

Linguistic Identity (re)Construction in Electoral Politics: The Case of 2005 Tanzanian Parliamentary Campaigns

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1. Introduction

The study of political discourse provides useful insights into discourse analysis in general and into political language in particular, first as discourse and second as politics (Wilson 2001). Ethnographic study on Tanzanian parliamentary (the *Bunge*) election campaigns presented in this paper was conducted in October 2005 at the height of the general election campaign season. In view of the relatively complex linguistic culture existing in Tanzania, both electoral discourse on language and actual language use patterns in the official election campaign rallies in the constituencies are considered in relation to parliamentary political culture and the manifestation of identity (re)construction. Specifically, the paper attempts to demonstrate how linguistic and political cultures intersect in facilitating the projection of identities that matter in a given socio-political space, both at micro- and macro- levels. The central assumption here is that while the *Bunge* is undoubtedly a national entity, its constituencies more or less coincide with ethnic boundaries in which the educated elites enjoy an enormous deference. Consequently, parliamentary candidates and their surrogates tend to pepper Swahili, a national and electoral designated language, with linguistic elements from ethnic languages and/or English for the purposes of emphasizing their national, ethnic, and elitist identities. A campaign speech constitutes a socio-political space through which all identities that matter flow into each other in a very fascinating manner.

This assumption draws on the theoretical claim that identity is a social construct and that the phenomenon is so remarkable in linguistically-oriented identity (Coulmas 2005; Holtgraves 2002; Phillipson 1999; Fishman 1999). In this regard, it highlights the intersection between linguistic culture and socio-political culture in the context of electoral politics. This is consistent with views from both fields, that is, sociolinguistics and political discourse. While scholars in the field of language and identity have long recognized that language is experienced as a marker of identity (Coulmas 2005; Mendoza-Denton 2002; Ryan 1979), researchers in the field of political discourse begin with the premise that politics cannot be imagined without language as the activities of a politician are fundamentally linguistic activities and, consequently, the study of political discourse has been around for as long as politics itself (Bayley 2004; Wilson 2001). How the construction of socio-political identities is played out or rather (re)constructed in parliamentary electoral discourse in a multilingual African setting is considered in this context with special reference to the 2005 Tanzanian parliamentary election campaigns.

The discussion first characterizes the nature of interactional construction of social meanings (categories and relations) in political electoral discourse. Then it introduces sample data and explores the discursive construction of the concept of 'development' therein. Next the paper turns to relating observed discourse patterns to the construction of social categories in which identity construction is embedded. Finally, the discussion relates to the micro-level (local) parliamentary electoral discourse to the macro-level parliamentary debates, and highlights the importance of constructivist approaches to the interactional construction of social identities more generally.

2. Interactional Construction of Social Meanings (Categories and Relations) in Political Electoral Discourse

There has been a general consensus among researchers in the field of ethnography of communication that views language as social process, rather than simply a neutral and transparent reflection of the social order. In this respect, discourse has been viewed as a privileged site to capture the nature of the construction of social reality (Hymes 1972; Gumperz 1982; Heller 2001). Proponents of this view believe that discourse is not a product of conditions of interaction, but rather as dialectically embedded in them. Heller (2001:250-51), for example, states explicitly the goals regarding this line of inquiry as “to explore the nature of discourse in interaction itself as a way of understanding how we construct social reality, and to explain what we understand to be the nature of discourse in terms of the [...] social, political, and economic conditions of discursive production.” Drawing on this argument, two types of linguistic discourse strategies are explored here in the context of identity construction in political interactions. These are code-switching and narrative in parliamentary electoral campaign speeches. The term ‘code-switching’ is used here to mean a mix of two or more languages in the same utterance or discourse and the term ‘narrative’ refers to a story or account of events, experience and the like, whether true or fiction. In other words, we will be trying to look for answers to questions as why do parliamentary candidates employ language use patterns the way they do while addressing campaign rallies, notably switching codes and telling personal stories, and how a configuration between code-switching and storytelling is embedded in its interactional context.

