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**A critical discourse analysis of Zimbabwe's Transitional
Stabilisation Programme (TSP) with specific reference to potential
implementation dynamics**

by

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics**

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DECLARATION

I, **Evans Chapanga**, hereby declare that this thesis submitted by me for the Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics degree at the University of the Free State is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university/faculty. I do further cede copyright of the thesis in favour of the University of the Free State.



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Abstract

This study is premised on the argument that there is a gap between policy formulation and implementation which can be explained in linguistic terms. A case study research of Zimbabwe's Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP) economic policy has been used to examine the direct connection between the critical processes of policy formulation and implementation. As the 'turbulent flow' model of public policy making processes reveals, it is possible to establish direct connections between the processes traditionally viewed as linear and fragmented stages. Through deployment of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) specifically Norman Fairclough's Three Dimensional Model of discourse analysis, overt and covert discourses with grave implications for policy implementation are decipherable. The tenet of CDA provides for interdependent levels of analysis which are textual analysis, discursive and socio-cultural practices. The three pronged attack on the policy text describes, interprets and explains discourses bringing to the fore intratextual, intertextual and ideological issues which fortify the linguistic variable in explaining the gap between policy and implementation. A critical analysis of linguistic features inside and outside the official state text suggests disconnect between policy formulation and implementation. At text analysis level there are examples of linguistic features used which lack conviction, forthrightness and in some instances make stringent conditions which complicate implementation processes. At this level of analysis it is prudent to highlight that the study is not mere pursuit of faults or deficits in the policy document as this translates to a witch hunt exercise. Instead there is positive framing of discourses within the text structure theme which on the surface provides for orderliness but on close analysis there are issues of complexity and density which complicate implementation processes. Similarly optimistic discourses appearing on the surface as positive in reality though place the end users of the policy in an invidious in which they are expected to deliver regardless of prevailing circumstances and objective realities. Socio-economic and political discourses playing out in the public domain indicate that interpretation poses a challenge in the appreciation, conceptualisation and comprehension of the policy initiatives and provisions.

Interpretation challenges which cut across the levels are more pronounced at the second level of analysis within the frame of Intertextuality, production and distribution. At the third level of analysis, there is the ideological construct which revolves in the main around purported nation building under the auspices of the 'new government'. There are issues connected to policy

formulation which have grave implications for social cohesion and subsequent buy-in of the policy initiatives, interventions and provisions. For instance, unity which is a critical pillar in the promotion, cultivation and sustenance of social cohesion is blighted by diatribe against the Old Dispensation structures. Therefore, the interrelated levels of analysis trigger overt and covert discourses potentially serving as a gap between policy formulation and implementation. Although exogenous factors such as social, economic and political variables are critical in explaining the gap between a policy and its implementation the centrality of the linguistic variable is attributable to the reality that it is the vehicle that transmits and couches the other variables. Complex thinking around the linguistic variable involves combining the apparent and latent discourses to ascertain predisposition of the policy to implementability. What motivates policy makers to formulate policies with potential seeds of failure remains speculative thus warranting further research so that the puzzle in policy making processes is unraveled.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIPPA-Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
AFDB- African Development Bank
ANC- African National Congress
AU- African Union
BLP-Better life Programme
CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis
DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo
EDA- Economic Development Agency
ESAP- Economic Structural Adjustment Programme
FFNDP-First Five Year National Development Plan
FSP-Family Support Programme
G40-Generation 40
GDP-Gross Domestic Product
GEAR- Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GWE-Growth with Equity
ICT-Information Communication Technology
IMF-International Monetary Fund
IPEC-Insurance and Pensions Commission
LMA- Language Management Approach
MDC- Movement for Democratic Change
MERP- Macro-Economic Policy Framework
MERP-Millennium Economic Recovery Programme
MTDS-Medium Term Development Strategy
MTP-Millennium Term Plan
NDS1- National Development Strategy 1
NDP- National Development Plan
NEC-National Economic Council
NEDPP- National Economic Development Priority Programme
NERP-National Economic Revival Programme
NGOs- Non Governmental Organisations

