track record on economic reform.
	Benefit	The terms [of the relationship between the UK and Zimbabwe] need to be right for the benefit of our two peoples		Stop	Stop us doing our job – which is to seek the widest possible range of views
	Secure, delivery, reform process, investment.	Once a track record is established, Zimbabwe will be eligible to secure new funds from these institutions to support delivery of the reform process and to boost investment in vital infrastructure and human capital.		Spies  Typical	We had never contacted government and that the individuals were spies.  There is probably no typical Zimbabwean migrant
	Donors, largest, supporting, humanitarian	The UK remains one of the two largest donors here supporting the people of Zimbabwe through humanitarian programme [sic] in response to the drought as well as health, education, livelihoods and governance.		Claiming	Two British transport officials were spies was fabricated.
	Contribution	Zimbabweans make a huge contribution to British society, in particular in health and sport.		Sanctions	There are UK or EU sanctions in place on the wider economy.
	Economy	There are Zimbabweans across all parts of the British economy.		Immigration policy	We don’t have a separate immigration policy for Zimbabwe

Laing paints the government of Zimbabwe negatively but positively charges the UK while expressing concern over the slow pace of establishing the whereabouts of Itai Dzamara. The

word “disappointing” instantiates a negative Reaction: “We have raised the case frequently, working closely with our colleagues from the EU. The government response, both in public and private, has been disappointing”. This is towards the government’s response and negative Propriety towards judging the government for not doing the right thing and responding better. The word also inscribes negative Satisfaction to portray Laing’s dissatisfaction with the government’s response.

Table 7.5 presents the constellation produced by “Chipangura”. These constellations are built from the information that Chipangura charges positively, relating progress on governance and the rule of law. The terms “agreements” and “track record” portray the author as understanding the diplomatic relations between the two countries. The reporter used language to elicit correct information from Laing concerning whether she supports opposition elements in Zimbabwe. The reporter used the terms “local politics” and “opposition elements” to elicit information from Laing about her alignments. “Chipangura” aligns with the negatively charged word “attacks” to refer to Mugabe’s words about London. In other words, he aligns with a negative assessment of Mugabe.

The negative charging of Chipangura’s constellation is strengthened by the word “disappearances” in paragraph 30. The reporter used this word to emphasise the disappearance of Itai Dzamara in 2015, a political activist in Zimbabwe. At the same time, Chipangura is merely asking for information in “Has your government raised the issue of recent disappearances of political activists, including that of Itai Dzamara. What was the response?” The reporter charges the UK government positively using “has your government raised the issue?” To evaluate the idea of political activists’ disappearance, the phrase points to the importance of the matter.

In paragraph 10, Chipangura asked, “You have made it clear that UK support to Zimbabwe excludes government bailouts. Why is budgetary support not on the agenda?” The reporter explores budgetary support as one of the areas where Zimbabwe could benefit from the UK. Laing legitimises the UK’s position through its intervention strategies and supports development projects to strengthen trade between the two countries. Chipangura tries to depict a good picture of the UK in the reader’s mind to reinforce the idea of the UK’s support towards Zimbabwe but points to the fact that the UK has no plans for bailing out Zimbabwe from its debts.

In paragraph 33, Chipangura asked about Mugabe’s threat of influencing Africa to pull out from the UN. What is the UK’s position on Mugabe’s threat to lead an African pull-out from the United Nations and accusations that your country and a few others are behind the “repression of Africa” in the acquisition of influential positions in the UN?

Table 7.5: Constellations associated with “Chipangura” in “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
Chipangura	Manoeuvres Attacks	The alleged behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by the British have not slowed Mugabe’s attacks against London each time he gets a chance to address people.			
	Threat	Mugabe’s threat to lead an African pull-out from the United Nations			
	Disappearances Political activists	Has your government raised the issue of recent disappearances of political activists, including that of Itai Dzamara. What was the response?			
	Accused	You’re constantly and openly accused by senior government officials of meddling in local politics, including even training opposition elements for effective anti-government protests.			
	Excludes Bailouts	UK support to Zimbabwe excludes government bailouts			
	Back Faction Party	You also stated categorically that your country does not back any party, faction or person.			

The “Chipangura” constellation asks about the current trade between Harare and London. The reporter inquired about Zimbabwe-made products in the UK market. Chipangura uses language that gives value to Zimbabwe-made products that are expected to be visible in the UK market. Chipangura asked, “What is the current trade position between Harare and London? Do you have Zimbabwean-made products in the UK and vice versa given the situation here?”

The author said that Laing is being accused of meddling in local politics, yet diplomats are expected to negotiate peace between the warring parties. Using the term “accused” to describe the involvement of Britain in political affairs reinforces the negative charging of Laing and the UK by the senior government officials and some elements in the opposition and shows the cosmologies behind this constellation.

In this article, I identified two sets of constellations: Laing and Chipangura. Chipangura charges the violations of human rights negatively and the UK's assistance to Zimbabwe positively. Laing negatively charges the Zimbabwean government with failing to implement reforms and violating human rights. One of the general patterns emerging from the constellations in this article focuses on the trade between Zimbabwe and the UK. Another pattern explores budgetary support as one of the areas where Zimbabwe could benefit from the UK. Chipangura raised questions about trade and a bailout to establish Laing's opinion on these two points. The matter of human rights violations paints the government of Zimbabwe negatively. However, it positively charges the UK while expressing concern over the slow pace of establishing the whereabouts of Itai Dzamara. These patterns are significant for Zimbabweans and other parties to understand the diplomatic relations between the two countries and to establish the ways the countries represent each other.

#### 7.2.4 Conclusion

In the article, positive charging is constellated with the UK in Laing and Chipangura's constellations. The general pattern of evaluation in the article establishes terms and ideas that position the UK positively in most cases. This is done in this statement, "We have seen British businesses taking an interest in Zimbabwe in response to the government saying it wishes to re-engage internationally and reform domestically". Another example is, "It is in the interests of both Zimbabwe and the UK to return to normal relations, but the terms need to be right for the benefit of our two peoples". This is supported by words such as "interests and secure" and "huge potential", which portray Britain as trying to address the challenges faced by Zimbabwe.

The Appraisal analysis shows that positive charging is achieved through evaluations such as the UK positive Valuation in "strong" and the UK positive Reaction in "visible". The consistent appearance of these evaluations creates an image of Britain associated with positive actions towards Zimbabwe. The response from Laing weakens the allegations regarding meddling in local politics made by government officials and backing the government by some opposition elements through judgement-Propriety. This is done in the statement, "I am also accused by some in the opposition of backing the government! If I am honest, it is frustrating". The word "accused" instantiates negative Propriety.

In this article, Laing exercises power over Zimbabwe by referring to the laws prescribed in the Constitution of Zimbabwe and expresses concerns about the extent to which Zimbabwe is living up to these laws. This is done in this statement, "We are also worried about the lack of

progress on living up to the foundation of rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution. But even when things are tough – as they are now – we continue to dialogue and keep the pathway open for normal relations”. It is worth noting that *The Standard* newspaper tried to balance the reporting concerning the views shared by Laing and the newspaper itself. The language used in the interview reporting is a tool for advancing the implementation of the reform process agenda. This is done in this statement, “A serious reform effort in Zimbabwe, on the economy, human rights, the rule of law etc., will lead to a more conventional relationship with partner countries and the international financial institutions”. Despite Mugabe’s attacks on London, I suggest that the UK and Zimbabwe have the same understanding of what reforms are needed in Zimbabwe. For the two governments, different meanings may be included in the word “reform” regarding the context where the word is used. The language is instrumental in negatively or positively positioning the two countries concerning their diplomatic relations.

The content indicates the position of the privately-owned newspaper through the language and the constellations associated with both countries. The language reflects the nature of the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK by selecting parts of the interview with Laing to report on. Both constellations portray the power and control possessed by Britain and its positioning in the media. One significant element in this relationship concerns the reform process, which dominates in the constellation associated with the Laing. Britain reminds Zimbabwe to uphold the rule of law and human rights, and their position is accepted by other international players interested in democratic principles. This is done in this statement, “A serious reform effort in Zimbabwe, on the economy, human rights, the rule of law etc., will lead to a more conventional relationship with partner countries and the international financial institutions”. The constellations suggest the normalisation of relations as the breakthrough to secure financial assistance from international financial organisations.

On the whole, the article depicts a negative picture of the Zimbabwean government under Mugabe’s rule. Laing is portrayed as harsh on the Zimbabwean government regarding ending human rights violations and bailing out Zimbabwe. This article is an example of the positioning of Zimbabwe by a UK representative in the last years of the Mugabe era. The matter of a reform process on the economy, human rights and the rule of law is distinctive regarding the positioning compared with the positioning in the Mnangagwa era as portrayed in the fine-grained analyses of the articles from *The Herald* in Chapter Six. *The Herald* depicts a favourable picture of the government and appears in the UK’s favourable constellation. At the same time, *The Standard* is critical and harsh towards the Zimbabwean government.

The Engagement contraction resources demonstrate that Laing used them strategically to address negative criticism and take complete accountability for her criticisms of the government of Zimbabwe. It demonstrates that while praising herself and the UK and discussing their successes, Laing frequently uses Pronounce and Concur instantiations. The positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK influences the public sphere and encourages Zimbabweans citizens to campaign for those reforms.

### 7.3 “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

#### 7.3.1 Descriptive account

The article was published on 15 March 2020, when opposition parties consulted Mnangagwa about implementing the reforms. It was published three years after Mnangagwa was voted into power as the President of Zimbabwe. The article is divided into five sections: *The Standard*, POLAD Report, the US Treasury Department, Minister Howe and Nick Mangwana.

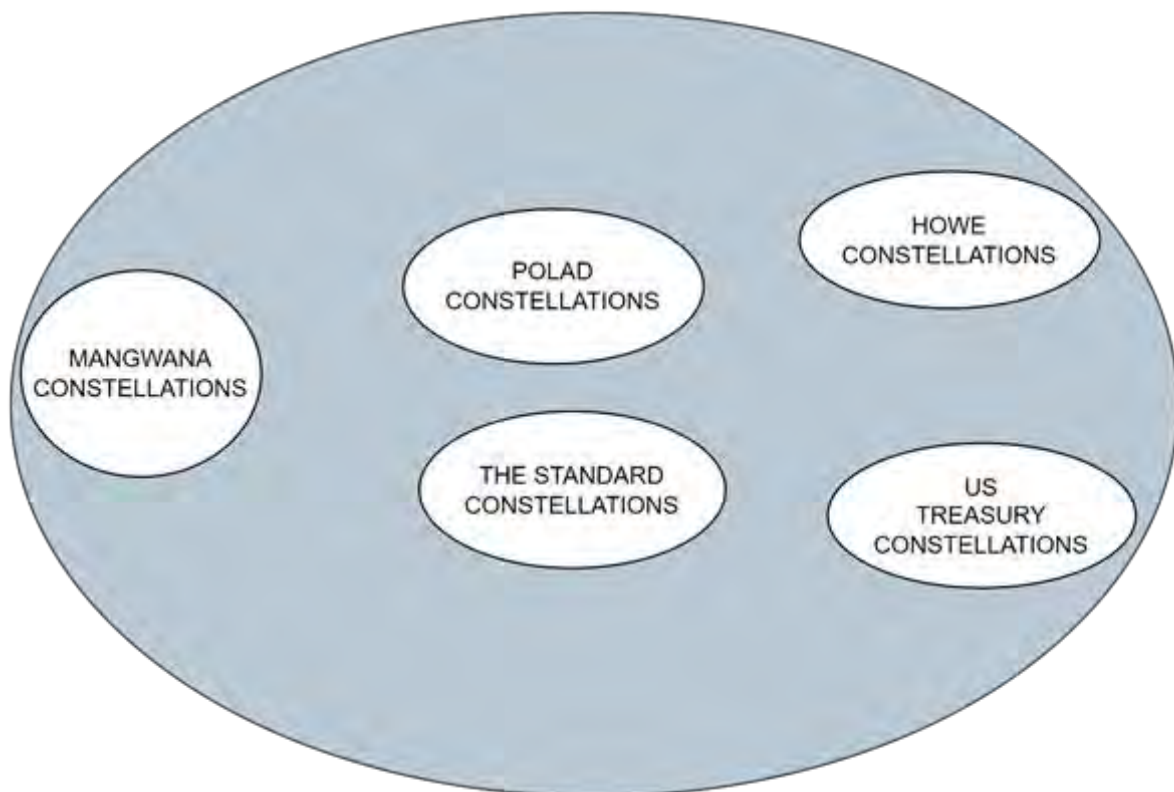


Figure 7.1: Constellations in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

Figure 7.1 shows five constellations mapped from the article “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”. The POLAD constellation is put together with the Howe and Treasury because

of the emphasis on the reform agenda. *The Standard* and Mangwana constellations share a relationship concerning reforms, rescue package and the removal of sanctions.

*The Standard* section describes POLAD's stance on addressing human rights breaches and implementing reforms (in paragraphs 1,2,3,4,11,12,39). The POLAD sections express worry over the government's reform pace and emphasize that Mnangagwa has no choice but to make changes (paragraphs 5-7). The US Treasury Department imposed travel bans and asset freezes against Sanyatwe and Ncube due to alleged human rights violations and the killing of protesters in August 2018 (paragraphs 8-10). Paragraphs 13 through 21 and 34 of the fourth section of the article pertaining to Minister Howe. Howe expresses concern about violations of human rights in Zimbabwe. He discusses the development programs intended to aid Zimbabweans rather than the Zimbabwean government. When it comes to helping Zimbabwe, there is a clear distinction between the Zimbabwean people and the government of Zimbabwe. The final portion features Mangwana discussing lifting unwelcome sanctions rather than a rescue package that the Zimbabwean government has not requested (paragraphs 35-38).

The article was published before the Covid-19 pandemic triggered widespread lockdowns worldwide, including in Zimbabwe. *The Herald* article, "UK scales up cooperation ahead of Brexit", was published in the same year. Conflict over the contested 2018 elections between Mnangagwa and Nelson Chamisa, leader of the MDC-Alliance, characterized the socio-political climate in March 2020. Chamisa continues to view Mnangagwa as an illegitimate leader since he does not recognise Mnangagwa's victory in 2018. Due to the lockdown in 2020 and the government's struggle against Covid-19, there was little political activity.

Mnangagwa formed the Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD) Committee, comprised of opposition leaders led by MDC-T leader Thokozani Khupe. The POLAD committee was founded in May 2019 in response to a request for engagement with the opposition to find solutions for the country's challenges and ways to end corrosive political divisiveness that continues to split Zimbabweans (Mafa 2020). However, the prominent opposition leader, Nelson Chamisa of MDC-Alliance, who disputed the 2018 election results, refused to be part of the committee. The committee expressed dissatisfaction with the progress of the implementation of the reform agenda. President Mnangagwa received the POLAD Report in March 2020, in which Khupe laments the slow pace of reform implementation in Zimbabwe. The POLAD Report regards the implementation of reforms as a matter of urgency towards the removal of sanctions by Britain.

It is interesting that in 2016, Laing disaligned with the use of the word “sanctions”, but in 2020, during the Mnangagwa era, after relations with the UK were supposed to have improved, there seems to be no contestation about the use of the word “sanctions” to describe measures taken against Zimbabwe. This makes the use of “sanctions” in this article more striking and powerful in its negative charging. The allies of Mnangagwa made it clear that the only way to win the western countries was to implement reforms and stop human rights violations.

The article reports on the blacklisting by the United States of Owen Ncube and Anselem Sanyatwe for human rights abuses and the killing of protestors. This is mentioned as an addition to the articles since it is connected to the POLAD Report. Britain’s Defence Minister Earl Howe expressed the need for Mnangagwa to implement genuine political and economic reforms to improve relations between the two countries. Howe expressed these concerns when addressing the House of Lords in London in 2020.

The story’s final section notes that government spokesperson Nick Mangwana emphasised the government’s position when he stated, “We have not asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government, and we are not in the process of developing such a consideration”. Mangwana appears to be asking for normalisation of relations between the UK and Zimbabwe by saying that Zimbabwe “wanted the sanctions to be removed”.

### 7.3.2 SFL analysis

This section describes the unfolding of meaning-making resources to establish the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in this article. In this part, I do not comment on every Attitude instantiation but rather describe a handful to provide a sense of how the text employs Attitude to convey meaning. In this section, I report on the Attitude and Graduation analyses, followed by the Engagement analysis, as in the previous sections.

#### 7.3.2.1 Attitude and Graduation analysis

This section examines the kinds of attitudinal values portrayed in the news article and establishes whether they are inscribed or invoked. Attitude analysis focuses on the language of the text and Graduation on grading the evaluations. Table 7.6 shows the Attitude instantiations found in the article, including the polarity of evaluation (positive or negative), what is being evaluated (appraised) and what is doing the evaluation (the appraised) and the grading of the

evaluations. Table 7.6 identifies the type of attitude instantiated in the article to establish the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK.

Paragraph 1 reports that Mnangagwa’s “allies” in POLAD have said he has no other option besides implementing economic and political reforms in Zimbabwe. *The Standard* stated, “President Emmerson Mnangagwa has been told by his allies that he has no choice but to implement reforms and end human rights violations to win over western countries that are increasingly tightening the noose on his government”. The metaphor “tightening the noose” provokes negative Security towards the western countries’ response to Zimbabwe’s non-implementation of the reform. In the context of the article, it suggests that they are pursuing more restrictive measures such as sanctions. In the same clause, “increasingly” instantiates upscaling Degree regarding strengthening the restrictive measures against Zimbabwe. The author used negative Security in relation to Western countries’ threats to pursue further restrictive measures against Zimbabwe.

In paragraph 2, the word “sympathetic” inscribes Positive Tenacity towards the group’s commitment to Mnangagwa. This is followed by the term “not impressed” which inscribes negated positive Reaction because “not” turns this from a positive into a negative Appreciation of the pace of the reforms. The government of Zimbabwe is positioned as hesitant to implement reforms.