The questions to ask at this juncture are why do people code-switch and why do they tell stories. While the answers will come more clearly in the discussion section, let us first have a glimpse of the whys here: Concerning ‘why do people code-switch?’ Coulmas (2005:109) aptly sums up that “just like socially motivated choices of varieties of one language, choices across language boundaries are imbued with social meaning.” And ‘why do people tell personal narratives?’ Barbara Johnstone (2001: 640) observes that “talking about the past is apparently something all humans do.” And she goes on quoting Linde (1993:3) who explicitly puts it as follows, “in order to exist in the social world with a comfortable sense of being a good, socially proper, and stable person, an individual needs to have a coherent, acceptable, and constantly revised life story.” It is a central claim of studies in interactionist approach (which is essentially constructivist) to discourse analysis that interaction is a locus of construction of social reality and this requires two levels of analysis: the empirically observable discourse patterns at the micro-level and to explore the linkages among interactions for effective analysis of social action and social structure and the relationship between the two. The data presented in this paper reveal that micro-macro level distinction regarding interpretation of interactional data is indispensable for effective discourse analysis. This is so because parliamentary politics is both micro-level (local constituencies) and macro-level (national assembly) in any modern society where political representational system is practiced. Micro- and macro-level social attributes flow into each other, a process that manifest in the interactional discourse.

3. Theoretical Perspectives

First of all, a parliamentary electoral campaign rally is a political interaction and therefore it is viewed here as any communicative interaction. As a political communicative interaction, however, it involves two key political categories of participants: a parliamentary candidate and his/her prospective constituents (or voters) and, consequently, manifests discourse patterns not as a product of conditions of interaction, but rather as dialectically embedded in them. In this view, an electoral discourse is a social action which should be seen as intrinsically linked to more broadly shared ways of using language in the interaction in question. Candidates and their audiences are actively engaged in a political activity, that is, an election rally. The same candidate may employ different discourse patterns from one campaign rally to another through which such patterns are employed in the process of identity (re)construction. This is so remarkable in multilingual communities in which as Heller (2001: 255) observes, “work on the construction of the other overlaps with work on multilingualism, since multilingualism so often involves the interplay of identities.” The social value attached to linguistic

varieties may manifest in the speakers' perceptions made about social identities of their users, perceptions which are based on the use of elements of these languages in all kinds of interactional settings. In this perspective, the data and its subsequent discussion below precisely illustrate the process of 'doing' electoral politics (polinguistization) in Tanzanian parliamentary discourse.

4. The Data

It is indisputable that naturally occurring utterance would be most desirable in a study like this one. Indeed, no other better way than audio and/or video recording can capture the real utterances in real interactions. Naturally occurring discourses are spontaneous and reflect what speakers say rather than what they think they would say. Speakers are reacting to a natural situation rather than to a contrived one. The communicative event has real-world consequences. The sample data for this article come from an ethnographic study conducted in 2005 during the Tanzanian parliamentary election campaign period in the months of September – October. It is important to mention here that four main factors motivated this study. First, the discourse patterns during the parliamentary debates that I had studied a few years earlier. In that study I found an enormous use by individual Members of Parliament (MPs) of code-mixing between Swahili and English. The Parliamentary Standing Orders at that time (as they still do to date) permitted both Swahili and English as official languages on the floor, "The Business of the Assembly shall be conducted in Swahili or English language, without the interpretation of those languages being given" (*The Standing Orders*, 2001 edition, Part 16 sect 118:1). However, Swahili has asserted itself as the default medium in these interactions (Bwenge 2008). Second, the 2005 election guidelines ('Maadili ya Uchaguzi'), the agreed upon guidelines by all officially recognized political parties which included, among other things, how official campaign rallies would be conducted, specified what would and wouldn't be done by each concerned party from campaign period to the process of casting and counting the votes, and to the announcement of the election results. One of the interesting stipulations was about language issue that:

Vyama vya Siasa, wagombea na wafuasi wao wahakikishe kuwa kampeni zao zinakuwa za amani, haziwi za kikabila, kidini, au zinazobagua mtu ye yote kwa misingi ya rangi au jinsia. Lugha itakayotumika katika kampeni za Uchaguzi ni Kiswahili. Isipokuwa, na endapo tu italazimu, katika maeneo machache ambako Kiswahili hakieleweki, mgombea atazunguza Kiswahili na mkalimani atatafsiri katika lugha inayoeleweka sehemu hiyo.
(‘Maadili ya Uchaguzi’, 2005: 3.0 (h))

Translation:

Political Parties, candidates and their supporters should make sure that their campaigns are conducted in peace. That should be neither ethnically, religious-based campaigns nor discriminating against any person on the grounds of race or gender. The language of the campaign is Kiswahili. Except, and when it is really necessary, in those few areas where Kiswahili is not well understood, a candidate will speak in Swahili and have someone interpreting the speech into a language spoken in the area.