NSSA- National Social Security Authority
POLAD- Political Actors Dialogue
POSA-Public Order and Security Act
POSB-Post Office Savings Bank
POTRAZ- Postal and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority
RDP-Reconstruction and Development Programme
RELOAD- Roadmap to Economic Recovery, Legitimacy, Openness and Democracy
RRI-Rapid Results Initiative
RTGS-Real Time Gross Settlement
SAPES- Sothern African Political and Economic Series
SAPI-Special Agriculture Production Initiative
SDGs-Sustainable Development Goals
SEP-State Enterprises and Parastatals
SMARTER- Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Rational and Time bound
STERP- Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme
TMT-Top Management Team
TNDP-Transitional National Development Plan
TSP- Transitional Stabilization Programme
UN-United Nations
WB-World Bank
ZANU PF- Zimbabwe African National Patriotic Front
ZEC-Zimbabwe Electoral Commission
ZEDS- Zimbabwe Economic Development Strategy
ZEPARU- Zimbabwe Economic Political Analysis Research Unit
ZIA- Zimbabwe Investment Authority
ZIDA-Zimbabwe Investment Development Agency
ZIDERA- Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act
ZIMASSET-Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation
ZIMPREST- Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation
ZRP-Zimbabwe Republic Police

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents focus of the study and the central argument of the thesis. It also provides a detailed background of the study through an incisive discussion of economic policies promulgated in post-independent Zimbabwe categorised as distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies. The historical overview of the economic policies provides the basis to possible insights, dynamics and trends in public policy making processes. The detailed background of the macro-economic policies preceding the Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP) connects it with policies of shared characteristics. These policies generally suffered partial, poor or non-implementation. The chapter also provides a preliminary overview of the relevant literature and the applicability of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in the current study. There is also presentation of the statement of the research problem, research questions, aim and research objectives, rationale and significance of the study, an overview of the research design and methodology, and an outline of the thesis.

1.2 Focus of the study

At this juncture it is imperative to specify what the focal point of study is and why it is of interest for research purposes. This is a linguistic study of Zimbabwe's TSP economic policy document. Inevitable use of economic terms in this research comes as a result of illustrating the linguistic aspects of the official state text. As an example of a social science grounded research, the linguistic study of the economic policy uses CDA to illustrate and explain textual predisposition to policy implementability. The central argument of the study revolves around the view that there is a gap between a policy and implementation which can be explained in linguistic terms. It is undeniable that exogenous variables play a part in explaining implementation gaps in a policy but the linguistic features entrenched in a policy could be the basis to understanding of potential implementation dynamics. The dynamics to policy implementation in this research are configured as perspectives in the application, execution or enactment of a policy document. Unpacking linguistic features in both apparent and latent form provides a refreshing perspective to the understanding of why activities and processes happen the way they do when a given policy is being executed. The features constitute a potential formidable underlying force that bears on policy implementation.

It is possible that there are seeds of failure of a socio-economic policy that are embedded in the policy in the crafting, construction or formulation of the policy text. The implanted seeds manifest in overt linguistic features, and complex covert discourses requiring complex thinking that can be penetrated and extracted using a frame capacitated to navigate these issues located at both levels. An integration of the visible and concealed discourses goes a long way in strengthening the understanding of the linguistic variable in policy texts. Predisposition of a policy to its implementation can therefore be explained in linguistic terms. This is a feat that is enhanced by conceptualisation of evolving discourses tied to the policy. There are discourses tied to the policies which are playing out in the public domain which enrich the central argument posited. Although research can present a case for variables such as the policy maker's role or even the environment in which the policy is made as pivotal in explaining the gap between a policy and implementation, the linguistic variable arguably looms large as the vehicle of policy transmission. It is language that couches the other variables hence its centrality in the discourse around policy making processes.

The TSP is an economic blueprint covering the period, October 2018 to December 2020, and provides a step by step approach which allows for prioritisation of policies and interventions necessary for the attainment of Vision 2030 that will purportedly transform Zimbabwe into a prosperous and upper middle income society. It is an economic policy that marks a watershed in post-independence Zimbabwe in that it is presented by policy makers as a departure from the so called Old Dispensation. The policy text drives the socio-economic and political agenda of the post 'soft coup' government ushered on 24 November 2017. As part of the rebranding crusade the new government is associated with contemporary discourses such as, New Dispensation and Second Republic. It is ostensibly a new identity also associated with archetypal discourses, 'Vision2030', the 'Voice of the People is the Voice God' and the 'Zimbabwe is open for business' mantra. Former Minister of Health and Child Care, Obadiah Moyo, gives perspective to the philosophy encapsulated in the new government initiative when he served a chilling warning to National Pharmaceutical Company (Natpharm) directors over

alleged sloppiness in disbursing medicine stockpiled at the Harare warehouse. The minister's riot act reads thus,

I want to warn you that this is a new dispensation. We are not going to tolerate people who do not want to work. The time of relaxing is gone. It went with the old dispensation. The Second Republic wants to ensure that people deliver. I want to see a change in your behaviour, in your performance (Murwira, 2019:1).