Table 7.6: Evaluative attitude in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

Appraising item	Appraiser	Appraised	Polarity	Attitude
Tightening the noose	<i>The Standard</i>	President Emmerson Mnangagwa	Negative	–Security
Sympathetic	<i>The Standard</i>	Mnangagwa	Positive	+Tenacity
Not impressed	<i>The Standard</i>	Government’s pace of reforms.	Negative	Negated +Reaction
Gloomy	<i>The Standard</i>	Picture painted by the March 13 report	Negative	–Happiness –Reaction
Not flattering	POLAD Report	The government’s track record	Negative	Negated +Reaction
Commit	POLAD Report	We as a country [Zimbabwe].	Positive	+Tenacity
Speedy	POLAD Report	Zimbabwean government	Positive	+Capacity
Sincere	POLAD Report	Zimbabwean government	Positive	+Veracity
Reforms	POLAD Report	Zimbabwean government	Positive	+Propriety
Strong	POLAD Report	The argument and conviction of the three diplomats and other agencies.	Positive	+Valuation
Snail’s pace	POLAD Report	Process of implementing these reforms.	Negative	–Valuation –Capacity

Appraising item	Appraiser	Appraised	Polarity	Attitude
Slapped	<i>The Standard</i>	State Security Minister Owen Ncube, Zimbabwe's ambassador to Tanzania Anselem Sanyatwe	Negative	-Security
Blacklisted	The USA	Ncube	Negative	-Propriety
Accusing	The USA	Ncube and Sanyatwe.	Negative	-Propriety
Abduction	The USA	Ncube	Negative	-Propriety
Torture	The USA	Ncube	Negative	-Propriety
Punished	The USA	Sanyatwe.	Negative	-Propriety
Improved	<i>The Standard</i>	Relations with the west.	Positive	+Valuation
Would not soften	Howe	A stance against Mnangagwa's government.	Negative	Negated +Security
Commitment	Howe	The UK government.	Positive	+Tenacity
Tighten	Howe	Its [UK's] sanctions on Zimbabwe	Negative	-Security
Long-standing	Howe	The UK government	Positive	+Tenacity
Seriously concerned	Howe	Human rights in Zimbabwe	Negative	-Security
Disappointed	Howe	The staff-monitored programme agreed with the IMF has gone off-track.	Negative	-Happiness
Has gone off-track		The staff-monitored programme	Negative	-Composition
Mitigating the worst impacts	Howe	The UK government	Positive	+Propriety
Sanctions	Mangwana	Against Zimbabwe removed	Negative	-Propriety
Fair	Mangwana	To develop our country [Zimbabwe]	Positive	+Propriety
Not clear	Mangwana	How people turn down something, which is unsolicited for	Negative	Negated +Composition

Paragraph 3 describes the picture portrayed by POLAD concerning the re-engagement initiative by Mnangagwa. "A March 13 report presented to Mnangagwa at a Friday closed-door meeting by POLAD's international relations and re-engagement committee led by MDC-T leader Thokozani Khupe painted a gloomy picture". The reporter used the word "gloomy" to inscribe negative Happiness and negative Reaction towards the slow progress of the reforms in Zimbabwe.

The POLAD Report stated, "The three diplomats and other agencies met by the POLAD committee were not flattering in their assessments of the government's track record" (paragraph 5). The phrase "not flattering" invokes negated positive Reaction toward the government's track record. The author highlights the impact of the assessments on the government's track record regarding ending human rights abuses in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is depicted as a country not concerned about observing human rights and the rule of law. Readers

are invited to affiliate with the diplomats' reaction and disalign with the government's track record.

In paragraph 6, the report is quoted saying, "Your Excellency, one of our findings was that there appears to be general consensus that as a country we must commit to the speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing the restrictive measures". The word "commit" instantiates invoked positive Tenacity towards implementing the reform agenda in Zimbabwe. In the phrase "speedy and sincere implementation of the reform", the word "speedy" inscribes positive Capacity indicating that the government is competent enough to quicken the implementation process. The word "sincere" instantiates positive Veracity, and "reforms" inscribes positive Propriety towards implementing the reforms to remove sanctions.

The word "strong" inscribes positive Valuation in paragraph 7. The report expresses a positive value regarding the Committee's concerns. In "Their strong conviction and argument are that the process of implementing these reforms seems to be progressing at a snail's pace", the phrase "progressing at a snail's pace" instantiates invoked negative Valuation and negative Capacity towards the implementing of reforms in Zimbabwe. The POLAD Report uses invoked Judgement expressions to negatively evaluate the slowness of the implementation process while blaming the government for its lack of accountability. Paragraph 7 adds to the negative positioning of Zimbabwe.

In paragraph 8 of this article, the word "slapped" inscribes invoked negative Security and upscaling Vigour to indicate informally that Ncube has been punished. In addition, the term "accusing" instantiates Negative Propriety, implying that the behaviour of Ncube and Sanyatwe is immoral.

In paragraph 10, the reporter stated, "The US said Sanyatwe was being punished for directing soldiers that shot to death six protesters during the August 1, 2018 demonstrations over delays in the release of presidential election results". The word "punished" inscribes negative Propriety towards the actions of Sanyatwe during the demonstrations. The Judgement is also supported by an invoked negative Propriety in "directing soldiers that shot to death six protesters. The reporter relayed negative Judgement expressed by the US government.

In paragraph 13, The phrase "would not soften its stance against" inscribes negated negative Tenacity and invokes negated positive Security for the Zimbabwean government. Britain is

portrayed as being tough on the Zimbabwean government while pushing to implement reforms in Zimbabwe.

Paragraph 16 expresses a high commitment towards change in Zimbabwe: “Therefore, the onus must remain on the government of that country to demonstrate true commitment to change”. The word “commitment” inscribes positive Tenacity, which is sharpened using “true”. This paragraph positions Zimbabwe more than the UK, implying that the Zimbabwean government has not yet demonstrated a true commitment to change, so the Zimbabwe government is positioned negatively. However, Britain is positively positioned due to its efforts to help Zimbabwe realise its economic and political change through implementing reforms.

In paragraph 18, the reporter stated, “Howe hinted that Britain, which pulled out of the EU this year, might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year”. The word “tighten” inscribes negative Security to demonstrate a lack of confidence in the Zimbabwean administration. Britain is seen as exerting power over those who run Zimbabwe regarding the stated reform agenda. Britain’s reference to pulling out of the EU suggests that the UK might tighten its sanctions against Zimbabwe because it will no longer need to keep in step with the EU’s foreign policy.

The word “long-standing” appears twice in paragraphs 14 and 24. Howe uses the term to describe the relationship shared between the two countries “We have long-standing, deep relations with that country, as noble Lords will know”. The term “long-standing” inscribes positive Tenacity to demonstrate positive evaluation and charging of the relationship. The word “deep” instantiates upscaling Intensification: Degree, which also flags a positive Valuation of the relationship with Zimbabwe. It suggests that Howe reflects the UK government’s commitment and dependability towards the people of Zimbabwe.

Howe uses negative Security in paragraph 27 to demonstrate Britain’s concern over human rights violations in Zimbabwe. He said, “We are seriously concerned about human rights in Zimbabwe”. The term “seriously” upscales the Degree of “concerned”, which instantiates negative Security, indicating that Britain is worried about the human rights situation in Zimbabwe. Howe said it without hesitation resulting in the negative charging of human rights in Zimbabwe strengthened through upscaling Force.

The word “disappointed” inscribes Negative Happiness in, “We are disappointed that the staff-monitored programme agreed with the IMF has gone off-track”. The term suggests the

implementation of the staff-monitored programme did not go well and creates sadness for the readers concerning the country's state. Britain is engaged in development programs designed to improve Zimbabwe's economic status. Despite the disappointment, the United Kingdom is positioned and charged favourably for demonstrating dedication to programs run in Zimbabwe.

In paragraph 34, Howe said, "Our focus at the moment is on mitigating the worst impacts of the economic crisis and concentrating on the most vulnerable Zimbabweans". Howe expresses positive commitment and responsibility using "mitigating the worst impacts of the economic crisis", invoking positive Propriety. The word "worse" indicates the Degree of the impact of the economic crisis in Zimbabwe. Howe accepts full responsibility for his words and expresses a strong commitment to aiding Zimbabweans in need. The intervention process positively charges and evaluates the UK to enhance its image and persuade readers to align with the idea that the UK is working to mitigate the economic crisis.

The article talks about Zimbabwe not asking for a rescue package. In the context of the article, this seems to be responding to Howe's statement that "no package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms". In other words, Mangwana is saying that the Zimbabwean government is not looking for funding from the UK government. This helps to make sense of Mangwana's difficult last comment, "so we not clear on how people turn down something, which is unsolicited for". The Zimbabwean government cannot turn down a financial rescue package from the UK government because it has never asked for such a package. However, Nick Mangwana refuted the statement: "Zimbabwe was not seeking a rescue package from Britain but wanted the sanctions against the country removed". The word "sanctions" invokes negative Propriety Judgement against Zimbabwe. The phrase "not clear" invokes negated positive Composition towards turning down something unsolicited for by the Zimbabwean government.

Violating human rights is one of the emerging trends in this article. The use of negative Security resources indicates that the UK is concerned about the state of human rights in Zimbabwe. The United States has a negative view of the actions taken by Sanyatwe during the demonstrations. The violation of human rights represents the hardship of ordinary citizens at the hands of the ruling government, and the UK expresses concern over these violations. The second pattern relates Mangwana to the manner in which Britain conducts its business concerning the rescue package versus the lifting of sanctions. Mangwana is presented as evaluating the United Kingdom negatively for continuing to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe.

The first stage of analysis involves identifying items that are charged positively and negatively. Table 7.7 reveals more significant patterns in the analysis of evaluative attitude. The Appraiser has been relabelled as the Source, and the Appraised has been relabelled Target for easy incorporation of significant analyses.

Table 7.7: Preliminary list of charged elements based on Attitude.

Source	Target	Charge
<i>The Standard</i>	President Emmerson Mnangagwa	Negative
	Relations with the west	Positive
	Government's pace of reforms	Negative
	A March 13 report	Negative
POLAD Report	Implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them [the three diplomats and other agencies] to consider reviewing the restrictive measures	Positive
	Zimbabwean government	Negative
	The government's track record	Negative
	Process of implementing these reforms	Negative
The USA	State Security Minister Owen Ncube, Zimbabwe's ambassador to Tanzania Anselem Sanyatwe	Negative
Howe	The UK government	Positive
	The UK government	Positive
	The UK government	Positive
	The UK government	Positive
	Its [the UK's] sanctions on Zimbabwe	Negative
	Mnangagwa's government	Negative
	About human rights in Zimbabwe	Negative
	The staff-monitored programme agreed with the IMF	Negative
Mangwana	Impediments	Negative
	Unhindered	Positive
	How people turn down something which is unsolicited for	Negative

### 7.3.2.2 Engagement analysis

The Engagement resources were used to show the interaction between different voices in the article (see Chapter Three). The article used several reporting verbs to acknowledge or distance the reporter or the speaker from particular propositions. The Attitude analysis developed a list of axiologically charged sources (see Table 7.7). This section focuses on what the sources advance to establish the meanings they align with. This is achieved by identifying where there are multiple voices in the text. Table 7.8 indicates the target, source, charging, and Engagement types of instantiations from the article "Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice".

The linguistic resources indicate where the source aligns with the target and positively or negatively charges the target. The analysis demonstrated the presence of multiple voices, such as Deny, Entertain, Acknowledge and Pronounce in the text. This article is the most complex

of the four I report on in my fine-grained analyses because it is the most heteroglossic. Engagement resources also expand the dialogic space by inviting other voices to negotiate.

The reporter uses Contract: Counter and Contract: Deny in paragraph 1. Paragraph 1 states, “President Emmerson Mnangagwa has been told by his allies that he has no choice but to implement reforms and end human rights violations to win over western countries that are increasingly tightening the noose on his government”. The use of Contract: Counter depicts that there is no other option but to implement the reforms to see a change in Zimbabwe. In order to prevent the introduction of additional viewpoints or ideas about implementing reforms, the POLAD employs the resource to close the dialogic space. POLAD (called Mnangagwa’s allies) are acknowledged as the people who tell Mnangagwa that he has no choice but to implement reforms. The use of “no” expresses that there are no other options besides implementing reforms and ending human rights violations in Zimbabwe. Thus a combination of different Engagement resources interacts to open and close dialogic space in this clause complex.

Negation appears several times to deny propositions raised in the report. The examples of negation are found in paragraphs 2 and 5. Many other examples are scattered across the other parts of the report. For example, the use of “not impressed” and “not flattering” indicates that the opposition parties and diplomats disclaim the idea that the government is implementing reforms at a sufficient pace. An example of this is found in the clause complex, “According to reports produced by the Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD), a grouping of opposition parties seen as sympathetic to Mnangagwa, diplomats in meetings with the outfit have been emphatic that they are not impressed with the government’s pace of reforms”. By employing the phrase “not impressed”, POLAD closes dialogic space surrounding its contention that the government is not reforming fast enough. In another example, the article says, “The three diplomats and other agencies met by the POLAD committee were not flattering in their assessments of the government’s track record”. The three diplomats and the POLAD committee are portrayed as having taken a position about the Zimbabwean government’s implementation of reforms. The negative phrases narrow the dialogic space for other alternative viewpoints and demonstrate a strong commitment to their evaluations of the government’s record.

In paragraph 6, the use of Expand: Acknowledge indicates that *The Standard* aligns with the report’s content. For example, “reads the report obtained by this publication”, *The Standard* distanced itself from the assertion, showing its position. The POLAD Report is quoted several

times in this article to express the position of an external source, namely the committee that authored the report. The source acknowledges the blacklisting of Ncube by the US Treasury Department in “Ncube was blacklisted over accusations that he ordered abduction and torture of government critics, the US Treasury Department said”. The phrase “the US Treasury Department said” indicates that the author acknowledges what the US Treasury Department said as the source aligns with the assertion that Ncube was blacklisted. The phrase demonstrates the link between the US Treasury Department and the idea of punishing those who violate human rights.

Table 7.8: Heteroglossia and charging in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
President Emmerson Mnangagwa has been <u>told</u> by his allies that he has no choice but to implement reforms.	POLAD Report	He has choice no choice but to implement reforms		Expand: Acknowledge
President Emmerson Mnangagwa has been told by his allies that he has <u>no</u> choice but to implement reforms.	<i>The Standard</i>	Mnangagwa has a choice	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
President Emmerson Mnangagwa has been told by his allies that he has no choice <u>but</u> to implement reforms.	<i>The Standard</i>	Mnangagwa must implement reforms	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Counter

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
<p><u>According to reports produced by the Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD), a grouping of opposition parties seen as sympathetic to Mnangagwa. Diplomats in meetings with the outfit have been emphatic that they are not impressed with the government's pace of reforms.</u></p>	POLAD Reports	Diplomats in meetings with the outfit have been emphatic that they are not impressed with the government's pace of reforms.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
<p>Diplomats in meetings with the outfit <u>have been emphatic that they are not impressed with the government's pace of reforms.</u></p>	Diplomats	Not impressed with the government's pace of reforms	Disaligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
<p>Diplomats in meetings with the outfit have been emphatic that <u>they are not</u> impressed with the government's pace of reforms.</p>		Government's pace of reforms.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
<p>The committee <u>said</u> it met the British ambassador Melanie Robinson on January 24 and her United States counterpart Brian Nichols as well as European Union ambassador Timo Olkkonen on dates that were not mentioned in the report.</p>	POLAD international relations and re-engagement committee	It met the British ambassador Melanie Robinson on January 24 and her United States counterpart Brian Nichols as well as European Union ambassador Timo Olkkonen on dates that were not mentioned in the report.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
The committee said it met the British ambassador Melanie Robinson on January 24 and her United States counterpart Brian Nichols as well as European Union ambassador Timo Olkkonen on dates that were <u>not</u> mentioned in the report.	Report	British ambassador Melanie Robinson on January 24 and her United States counterpart Brian Nichols as well as European Union Ambassador Timo Olkkonen	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
The three diplomats and other agencies met by the POLAD committee were <u>not</u> flattering in their assessments of the government's track record, the report says	POLAD Report	The three diplomats and other agencies met by the POLAD committee were flattering in their assessments of the government's track record.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
The three diplomats and other agencies met by the POLAD committee were not flattering in their assessments of the government's track record, the report <u>says</u>	POLAD Report	The three diplomats and other agencies met by the POLAD committee were not flattering in their assessments of the government's track record.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge

Instance	Source	Target	Charge		Engagement
<p>Your Excellency, one of our findings was that <u>there appears to be general consensus</u> that as a country we must commit to the speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing the restrictive measures”, reads the report obtained by this publication</p>	<p>POLAD Report</p>	<p>Commit to the speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing the restrictive measures.</p>	<p>Aligning (positive charge)</p>		<p>Contract: Endorse</p>
<p>Your Excellency, one of our findings was that there appears to be general consensus that as a country we <u>must</u> commit to the speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing the restrictive measures”, reads the report obtained by this publication</p>	<p>POLAD Report</p>	<p>Commit to the speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing the restrictive measures.</p>	<p>Aligning (positive charge)</p>		<p>Expand: Entertain</p>