In a multilingual situation as the one existing in Tanzania, language issues are not even taken for granted in electoral politics. Informed by the linguistic culture (languages spoken, speakers' attitudes, stereotypes, prejudices, and the like) existing in the Tanzanian society, the linguistic aspect of the ethics was presumably intended to set the communicative framework for the candidates in this type of political interactions. Third was the issue of educational attainment as was observed by some scholars in the previous parliamentary elections but only relating it to intellectual motivations other than sociolinguistics? For example, while making reference to the 1990 Tanzanian parliamentary election, Luanda (1994: 262) observed that "as was the case in 1985, the education variable discriminated most sharply, those with little chance of election and those who came out as the final candidates; as well as finalists and those who got elected....those who had never gone to school were eliminated in the primaries.....this compares very well with the 1965 and 1970 elections, whereby the highest educated had the best chance."

The final factor was the contentious issue of ethnicity in Tanzania as Okema (1996:73) pointed out that “the debate on ethnicity in Tanzania is between the disillusioned who say Tanzania is as riddled with tribalism as the rest of Africa, only she is lucky that things have not so far exploded in flames. Nationalists on the other hand deny completely the existence of any form of tribalism.” The above mentioned factors could lead to the assumption that ‘national maadili’ (including national linguistic ideology), educational attainment, and ethnicity play an important role in Tanzanian parliamentary politics. And, in view that all are social constructs, it is insightful to explore on how such constructs manifest themselves in electoral discourse, particularly from the candidates’ (speaker) point of view.

5. Socio-political Communicative Setting

Administratively, Tanzania is divided into 25 five regions and each region is further divided into a couple of districts. Parliamentary constituencies are demarcated within each district. A number of constituencies depend on the population. Nevertheless, there were a total of 232 constituencies in the whole country. Besides large urban constituencies, the majority of districts coincide with ethnic boundaries. Due to limited resources, only three districts were selected for this study: Ilala (Dar es Salaam), Dodoma (Dodoma), and Bukoba (Kagera). Ilala was chosen because it had two constituencies, one covering the city center (Ilala) and the other consisting of a suburb and a rural-like locality (Ukongu). Dodoma was selected because of its central location and an emerging medium urban. Dodoma urban district constituted a constituency in itself. Bukoba represented typical upcountry districts known for holding a strong sense of ethnicity (Okema 1996). Only two constituencies were targeted, Bukoba urban and Bukoba rural. Coincidentally, constituencies in Ilala and Bukoba were among those with strong opposition politics particularly between the ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and Civic United Front (CUF) which made campaign rallies even more exciting. A total of 13 rallies were observed and video-recorded: 4 in Ilala (2 in each constituent: Ilala and Ukongu); 4 in Dodoma urban (Dodoma mjini), and 5 in Bukoba (2 Bukoba urban; 3 Bukoba rural).

Candidates in all election rallies in Ilala and Dodoma urban made their speeches in Swahili (without any significant admixture), an indicator of a complete adherence to the Election Guidelines. This could be explained by a number of factors including the urban setting which is multiethnic, multicultural and multilingual. People who are conscious of such situations would refrain from indexing ethnic identity. Although Swahili with an admixture of English has become a normal way of speaking among urban educated elites/professionals especially in informal interactions and in some formal ones, relatively, as seen in parliamentary debates, it was not so remarkable in Ilala and Dodoma electoral campaign rallies that were observed. However, the situation was quite different in Bukoba District. All campaign rallies observed in this area were marked with the use of Swahili as a major medium but with significant admixture of both English and/or the local language, kiHaya, from which the sample data analyzed here, was drawn. Of particular interest were speeches of the CCM candidate in Bukoba Urban and the CUF candidate in Bukoba Rural. One of the issues both candidates foregrounded in their speeches was the concept of ‘development’ (‘maendeleo’). Excerpts (with English translation) in which ‘development’ concept emerged are presented as Appendices A for CCM candidate and B for CUF candidate, and the analysis follows below. Note that paragraphs in the excerpts are numbered for the purposes of easy reference regarding the analysis.