The discourses proffered are examples of buzzwords that are transmitted by the TSP policy text that is purportedly propagating a new socio-economic and political narrative. Thus the policy text as a communicative act defines and anchors an epoch in the evolution of the post independent republic. It should fascinate any researcher engaging a document purporting a break with the past, laying the basis for nation building under the auspices of New Dispensation and even more captivating is the hope of a prosperous nation it projects.

1.3 Background of the study

Since the attainment of independence in 1980, Zimbabwe has crafted and 'implemented' various economic policies designed to launch the country on the path to sustainable economic development. The public policies were also designed to address prevailing socio-economic and political challenges with the hope of setting Zimbabwe on a development path. A general statement that can be made regarding all these policies is that they suffered largely the fate of partial, poor or non-implementation. Post- independence Zimbabwe's macro-economic policies can be categorised within three broad phases of distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies (Zhou and Zvoushe, 2012). For clear perspective it is important to note that, economic policies are functional written texts (Fairclough, 1992). There are interrelationships among texts that shape a text's meaning. As Bakhtin (1996) notes, no text is an island in that it echoes other texts. An economic policy as a text is sustained by drawing from texts in co-circulation with it and others that are in retrospective and prospective linkages with it. Therefore, provision of an elaborate background of economic blueprints preceding the TSP is motivated by the realisation that recognisable echoes and reverberations of other texts add on to layers of meaning which provide for connection and continuity of texts and of cultures. For co-circulation and prospective linkages, the policy text provides for these through references as will be explained in the study.

It should be emphasised though that the connections are critical in the sense that they facilitate engagement with a broader literary heritage than just a discreet text. The multi layering of texts certainly has implications on implementation of the policy. Given that every text is in dialogue with other texts, it becomes imperative to focus on related economic blueprints preceding the case study. Therefore TSP in both the scheme of texts and historical terms, occupies a defining moment in governance in that it marks an epoch or threshold that breaks with the old regime and speaks to the so called second republic governance issues. In reality, as this study will reveal, governance is all about text for authorities draw from it for guidance and sustenance.

Distributive policies covering the first decade after the attainment of independence were inspired by the new dispensation euphoria, inequalities and injustices. Distributive policies formulated by the government were designed to allocate resources to the general public through promoting equal access to resources. The distributive approach meant that theoretically every individual, irrespective of status is a beneficiary in the envisaged egalitarianism among members in a political community. In the Zimbabwean context then there was a great spirit of wanting to build a new nation, of pulling in one direction. It was a period of incredible consensus and limited discordant voices as the great excitement inspired convergence on national issues. The primary concern by the government was allocation and distribution of resources to the rightful recipients, previously marginalised who incidentally had high expectations in terms of redressing colonial era imbalances and assimilation into the mainstream economy. In this vein, the Growth with Equity (GWE) (1981), Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) (1982-1985) and First Five Year National Development Plan (FFNDP) (1985- 1990) were promulgated. The GWE policy pronounced massive subsidies to social services particularly access to basic health and education. The free for all basic education policy saw a rapid growth in schools and enrolment in both primary and secondary schools. The government played the role of a benevolent father with a historical mandate to decide what it considered was good for its citizens. Aspirations of the liberation struggle lingered in this period when it was imperative to address imbalances through a policy which though socially successful was not economically sustainable. As Mzumara (2012) notes, there was growth in the social sector but it was not matched with growth in the productive sectors.