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
Your Excellency, one of our findings was that there appears to be general consensus that as a country we must commit to the speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing the restrictive measures”, reads the report obtained by this publication	POLAD Report	Your Excellency, one of our findings was that there appears to be general consensus that as a country we <u>must</u> commit to the speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing the restrictive measures.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
<u>Their strong argument and conviction is</u> that the process of implementing these reforms seems to be progressing at a snail’s pace”, the report added.	POLAD Report	Three diplomats and other agencies.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
Their strong argument and conviction is that the process of implementing these reforms seems to be progressing at a snail’s pace”, the report added.	POLAD Report	Their strong argument and conviction is that the process of implementing these reforms seems to be progressing at a snail’s pace.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
Ncube was blacklisted over <u>accusations that he</u> ordered the abduction and torture of government critics, the US Treasury Department said	Unnamed accusers	He ordered the abduction and torture of government critics	Disaligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
Ncube was blacklisted over accusations that he ordered the abduction and torture of government critics, the US Treasury Department <u>said</u>	The USA	Ncube was blacklisted over accusations that he ordered the abduction and torture of government critics.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
The USA <u>said</u> Sanyatwe was being punished for directing soldiers that shot to death six protesters during the August 1, 2018 demonstrations over delays in the Release of presidential election results	The USA	Sanyatwe was being punished for directing soldiers that shot to death six protesters during the August 1, 2018 demonstrations over delays in the Release of presidential election results	Disaligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
Meanwhile, Britain's Defence Minister Earl Howe <u>told</u> the House of Lords last week that London would not soften its stance against Mnangagwa's government until it implements genuine political and economic reforms.	Howe	London would not soften its stance against Mnangagwa's government until it implements genuine political and economic reforms	aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
Meanwhile, Britain's Defence Minister Earl Howe told the House of Lords last week that London would <u>not</u> soften its stance against Mnangagwa's government until it implements genuine political and economic reforms.	Howe	London would not soften its stance against Mnangagwa's government	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
My Lords, I <u>acknowledge</u> the noble Lord's long-standing and close interest in Zimbabwe and its people, and I agree that we must continue to give hope and encouragement to all those who want to see genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe	Oates	Long-standing and close interest in Zimbabwe and its people.	Aligning (positive charging)	Expand: Acknowledge
And I <u>agree</u> that we must continue to give hope and encouragement to all those who want to see genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe.	Howe	Give hope and encouragement to all those who want to see genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe.	Aligning (positive charging)	Expand: Concur
And I agree that we <u>must</u> continue to give hope and encouragement to all those who want to see genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe.	Howe	Give hope and encouragement to all those who want to see genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe.	Aligning (positive charging)	Expand: Entertain

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
<u>However</u> , we have to face the reality that no package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms, as he rightly says	Howe	A package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms.	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Counter
<u>However, we have to face the reality</u> that no package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms, as he rightly says	Howe	No package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Pronounce
However, we have to face the reality that <u>no</u> package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms, as he rightly says	Howe	A package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms.		Contract: Deny
However, we have to face the reality that no package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms, as he <u>rightly</u> says	Howe	No package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms.	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Endorse
<u>Therefore</u> , the onus must remain on the government of that country to demonstrate true commitment to change.	Howe	The onus must remain on the government of that country [Zimbabwe] to demonstrate true commitment to change	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Justify

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
Therefore, the onus <u>must</u> remain on the government of that country to demonstrate true commitment to change.	Howe	Remain on the government of that country to demonstrate true commitment to change.	Aligning (negative charge)	Expand: Entertain
Howe <u>hinted</u> that Britain, which pulled out of the EU this year, might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year.	<i>The Standard</i>	Britain which pulled out of the EU this year might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year	Disaligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
Howe hinted that Britain, which pulled out of the EU this year, <u>might</u> tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year	<i>The Standard</i>	Its [the UK] sanctions on Zimbabwe	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
Howe hinted that Britain, which pulled out of the EU this year, might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are <u>no</u> reforms by the end of the year	<i>The Standard</i>	Reforms	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
We are <u>not</u> wholly in agreement with the EU on its approach to sanctions”, he said	Howe	EU’s approach to sanctions	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
We are not wholly in agreement with the EU on its approach to sanctions, he <u>said</u>	Howe	We are not wholly in agreement with the EU on its approach to sanctions	Disaligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
<u>As I said</u> , the UK remains aligned to the EU's restrictive measures on Zimbabwe During the transition period	Howe	The UK remains aligned to the EU's restrictive measures on Zimbabwe during the transition period.	Aligning (negative charge)	Contract: Concur
We did <u>not</u> agree with its decision to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe; we Will review the whole sanctions regime at the end of the year, as I have mentioned	Howe	Its [EU's] decision to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
We did not agree with its decision to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe; we <u>Will</u> review the whole sanctions regime at the end of the year, as I have mentioned	Howe	We will review the whole sanctions regime at the end of the year, as I have mentioned	Aligning(positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
We did not agree with its decision to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe; we Will review the whole sanctions regime at the end of the year, as I have <u>mentioned</u>	Howe	We did not agree with its decision to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe; we will review the whole sanctions regime at the end of the year	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Concur
<u>It is important to stress that</u> our commitment to the people of Zimbabwe did not stem from being an EU member.	Howe	Our commitment to the people of Zimbabwe did not stem from being an EU member	Aligning (positive charge)	Contract: Pronounce
It is important to stress that our commitment to the people of Zimbabwe <u>did not</u> stem from being an EU member	Howe	Our commitment to the people of Zimbabwe did not stem from being an EU member	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
We are seriously concerned about human rights in Zimbabwe”, he <u>said</u>	Howe	We are seriously concerned about human rights in Zimbabwe	aligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
He <u>said</u> the UK would, however, continue supporting Zimbabwe through the United Nations agencies	Howe	The UK would continue supporting Zimbabwe through the United Nations agencies	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: acknowledge
He said the UK <u>would</u> , however, continue supporting Zimbabwe through the United Nations agencies	Howe	The UK would continue supporting Zimbabwe through the United Nations agencies	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
He said the UK would, <u>however</u> , continue supporting Zimbabwe through the United Nations agencies	Howe	The UK would support Zimbabwe directly	disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Counter
Nick Mangwana, the government spokesperson, <u>said</u> Zimbabwe was not seeking a rescue package from Britain, but wanted the sanctions against the country removed	Mangwana	Zimbabwe was not seeking a rescue package from Britain but wanted the sanctions against the country removed	Aligning (negative charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
Nick Mangwana, the government spokesperson, said Zimbabwe was <u>not</u> seeking a rescue package from Britain, but wanted the sanctions against the country removed	Mangwana	Zimbabwe was seeking a rescue package from Britain	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
Nick Mangwana, the government spokesperson, said Zimbabwe was not seeking a rescue package from Britain, <u>but</u> wanted the sanctions against the country removed	Mangwana	Zimbabwe was seeking was not rescue package from Britain	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Counter
We have <u>not</u> asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government, and we are not in the process of developing such a consideration”, he said	Mangwana,	Zimbabwe was seeking a rescue package from the UK	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
We have not asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government, and we are <u>not</u> in the process of developing such a consideration”, he said	Mangwana	Zimbabwe in the process of developing such consideration	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny
We have not asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government, and we are not in the process of developing such a consideration”, he <u>said</u>	Mangwana	We have not asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government and we are not in the process of developing such consideration	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Acknowledge
So we are <u>not</u> clear on how people turn down something, which is unsolicited for	Mangwana,	We [Zimbabwe] are clear on how people turn down something, which is unsolicited for	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny

Instance	Source	Target	Charge	Engagement
Mnangagwa has so far refused to hold talks with MDC leader Nelson Chamisa to Discuss political reforms <u>because</u> his rival does not recognise his controversial Victory in the 2018 elections	<i>The Standard</i>	Mnangagwa has so far refused to hold talks with MDC leader Nelson Chamisa to discuss political reforms.	Aligning (positive charge)	Expand: Entertain
Mnangagwa has so far refused to hold talks with MDC leader Nelson Chamisa to Discuss political reforms because his rival <u>does not</u> recognise his controversial Victory in the 2018 elections	<i>The Standard</i>	Chamisa recognises Mnangagwa's controversial victory in the 2018 elections	Disaligning (negative charge)	Contract: Deny

In paragraph 14, the phrase “I agree” instantiates Contract: Concur to emphasise the importance of the proposition. The phrase “I acknowledge” instantiates Expand: Acknowledge where Minister Howe makes some pronouncements concerning giving hope and encouragement to Zimbabwe’s people who want the reforms to be implemented. He says, “My Lords, I acknowledge the noble Lord’s long-standing and close interest in Zimbabwe and its people, and I agree that we must continue to give hope and encouragement to all those who want to see genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe”. Howe expresses his opinion and closes the dialogic space to convince the reader to accept his viewpoints without a doubt through the Engagement resource. This indicates positive alignment through the terms “long-standing and close interests” and “hope and encouragement”, making positive assertions associated with the information.

The word “might” instantiates Expand: Entertain to show a possible position that can be taken. In the example, “Howe hinted that Britain, which pulled out of the EU this year, might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year”, Britain emphasises the tightening of sanctions if reforms are not met. Britain is individuating itself from other entities, particularly the EU, by expressing its position. In paragraph 18, the author used Contract: Acknowledge in “Howe hinted that Britain, which pulled out of the EU this year,

might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year”. Howe (source) suggests that the UK may implement harsher sanctions against the Zimbabwe government after leaving the EU.

Another example is, “We did not agree with its decision to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe; we will review the whole sanctions regime at the end of the year, as I have mentioned”. In this clause complex “not” instantiates Contract: Deny demonstrating that Britain disagrees with the decision made by the UK. The word “will” instantiates Expand: Entertain that it entertains possibilities that are not currently a reality. It indicates that the decisions represent the UK’s value position regarding reviewing sanctions against Zimbabwe. The use of “not” instantiates Contract: Deny leaves little room for other alternative voices because it immediately rejects the claim and raises a contrasting stance. In other words, Howe used the word “not” to express a firm rejection of any alternatives regarding suspending sanctions against Grace.

Nick Mangwana uses Contract: Counter in paragraph 35 regarding the idea of the removal of sanctions against Zimbabwe. The word “but” as in “Nick Mangwana, the government spokesperson, said Zimbabwe was not seeking a rescue package from Britain but wanted the sanctions against the country removed”, dismisses the idea of a rescue package. The source (Mangwana) disaligns from the rescue package and affiliates with the idea of removing the restrictive measures against Zimbabwe. In the clause complex, Mangwana claims that Zimbabwe was not looking for a rescue package from the UK using Contract: Deny. The Deny resource supports his assertion and encourages readers to agree that Zimbabwe is not looking for a rescue package.

The POLAD uses Proclaim: Endorse to contract the dialogic space around their findings in “Your Excellency, one of our findings was that...”. and to validate the information. Another example is Expand: Acknowledge in, “According to reports produced by the Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD), a grouping of opposition parties seen as sympathetic to Mnangagwa, diplomats in meetings with the outfit have been emphatic that they are not impressed with the government’s pace of reforms”. The reporter provides an external source in his evaluations to endorse the contents of the POLAD Report. In this manner, the reporter closes the dialogic space for alternative voices and persuades readers to think the information is accurate.

Contract: Concur is used to respond to a question from Lord Oates by Minister Howe. Howe said, “...and I agree that we must continue to give hope and encouragement to all those who

want to see genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe”. The word “agree” instantiates Contract: Concur to contract dialogic space around the idea of giving hope and encouragement to those who want to see a change in Zimbabwe. Howe uses the word “agree” to establish common ground with his listeners, reminding them of bonds that he assumes they share.

In the following example, Howe states that it is up to the government of Zimbabwe to demonstrate a genuine commitment to change; “Therefore, the onus must remain on the government of that country to demonstrate a true commitment to change”. The word “therefore” instantiates Contract: Justify showing that Zimbabwe has the power to change its situation for the better. It shows that “the onus must remain on the government of that country to demonstrate a true commitment to change” is logically defensible because he has just given reasons to support this statement. As mentioned above, this positions Zimbabwe negatively more than it positions the UK positively. It implies that the current Zimbabwe government does not yet demonstrate a true commitment to change. Britain is positively positioned regarding its consideration towards convincing the government of Zimbabwe to take the first step to change.

One emerging pattern in this article is the non-implementation of reforms by the Mnangagwa government. The POLAD report describes the process as progressing slowly. The negative language shows a strong commitment to their assessments of the government's performance and reduces the dialogic space for other opposing opinions. Another theme is human rights violations. Sanyatwe and Ncube are linked to human rights violations, highlighting the government's disregard for the torture of human rights activists and the murder of defenceless civilians.

### 7.3.3 LCT analysis

The article reveals different patterns of alignment and disalignment through the terms and ideas used in positioning the two countries concerning their diplomatic relations. I describe five sets of constellations: those built by the UK, those built by the US Treasury Department, those built by the POLAD Report, those built by Nick Mangwana and those built by *The Standard*. The significant constellations show divisions regarding alignment and affiliation to particular ideas and values. The US Treasury, Howe and POLAD all agree that reforms are a must for the UK to reconsider its sanctions against Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean government is unfavourably positioned by the US Treasury Department, the UK and the POLAD Report because of human rights violations and non-implementation of reforms.

In contrast, Mangwana favourably positions the government of Zimbabwe and aligns with the idea of removing sanctions against Zimbabwe. POLAD aligns with Mnangagwa because Mnangagwa established the committee to find solutions to Zimbabwe’s difficulties. However, POLAD disagrees with the Zimbabwean government over the reforms’ progression. POLAD expresses its position and criticizes the non-implementation of reforms while notifying readers of the errors committed by the Zimbabwean government.

The negatively charged constellation associated with The POLAD Report describes what has to be done to win over the western countries (Table 7.9). The report brings out what the POLAD members believe are the underlying causes of the actions behind the violations of human rights in Zimbabwe. They constellate the expression “not flattering” with Zimbabwe, reflecting foreign diplomats’ impressions of reforms in Zimbabwe. The positively charged constellation indicates the “general consensus” among the diplomats and the agencies they consulted that “speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms [is needed] as a pre-condition for them [western countries] to consider reviewing restrictive measures”.

The POLAD Report says that “speedy and sincere implementation” is needed, implying that the implementation up till the time of writing has not been speedy or sincere, therefore charging Zimbabwe negatively. The “pre-condition” and “restrictive measures” mentioned in the POLAD Report are constellated together with “we must commit” to reveal that the committee is aligning with the diplomats and the agencies. The committee is individuating away from the Zimbabwe government and its pace of reforms. This suggests that Zimbabwe is responsible for implementing the reforms to promote the uplifting of the embargoes against it.

Table 7.9: Constellations associated with the POLAD Report in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
POLAD Report	Electoral, political, security and economic reforms  Restrictive measures	Your Excellency, one of our findings was that there appears to be general consensus that as a country we must commit to the speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing the restrictive measures”, reads the report obtained by this publication.			

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
	Progressing Snail's pace	Their strong argument and conviction is that the process of implementing these reforms seems to be progressing at a snail's pace", the report added.			
				Government's pace of reforms	Diplomats are impressed with the government's pace of reforms.
				Flattering Track record	The three diplomats and other agencies met by the POLAD committee were flattering in their assessments of the government's track record.

The POLAD Report accurately depicts the non-implementation of the reform agenda. It emphasises implementing reforms as the pre-condition towards removing the embargoes by Britain and other Western countries. The report uses a negative representation of Zimbabwe to point out the outstanding matters concerning the removal of sanctions in Zimbabwe. The negatively charged POLAD constellation depicts Mnangagwa in an unfavourable manner which is done by his allies.

Only one negatively charged constellation is associated with the US Treasury Department, and no positively charged constellation (see Table 7.9). The negatively charged constellation expresses the idea that the Zimbabwean government lacks respect for human rights. Sanyatwe is portrayed as a direct agent of violence by the USA. The article describes the killings that occurred on August 1, 2018 and describes how the USA has banned Sanyatwe and Ncube's travel. The use of "punished" and "directing" calls for a paradigm shift in both political and economic spheres for the betterment of Zimbabwe. The term "blacklisted" in paragraph 9 describes the penalty levied on Ncube.

The USA Treasury constellation positions Zimbabwe as not concerned with human rights violations by deploying the accused people on missions outside the country. This depicts a lousy image of Zimbabwe and its leaders despite the plans to implement the stated economic and political reforms. This constellation negatively charged human rights abuses, killing of protestors and torture of government critics in Zimbabwe, which might affect the government

of Zimbabwe’s re-engagement drive with the UK and western countries. Readers will disalign human rights abuses, abductions and torture of government critics, including the killing of protestors, if they have the same viewpoint as the US Treasury Department.

In the same constellation, the US Treasury Department put close Mnangagwa ally and Zimbabwe’s ambassador to Tanzania under travel bans and asset freezes due to human rights violations and protestors killings. The travel bans and asset freezes imply a negative evaluation of Mnangagwa. This mirrors an intense evaluation of Mnangagwa, his appointments, and those who align with him. Mnangagwa and his allies are negatively positioned, and the US disassociate itself from Mnangagwa’s values. This worsens the relationship between the US and Zimbabwe.

Table 7.10: Constellation associated with The US Treasury Department in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
US Treasury Department	Abductions Blacklisted	Ncube was blacklisted over accusations that he ordered the abduction and torture of government critics.			
	Directing soldiers	Sanyatwe was being punished for directing soldiers that shot to death six protestors during the August 1, 2018, demonstrations over delays in the release of presidential election results.			

The constellations associated with *The Standard* negatively charge Mnangagwa. Table 7.11 establishes a negatively charged constellation created by the article’s author that criticises Mnangagwa’s conduct for refusing to speak with Nelson Chamisa, the leader of the MDC-Alliance, on political reforms following Mnangagwa’s contentious victory in 2018. The article portrays Mnangagwa’s behaviour as the reason for the slow progress in political reforms.

In addition, Mnangagwa appears to be positively charged in paragraph 11 using “Mnangagwa’s government has hired western public relations firms to lobby for improved relations with the west”. Here, “hired western public relations firms” implies a negative evaluation of Mnangagwa’s government towards improving relations with the west. On the surface, lobbying for improved relations with the west seems to be a good thing, but the fact that Mnangagwa needs to resort to hiring public relations firms to do the job casts him in a negative light. However, this negatively impacts Mnangagwa because he needs to hire western public firms to lobby for improved relations. Similarly, SADC and African Union (AU) are lobbying against

the restrictive measures imposed against Zimbabwe by the UK and the west. These two entities negatively charge those who imposed the sanctions and reinforce the idea of removing the embargoes.