6. Social Reality and Discourse

Since the 1990s a constructivist approach to identity has gained an enormous ground in the fields of sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication thus providing an illuminating framework for investigating and understanding how discourse (i.e., communication of thoughts by words – spoken or written) is used as a means to display the speakers’ social identity (Schiffrin 1996; Fishman 1999; Schiffrin, et al. 2001; Heller 2001; Holtgraves 2002; Coulmas 2005). This dynamic view of identity is based on the sociolinguistic notion of language as a multifunctional variable instrument whose identity is perpetually reconstructed by its users rather than being categorically given” (Coulmas 2005: 178). Working within this conceptual framework, the following analysis of electoral discourse collected

		<p>[prolonged applause]...eeh ina Ina-hit, ina-hit katika tarmac ya Charles de Gaulle in Paris.</p> <p><i>[Commodities leave Bukoba in the morning at seven, by six in the evening that plane hits the tarmac of London Heathrow ...yes it hits the tarmac of Charles de Gaulle in Paris]</i></p>
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A.3

<p>social issue</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mass media (newspapers) 	<p>communicative strategy</p> <p>admixture (Swahili & Haya)</p> <p>narrative (Swahili)</p>	<p>utterances</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yako mambo fulani fulani ndugu zangu tusidanganyane–tutakulembangana. Tugambilane amazima. <i>[There are some of things that we should not cheat each other. Let us be sincere to each other]</i> • Sisi wakati tunazaliwa, Bukoba ilikuwa na magazeti yake, magazeti ya Bukoba. Kulikuwa na magazeti yanaitwa ‘ngoma ya Buhaya’, kulikuwa na magazeti ‘Bukya n’agandi’. Yalikuwa yanachapishwa hapa Bukoba. <i>[When we were born, Bukoba had its own newspaper, Bukoba papers. There were papers known as ‘ngoma ya Buhaya’, there were others ‘Bukya n’agandi’. They were published right here in Bukoba.]</i>
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B.1

<p>social issue</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Clothing 	<p>communicative strategy</p> <p>admixture (Swahili & Haya)</p>	<p>Utterances</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • hata kwa mfano mdogo tu: kanakweta abaana ikumi abali anunju taliwo aina kilatwa. “Njoo watoto, njoo. Simama, simameni hapa.” Wote hawa watoto, taliwo ajwete kilatwa. <i>[just take a simple example: if I ask ten children who are here to come forward none of them have shoes. “come on kids. Stand up, stand right here.” Of all these nobody is wearing shoes.]</i>
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B.2

social issue	communicative strategy	utterances
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> meaning of development 	Admixture (Swahili & Haya slang)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kwa hiyo nimekuja kuishitaki serikali tuliyo nayo na chama kinachotawala kwenu na kuwataka mfanye kitu ambacho ni hatua ya kuonyesha kwamba mnataka maendeleo, na hamtaki maendelamu <p><i>[Therefore I'm here to bring to you a case against this government and its ruling party, and to ask you to take action that will demonstrate that you really need development, and not suffering.]</i></p>

7. Dynamics of Tanzanian Linguistic Culture

Perhaps Tanzania presents one of the most fruitful cases in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa to observe the relationship between language use and identity construction in political interactions. This is due to the relatively unique approach the country adopted in addressing language issues especially during the first two decades of independence and its subsequent repercussions. Heine (1990:169), for example, located Tanzania into what he labeled active endoglossic states in which “a declared goalis to develop the local language or languages into media of all modern official communication like government, administration and education, both primary and secondary. Foreign languages are not excluded by any means, but they are reserved for highly specific domains like university education and international relations.” Yes, indeed, Tanzanian state invested enormously in promoting Swahili as a national language in both practical and symbolic terms (see Batibo 1995; Blommaert 1997; Mazrui and Mazrui 1998), and until the 1990s, Tanzania would widely be cited in the literature related to language policy as one of the success stories in post-colonial Africa. Swahili played and continues to play an important role in strengthening the national unity and became a strong national identity, the status that without any doubt it still holds to date. This is one side of the endoglossic policy.

The other side is featured with remarkable consequences of the attempt to Swahilize the society including the marginalization of ethnic languages and enormous enhancement of English as the elitist language. The resultant linguistic culture: Swahili widely spoken in the country, a symbol of nationalism and perhaps patriotism, and associated more with the masses, the common man; English spoken with reasonable proficiency by a tiny minority who have attained higher education or exposed to the language through other means (such as traveling and living abroad), and it is associated with socio-economic success and professionalism as well as globalization; and ethnic languages play important role as the major media of socio-cultural and even political interactions in their native geo-cultural areas, and of course associated with local traditions. A simplified form of Tanzanian linguistic landscape could be said to comprise three main linguistic categories: Swahili, English, and ethnic languages which respectively function as linguistic symbols for national, elite, and ethnic identities. Interestingly, all three identified symbolic functions surface, to varying degrees, in political discourse.