The TNDP economic blueprint sought to create state enterprises to actualise government programmes. The plan was hamstrung by failure to address equitable land redistribution, indigenisation and empowerment. The FFNDP policy emphasised economic growth, employment creation and poverty reduction. The economy experienced internal and external imbalances reflected in relatively high inflation, high unemployment levels and high budget deficits. The growth and development initiatives articulated in the first decade economic blueprints fell short on implementation. Many policies have faced the same fate where the problem is that only an insignificant part of the policy is implemented when it is only effectively implemented policies that bring about meaningful national development. Policies in the first decade bring to the fore the critical aspect of policy implementation which is a crucial test of any policy. Implementing policies that build upon the generic aspirations set out in government documents can be a challenging task for implementation agencies (Bach et al., 2014; Flanagan et al., 2011).

The second decade policies had a redistributive orientation in that they were largely concerned with the allocation of available resources, for example, land to inhabitants of a given area or the former rightful owners who might have been previously displaced from it. Olaniyi (1998) posits that redistributive policies cater for social inter-transfer of material resources. In practice the policy involves the allocation of resources by transferring such resources from one section of the society to another so that there is equilibrium in terms of sharing or accessing state resources. A redistributive policy is premised upon the assumption that some people enjoy public amenities in excess while some have limited capacity.

The government sought to develop policies aimed at encouraging and assisting people to use own initiatives and enterprise to meet their aspirations. Redistributive policies in the period include the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) (1991-1996) adopted across Africa and the rest of the world in line with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) prescriptions. Also located in the same era is the Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) (1996-2000). ESAP marked a shift from regulation to liberalisation giving rise to commercialisation of entities such as the Dairy Marketing Board and

Cold Storage Commission. There was also the deregulation of exchange control regimes and transport which ushered in more players in the sector. ESAP espoused management of monetary and credit aggregates to contain inflationary pressure and support the balance of payment objective. There was also the desire to eliminate export subsidies but encourage non-traditional exports.

Implementation of redistributive policies, headlined by ESAP, failed due to multiple reasons. Makwata (2013) attributes failure of policy to omissions or mistakes in the implementation process. It has been argued that there was lack of total commitment to ESAP by bureaucrats who were suspicious of IMF. The authorities and bureaucrats prevaricated and feared reprisals from the general populace if the attendant austerity measures were observed in letter and spirit. In addition, they were sceptical of the sincerity of IMF in rolling out a programme that had a record of untold suffering across the African continent and beyond. Thus, people who should have worked hard to make the programme work sabotaged it and acted as self-fulfilling prophecies of doom. There was also failure to protect the local manufacturing sector from import competition. There was lack of implementation of key reforms for example in the civil service and private sector. The structural adjustment programme initiatives witnessed wanton downsizing of civil service without adequate compensation. It was a period of gargantuan economic slide coupled with poverty prompting sceptics to interpret ESAP as 'Economic Suffering of the African People', (Makwata, 2013).

Enforcing austerity measures prescribed by IMF and WB proved a challenge as it entailed reversing important social gains of the first decade. For example, downsizing the civil service, privatisation of state owned enterprises, removal of subsidies and grants had implications on governance. The political will to implement the prescribed reforms given the attendant social costs was very low. There was inertia, and policy implementation under protest culminating in the abandonment of ESAP in 1997 following its devastating socio-economic consequences.

The Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation (ZIMPREST) policy was unveiled belatedly in 1998 to continue with the unfinished business of ESAP particularly on parastatal, financial and civil sector reforms. Political expediency got in the way of the policy

when the government committed unbudgeted once-off payments of Z\$ 50,000 then worth (\$1.315) and long term pensions to 60 000 veterans of the nation's liberation war (Sibanda and Makwata, 2017). What compounded the problem in the economy even more was participation in the expensive civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in support of slain Laurent Kabila's regime. Thus, the DRC and war veterans 'escapades' grossly interfered with ZIMPREST throwing the economy on a tailspin. In response to worsening macro-economic fundamentals, the government reintroduced regulations and controls that it had abandoned earlier in the ESAP policy. The economic variable seems to have traction in explaining why implementation of the given policies never materialised.