Table 7.11: The constellation associated with *The Standard* in “Allies tells Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
<i>The Standard</i>	Improved relations	Mnangagwa’s government has hired western public relations firms to lobby for improved relations with the West			
	Backing	Zimbabwe has also won the backing of the Southern African Development Community and the African Union to lobby against the sanctions			
	Controversial victory	Mnangagwa has so far refused to hold talks with MDC leader Nelson Chamisa to discuss political reforms because his rival does not recognise his controversial victory in the 2018 elections			
	Slapped	The United States last week slapped State Security minister Owen Ncube, a close Mnangagwa ally, and Zimbabwe’s ambassador to Tanzania Anselem Sanyatwe with travel bans and asset freezes, accusing them of human rights abuses, including the killing of protesters			

In Mangwana’s constellations, he describes the urgency of removing sanctions (see Table 7.12). He said, “We have only asked for a fair chance to develop our country by having the impediments placed against us to be an unhindered member of the community of nations removed”, which implies that someone is holding the destiny of Zimbabwe. Some western countries are holding back the economic development in Zimbabwe through the restrictive measures placed against the country. The statement made by Mangwana indicates an element of forcefulness towards the UK and other western countries concerning their actions. Thereby, a negative charge is revealed in the constellation. This weakens the relations between the UK and Zimbabwe, although Britain insists it will continue to help Zimbabweans despite the conflict. The UK is careful to say that they will continue to help Zimbabweans while avoiding giving assistance to the Zimbabwe government.

Mangwana positively charges the removal of sanctions and negatively charges a rescue package from the UK. Mangwana said, “We have not asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government, and we are not in the process of developing such a consideration.”

This positively charges Mangwana’s constellation and supports Zimbabwe’s idea of removing sanctions in Zimbabwe. The use of the phrase “rescue package consideration” is contrasted by Mangwana with the removal of sanctions. Mangwana indicates commitment regarding the process of not considering a rescue package. Mangwana disaligns from the idea of a rescue package but does seek to affiliate with readers around the idea of Zimbabwe being given a fair chance to develop free of sanctions. Sanctions are negatively charged and evaluated, depicting a negative image of Britain as the imposer of sanctions, and pointing to how vital the Zimbabwean government views the scrapping of sanctions to be.

Table 7.12: Constellations associated with “Mangwana” in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Source	Terms	Ideas	Source	Terms	Ideas
Mangwana	Sanctions removed	Zimbabwe wanted the sanctions against the country removed.	Mangwana	Rescue package  Solicited	Zimbabwe was seeking a rescue package.  We are clear on how people turn down something, which is solicited for.
				Rescue package  Consideration	We have not asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government, and we are not in the process of developing such a consideration.

Howe’s constellations give the conditions under which Britain assists Zimbabweans without necessarily supporting their government. The positively charged constellation is characterised by interventions by both governments and reasons not to intervene in certain states of affairs. The British government is willing to assist Zimbabwe, but it has limited intervention strategies due to Zimbabwe’s political and economic systems. The anti-intervention position opposes the government of Zimbabwe’s inability to uphold human rights and the rule of law as stipulated in the Constitution. Britain stated that reforms were needed to liberate the Zimbabwean people. This is more in line with what Howe says in the quote below. Howe says, “However, we have to face the reality that no package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms”. Implementing reforms is the cornerstone considering that the UK government refuses to give further aid to Zimbabwe until there are reforms, as in the example of commitment, “Therefore, the onus must remain on the government of that country

to demonstrate true commitment to change”. The UK negatively charges Zimbabwe and positively evaluates the reform agenda. Britain aligns with the idea of the Zimbabwean government implementing reforms, but what all these reforms should be is not specified.

Howe negatively charges Zimbabwe in several ways while expressing continued support for Zimbabwe. In paragraph 31, Howe said, “The UK would, however, continue supporting Zimbabwe through United Nations agencies”. Howe intends to depict a good picture of the UK in the readers’ minds by reinforcing the idea of supporting Zimbabwe even if there are still obstacles to be addressed between the two countries. He uses the idea of continued support to give a good impression of the UK.

The words “might tighten” and “no reforms” carry a negative charge by demonstrating the possibilities of tightening the sanctions on its exit from the EU. Howe’s statement regarding the possibility of tightening sanctions negatively evaluates and charges the Zimbabwean government warning it of dire consequences if more extensive reforms are not implemented by the end of the year.

In paragraph 19, Howe introduces the EU’s approach to sanctions. He said, “We are not wholly in agreement with the EU on its approach to sanctions.” The EU’s approach is negatively evaluated and charged as indicated in paragraph 22, “We did not agree with its decision to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe; we will review the whole sanctions regime at the end of the year, as I have mentioned”. Britain individuates from the decision to suspend sanctions, and negatively evaluates it. The use of “we” indicates self-evaluative purposes by the UK to express its responsibility and positive evaluations regarding its power and authority.

Table 7.13: Constellations associated with Defence Minister Earl Howe in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Sources	Terms	Ideas	Sources	Terms	Ideas
Howe	Supporting	He said the UK would, however, continue supporting Zimbabwe through United Nations agencies	Howe	Soften	London would soften its stance against Mnangagwa’s government.
	Human rights	We are seriously concerned about human rights in Zimbabwe			

Aligning with (positively charged)			Disaligning with (negatively charged)		
Sources	Terms	Ideas	Sources	Terms	Ideas
	Commitment Limited progress	Therefore, the onus must remain on the government of that country to demonstrate true commitment to change. So far, we have seen limited progress.		Package of external support	A package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms.
	Hinted, pulled out, tighten sanctions, reforms	Britain, which pulled out of the EU this year, might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year.		Suspend	We agreed with [EU] decision to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe.
	EU's restrictive measures Transition	the UK remains aligned to the EU's restrictive measures on Zimbabwe during the transition period.			
	Sanctions, review, regime	we will review the whole sanctions regime at the end of the year			

Howe's constellation demonstrates concern over human rights violations in paragraphs 27 and 28 of the article, saying, "We are seriously concerned about human rights in Zimbabwe", and "There are abductions, arrests and assaults on civil society and opposition activists". Howe used words such as "concerned" to emphasise the degree of human rights abuses in Zimbabwe. Howe attracts the readers' attention to this fact and negatively charges and evaluates human rights violations. Expressions such as "abductions," "arrests" and "assaults" express an element of worry over what is happening in Zimbabwe. The word "seriously" makes the statement more convincing to readers because such behaviour affects the normalisation of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Howe acknowledges giving financial support to Zimbabwean civil society organisations. This serves the purpose of accountability in matters concerning human rights (paragraph 30). Howe's statement implies a negative evaluation of the government and suggests trust in civil society organisations to make the readers believe in the efforts to make the state accountable. In paragraph 31, Howe uses the word "however" to depict a good image of the UK and to make his stance authoritative concerning supporting Zimbabwe through the United Nations. This is done in this statement, "He said the UK would, however, continue supporting Zimbabwe through United Nations agencies". The statement positively aligns the UK and the United

Nations associated with upholding human rights and financial assistance to Zimbabwe. Britain is portrayed as authoritative by monitoring the human rights situation in Zimbabwe.

I have identified five main sets of constellations in this article: POLAD, US Treasury Department, Mangwana, Howe and *The Standard*. The general patterns discovered in this article through the established constellations centre on the non-implementation of reforms, which illustrates the unfavourable position of the Zimbabwean government in the POLAD report. Another emerging trend reflects Mangwana's stance on the proposed rescue package by the United Kingdom. As presented in the article, the language used by the government spokesperson demonstrates Zimbabwe's attempt to distance itself from Britain's statements. Human rights violations manifest as one of the emerging trends. Minister Howe emphasises the need to put an end to government officials' mistreatment of civilians. The United Kingdom is portrayed as having the ability and authority to monitor human rights violations in Zimbabwe.

#### **7.3.4 Conclusion**

The article uses contractive dialogic resources such as Deny, Counter, and Endorse for positive and negative evaluations by the POLAD Report, US Treasury Department, Nick Mangwana and Minister Howe. Howe uses Attitude and Graduation resources to express self-praise and achievement of the UK's government for a positive evaluation. The cosmologies established in this article concern the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK regarding removing the UK's restrictive measures against Zimbabwe and implementing economic and political reforms by the government of Zimbabwe.

The Mangwana constellation reflects the need for the removal of impediments against Zimbabwe. The government spokesperson Mangwana claimed that Zimbabwe is not after a rescue package from Britain but removing sanctions. It shows Zimbabwe is against interventionism by Britain as, in this example, "We have only asked for a fair chance to develop our country by having the impediments placed against us to be an unhindered member of the community of nations removed". The example indicates disaligning with Britain's stance to see a genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe. The words "we have" indicate individuation on Zimbabwe's part in distancing itself from the statements made by Britain.

The statements made by Howe and Mangwana reveal differences in what is being targeted by the two governments. Zimbabwe targets the removal of sanctions, whereas Britain is after genuine reforms, as in "I agree that we must continue to give hope and encouragement to all

those who want to see genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe”. The statement is associated with the UK’s positively charged constellation, aligned with human rights, reforms and rescue package values. In most instances, Howe’s language involves Graduation to demonstrate the degree of commitment and responsibility towards the citizens of Zimbabwe. Howe negatively charges human rights violations and intends to depict a negative picture of Zimbabwe in the readers’ minds.

Most of the terms associated with Zimbabwe reveal both positive and negative charging. The headline’s word “choice” indicates that Mnangagwa has no other option, negatively charging him in the Howe constellation, POLAD, and the US constellation. In the same headline, the word “reforms” is used to remind the Zimbabwean leader to implement the reform agenda to stabilise the political and economic crisis in the country. It indicates that these words are constellated with Mnangagwa, who is called to implement reforms. Howe gives Zimbabwe the responsibility to “implement genuine political and economic reforms”. On the whole, the article negatively evaluates the Zimbabwean government, and the POLAD Report is critical towards the government of Zimbabwe due to its slow pace in implementing the reforms.

The constellation aims to clarify how Britain contributes to the positioning of Zimbabwe. The article mentions that the UK “might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year”. The words “sanctions” and “reforms” represent Britain favourably, demonstrating a favourable assessment and agreement with the source and target. At the same time, readers who regard sanctions and changes as oppressive judge them adversely. However, words such as “tighten” depict an unfavourable light on the UK, implying that certain conditions must be met to get the rescue package. If the reforms are not implemented, the usage of “might” indicates doubt and a lack of hope. As a result, readers exposed to these statements align with the idea and positively charge the stance taken by the UK.

#### **7.4 Conclusion: *The Standard* – fine-grained analysis**

The analyses of *The Standard* articles establish findings concerning the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic ties. The articles indicate that the normalisation of relations would require much more diplomatic work than *The Herald* suggests. In other words, they paint a much more negative picture of the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK than in *The Herald*. The articles “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice” and “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit” were published in 2020. Yet, they give very different impressions of the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK.

Readers in their public sphere need to decide the extent to which each of these depictions matches reality.

The first article depicts Catriona Laing as hard on the Zimbabwean government. The government of Zimbabwe under Mugabe is constellated with the disappearance of political activists, the absence of law and a track record on economic reforms, which is significant in removing the restrictive measures against Zimbabwe. Laing draws attention to the fact that progress on these factors is needed. Laing does not affiliate entirely with the government of Zimbabwe but uses negative charging to describe the situation in the country. The UK is constellated with development programmes, British businesses, normal relations, no bailouts for Zimbabwe, reform process and immigration policies.

The second article portrays POLAD as critical towards the Zimbabwean government. The POLAD constellations and the Howe constellations negatively charge Mnangagwa concerning the delay in addressing the volatile situation in Zimbabwe. Howe's use of "we" to refer to the UK signifies the exerting of dominance over Zimbabwe. The UK uses soft power to portray itself as understanding and sympathetic towards the Zimbabwean people while telling the world that the Zimbabwean government has failed its people. The reporting of diplomatic relations describes the intervention strategies used by Britain to position itself positively while portraying Zimbabwe both negatively and positively. *As a privately-owned newspaper, The Standard* covers the causes of the sour relations between the two countries. The underlying principles are differences in practice concerning governance and the rule of law, which creates public sphere debates regarding judgements towards the two countries and how they are related. The UK is portrayed as waiting for Zimbabwe to implement reforms and stop persecuting anti-government activists who take action rather than develop policies.

The acts of violence may cause distrust in readers concerning the Zimbabwean government leaders and their values. The government's involvement in torturing the opposition party members and killing protesters creates mistrust within the readers. This may influence readers to favour the UK instead of the Zimbabwean government in public sphere discussions. The delay in reform processes engages the public in debates that affect their involvement in matters that concerns their livelihoods.

The analysis reveals cosmologies that are against the slow pace in implementing the reform agenda. The coverage of diplomatic relations reveals axiological meanings emerging from the concerns of Mnangagwa's allies. By representing POLAD in this way, *The Standard* portrays

Mnangagwa as so resistant to reforms that even his allies criticise him. The POLAD is committed to mending the broken ties by encouraging Zimbabwe's government to respect the rule of law and human rights. The non-violent approach used by the allies triggers a positive public engagement, giving readers hope.

*The Standard* negatively portrays the government of Mnangagwa. The terms "support" and "concerned" explain why ties cannot yet be normalised. At the same time, the following terms, "torture" and "abductions", are associated with Zimbabwe's militarisation of the state and are about Zimbabwean officials' actions. As a result, exposing crimes committed by government officials would encourage readers to criticise the Zimbabwean government. The Appraisal analysis shows how multiple voices combine to contribute to a prosody of negative Judgement towards the Zimbabwe government. The portrayal in *The Standard* suggests that the Zimbabwean government is unwilling to implement further reforms. *The Standard* does not seem to have expressed a position about whether or not the sanctions should be removed and the Zimbabwean government's reform agenda.

The articles position Zimbabwe as unwilling to implement the reforms. Mnangagwa and his government are negatively portrayed in both articles regarding the pace of reforms and observing the rule of law in Zimbabwe. Even the POLAD committee negatively positions the Zimbabwe government regarding its reform pace. Laing expresses concern over the progress of governance, human rights and a track record of economic reforms. In other words, Britain's assistance is based on Zimbabwe's implementation.

The positioning of the UK and Zimbabwe influences the public sphere regarding the no bailout and reforms-only choice concepts. The positioning encourages advocacy for reforms to end sanctions against Zimbabwe in the public domain, and it permits the public sphere to dispute the discourse and express their views on the Zimbabwean reform process and human rights issues. The articles portray Zimbabwe in an unfavourable light due to the failure to enact reforms and human rights violations. The USA, POLAD, Howe, and *The Standard* are all linked to unfavourable reporting on Zimbabwe, which could persuade readers to agree with their viewpoints. Laing stated that reform implementation is a prerequisite for the removal of sanctions. Laing expresses her point of view by closing the dialogic space to convince her audience to agree with her views without question. The United Kingdom is positioned as one of the most significant contributors to Zimbabwe regarding trade and development assistance. The UK is clear that it will only help Zimbabweans and does not consider the Zimbabwean

government a top priority. The general trend establishes criticism of the Zimbabwean government, the government's speed on reforms, human rights violations, and the absence of a record of economic reforms. Mangwana presents the United Kingdom as offering an unrequested rescue package to the Zimbabwean government. Mangwana's language indicates that he positively evaluates the Zimbabwean government using Counter and Deny resources to dispute the notion of a rescue package.

## CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the significant findings and conclusions drawn from the analyses. The study explored how Zimbabwean newspapers build readers' knowledge in their news reporting, focusing on how language positions Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations. The media has the potential to influence public opinion and values within a society (Habermas, 1991). The SFL perspective on meaning in language and the LCT perspective on how ideas are grouped to produce constellations play a significant role in interpreting what is published in the news articles analysed for this study. This study offers a way to understand how readers potentially realise dispositions valued in news reporting to know the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK. This reflection is significant in the axiological constellations built into the four news articles. The axiological constellations concern how positive and negative evaluations in a text are associated with other ideas and entities to build up contrasting value positions regarding a particular issue (Maton, 2014).

This is the first study to analyse constellations and cosmologies in news reporting on Zimbabwe. The constellations revealed some benefits in understanding reporting on diplomatic relations. The constellations built in the four articles demonstrate a clear distinction concerning the reform agenda. The constellations helped to map the representations of the UK and Zimbabwe regarding their stance on sanctions, human rights violations and Zimbabwe's reform agenda. The constellations show that Zimbabwe has made an outward show of implementing reforms and re-engaging with the UK; however, the UK expresses concerns about the non-implementation of these reforms. *The Herald's* news reporting reflects a cosmology that views Zimbabwe as reforming, while *The Standard* reflects a cosmology viewing the country's government as hesitant to reform. This knowledge helps Zimbabweans to reflect on matters concerning diplomatic relations and the conflict between the UK and Zimbabwe.

This comparative study offers significant insights into the nature of the linguistic and knowledge formations informing the potential dialogues between news reports and readers. The news reporters use language to evaluate, using the resources of Attitude, Graduation and Engagement. This provides the basis for exploring how knowledge is built through the analysis of constellations. The study takes a linguistic interest in the matter of positioning Zimbabwe

and the UK through analysis using Appraisal resources and the SFL concepts of affiliation, alignment and individuation. Analysing axiological constellations using concepts from SFL and LCT establishes values such as policy reforms, human rights and free and fair elections cultivated in news coverage of the UK and Zimbabwe’s diplomatic relations (Doran, 2020). SFL explains how the language choices made by news reporters function to make meanings, and LCT describes the underlying principles of the knowledge built into these articles (Maton, 2014). This is the first study to examine diplomatic relations using axiological constellation analysis of news articles.

The study reveals the significant linguistic resources used in building readers’ knowledge concerning diplomatic relations. In this conclusion, constellations, cosmologies (8.2), and more specific significant findings are consolidated and laid out in responses to the research questions (8.3). Limitations and directions for future research (8.4) are also noted, including the conclusion in section 8.5.

## 8.2. Constellations and cosmologies

This section summarises how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned in *The Herald* and *The Standard*. The corpus analysis of both newspapers reveals that both internal and external influences characterise the diplomatic relations between the two countries. I applied concepts from SFL and LCT to establish constellations of axiological meanings in the news articles, showing how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned concerning their relations. I identified the cosmologies I believe underlie the constellations found in each newspaper.