8. ‘Maendeleo’ and More

‘*Maendeleo*’ is a Swahili word for ‘development’ perhaps one of the ‘magic words’ in all politics all over the world. In the two excerpts sampled in this paper, both candidates were talking about development in the sense of making peoples’ lives better which presumably was the primary message

of the utterances which turn out to be tools for construction of the self, displaying social identities that matter. The discourse concurrently fulfills the denotation and connotation tasks. What is most interesting in these excerpts particularly in excerpt A is the combination of narrative and code-switching strategies to display same targeted identity. In our view, the two strategies complement each other in a very effective way (one of the pieces of evidence is the positive response from the audience: note prolonged applauses).

Swahili, as the national language and the expected in this type of interaction, sets the frame for both strategies, that is, the same language could be used to evoke any intended identity through narratives or switch to another language or variety that might point to intended social meanings. For example, in A.1 both ethnicity and educational attainment are linguistically displayed in a complex manner while embodied in the message of *maendeleo*. First, the narrative points to the candidate's wide travels where he has also seen a lot of Haya people – *popote utakapokwenda utamkuta mtu wa Kihaya* (wherever you will go you find a Haya person) – and not just ordinary Haya people, but the highly educated ones – *Wahaya wamesoma, wanafanya ma-research* (the haya are highly educated and they are conducting research). The story about high education is narrated in Swahili and the switch to English (*ma-research*) comes in to emphasize the language of the educated elites as well as their related activities that the speaker (who is one of them as the narrative indicates) is talking about.

It should be noted that this is not a story coming out of vacuum. The Haya people claim to be, and have thus been stereotyped, one of those ethnic groups to hold (schooling) education in high regard. So, displaying self and group educational attainment is a well calculated discourse strategy in this type of interaction. It was so intriguing to see a huge burst of applause that came out of the audience when the candidate uttered “unapokwenda katika some of the biggest institution ambazo zina-deal with research and development...” The applause caused him to pause, and thereafter repeat the same utterance, this time at a slow pace. Presumably, not everyone in the audience understood the referential meaning of ‘research and development’, but certainly the symbolic meaning was well hammered home. Interestingly, even those Tanzanians who do not speak English at all recognize the language. They can tell which language is English and which is not.

The *maendeleo* issue cannot be complete without a mention of the economy. This is exactly what A.2 demonstrates. Embedded in the message of referentiality (what utterances denote) is the message of intentionality (what utterances connote), to borrow Myers-Scotton's (1998) terms. Here the global discourse pertaining to transportation is brought in through both narratives and switches (from a national identity to a global identity) – *kutoka Bukoba bidhaa zinatoka asubuhi saa moja Ndege ina-hit katika tarmac ya London Heathrow* (commodities leave Bukoba at seven in the morning the plane hits the tarmac of London Heathrow). At this juncture, there was another prolonged applause at the end of this utterance which, again, indicates that the message was well delivered. This utterance indexes an individual who has traveled widely and knows the globe well. Due to the colonial legacy, London is a household name in Tanzanian society. All would want to travel there, but only a few (the elite) have been able to do so or can dream to do so. This is what Phillipson (1999) views as competing influences on ethnic identity emanating from globalization and localization pressures.

There is no dispute that the mass media play an important role in any society's development. Based on this reality, other social purposes can be served. The Swahili-Haya switching and storytelling in Swahili (in which proper names of objects in question cannot be translated) as appear in A.3 is the most illustrative example of narrative-switching configuration mechanism for constructing the identity in question without remarkable violation of the norms, such as the *maadili*. In this utterance the candidate is emphasizing his strong membership by demonstrating how well he pronounces the language hence a switch from Swahili to Haya – *tutakulembangana* (structurally complex verbal form meaning to ‘lets stop telling lies to each other’). Perhaps most important is the natural membership and strong connection to the geo-ethnic area which is reconstructed through narratives about the past and the story of newspapers – *sisi wakati tunazaliwa Bukoba ilikuwa na magazeti yake* (when we were born, Bukoba had its own newspapers)- which he goes on citing some of the past newspapers' names – *ngoma ya Buhaya* and *Bukya n'aganu*.

9. Candidates' Socio-political Backgrounds

Displaying ethnic roots was necessary for candidate A because he was a challenger and a professional diplomat who had not spent much time in the area in the previous years. He was not personally known to a good number of constituents although his family is a big name in local and national politics. He was a stranger to many potential voters. The opposition camp, the incumbent, was painting him in public as the following statement that I recorded at their campaign rally reveals “amekuwa nje ya nchi kwa muda mrefu ... anafaa kuwa mfadhili lakini sio kuwa mwakilishi” (he lived abroad for long time ... he fits to be a donor but not a representative). In this regard, an extra job was a necessity in order to (re)construct his identity which, I think, he did it effectively as Johnstone (2001:640) quotes Linde (1993) that “in order to exist in the social world with a comfortable sense of being good, socially proper, and stable person, an individual needs to have coherent, acceptable and constantly revised life story.”

About fifty miles away from the urban center deep in the interior, another campaign rally was observed and recorded. While most of candidate B surrogates addressed the rally in Haya, understandably, the candidate himself stayed with Swahili in most part of his speech. However, I found this portion (Appendix B) of the speech interesting. This candidate had run for the parliamentary seat for the same constituency in the by-election two years before, but did not win. So, presumably this was a territory where he was familiar with the constituents. He employed a bit of switching from Swahili to Haya as in B.1 but what I found most interesting was his use of the Haya slang word ‘maendelamu’ for ‘maendeleo as in B.2. The slang word ‘maendelamu’ means ‘to suffer in silence.’ Slang language is used by particular groups of people who know each other. Therefore its usage in such a political interaction can speak volumes of a speaker’s identity. Mainly, it is intended as a social bridge, that is, to construct social closeness between the speaker (candidate) and the audience (constituents). In short, this could be interpreted as saying “I’m not just a candidate, I’m one of you”.

10. What is in a Language Choice: Intersection between Political and Linguistic Cultures

The term political culture is used here to refer to political patterns, orientations and relations in a given society and what members of that society think about and respond to them. Such orientation may include government system, general beliefs, symbols and values (Okema 1996; Bayley 2004). Parliamentary politics constitutes its own subculture within a broad political culture and as Bayley (2004:5) observes, “political culture can interact with systems of representation, and with the rules and regulations of specific parliaments to create institutional practices that may seem surprising.” Such interaction includes, among other things, a parliamentary system and its functions, eligibility for candidacy, elections, and election campaigns. The notion of linguistic culture, on the other hand, is used in the sense of languages and their varieties spoken in a speech community, how they are acquired and used, who speaks what, and what speakers themselves think about those languages including stereotypes and prejudices (Schiffman 1996). Linguistically, in Tanzanian parliamentary electoral politics, candidates are expected to have sufficient proficiency of Swahili, the medium that they are expected to use at the official campaign rallies. As was stipulated in the *Maadili ya Uchaguzi* (2005), “Lugha itakayotumika katika kampeni za Uchaguzi ni Kiswahili” (p.4), (the language to be used during the election campaigns is Swahili). This emphasizes the national linguistic-political culture in which “the political network in Tanzanian society is (was) almost exclusively Swahiliphone” (Blommaert 1997: 506).

Educational attainment is another important variable in the Tanzanian parliamentary politics and appears prominently in electoral politics. The educated elites have always viewed themselves as the most appropriate individuals to make effective representation. This is a view that is unfortunately shared by the less educated masses. Luanda (1994), for example, provides useful clues on the educational dimension in Tanzanian parliamentary electoral politics. He observed that in the 1990 election fifty percent of the candidates with university education got elected into parliament and, interestingly, points out that “this compares well with the 1965 and 1970 elections, whereby the highest educated had the best chance.” Indeed, highly educated people have increasingly become interested in running for parliamentary seats in the constituencies, and consequently making high

educational attainment one of the political selling points in this context. Since the Western-style education was introduced in the country during the colonial rule, higher education has always been elitist in nature in which English has maintained its prestigious position as the sole medium of instruction. As a result, higher education and proficiency in English language are tied together. Possessing one implies the other: an highly educated elite is also a linguistic (English) elite. Therefore, English language is the most readily available linguistic tool for social construction of the educated elite.

Ethnicity can not be completely ignored in Tanzanian parliamentary politics as Okema (1996: 74) correctly observes that “ethnic sentiments are very much a reality in Tanzania and are becoming more so with time.” Parliamentary politics essentially is a two-face phenomenon, national and local (constituency). To be specific, macro and micro levels are intrinsically intertwined or rather flowing into each other. Besides a few large urban areas such as Dar es Salaam which are significantly multi-ethnic, most parliamentary constituencies in the country are characterized by a single dominant ethnic group. As a result, ethnicity factor is hard to be ignored. It is not common for an individual who does not claim any sort of nativity in such a locality to attempt parliamentary candidacy in that constituency. This process begins at the macro (national) level. Parliamentary candidates need be affiliated with officially registered political parties. Final nomination of candidates is usually done by parties’ national executive committees. Therefore it can be correctly claimed that the frame for social construction of identities begins at this level. Ethnic membership and other social attributes of individual aspirants are considered at this level including ethnicity. It is no coincidence that the great majority of candidates are members or those who claim strong roots to the ethnic groups’ native of the constituencies in which they run for parliamentary seats. If the opposite happens, a chance for the candidate to win would be very slim if not nil.