I found different constellations for fine-grained analysis from the four articles as described in Chapters Six and Seven. I compared findings from both publications, considering the constellations constructed in the news articles. Two sets of constellations are produced in three articles and five in one article. These constellations are positioned in different ways in relation to each other. The constellations demonstrate how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned concerning their diplomatic relations. Table 8.1 shows the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in *The Herald* and *The Standard*.

Table 8.1: Positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in constellations in *The Herald* and *The Standard*

Article	Publication	Positively charged	Negatively charged
Zim, the UK on cusp of breakthrough	<i>The Herald</i>	The UK, Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe

UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit	<i>The Herald</i>	Zimbabwe; reforms Trade Agreement	Zimbabwe; non-implementation of reforms, failures in governance, disregard for the rule of law, sanctions
No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador	<i>The Standard</i>	Diplomatic relations, investment ventures, economic and political reforms	violence, perpetrators of violence
Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice.	<i>The Standard</i>	Zimbabwe; reform agenda, Mnangagwa, UK relations, trade processes	Zimbabwe; embargoes, sanction list Rescue package

Figure 8.1 depicts the positioning of Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom and the constellations found in *The Herald* and *The Standard* news articles.

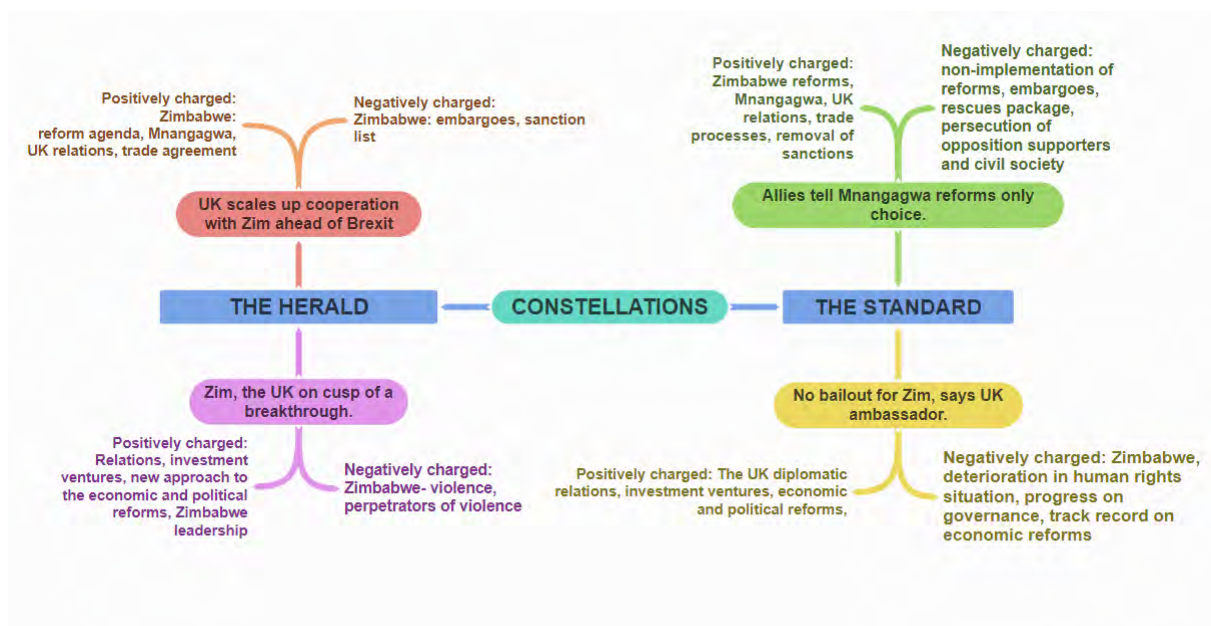


Figure 8.1: Positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in constellations in *The Herald* and *The Standard*

### 8.2.1 Constellations found in *The Herald*

Multiple perspectives helped to compare and contrast the constellations to establish the positioning of the two countries in the selected news articles. Through the Attitude and Engagement analyses, I identified how values and sources align and disalign with other ideas in the news articles, which resulted in axiological constellations depicting how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned.

The word “reforms” appears in all four articles, either positively or negatively charged. The word “reform” is used in all articles but seems to act as an empty signifier that can mean different things to the UK than it does to Zimbabwe. For example, the word “reform” is in Fast-Track Land Reform Programme, which the UK disaligns with. The people quoted in the articles seem to value the reforms and their significance in normalising their relations. In *The Herald*, Zimbabwe is often charged positively because of its willingness to implement the reforms to provide a better life for Zimbabweans. Mnangagwa is represented as committed to changing Zimbabwe through policies that promote democracy and good governance.

In the UK constellation, Baldwin condemns violent activities in Zimbabwe. She does so in a way that presents the Zimbabwean government as also being against violence. Baldwin commented on Mnangagwa’s new approach to economic and political reforms as positive progress towards reviving the diplomatic relationship between the two countries. However, the plan of holding free and fair elections aligns with Britain, hence Zimbabwe’s positive charging (see 6.2). This means that Britain is against any form of violence and has advised Zimbabwe to desist from violent activities.

Blair’s government is charged negatively because of not honouring the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement. Blair’s government was negatively evaluated based on its refusal to fund the land in Zimbabwe, resulting in souring relations between the two countries. Blair establishes a constellation built by the authorial voice in the article, which negatively charges the behaviour of Blair’s government for not fulfilling the obligations committed under the Lancaster House agreement.

The article “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit” reports on the historic trade agreement between Zimbabwe and the UK to promote farming activities in Zimbabwe and trade between the two countries in general. Robinson cites specific examples of improving trade that come from the agricultural sector. The EPA is positively charged and constellated with a re-engagement drive, economic revival strategy and the agricultural sector. Robinson uses positive: Inclination as a strategy to persuade Mnangagwa to fully utilise the trading opportunities associated with signing the new trade agreement. This plays a significant role in upscaling Intensification and Quantification to strengthen Robinson’s Attitude instantiations. Robinson intends to depict a good picture of the UK in the readers’ minds to strengthen Zimbabwe’s economic recovery.

### 8.2.1.1 Cosmology underlying *The Herald's* coverage

*The Herald* and *The Standard's* cosmologies appear to value economic and political reforms and describe what are considered obstacles in implementing these reforms. Before Mnangagwa, *The Herald* was believed to advance the agenda of the ruling government as opposed to *The Standard* (Mukasa, 2003). During the Mugabe era, news reporting was seen as supportive of the regime and against the opposition parties such as MDC. This study seems to provide evidence that in the Mnangagwa era, *The Herald's* coverage has continued to support the regime.

The cosmology that appears to be active in *The Herald* is that Zimbabwe is reforming. These organising principles influence readers and the public sphere to be reluctant to think that the government is implementing policies. Zimbabwe's government is positively positioned because of "plans to hold free and fair elections" and "transparent and fair mediated process around the land reform". However, the UK government "still had reservations about Zimbabwe's reforms".

The "acts of violence" cosmology affects most of the Zimbabwean youths and adults who feel betrayed by the political and economic system due to a lack of trust in political figures. The youths are influenced to participate in violent activities during the election period without focusing on their future. After elections, they are dumped and remain jobless or languish in jail for crimes committed during elections. Some of the adults are displaced from their homes, while others are affected mentally and physically due to the loss of loved ones during violent activities. Zimbabwe's government is portrayed as an entity that violates human rights and breaks the rule of law in the eyes of Zimbabweans (see 6.2).

The absence of the representation rule of law in the reporting of these newspapers may foster the proliferation of illegal activities, both violent and non-violent, so that their voices can be heard, bypassing democratic procedures. The newspapers' reporting on events that can reasonably be seen as flouting the rule of law or as being a consequence of the absence of the rule of law may discourage readers from engaging with the government through the usual channels open to them in a participatory democracy, such as through participation in peaceful protest. As a result, these readers may believe they must resort to violent activities to make their voices heard.

*The Herald* portrays Mnangagwa as fighting corruption and upholding the law and human rights. It also outlines the reform objective and the mechanisms for re-engagement. *The Herald* reports on the most recent changes to bilateral trade and opportunities for improvement. The two nations may be portrayed in a manner that is persuasive to the readership. On the basis of the news reports studied, the writer identifies Robinson, Baldwin, and Moyo as crucial players in the reconciliation between Harare and London through the implementation of development programs that benefit Zimbabweans and the government of Zimbabwe.

The UK values reforms but evaluates the Zimbabwean government negatively for not implementing these reforms quickly. In other words, the reforms are positively evaluated and charged within Baldwin's constellation (Zim-UK on cusp of breakthrough). Zimbabwe is positioned positively on the side of Britain in *The Herald* articles, where the government of Zimbabwe is depicted as proceeding with reforms.

To summarise, *The Herald's* reporting on the UK ambassador's words suggests that they have a cosmology that holds that *acts of violence are still occurring in Zimbabwe and must be condemned*. Another cosmology that seems to be active is *Zimbabwe is reforming*, which associates Mnangagwa's quest for re-engagement with the revival of diplomatic ties between Zimbabwe and the UK. These cosmologies influence the reader's understanding of the diplomatic ties between the UK and Zimbabwe.

#### 8.2.2 Constellations found in *The Standard*

“Reform” appears in all four articles, either positively or negatively charged. The word “reform” is used in all articles but seems to act as an empty signifier that can mean different things to the UK than it does to Zimbabwe. For example, the word “reform” is in Fast-Track Land Reform Programme, which the UK disaligns with. The people quoted in the articles seem to value the reforms and their significance in normalising their relations. In *The Standard*, Zimbabwe is often charged negatively because of its slowness in implementing reforms.

First, Zimbabwe is portrayed negatively more often than it is portrayed positively. It is portrayed negatively due to the non-implementation of the economic and political reforms, including violating human rights and the rule of law. The Zimbabwean government is portrayed negatively in *The Standard* and sometimes portrayed negatively in *The Herald*. *The Herald* generally presents a much more favourable impression of the diplomatic relations between the UK and Zimbabwe than *The Standard*. *The Standard* is the only publication that quotes leaders

from the opposition parties in the four articles for fine-grained analysis. The news articles tend to give significance to the UK for its role in assisting Zimbabwe and efforts to normalise relations between the two countries. This includes the development programmes run in Zimbabwe by the British government, especially in the horticulture sector, where Britain promotes Zimbabwean products in its market (see 6.3). However, Mangwana charged his country positively and expressed that Zimbabwe was not asking the UK for a financial rescue package (see 7.3).

POLAD is interesting because they are referred to as Mnangagwa's "allies" but, in fact, say many things that negatively charge the Zimbabwean government, positioning themselves as somewhere between the Zimbabwean government and western diplomats. The POLAD is not satisfied with the progress made by the government to rectify the challenges faced by Zimbabwe. Their report indicates the "consensus" among "the three diplomats and other agencies" they consulted that "speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms [is] a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing restrictive measures". The POLAD report negatively charged the Zimbabwean government and its leaders. The report emphasised urgency in addressing the matter of economic and political reforms, and the government is held responsible. The committee disaligns with the violation of human rights and the silence about these from the government of Zimbabwe.

Howe's negatively charged constellation in "Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice" criticises Mnangagwa's government. Howe reveals that Zimbabwe has the support of the UK through United Nations agencies. On the other hand, he emphasised that Britain maintains its stance against Mnangagwa regarding his government's slowness in implementing genuine political and economic reforms and its alleged human rights violations.

In *The Standard*, the Zimbabwe government is positioned negatively as not making fast enough progress with these reforms. The positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK appears in different ways, pointing to specific cosmologies within the newspapers' editorial slants.

On the other hand, readers who view sanctions as oppressive may negatively evaluate the UK. However, the term "tighten" negatively serves as a token of negative Security, which is a threat to Zimbabwe and "might" instantiates Expand: Entertain in "might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year". The collocation "might" is associated with Zimbabwe (see 5.2.4). It is a sign of uncertainty but leaves room for an alternative scenario in which reforms are implemented and the sanctions are not tightened. For example, the use of

Contract: Endorse in “we have made clear” supports the assertion and provides some reasoning supporting the proposition. Laing said, “As the UK, we have made clear our agreement will be dependent on progress on governance, the rule of law and human rights as well as a track record on economic reform” (7.2.2.2). The collocates of the UK, “made” and “clear”, seem crucial in establishing the relationship between the two countries (5.2.3). The collocate “made” refers to the commitment by the UK to ensure that human rights and the rule of law are observed in Zimbabwe. The word “clear” refers to Britain’s transparency towards giving financial assistance to Zimbabwe to clear its debts and budgetary support.

The newspapers report on the same diplomatic relations but do so in different ways, portraying them differently. This suggests that “the space of possibles” (Bourdieu, 1991:10) is wide open since individuals and countries are represented in the spaces. Other than countries, individuals such as Mangwana represent the government and its people since he positions himself as against the restrictive measures imposed on Zimbabwe (see Chapter Seven). Also, individuals like Baldwin, Robinson and Laing appear as diplomats representing their governments. In “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”, the UK is not accused of imposing sanctions; it is simply stated as a fact that sanctions exist.

In general, the UK is portrayed as a superpower that influences what should happen in Zimbabwe; for example, Howe said that the UK would continue supporting Zimbabwe through the United Nations agencies (7.3). Zimbabwe is depicted as a country experiencing challenges due to a lack of good governance and violation of human rights (see 6.2). The coverage of Zimbabwe and the UK is characterised by the conflict emanating from the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme and the non-implementation of the reforms by the Zimbabwean government. Both parties were to blame for this programme, resulting in a massive Zimbabwe crisis.

The concept of negativity appears in both newspapers, and this is common to most news coverage because negativity is considered a news value (Galtung & Ruge, 1975). Such a perspective intends to influence the readers’ values and create a public debate on the relations between the two countries (Siebörger, 2018). Because newspapers emphasise negative news, they report on negative actions by governments and leaders, often resulting in cynicism among ordinary citizens about the extent to which they are interested in meeting their needs. Negative actions represented in *The Standard* against government leaders may influence ordinary

citizens to lack trust in their leaders. Thus the implications of reporting on negative events may precipitate social unrest.

#### 8.2.2.1 Cosmology underlying *The Standard's* coverage

In *The Standard*, the cosmologies depict a general organising principle in news reporting. Individuals such as Sanyatwe and Ncube are negatively charged by the US Treasury Department and regarded as part of the problem, and other leaders whose character is wrong in the eyes of the people (see 7.3). The negatively charged things include violence against civilians, and non-implementation of the reforms, while reforms are charged positively (see 6.2). As a result, readers may disalign themselves from these negative things, including the problematic government and its supporters.

The acts of violence encourage readers to mistrust the government's leadership and their beliefs. Reader mistrust is fuelled by the government's complicity in the murder of demonstrators and the torture of opposition party members, which influences conversations in the public sphere that support the UK. The delay in reform procedures engages the public in arguments that influence their participation in topics pertaining to their livelihoods.

Another cosmology is that Zimbabwe is hesitant to reform. *The Standard* facilitates the idea of holding to account the Zimbabwe government to complete these reforms for democracy to prevail in the country. Given the intricate and varied nature of the context of the reform, various ideals and practices will result in conflicting or divergent cosmologies, such as "Zimbabwe is hesitant to reform" and "Zimbabwe is reforming". In Zimbabwe, the practice of democracy is constrained by values such as "non-implementation" and "snail's pace".

The coverage of diplomatic relations reveals axiological meanings emerging from the concerns of Mnangagwa's allies. By representing POLAD in this way, *The Standard* portrays Mnangagwa as resistant to reforms that even his allies criticise him for. The POLAD is committed to mending the broken ties by encouraging Zimbabwe's government to respect the rule of law and human rights. The non-violent approach used by the allies triggers a positive public engagement, giving readers hope. The people quoted in the articles seem to value the reforms and their significance in normalising their relations. In *The Standard*, Zimbabwe is often charged negatively because of its slowness in implementing reforms. In *The Herald*, Zimbabwe is often charged positively because of its willingness to implement the reforms to provide a better life for Zimbabweans. Mnangagwa is represented as committed to changing

Zimbabwe through policies that promote democracy and good governance. This is stated in one of *The Herald* articles, notably “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”, which contradicts this and portrays Mnangagwa as lacking commitment towards reforms. However, mentioning the non-implementation of reforms negatively charges Zimbabwe and Britain is portrayed as holding the former colony to account for it in the reforms.

Laing’s constellation aligns with the UK being the largest donor supporting humanitarian programmes in Zimbabwe and the huge contribution made by Zimbabweans in the UK health sector. Laing used Quantification: Number, and Mass to express the size of Britain’s contribution to Zimbabwe and to show that the UK is one of the countries that contributed most to Zimbabwe. Force resource charges positively the UK’s commitment and responsibility towards accommodating Zimbabweans in various sectors in Britain.

The cosmologies developed in *The Standard* include *Zimbabwe is hesitant to reform*. This cosmology is prevalent in *The Standard* because Howe and Polad highlight the non-implementation of reforms and the slowness in the implementation process. *The Standard*’s coverage of the US Treasury Department and Howe’s statements suggests that they have a cosmology that asserts that *acts of violence continue to occur in Zimbabwe and must be denounced*. The acts of violence detail the involvement of government leaders in the killing of demonstrators and torturing of opposition party members. These cosmologies have the potential to impact discussions and debates in the public sphere that revolve around the process of democratic transition in Zimbabwe.

### **8.3 Responses to research questions**

This section describes the research findings, responding to each research question. In this section, I respond to research questions introduced in Chapter One and show the responses.

**Question 1:** How is Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom positioned in news articles in *The Herald* and *The Standard* about diplomatic relations between these two countries?

Findings show that the UK is seen as more powerful than Zimbabwe. The power is portrayed through the fact that it is waiting to see further reforms in Zimbabwe before relaxing sanctions and strengthening the relationship with the Zimbabwean government. The relations between the two countries revolve around governance, the rule of law and ending human rights violations, and the UK not abiding by the Lancaster House agreement. Britain is “worried about

the lack of progress on living up to the foundations of the rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution” (7.2). Britain portrays itself as expecting these things.