Perhaps this is the reason why the *Maadili* was emphasizing Swahili as the only language for electoral campaigns in order to avoid campaigns to appear running on the basis of ethnicity. But, in reality, parliamentary elections are local and ethnic sentiments are integral part of the process which, in most instances, candidates utilize effectively through discourse. This is particularly so in rural and small urban areas. This is the underlying motivation for what we have observed in candidate A language use patterns. All three social attributes, nationality, ethnicity, and elitism, matter at the macro-level parliamentary politics. Both code-switching and narratives are effectively employed as discourse strategies to project these attributes: “unapokwenda katika some of the biggest institution ambazo zina-deal with research and development ...unawakuta Wahaya wamo mle... tutakulembangana”

11. Conclusion

Constructing or (re)constructing multiple identities in the same communicative interactional context necessitates a complex configuration of discourse strategies. In the case of Bukoba electoral campaigns, especially in Bukoba urban areas where the candidate had an extra job to affirm all identities that matter, the speaker combines narratives and switching in a very effective manner to display all that he thought were necessary while staying on the point of ‘development.’ Ethnic roots, membership and educational attainment for himself are interplayed well in the discourse through a configuration between narrative and code-switching. Macro-level and micro-level socio-political factors set a discourse frame in which Swahili plays a dominant role, but which also creates opportunity for other linguistically encoded identities to be projected. Narratives are delivered in the main (matrix) medium (Swahili) but depending on the interactional conditions and the speaker’s linguistic cultural competence, a speaker can switch to an ethnic language and/or English in order to concretize the message that has been conveyed in the narratives. Such an integrated approach is important in the analysis and better understanding of discourse in interactions.

Social construction of identity is an ongoing process especially in parliamentary discourse as it moves back and forth between the micro (constituency) and macro (the national debating chamber) levels. Candidate A eventually won the constituency seat and became the Member of Parliament (MP). I was curious to follow the honorable MP to the debating chamber and would like to conclude this paper with a short excerpt (without translation) from one his speeches in the first year of his tenure:

Kwa hiyo, ningependa kama Waziri angeweza akatupa *a clear definition of what do they mean* kama hapa wanazungumzia juu ya *traditional broadcasting* amawanazungumzia *broadcasting in its broader sense* hiyo ni ya pili, ya tatu, katika *definition or interpretation rather of this Act* katika *clause* namba tatu mimi ningependa watu *exactly what do they mean, interpretation* yao ya *access*. Kwa sababu naona wametuwekea *communication services*, wamezungumzia juu ya *interpretation* ya *universal services*. Lakini hatukupata *interpretation* ya *what do they mean by the access*. Kwa sababu *access* ina *two ways*, way moja kwa *consumer* na way moja kwa *suppliers*.

[Bunge la Tanzania, November 09, 2006].

This suggests that the Tanzanian parliamentary debating floor as is its electoral campaign setting is a fruitful site for further exploration of the nature of discourse in socio-political interactions and the construction of social reality.

Appendix A: Bukoba Urban

A.1

Tunazungumzia maendeleo, hatuzungumzii ushabiki hapa. Tunazungumzia maendeleo ya watu [applause]. Nimekuwa nazungumza, nimekuwa najaribu kueleza katika kuitetea na kuelezea ilani ya Chama cha Mapinduzi (election manifesto). Nimesema kwamba unaposafiri dunia hii, nakwambia hata popote, nafikiri utakapokwenda utamkuta mtu wa Kihaya. Mimi nimesafiri sana. Wahaya wamesoma. Wako kila pahala, wanafanya ma-research. Manake unapokwenda katika some of the biggest institution ambazo zina-deal with research and development [prolonged applause]. Unapotembelea institute kubwa kubwa duniani ambazo zina-deal with research and development unawakuta Wahaya wamo mle. Sasa mimi nilikuwa ninasema kwamba wakati umefika na ilani hii inazungumzia hivyo kwamba Bukoba tuweke university ya Bukoba, university kweli kweli [prolonged applause]

A.2

...wakati umefika Bukoba ipate kiwanja cha ndege ambacho ni kikubwa [prolonged applause]...mbali na ajira, wale wafanyibiashara na wale wakulima wetu unapata usafiri kabisa wa kusafirisha bidhaa. Kutoka Bukoba, bidhaa zinatoka asubuhi saa moja, ikija kufika saa kumi na mbili jioni ile ndege ina-hit katika tarmac ya London Heathrow [prolonged applause]...eeh ina Ina-hit, ina-hit katika tarmac ya Charles de Gaulle in Paris ... eeh viko viwanja vya kimataifa..... Hayo ni maneno ya kibiashara na ni maneno ya kimaendeleo....

A.3

Mimi ninataka niwaulize. Yako mambo fulani fulani ndugu zangu tusidanganyane – tutakulembangana. Tugambilane amazima [prolonged applause]. Tizama, ninyi mtakumbuka na hata wazee wetu, watu wazima akina Ma-Eustina, akina Ta-Abdulaziz ambao ninawaona hapa. Sisi wakati tunazaliwa, Bukoba ilikuwa na magazeti yake, magazeti ya Bukoba. Kulikuwa na magazeti yanaitwa ‘ngoma ya Buhaya’, kulikuwa na magazeti ‘Bukya n’agandi’. Yalikuwa yanachapishwa hapa Bukoba. Sasa hivi Bukoba ina gazeti hata moja? [applause]

A. Literal translation

A.1

We’re talking about development; we’re not talking about fanaticism. We’re talking about people’s development. I have been talking; I’ve been trying to explain in the process of defending and clarifying the Chama cha Mapinduzi election manifesto. I have said when you travel to various parts of this world, I’m telling you; I think wherever you go you will meet a Haya person. I have traveled widely. The Haya people have attained education. They are everywhere, conducting research. I mean, when you go to some of the biggest institutions that deal with research and development. When you visit big institute all over the world that deal with research and development, you are most likely to find the Haya people there. Now I was saying that the time has come and this manifesto states it clearly that we should establish a university in Bukoba, Bukoba University; the real university.

A.2

..the time has come Bukoba needs a large airport ... Besides job creation, businesspeople and our farmers, you get transportation to ship commodities. Commodities leave Bukoba in the morning at seven, by six in the evening that plane hits the tarmac of London Heathrow ...yes it hits the tarmac of Charles de Gaulle in Paris. Yes, there are international airports

Those are words of business and words of development ...

A.3

Let me ask you. There are some of things that we should not cheat each other. Let us be sincere to each other. Look! You'll remember, even our elders, older people Eustina's folks, Abdulaziz folks whom I see here today. When we were born, Bukoba had its own newspaper, Bukoba papers. There were papers known as 'ngoma ya Buhaya', there were others 'Bukya n'agandi'. They were published right here in Bukoba. Does Bukoba have any newspaper today?

Appendix B: Bukoba Rural

B.1

Serikali iliyopo sasa hivi madarakani ... maendeleo kinyume chake *maendelamu*. Ninasema hivyo kwa sababu gani? Serikali iliyopo sasa hivi madarakani na chama kilichopo madarakani na kimeendelea kuwepo tangu miaka mingi sana wamekuwa wakiimba wimbo wa maendeleo na sasa hivi hakuna maendeleo. Kwa sababu hata kwa mfano mdogo tu: kanakweta abaana ikumi abali anunju taliwo aina kilatwa. "Njoo watoto, njoo. Simama, simameni hapa." Wote hawa watoto, taliwo ajwete kilatwa. Kweli karne hii – ya mwaka elfu mbili na tano, karne hii ya ishirini na moja ni karne ya watoto kutembea hivi halafu useme kuna maendeleo!

B.2.

Kwa hiyo nimekuja kuishitaki serikali tuliyo nayo na chama kinachotawala kwenu na kuwataka mfanye kitu ambacho ni hatua ya kuonyesha kwamba mnataka maendeleo, na hamtaki maendelamu

B. Literal translation

B.1

The government in power Development has been opposite and turned into suffering. Why am I saying so? The government which is in power and the ruling party and it has been in power since independence has been singing the song of development, but we don't see any development. Because, just take a simple example: if I ask ten children who are here to come forward none of them have shoes. "come on kids. Stand up, stand right here." All these nobody is wearing shoes. Is this fair that in this century, in two thousand and five, in the twenty first century is the time for children to walk bare footed, and then you tell people that there is development!

B.2

Therefore I'm here to bring to you charges against this government and its ruling party, and to ask you to take action that will demonstrate that you really need development, and not suffering.

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