Britain emphasises that Zimbabwe should show a higher commitment to upholding human rights. For example, Baldwin says, “We are keen to see that all perpetrators of any violent activities are pursued with the full force of the law” (see 6.2). The fact that Britain will not ease restrictive measures on the Zimbabwean government until reforms are implemented shows the UK’s power over Zimbabwe. In other words, Zimbabwe is expected to continue implementing reforms to ensure a smooth re-engagement process and normalisation of relations.

The impasse between the two governments was at its height during the Mugabe regime. However, Mnangagwa’s coming changed the discourse and was seen as an opportunity to resolve the conflict. Minister Baldwin said, “The UK Government was encouraged by President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms”. Britain wants to see Zimbabwe free from violence and continues implementing reforms.

*The Herald* coverage aims at promoting unity between the two countries, as reflected by Mnangagwa, “Zimbabwe has made it clear that it is willing to walk the talk on the reform agenda, which is a process that cannot be finalised like an event”. In this statement, Mnangagwa suggests his willingness to continue with reforms, although this is questioned in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”.

**Question 2:** How is the positioning of Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom realised in the language used by each newspaper?

I respond to Research Question 2 by focusing on the kinds of Appraisal resources used to position Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations. The findings acknowledge the use of positive Attitude resources in the news articles to recognise the will to mend the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. Heteroglossic Engagement resources were used to reflect Britain’s firm stance and position in relation to other voices.

Diplomatic relations are reinforced through soft power to achieve set goals. *The Standard* used negative Propriety and negative Security to position Zimbabwe. *The Standard* gave quite a negative impression of the relations. Negative Security demonstrates the lack of trust in upholding the rule of law and indicates informally that Ncube has been punished. For example, the word “punished” inscribes negative Propriety towards the actions of Sanyatwe during the demonstrations. The Judgement is also supported by an invoked negative Propriety in

“directing soldiers that shot to death six protestors”. The reporter relayed negative Judgement expressed by the US government.

Britain is also positively appraised in *The Standard* Tenacity and Capacity. The UK’s dominance plays a critical role in the coverage of diplomatic relations in the two publications. Laing responses create positive images and representations of Britain to Zimbabweans and legitimise its voice. The words “commitment”, which instantiates positive Tenacity, and “helping”, which inscribes positive Capacity, were used to show Britain’s powerful impetus towards releasing large amounts of money to the government of Zimbabwe. The strong incentive underlines the UK’s commitment to providing financial support if the reforms proceed quickly.

*The Herald* employs Attitude resources to express evaluation of the diplomatic relations so that they can challenge or appreciate the relations between the two countries. Positive Reaction and Positive Satisfaction were used most to appraise Zimbabwe in *The Herald*. I conclude that *The Herald* paints a positive picture of the relations to justify the mutual understanding of the history of their bilateral ties through a positive Attitude.

Graduation resources were used more often to upscale and downscale instantiations of Attitude. Positive Attitude is used to instantiate upscaled intensification Force to indicate a positive evaluation of the new approach initiated by Mnangagwa. The phrase “very pleased” demonstrates Britain’s positive Attitude towards Zimbabwe’s plans to hold free and fair elections and implement economic and political reforms (see 6.2). In *The Standard*, Quantification: Number describes the number of Zimbabweans receiving help from the UK, strengthens the evaluation, and shows positive values associated with the UK (see 7.2). In *The Herald*, Graduation upscaling Intensification is invoked in words such as “very much” and “very important”, inscribing upscaled positive: Valuation to align and affiliate with the new era (6.2). Force is used to show the extent of the diplomatic relations and how Britain positively supports development programmes in Zimbabwe. Intensification seems to persuade readers and positively positions Britain and the development programmes coupled with it.

*The Standard* coverage uses dialogic contraction resources Deny and Counter for negative criticism by Laing, POLAD, Howe and the US while addressing the government of Zimbabwe, reforms and human rights abuses. This is supported by the collocate “no” which portrays the UK’s position concerning the humanitarian support given to Zimbabwe, which excludes the clearing of debts (see 5.2.3). The analysis indicates that negative Attitude is linked to dialogic

contraction. Using these resources, they intend to express responsibility for their criticism of the Zimbabwean government and the slow pace of reforms.

Mangwana uses the Contract: Counter to criticise the UK's stance on giving Zimbabwe a rescue package, which is unsolicited by the government of Zimbabwe (see 7.3). Equally, these Contraction resources depict a negative picture of Zimbabwe that is hesitant to implement reforms and reverse human rights abuses. By employing negative critique, it is implied that POLAD, Howe, Mangwana, *The Standard*, and The US present their arguments in a way that minimises the involvement of other parties and persuades their readers to accept their viewpoints without hesitation.

Positive Attitude is associated with contraction resources Concur, Pronounce and Endorse, which are used for self-evaluation by Howe and Laing to express their achievements and praise themselves. The UK representatives often express their commitment and responsibility throughout the articles using Concur. Howe uses Pronounce in his self-evaluations of the UK and himself. Utilising the Concur resource attests to the assertions' originality and supports their self-evaluations.

The Dialogic Expand tools were utilised to express the speakers' responsibility for their criticism. In *The Herald*, Expand: Entertain is used more often to show a positive alignment and affiliation towards Mnangagwa's new approach in Zimbabwe. Expand: Acknowledge reinforces the UK's position towards normalising the relations between the two countries. Baldwin and Robinson favoured utilising Expansion resources to share propositional responsibilities with other alternative speakers. The expansion resources allow diplomats to frequently engage other voices in dialogue and gain support from their readers.

**Question 3:** What are the similarities and differences between *The Herald* and *The Standard's* representation of diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom in the news articles?

Findings reveal similarities in the representation of the countries involved in bilateral relations in the two newspapers. In *The Herald*, Zimbabwe is portrayed as implementing reforms, and in *The Standard*, it is portrayed as hesitant to implement reforms.

*The Herald* primarily reflects the relationship between the UK and Zimbabwe as good, positively appraising both governments. In contrast, *The Standard* paints a negative picture of the relationship and negatively appraises the Zimbabwean government. The collocation

“Zimbabwean” refers to Zimbabweans living in the UK and Zimbabwean products in the UK market. Also, the word “envoy” shows the interest of the UK government in sending various diplomatic envoys to Zimbabwe to explore ways of mending relations and areas of need to improve the lives of Zimbabweans (see Chapter Five).

I saw that *The Standard* positions the Zimbabwean government negatively far more than it positions it positively. *The Standard* seeks to hold the Zimbabwean government accountable by reporting how it is viewed through the eyes of foreign diplomats. For example, “The three diplomats and other agencies met by the POLAD committee were not flattering in their assessments of the government’s track record”. Instead of being completely neutral, *The Standard* reflects the Zimbabwe government’s faults back to that government and its readers.

**Question 4:** How do articles in *The Herald* and *The Standard* contribute to readers’ knowledge about the diplomatic relations between Zimbabwe and the UK?

The Zimbabwean media influences public opinion by creating negative and positive images of diplomatic relations between the UK and Zimbabwe. Furthermore, the UK uses the newspapers to position Zimbabwe to influence public opinion through their ideologies as political actors. This agrees with Cohen (cited in Coban, 2016:7), who asserts that mass media has become a platform where politicians advance their negotiations to persuade and manipulate the global public spheres and other governments. The impact of media coverage on diplomatic matters might negatively impact relations between the government and the public. The representation of the relations is governed by the language used to create positive or negative images and change the diplomatic narrative.

In both newspapers, Britain perceived its developed image as likeable to Zimbabwe soon after the soft coup in which Mnangagwa assumed the presidency and used soft power to build attitude change in the citizens of Zimbabwe. I discovered that the media covers both positive, negative and neutral content to construct an image of a country or group of people. Hence news coverage plays a significant role in producing knowledge among everyday citizens concerned with diplomatic relations. Soft power is a tool used by the media to achieve freedom and democracy to liberate the disadvantaged people of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is exercising soft power to create an image of the country as an entity willing to normalise relations with its former coloniser. *The Standard* mentions that Britain empowers marginalised citizens through funding and assisting development programs in Zimbabwe. I found out that the news reporting covers instances where the UK selectively aligns and affiliates with the policies of Zimbabwe

to exert its power over Zimbabwe, for example, the approval of the economic and political reforms. As a result, the newspaper is used to advance negotiations to persuade Zimbabwe to implement the reforms for the benefit of the citizens and to influence public opinion.

My study agrees with Habermas (1991), who maintains that the bourgeois public sphere is composed of social spaces where individuals commune to deliberate on their everyday public affairs and organise against arbitrary and oppressive forms of social and public power. I realised that the concept of multiple public spheres is significant in promoting democracy and inclusivity in matters involving the public for the sake of agreement, which means the media can propagate peace among citizens by playing a decisive role in their coverage. Equally, if there is disagreement in the public sphere, the debate can lead to better responses to matters of public interest. During the 2017 Mugabe-Mnangagwa transition period, the private-owned newspapers advanced the peacebuilding agenda in Zimbabwe through a positive portrayal of the mass demonstrations and the coup (2.4) The newspapers are a source of information needed by citizens to defend their democracy and political decisions. For example, the reporting of the August 1 killings in 2018 by both the private-owned and state-owned newspapers led civil society and the religious fraternity to call for an investigation. The involvement of civil society advances democracy by allowing the public to deliberate on and respond to government matters without victimisation.

Zimbabwe's media representation covers stories with content that constructs a positive image of the country to promote good relations with the UK. For instance, Howe says, "Therefore, the onus must remain on the country's government to demonstrate a true commitment to change" (7.3). I suggest that media discourse contributes to knowledge building through the judgements and evaluations made in journalists' news coverage. However, political reforms still impede normalising the relations between the two countries. I found out that news media is critical in reporting challenges in countries. The people of Zimbabwe are informed of the decisions taken by the government through the media.

The government of Zimbabwe, through Nick Mangwana, uses the media to set its agenda known to the public and pursue its goals in "Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice" (see 7.3). Nick Mangwana claims that Zimbabwe is not seeking a rescue package but rather the removal of sanctions by the UK. The impact of news media influences public opinion and creates the image and identity of a country. Mangwana exercises power indirectly to represent the Zimbabwe government positively in *The Standard*. For instance, "We have not asked for a

rescue package consideration from the British government, and we are not in the process of developing such a consideration”. Mangwana’s statement depicts positive self-representation to convince the people of Zimbabwe about not asking for a rescue package but the removal of sanctions regarding the situation in Zimbabwe.

The positive depiction of Zimbabwe in terms of reform policies is clearly defined in both newspapers. However, Zimbabwe is negatively portrayed due to the reforms' non-implementation and human rights violations, including the August 1 killings in 2018. Britain’s intentions in helping Zimbabwe appear to be honest; for example, Howe and others clearly distinguish between helping “Zimbabwe”, which they are willing to do, and helping the Zimbabwean government, which they are unwilling to do unless reforms are implemented. Language is used to reinforce the UK’s position and manipulate some of the stances taken by that country. Britain used positive self-representation, for example, in the statement, “Our agreement will be dependent on progress on governance, the rule of law and human rights, and a track record on economic reform”, which is evident in the interview between *The Standard* and Catriona Laing (7.2). Britain positions itself positively by making a solid commitment to providing financial assistance to Zimbabwe if reforms progress. The UK is opposed to providing Zimbabwe with financial assistance and substantial sums of money to pay off its debt. As a result, Britain is communicating a stance against the Zimbabwean government.

Britain reprimanded Zimbabwe by setting standards that should be fulfilled to normalise the relations. Zimbabwe is expected to observe human rights and the rule of law for democracy to prevail. As reported in both newspapers, the UK exercises power over Zimbabwe to pursue its goal of democratic reforms in the country, including objectives such as free and fair elections. Hill (2001) puts it correctly, “It was in Zimbabwe where the limits of British influence were most sharply exposed ... ultimately Britain was shown up as having responsibility but not power” (cited in Taylor & Williams, 2002). I conclude that Britain acts as a watchdog to oversee matters affecting the citizens of Zimbabwe, and it wields a certain amount of power over Zimbabwe, as evidenced in the news articles. One of the main ways that it does so is through sanctions and other restrictive measures. However, Britain cannot determine what the Zimbabwean government does or how it responds to the external pressures the UK exerts on it. The collocate “human rights” appears in both newspapers, and it collocates with the UK and is ranked number seven in *The Standard* corpus. It is associated with violations of human rights in Zimbabwe. Britain perceives unfair electoral processes and abuse of opposition supporters as violating human rights in Zimbabwe.

**Question 5a:** What implications do the answers to the above questions have for the theorising of language using SFL?

I analysed my data using LCT and SFL to describe how readers' knowledge of diplomatic relations is built and how language is used in building this kind of knowledge in *The Herald* and *The Standard*. Drawing from SFL and LCT, this study represents a new approach to analysing media content. The complementary analyses helped me examine the relationship between LCT and SFL to build methodological knowledge in which these two frameworks can be used together. I used Doran's (2020) method of axiological constellation analysis to analyse data using the two frameworks. Concepts from SFL and LCT were enacted in this study to establish the constellations and axiological meanings emanating from the positioning of the two countries in the news articles.

Firstly, the Appraisal resources reveal contrastive patterns, constituting different bases for positioning Zimbabwe and the UK in the data set. They define how each article is used to affiliate with certain readers and individuate away from others. The analyses identify the basis for understanding the constellations formed around the two countries. Each data set revealed ideas, terms, sources, and targets on a significant debate/matter of concern about Zimbabwe and the UK. The Attitude and Engagement systems revealed the target, source and the charging of the information and helped to understand the connection between different linguistic resources described in SFL.

In relation to the first contribution, novel findings arise from analyses using Attitude, Graduation and Engagement systems. I found out that Graduation resources were not described or used in Doran (2020). However, they play a significant role in analysing positioning in news articles and describing how the reporter uses linguistic resources to intensify the proposition of the text. In this regard, the significant contribution is that Graduation can be used to add nuance to an SFL and LCT analysis using Doran's method. For example, Laing uses numbers to strengthen the evaluation of diplomatic relations and show positive values associated with the UK. For example, "helping hundreds of thousands" upscales Quantification: Number to describe the number of Zimbabweans receiving help from the UK (7.3). Upscaling Force shows the extent of the relationship and how Britain positively supports development programmes in Zimbabwe. As a result, the readers subscribe to the expression, and a positive alignment is realised, making it challenging to go against Ms Laing's statement. Because of this, Graduation

tools contributed to the development of constellations in relation to the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK.

I found that the reporters used many more strong instantiations of upscaling Intensification, such as “very” and “extremely” compared to downscaling markers like “a bit”. This suggests that Laing gave her opinions in the interview and could also give clear views on behalf of the UK. This applies to all the articles analysed, since people gave their opinions concerning the matters between the two countries. These stronger markers of Intensification are used to express a strong commitment towards ending human rights violations and implementing reforms by the government of Zimbabwe. I found a solid upscaling Force coupled with positive and negative Attitudes in the news coverage.

The Attitude analysis revealed both the language and identifying the sources and targets in the news articles that contributed to the positioning of the two countries. The news writers inscribe and provoke attitudes toward Zimbabwe and the UK to build positively and negatively charged constellations of meanings. In one example, “disappointing” describes Zimbabwe as unfairly treated by the UK. Similarly, the phrase “huge potential” signifies an upscaled positive Reaction because the thing that is evaluated is not a present reality yet (see 7.2.2.1). Laing uses “very” to intensify the positive evaluation of a “deep relationship” (see 7.2.2.1). Attitude analysis shows consistent negative charging and evaluation used to disalign with sanctions. The choice of language represents Zimbabwe as suffering from the negative experiences of the imposed sanctions.

I found that Engagement analysis helped reveal how charged meanings align and disalign with other ideas in the news articles. The news reporters used projection to align sources with the projected propositions to charge these propositions positively or negatively. In the article “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador” (7.2), Laing says “think” and “prefer”, so these are uses of Entertain which are used by Laing herself to describe particular scenarios. Here Laing entertains the idea that “the situation could be improved”, aligning herself with a future scenario in which the situation is better. The projection of the idea indicates positive charging through Laing’s alignment with this idea.

The articles used heteroglossic Proclaim to align a statement and source to a specific idea through statements that justify or elaborate on the diplomatic relations. In the articles, Proclaim: Justify appeared utilising conjunctions that establish the causal connection between ideas and their sources. For example, “**Therefore**, the onus must remain on the government of that

country to demonstrate a true commitment to change” (7.3) and “so, it is something which is very important as a signal to international investors” (see 6.2) The above statements reinforced the relationship between the source and the idea, thereby creating a positively charged bond. I found that these instances appeared throughout the data set, where the involved parties felt the need to justify their action.

I noted the use of heteroglossic Disclaim to signal opposition between Nick Mangwana and the idea of a rescue package in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice” through the use of negation such as “we have not asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government, and we are not in the process of developing such a consideration” (see 7.3). Mangwana used negation to disalign with the idea of a rescue package from the government of Britain. Mangwana negatively charges the rescue package by disaligning with it. The negation is evident throughout the data set where opposition is experienced between a source Mangwana and an idea rescue package.

**Question 5b:** What implications do the answers to the above questions have for the theorising of knowledge building using LCT?

Doran’s (2020) method is most suitable for identifying binary constellations. Doran’s method enabled me to find five sets of constellations in “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice” (see 7.3). The linguistic choices of news reporters decide whether terms or ideas are positively or negatively aligned to Zimbabwe or the UK. Doran’s (2020) method is designed to identify sets of binary constellations, but it can be used to find many different sets of constellations built by different sources in heteroglossic news articles. The linguistic resources influence how knowledge is built and show various clusters associated with Zimbabwe and the UK, later put together to form constellations based on the news reporter’s cosmologies. The constellation analysis concerns how these charged meanings are connected to the other information in the news articles to expand these axiological constellations.

The research demonstrates how language builds readers’ knowledge through constructed constellations. Doran’s method helped reveal Zimbabwe’s and UK’s positive/negative positioning regarding their diplomatic relations.

The constellation associated with Zimbabwe shows some elements of willingness and commitment toward rebuilding the country. The information in these constellations paints a new image of Zimbabwe in the eyes of the UK. For example, Mnangagwa is represented as

demonstrating the will to implement the reform agenda, holding free and fair elections and a transparent land redistribution process. On the other hand, Mangwana articulates a government position of rejecting a rescue package but seeking the removal of sanctions by Britain and its allies. The knowledge emanating from these articles reflects discord on the position of Zimbabwe.

Five constellations were identified after mapping constellations in “Allies tell Mnangagwa only choice”, as shown in the diagram below. Figure 7.1 shows five different constellations representing the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their relations. In his study, Doran (2020) could not reveal more than two constellations. The Mangwana and *The Standard* constellation show possible contradictions concerning the way forward. The POLAD constellation emphasises the re-engagement drive and the implementation of the reforms as yardsticks to the removal of sanctions, where President Mnangagwa is encouraged to fast-track the process because of its slow progression.

On the contrary, Mangwana was quoted saying, “We have not asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government, and we are not in the process of developing such a consideration.” This positively charges Mangwana’s constellation and supports Zimbabwe’s idea of removing sanctions in Zimbabwe. The use of the phrase “rescue package consideration” is contrasted by Mangwana with the removal of sanctions. Mangwana indicates commitment regarding the process of not considering a rescue package. Mangwana is relaying the Zimbabwe government’s position towards sanctions. Mangwana disaligns from the idea of a rescue package but does seek to affiliate with readers around the idea of Zimbabwe being given a fair chance to develop free of sanctions. Figure 7.1 signifies that while Mangwana evaluates the Zim government positively, all the other sources evaluate it negatively.

The constellation associated with the UK depicts the need to implement the reform agenda by the Zimbabwe government to normalise the situation in the country. Britain is represented as extending a hand of help to boost the economy in Zimbabwe through new trade agreements and development funds in the agriculture sector.

Constellation analyses are essential in describing the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK, where many people disalign with Zimbabwe instead of the UK. The terms “human rights” and “the rule of law” appear in both constellations. These are favourable terms, but they negatively charge the Zimbabwean government because they suggest that it does not respect “human rights” or “the rule of law” in both constellations, resulting in opposing alignment and

affiliation. The term “human rights” is collocated with the UK referring to the violations of human rights by the government of Zimbabwe (see 5.2.3). The term “imposing sanctions” indicates opposing alignment with the community that accepts Zimbabwe is under reprimand and positive alignment with the community that accepts that the Zimbabwean government violated human rights and is rightly under reprimand. The collocation “imposed” is associated with the EU's sanctions on Zimbabwe supported by the UK (see 5.2.1).

**Question 5c:** What implications do the answers to the above questions have for the use of SFL and LCT as complementary frameworks for analysis?

Doran's method for discovering axiological constellations is still new and published work on it is limited. I piloted his method in a different context from the one he initially used: diplomatic relations between countries. The method helped me to discern multiple constellations in my analysis, whereas, in Doran's (2020) example, he found only two pairs of binary constellations. The analyses showed how *The Herald* and *The Standard*'s language choices build positions regarding Zimbabwe and the UK's roles in normalising or damaging their bilateral relations.

I used the three dynamics (zooming, refocusing, alternating) to address the tension between theory and data and the two theories. Maton et al. (2016) discussed three dynamics used to maintain tensions between theory and data and tension between two theories. The purpose is to have a productive dialogue rather than silence, which means that maintaining equilibrium is significant in terms of contact and integrity. I put into practice zooming, refocusing and alternating between familiarising myself with the theory and data to avoid a biased analysis and balance the frameworks to justify the results. Corpus analysis helped me familiarise myself with the data and the characteristics of *The Herald* and *The Standard* and establish the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations in the diplomatic newspapers (see Chapter Five). This was achieved using collocations to reveal the data patterns (see Chapter Four).

I addressed the tension of working with two complementary frameworks by *alternating* (Maton et al., 2016). I used the two frameworks to analyse the same data set separately, followed by a joint analysis using the two frameworks. I used Doran's (2020) method, which calls for an SFL first and an LCT analysis after this. Individual articles were analysed using SFL, followed by an LCT analysis of the same article. In simple terms, the SFL analysis established the linguistic resources used to show positioning in news articles. LCT analysis provides an understanding of diplomatic knowledge building realised within the article under analysis. This was achieved

by *alternating* from one framework to another (see Chapter Four), accounting for knowledge building and showing linguistic resources used for accomplishing this knowledge building.

The fine-grained analysis of individual articles required zooming, which involves moving from a wide-angle view of all data to a telephoto examination of micro-phenomena (Maton et al., 2016). To achieve this, I used corpus analysis to identify collocations in a large number of articles from each newspaper resulting from the wide-angle analysis. The significant trends were used to identify individual articles for fine-grained telephoto analysis using LCT and SFL. I moved from the scale of micro-analysis to a consideration of *The Herald* and *The Standard's* coverage as a whole to describe the cosmologies underlying their coverage. Refocusing enabled me to approach each article for fine-grained analysis first through soft-focus analysis, which began with general descriptions without enacting LCT and SFL on the individual articles. This is followed by SFL and LCT analysis of the articles (see Chapters Six and Seven; Figure 4.1).

The two frameworks resulted in findings drawing on the evaluation used in the articles and my description of the cosmologies underlying the constellations. SFL analysis described the linguistic resources used in positioning Zimbabwe and the UK concerning their diplomatic relations. LCT revealed cosmologies underlying *The Herald* and *The Standard's* news reporting on diplomatic relations. Tables in Chapters Six and Seven present the constellations that describe each source's positioning of the two countries.

**Question 6:** How can these findings assist in generating constructive dialogue among Zimbabweans regarding their country's diplomatic relations with the UK?

The linguistic resources affect the way knowledge is built in the news articles. In this section, I explain insights into which diplomatic positioning is approached in the thesis. Civil society organisations contribute to the creation of public spheres in Zimbabwe. These organisations distribute funds directed toward development programmes in Zimbabwe and facilitate spaces where citizens can discuss matters of public interest affecting everyone in the country. Zirima (2019) argues that the media involved civil society and academia in evaluating the meaning of the events during the transition period. This illustrates how media can propagate peace or violence among citizens by playing a decisive role in their coverage.

Civil society organisations could hold particular kinds of events or host particular kinds of forums that would help to put pressure on the Zimbabwean government to implement reforms. In comparison to political parties, civil society organisations have significant benefits over

political parties. They provide a platform for shared participation; therefore, debates between members in these groups are more likely to be constructive. These public spaces impact citizens' ability to mobilise and pressure the government to change its policies.

The language used in Zimbabwe and the UK's positioning by journalists has implications for the notion of power. The media are an alternative means of communication used by governments as a soft power resource to influence the readers about the nature of the relationship between them. *The Herald* and *The Standard* portray power relations between the countries and how the power is exerted. Based on the news articles studied, the readers can compare and contrast different opinions on re-engagement and reforms and evaluate them. People need critical literacy education to evaluate the information they receive from different perspectives, such as the state-owned and privately-owned media. This critical literacy education can be incorporated into the curricula for diplomats, journalists and school learners through teaching courses on governments and politics in global perspectives and international relations of African states. This critical literacy education would be significant in helping citizens to engage in democracy from a better-informed perspective. Through debates and public lectures, high school teachers and university lecturers can hold awareness campaigns concerning diplomatic ties in schools, colleges and universities. Civil society organisations can encourage dialogue in the public realm by holding in-person forums on subjects that particularly concern or interest their members. Such gatherings should be varied, bringing together people from various social and political backgrounds to increase knowledge of Zimbabwe-UK diplomatic ties. These encounters would encourage Zimbabweans to unite and support changes in the nation's policies.

Britain has chosen to channel funds to civil society organisations in Zimbabwe instead of the government. The organisations engage people to discuss matters concerning governance in Zimbabwe at various forums. Zimbabweans share their views on the matter and construct their meanings around them. The discussions encourage participants to influence the Zimbabwean Government's policies through activism and democratic participation. It can be argued that lower classes are not well-equipped to discuss matters of public interest on the same level as the elite, so their voices are not heard in a single public sphere (Fraser, 1992). Instead, public interest debates take place in many different public spheres. Frederikse (1982) noted that during the War of Independence in Zimbabwe, the lower class used the song as a means of engaging in an alternative public sphere to discuss and participate in matters of public concern. Members

of the lower classes can participate in separate alternative public spheres, which equips them to make their voices heard alongside those of the elite in the mainstream public sphere.

The findings are crucial in generating a constructive dialogue among Zimbabweans about their diplomatic relations with the UK in many senses. The readers' knowledge of the conflict's background, the previous things they have learned, and their lived experiences as Zimbabweans help them interpret the constellations. The background knowledge informs cosmologies and influences informal discussions at workplaces, homes, and streets. Readers interpret the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK differently, resulting in a public debate based on the interpretations and understandings of the matter. The news articles provide some knowledge which builds on readers' existing knowledge of the relations. This is done from a perspective influenced by news producers' cosmologies and unavoidably influences readers' perspectives on the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK. The media influences public opinion by carefully selecting linguistic resources in their coverage of events. Hence, language is instrumental in shaping public opinion through shared values and practices.

The findings revealed adverse reporting on sanctions imposed by the UK following what they perceived as human rights violations and the rule of law during the Fast-Track Land Reform Programme, which started in 2000. This reporting facilitates discussions in public spheres that describe adverse developments concerning the diplomatic relations between the two countries. For example, Mangwana's statement regarding the call for the removal of sanctions by Britain and its allies may damage the image of the UK in public debates (see 7.3). Equally, people may read of the UK's support for development programmes and civil society organisations and respect the UK's role in Zimbabwe more because of it. The Zimbabweans are led to believe that Britain failed to honour the Lancaster House Agreement that concerns the funding of the land redistribution process (see 6.2).

My research found that Britain employs soft power resources to convince the world that they are working hard to address Zimbabwe's problems while gaining support from other western countries. *The Herald* justifies Zimbabwe's fast-track land reform programme resulting from Britain's refusal to fund a land redistribution programme per the 1979 Lancaster House Agreement. *The Herald* creates an impression that the countries are heading towards this goal. *The Standard's* coverage paints a much more negative picture of the relations between Zimbabwe and the UK than in *The Herald*, and it emphasises the obstacles that still lie in the

way of realising it. However, according to Mnangagwa's new approach, Zimbabwe and the UK are portrayed as willing to fix the problems that affected their diplomatic relations.

#### **8.4 Limitations and directions for future research**

The data of this study were a whole corpus of news articles from *The Herald*, and *The Standard* collected from NewsBank. Out of this, four articles were selected for fine-grained analysis. This followed a principled methodology to find articles about diplomatic relations that were most representative of the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK in the two newspapers. However, more insights could be gained through fine-grained analysis of further articles.

The data revealed the positioning of Zimbabwe and the UK through the use of language and how sources affiliate, individuate and align with targeted information in the news articles. The study constitutes a critical complementary perspective on diplomatic and media discourse to that available in previous linguistic studies on a broader scale. The study was limited to examining how Zimbabwe and the UK are positioned in news articles concerning their diplomatic relations.

Several directions for future research are anticipated from the present study. Other studies could be done on how diplomatic relations are influenced by various interactions between the two countries, including sporting interactions and artistic and cultural exchanges. These could be possible foci for future research.

Other research could be done on media representations of the relations between the countries focusing on diplomats' speeches, Zimbabwe and Britain political parties, diplomatic interviews, press conferences and television programmes covering diplomatic relations and speeches of the leaders.

This study focuses only on news articles; hence, no interviews were conducted to establish the citizens' views. There is a possibility of eliciting citizens' views to gain more insights into what people think about the relationship between Zimbabwe and the UK. Eliciting more information from the citizens reveals the kind of relations shared between the two countries and areas of concern regarding mending diplomatic relations. The language used in reporting diplomatic relations between the two countries plays a critical role in the way people view this relationship. The language influences citizens to mobilise and pressure the government to transform policies in Zimbabwe. The language reveals that democracy is realised if ordinary citizens actively hold the government accountable for good governance.

One obvious extension of this research would be to explore the applicability of this study's research approach and findings to other newspapers and other media genres such as radio, television and news magazines. This study examined the use of language in knowledge building in news articles. Of particular relevance may be a comparative study of broadcast news channels. This can be an area of further study where more significant amounts of data from longer date spans of coverage are collected to identify trends associated with positioning.

## **8.5 Conclusion**

The study grew from my personal experience of the language used in news reporting. The language used in news reporting manifests itself in different settings, and I realised that language plays a vital role in shaping the image of a country or individual. My interest lies in the language and the kind of knowledge built in newspapers on Zimbabwe and the UK's diplomatic relations coverage. Understanding how communities, countries and individual feelings are positioned in news reporting provided a platform for understanding the dialogue between Zimbabwe and the UK regarding reforms, human rights and the rule of law. This thesis has shown that the UK government views the Zimbabwean government's apparent disrespect for the rule of law and slowness in implementing reforms as an impediment to reviving the relations between the two countries. The reforms are critical in upholding Zimbabwean's human rights and improving their living conditions. The UK indicates through various means that the restrictive measures will be lifted if further reforms occur in Zimbabwe. Such reforms are required to attain a positive alignment between Zimbabwe and Britain. However, observers such as the POLAD committee indicated as late as 2020 that reforms were proceeding too slowly.

I discovered that both newspapers promote the revival of relations between the UK and Zimbabwe. *The Herald* creates an impression that the countries are heading towards this goal, but *The Standard's* coverage emphasises the obstacles that still lie in the way of realising it. The coverage can facilitate vibrant public spheres to promote peace in Zimbabwe, but this is only possible if public-owned media like *The Herald* are read in conjunction with privately owned media like *The Standard* so that citizens have access to a range of perspectives on the relations between the UK and Zimbabwe. However, media news coverage does not guarantee the change of policies, but it can encourage and mobilise citizens to pressure the government of Zimbabwe into making policy changes.

The thesis has shed light on ways in which democracy in Zimbabwe can be stimulated, namely by engaging citizens in discussions about the country's progress with reforms by informing them of how these reforms are progressing and where obstacles to reforms lie. Britain lays down conditions about what has to be done by the government of Zimbabwe regarding good governance – for instance, having free and fair elections in Zimbabwe and observing the rule of law. Democracy is realised if ordinary citizens play an active role in holding the government accountable for good governance. Democratic participation must extend to a constructive discussion of economic policies to be followed. Citizens need space to discuss whether the economic policies advocated by countries such as the UK are the best for Zimbabwe to follow. Robinson emphasised urgency in upholding human rights for the betterment of Zimbabwe and creating trade opportunities with other countries. However, this is achieved when Zimbabwe implements policies that promote democracy and good governance.

Through writing this thesis, I have also discovered how public spheres can be promoted in communities. Telling the truth in news reporting enables the public to discuss matters concerning development in their country and communities in a more informed manner. *The Herald* and *The Standard* encode different perspectives on the same reality. It is important to ensure that many different perspectives are reflected in the news to facilitate better public sphere discussions. News reporting is discouraged from taking sides but should report the actual situation on the ground so that the public decides based on the events taking place. In *The Herald*, Zimbabwe is often charged positively because of its willingness to implement reforms to provide a better life for Zimbabweans. Mnangagwa is committed to changing Zimbabwe through policies promoting democracy and good governance. In *The Standard*, Zimbabwe is often negatively charged because of its slowness in implementing reforms. The impact of the circulation of news creates a negative image of Zimbabwe to its people, which might cause social unrest in communities. The impact might also change the discourse towards mobilising and pressuring the government for transformation in Zimbabwe.

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## APPENDIX 1: *The Herald* articles

### Article 1a: “UK, Zim on the cusp of breakthrough”

Zim, UK on cusp of breakthrough

President Mnangagwa welcomes British Minister of State for Africa Harriet Baldwin at his Munhumutapa offices in Harare yesterday. – (Picture by John Manzongo) **1**

- 2** Tendai Mugabe Senior Reporter British Prime Minister Theresa May has been impressed by statements made by President Mnangagwa so far on economic and political reforms, which have sent important signals around the world about the country’s readiness for investment, an official has said. **2**

This was revealed by Prime Minister May’s special envoy to President Mnangagwa, who is also the British Minister of State for Africa, Harriet Baldwin, following a high-level meeting she held with the President at his Munhumutapa offices yesterday. **3**

Minister Baldwin said Zimbabwe and Britain were on the cusp of a major diplomatic breakthrough that could see the two countries soon engaging in various investment ventures underpinned on mutual benefit and interest. She was in Zimbabwe making her first overseas official visit following her appointment as Minister of State for Africa in a Cabinet reshuffle last month. **4**

From the Zimbabwean side, the high-level meeting was attended by Foreign Affairs and International Trade Minister Lieutenant-General Sibusiso Moyo (Retired), Finance and Economic Development Minister Patrick Chinamasa, Deputy Chief Secretary to the President and Cabinet Colonel Christian Katsande (Retired), Director-General of the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) Ambassador Isaac Moyo and Foreign Affairs and International Trade Secretary Ambassador Joey Bimha. **5**

Minister Baldwin was accompanied by British Ambassador to Zimbabwe Ms Catriona Laing and head of the Department for International Development for Zimbabwe and South Africa Mr Annabel Gerry **6**

Briefing journalists after the meeting, Minister Baldwin said she had a cordial engagement with President Mnangagwa and was optimistic about the normalisation of relations between Harare and London. **7**

“I brought a message (from Prime Minister May) that the UK Government welcomes the messages we heard from the new President in terms of his programme for economic and political reforms and we are very pleased to hear that the plans are to hold free and fair elections in Zimbabwe later this year,” she said. **8**

“Obviously, we share with the Government of Zimbabwe our desire for there to be a situation where there is no violence at all on the ground. We condemn all violence and we are keen to see that all perpetrators of any violent activities are pursued with the full force of the law.” **9**

Minister Baldwin said her meeting with President Mnangagwa discussed wide-ranging issues on mutual relations and the new era in Zimbabwe. **10**

“I had a good meeting with the President and I have been able to say to him how much the UK welcomes the statements that he has been making to the media around the world about the future for Zimbabwe, the economic reforms and the plans for the free and fair elections this year,” she said. **11**

“We had wide ranging discussions about a range of other interests. The UK Government very much welcomes statements that have been made about land reform by the Government of Zimbabwe and we support a transparent and fair mediated process around that. So, it is something which is very important as a signal to international investors.” 12

Commenting on sanctions and Zimbabwe’s possible return to the Commonwealth, Minister Baldwin said: “These are all important issues and we are certainly all aware of these points that have been raised and as you know both of these processes are international processes and the message that we are hearing from the new Zimbabwe leadership is a very positive one and I am sure (we) will engage a wide range of international participants in terms of the steps of implementing changes in the future.” 13

Minister Baldwin said the UK Government was encouraged by President Mnangagwa’s new approach to the political and economic reforms. She said deliberations also touched on the recent visit to Zimbabwe by Commonwealth Development Corporation officials. 14

“The UK obviously already is very involved in (investment) through our Department of International Development in a wide range of assistance to projects right across Zimbabwe and we were also able to talk about the role of CDC organisation within the Department of International Development, which visited Zimbabwe recently and is able to invest in a wide range of projects in the private sector and I think with outline of economic and political reforms that the President has set out, this will send a strong signal to investors around the world,” said Minister Baldwin. 15

“As you know, the UK has made the decision to leave the European Union and take back control of our own international trade policies. We are very grateful for the engagement from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs here in trying to resolve and make straight forward the future trade arrangements we have with Zimbabwe. Globally, Britain is very much a champion of free trade and open markets.” 16

Minister Baldwin met Foreign Affairs and International Trade Minister Lieutenant General Sibusiso Moyo (Retired) on Thursday where they discussed ways of enhancing relations between Zimbabwe and the UK. 17

The relations soured at the turn of the millennium over the land issue in the wake of the refusal by the Labour administration of Mr Tony Blair to honour obligations entered into with the Tory administration of Margaret Thatcher in 1979. 18

## Article 1b: “UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit”

UK scales up cooperation with Zim ahead of Brexit

The United Kingdom (UK) wants to scale up trade and economic cooperation with Zimbabwe ahead of its official exit from the European Union (EU). 1

This was said by UK Ambassador to Zimbabwe Melanie Robinson after paying a courtesy call on Foreign Affairs and International Trade Minister Dr Sibusiso Moyo at his offices in Harare yesterday. 2

The thawing of relations between Zimbabwe and Britain and the envisaged boom in trade could further give impetus to Zimbabwe’s engagement and re-engagement drive. 3

Zimbabwe’s differences with many Western countries, especially those in the European Union, have largely been a result of disagreements with the United Kingdom, particularly over the land question. 4

The EU imposed embargoes on Zimbabwe in 2002 after the launch of the fast-track Land Reform Programme but had eased most of them by 2013 when 81 officials and eight local companies were struck off the sanctions list. 5

Zimbabwe and the UK recently signed an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) as relations between the two are appearing to improve, following President Mnangagwa’s stance of being “a friend of everyone and enemy of none”. 6

“We had a meeting with Honourable Minister SB Moyo, and this was an opportunity to meet I think for the last time, before the UK ends its transition period of leaving the EU,” said Ambassador Robinson. 7

“We talked about some of the opportunities between our countries. We have agreed on a new trade agreement which provides free and open access to Zimbabwean trade into the UK. 8

“Zimbabwe’s trade with the UK is always open. It was open under the EU. It’s now that we have a separate trade agreement, and that is an opportunity for us to deepen and widen in future.” 9

Ambassador Robinson said Zimbabwean products, especially from horticulture farmers, were doing well on the UK market and envisaged opening new frontiers for other farmers. 10

“One of the most successful Zimbabwean products in the UK is blueberries. There are many products that find themselves into the shelves of the UK and indeed we have a project with farmers here in Zimbabwe to help them meet UK standards and access markets in the UK and so we look forward to those exports growing and growing. 11

“What we are trying to do now more is to support Zimbabweans who are trying to trade in the UK is to connect them to those markets. 12

“We took a trade mission last year to connect horticulture farmers to supermarkets in the UK, we will continue to do those proactive things that will allow Zimbabwe’s trade to go up in the future with the UK.” 13

Ambassador Robinson said her government still had reservations on Zimbabwe’s

reforms and implored the Government to keep driving forward, the implementation of the reforms. 14

In a statement, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade said: “In a marathon meeting that saw discussions range from the usual topics of human rights, corruption and rule of law, it was pleasing to note that Zimbabwe and the UK are looking to increase trade cooperation through the export of agricultural produce, cooperate in mitigating the adverse effects of climate change, debt relief, as well as exploring increased investment in renewable energy. 15

“Through continued cooperation, Zimbabwe seeks to benefit from the newly approved Covid-19 vaccine which the UK is rolling out in its millions.” 16

As part of the country’s economic revival strategy which is primed towards attaining an upper middle income economy by 2030, President Mnangagwa has said the agricultural sector is expected to play a key role. 17

Zimbabwe has made it clear that it is willing to walk the talk on the reform agenda, which is a process that cannot be finalised like an event. 18

Among the notable reforms are the repealing of the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act and Public Order and Security Act. 19

Six new independent television stations have been licensed to operate, and the opening of the airwaves has been hailed as a crucial step towards promoting transparency. 20

President Mnangagwa has championed the implementation of several reforms in areas such as security, the economy, media and justice delivery and this has not gone unnoticed. 21

Recently, an historic agreement was signed between the Government and white former commercial farmers for compensation for improvements on the land from which they were evicted after occupation in the 1890s. 22

## APPENDIX 2: *The Standard* articles

### Article 2a: “No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador”

No bailout for Zim, says UK ambassador - The Standard  
However, the alleged behind-the-scenes manoeuvres by the British have not slowed Mugabe’s attacks against London each time he gets a chance to address people. 1

Our deputy editor Tangai Chipangura (TC) interviewed British ambassador to Zimbabwe Catriona Laing (CL) on these and other issues. 2

Below are excerpts of the interview.

TC: How would do you describe the Zimbabwe/United Kingdom (UK) bilateral relations at the moment? 3

CL: The Zimbabwe-UK relationship is rooted in shared history, culture and language. At the heart of our relationship are people-to-people links. We have a large and effective development programme in Zimbabwe, helping hundreds of thousands of Zimbabweans every year with health, education, water and food security. 4

The British Council works with the embassy to ensure that there is a wide understanding of British culture in Zimbabwe. And there are extremely close people-to-people links in lots of other small ways too, from links between our fire services to education links, to the twinning of Zimbabwean and British cities. 5

There are extremely strong British business links here. That makes for a very deep relationship between our two countries and provides a solid foundation when government-to-government relations are difficult. 6

I said when I presented my credentials to President [Robert] Mugabe in October 2014 that our two governments have not always and will not always agree on everything. I said to him that where we disagree, we should discuss our differences in a mutually respectful way. 7

It is in the interests of both Zimbabwe and the UK to return to normal relations, but the terms need to be right for the benefit of our two peoples. The Conservative government in the UK made a commitment to “stand up for the rule of law and human rights in Zimbabwe” and this guides all our work here. 8

We are concerned at the recent deterioration in the human rights situation and have expressed these concerns to government. We are also worried about the lack of progress on living up to the foundation of rule of law as enshrined in the Constitution. But even when things are tough – as they are now – we continue to dialogue and keep the pathway open for normal relations. 9

TC: You have made it clear that UK support to Zimbabwe excludes government bailouts. Why is budgetary support not on the agenda? 10

CL: You are right – there is no bailout for Zimbabwe and there will be no bailout for Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe has cleared its arrears with the International Monetary Fund, and is in the process of trying to clear the debt arrears that it owes to the World Bank and African Development Bank. 11

Once a track record is established, Zimbabwe will be eligible to secure new funds from these institutions to support delivery of the reform process and to

boost investment in vital infrastructure and human capital. These new funds will, however, only become available if the shareholders of the international financial institutions agree. 12

As the UK, we have made clear our agreement will be dependent on progress on governance, rule of law and human rights as well as a track record on economic reform. So you can see there are many steps along the way and many safeguards built in. In the meantime, the UK remains one of the two largest donors here supporting the people of Zimbabwe through humanitarian programme in response to the drought as well as health, education, livelihoods and governance. 13

The real prize for Zimbabwe will be to secure private investment - both local and international - and that requires a predictable and sound policy environment founded on rule of law. 14

TC: You also stated categorically that your country does not back any party, faction or person; yet you're constantly and openly accused by senior government officials of meddling in local politics, including even training opposition elements for effective anti-government protests. Would you like to respond to this? 15

CL: I am also accused by some in the opposition of backing the government! If I am honest, it is frustrating. As a diplomat, it is my job to try and talk to everyone and to do so as transparently as possible. 16

There seems to be a perception that talking to particular individuals is somehow an endorsement of their policies, so when we talk to someone associated with one of the different factions or parties, that is perceived by some as supporting or even funding them. 17

Of course, this is inaccurate, and it won't stop us doing our job - which is to seek the widest possible range of views. 18

For the record, the story carried by the Sunday Mail on September 18, claiming that two British transport officials were spies was fabricated. The officials and the embassy had discussed their visit with the Civil Aviation Authority of Zimbabwe and informed the Foreign Affairs ministry to seek permission to hand over some equipment to help with aviation security. 19

To then have a newspaper claim that we had never contacted government and that the individuals were spies was an outrage. We have registered a complaint with the Information minister and the Foreign ministry. 20

TC: You have spoken about setting out "a path to normal relations between Zimbabwe and the international community and do all we can to encourage Zim to follow that path". May you elaborate on issues that are making present relations "not normal"? 21

CL: The restrictive measures in place are travel bans and asset freezes on the president and first lady and an arms embargo that prevents European Union companies from doing business with Zimbabwe Defence Industries. 22

There are no UK or EU sanctions in place on the wider economy and the "sanctions" narrative is a red herring.

Actually, I prefer to think in terms of encouraging and providing positive incentives rather than imposing sanctions. 23

A serious reform effort in Zimbabwe, on the economy, human rights, rule of law etc. will lead to a more conventional relationship with partner countries and the international financial institutions. 24

TC: What is the current trade position between Harare and London? Do you have Zimbabwean-made products in the UK and vice versa given the situation here? 25

CL: I think the trade situation could be improved. There are some great British companies and brands which are highly visible in the Zimbabwean market, including Jaguar-Land Rover, Barclays, Standard Chartered, Unilever, British Airways, FastJet etc. and if the business environment here improved, there would be more. 26

We have seen British businesses taking an interest in Zimbabwe in response to the government saying it wishes to re-engage internationally and reform domestically. 27

What British business say to us is that they see the huge potential in Zimbabwe, but they are concerned about the lack of policy predictability and particular concerns on the application of rule of law. 28

It is also worth considering what the economy of the future will be based on.

Rather than thinking just of goods on British shelves, one of Zimbabwe's greatest exports should be tourism - attracting British and other tourists and their spending power here. I think there is more that can be done by government and the private sector to promote Zimbabwe as a tourist destination. 29

TC: Has your government raised the issue of recent disappearances of political activists, including that of Itai Dzamara. What was the response? 30

CL: We have raised the case frequently, working closely with our colleagues from the EU. The government response, both in public and private, has been disappointing. 31

While an investigation has been taking place, it does not appear to have been an urgent priority for government and some of the government public statements have not been sympathetic to the family. 32

TC: What is the UK's position on Mugabe's threat to lead an African pull-out from the United Nations and accusations that your country and a few others are behind the "repression of Africa" in acquisition of influential positions in the UN? 33

CL: Ultimately, it is up to Zimbabwe whether it chooses to be in the UN or not. If Zimbabwe were to pull out, we consider that would be a loss for Zimbabwe and for the UN. The UN does some crucial work here, especially on development and the UN is important, alongside regional bodies, in peacekeeping missions across Africa. 34

We have long advocated expansion of the UN Security Council in order to reflect the growth in UN membership and the need for the council to better represent the modern world. The UK has been on record for many years calling for permanent African representation. 35

TC: What is the UK's immigration policy on Zimbabwe? How many Zimbabweans are currently in the UK? How is the current flow of Zimbabweans into UK relative to previous years? 36

CL: We don't have a separate immigration policy for Zimbabwe and everything we know suggests there is probably no "typical" Zimbabwean migrant. 37

There are about 140 000 people of Zimbabwean origin permanently in the UK - although taking into account temporary residents, students, visitors etc. the overall number will be a bit higher. 38

Zimbabweans make a huge contribution to British society, in particular in health and sport - although there are Zimbabweans across all parts of the British economy. 39

There was a large increase in migration between 2000 and 2008, but since dollarisation the numbers have reduced. I know there is a concern in Zimbabwe that it is increasingly difficult to get a visa. I am very keen to encourage Zimbabwean visitors to the UK, either to study - we have some of the best universities in the world - or for tourism. 40

I think it is very important that anyone applying for a visa does familiarise themselves with the process before applying and give enough time for the application to be processed before their trip. Full details on how to apply are on this link <http://bit.ly/2fdm4Ip> 41

## Article 2b: “Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice”

Allies tell Mnangagwa reforms only choice

President Emmerson Mnangagwa has been told by his allies that he has no choice but to implement reforms and end human rights violations in order to win over western countries that are increasingly tightening the noose on his government. 1

According to reports produced by the Political Actors Dialogue (Polad), a grouping of opposition parties seen as sympathetic to Mnangagwa, diplomats in meetings with the outfit have been emphatic that they are not impressed with the government’s pace of reforms. 2

A March 13 report presented to Mnangagwa at a Friday closed-door meeting by Polad’s international relations and re-engagement committee led by MDC-T leader Thokozani Khupe painted a gloomy picture. 3

The committee said it met the British ambassador Melanie Robinson on January 24 and her United States counterpart Brian Nichols as well as European Union ambassador Timo Olkkonen on dates that were not mentioned in the report. 4

The three diplomats and other agencies met by the Polad committee were not flattering in their assessments of the government’s track record, the report says. 5

“Your Excellency, one of our findings was that there appears to be general consensus that as a country we must commit to the speedy and sincere implementation of electoral, political, security and economic reforms as a pre-condition for them to consider reviewing the restrictive measures,” reads the report obtained by this publication. 6

“Their strong argument and conviction is that the process of implementing these reforms seems to be progressing at a snail’s pace,” the report added. 7

The United States last week slapped State Security minister Owen Ncube, a close Mnangagwa ally, and Zimbabwe’s ambassador to Tanzania Anselem Sanyatwe with travel bans and asset freezes, accusing them of human rights abuses, including the killing of protesters. 8

Ncube was blacklisted over accusations that he ordered the abduction and torture of government critics, the US Treasury Department said. 9

The US said Sanyatwe was being punished for directing soldiers that shot to death six protesters during the August 1, 2018 demonstrations over delays in the release of presidential election results. 10

Mnangagwa’s government has hired western public relations firms to lobby for improved relations with the west. 11

Zimbabwe has also won the backing of the Southern African Development Community and the African Union to lobby against the sanctions. 12

Meanwhile, Britain’s Defence minister Earl Howe told the House of Lords last week that London would not soften its stance against Mnangagwa’s government until it implements genuine political and economic reforms. 13

“My Lords, I acknowledge the noble Lord’s long-standing and close interest in

Zimbabwe and its people, and I agree that we must continue to give hope and encouragement to all those who want to see genuine political and economic change in Zimbabwe,” Howe said in response to a question from Lord Oates, a Liberal Democrat, on whether Britain would take the EU’s lead in reviewing sanctions against Zimbabwe. 14

“However, we have to face the reality that no package of external support will deliver for the Zimbabwean people without fundamental reforms, as he rightly says. 15

“Therefore, the onus must remain on the government of that country to demonstrate true commitment to change. 16

“So far, we have seen limited progress.” 17

Howe hinted that Britain, which pulled out of the EU this year, might tighten its sanctions on Zimbabwe if there are no reforms by the end of the year. 18

“We are not wholly in agreement with the EU on its approach to sanctions,” he said. 19

“During the EU’s annual review of its Zimbabwe sanctions regime, for example, it decided to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe. 20

“As I said, the UK remains aligned to the EU’s restrictive measures on Zimbabwe during the transition period. 21

“We did not agree with its decision to suspend sanctions on Grace Mugabe; we will review the whole sanctions regime at the end of the year, as I have mentioned. 22

“It is important to stress that our commitment to the people of Zimbabwe did not stem from being an EU member. 23

“We have long-standing, deep relations with that country, as noble Lords will know. 24

“We will continue to raise our concerns with a range of international partners and most recently did so at the UK-Africa Investment Summit.” 25

Howe said Zimbabwe remained on the UK’s 30 human rights priority countries as Mnangagwa’s government continued with the persecution of opposition supporters and civil society activists. 26

“We are seriously concerned about human rights in Zimbabwe,” he said. 27

“There are abductions, arrests and assaults on civil society and opposition activists. 28

“The country remains one of the UK’s 30 human rights-priority countries. 29

“We provide extensive financial and technical assistance to civil society organisations in their efforts to hold the state to account on issues related to human rights.” 30

He said the UK would, however, continue supporting Zimbabwe through United Nations agencies. 31

“We work primarily through multilateral organisations, notably United Nations agencies. The economic crisis in Zimbabwe is very serious indeed. 32

“We are disappointed that the staff-monitored programme agreed with the IMF has gone off-track. 33

“Our focus at the moment is on mitigating the worst impacts of the economic crisis and concentrating on the most vulnerable Zimbabweans.” 34

Nick Mangwana, the government spokesperson, said Zimbabwe was not seeking a rescue package from Britain, but wanted the sanctions against the country removed. 35

“We have not asked for a rescue package consideration from the British government and we are not in the process of developing such a consideration,” he said. 36

“We have only asked for a fair chance to develop our country by having the impediments placed against us to be an unhindered member of the community of nations removed. 37

“So we are not clear on how people turn down something, which is unsolicited for.” 38

Mnangagwa has so far refused to hold talks with MDC leader Nelson Chamisa to discuss political reforms because his rival does not recognise his controversial victory in the 2018 elections. 39