On the political front, the rejection of the draft constitution in the referendum held in February 2000 was historic in the sense that it marked Zimbabwe African National Union, Patriotic Front's (ZANU PF) first failure at the polls. The draft constitution had provisions to accelerate the land acquisition process. The embarrassed and frustrated government panicked and unleashed the widespread occupation of white owned farms. There was fear of the possibility of losing elections to the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), a new opposition political party. The blitz on white owned farms, code named fast track land reform programme, ensued and was characterised by lawlessness and violence. The West imposed economic sanctions which negatively impacted on the economy. The sanctions restricted access to bilateral and multilateral aid and development finance inflows, which for example, strangled nascent 'new farmers' who were poorly equipped, inadequately trained and funded to raise productivity and yields to competitive levels. Consequently, the farmers ended heavily indebted and bankrupted. Thus, ZIMPREST could not be closely followed through and effectively implemented as the economy descended into deeper depression. Zhou and Zvoushe (2012:26) argue that ZIMPREST was, "...too ambitious, encompassing a host of goals to be achieved: poverty reduction, land reform, employment, institutional reforms, decentralisation and others without clearly spelling out budgetary implications of each one of these policy objectives". Too much ambition and failure to spell out issues provide a hint of long talk in policy which is a potential linguistic gap in policy that can be a fertile ground for study.

Then there was Vision 2020 of 1999 which was launched as a long term developmental programme. It envisaged unity, strong democratic practices, prosperity, egalitarianism and a high quality of life for all Zimbabweans by the year 2020. These outcomes would be anchored on good governance, political stability, and access to social services by all citizens, accelerated rural development, equal opportunities, utilisation of modern science and technology and the sustainable utilisation and management of natural resources. Long term planning appeared though to have been abandoned as government pursued short term economic blue prints of theoretically five year blocks instead of a long term national vision. The Zimbabwean (an online publication) quotes the then Deputy Prime Minister Arthur Mutambara in the Government of National Unity sealing the fate of it when he remarked thus,

Vision 2020 is nowhere to be found and is possibly gathering dust somewhere in someone's office. We are now running with Vision 2040 which we hope to implement as we go along. We need to come up with long term vision which drives the country forward and not backwards.

As Malaba (2017) observes, Vision 2040 proposed as an alternative to Vision 2020, was touted as having capacity to transform Zimbabwe into a globally competitive economy, prosperous and with a high quality of life for all citizens. Therefore, the 'old but not used' or implemented Vision 2020 was dumped. With the advent of the New Dispensation, there was a shift to an ambitious reforms agenda with yet another vision. This is the Vision 2030 which is anchored by the policy text which is the object of this study.

Thus, the TSP strategic role in governance lies in that it purportedly lays building blocks which will expedite actualisation of Vision 2030 set to transform Zimbabwe into an upper middle income society. A government rebranding, professing a new socio-economic narrative, and more profoundly a prosperous economic order, certainly draws attention to the manual encapsulating governance. Thus the TSP as an official state text makes this appeal on the reader or researcher.

From the third decade of independence, macro policy philosophy had a regulatory orientation in the sense that the policies were designed to specify conditions for individual or collective behaviour. A regulatory policy is formulated as a control measure in the conduct of human and societal affairs in that it entails setting of standards and rules to limit or restrict certain behaviour or activities with undesirable consequences in the society (Olaniyi, 1998). Additionally, regulatory policies could be competitive or protective. By restricting for instance the number of people who can provide certain public goods or utilities, a policy is competitive while protective policies set conditions for private or group activities. There was turmoil and uncertainty in the economy culminating in the meltdown whose peak was in 2008 (Raftopoulos, 2009, Kanyenze et al., 2011). The Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP) (2001-2002) was designed to fight the spiralling inflation as it was considered to be the major cause of macro-economic instability. There was the need to stabilise prices at lower levels and interest rates. Sibanda and Makwata (2017) argue that MERP failed to revive the economy mainly because of non-implementation of recommended policies and loss of macro-economic balance due to the size of the budget. Then there was the National Economic Revival Programme (NERP) (2003-2004) which was a response to the hostile domestic and external environment emanating principally from vibrant opposition politics and sanctions respectively. The NERP economic blue print could not be effectively implemented in the volatile economic and political environment. The resurgence of more competitive party politics under the banner of the MDC posed a threat to the dominance of the ruling party in the council, parliamentary and presidential elections. In typical panic mode and populist streak, the government accelerated the fast track land reform programme. The Macro-Economic Policy Framework (MEPF) (2005-2006) was meant to reduce inflation, increase capacity utilisation. MERP sought to stabilise the Zimbabwe Dollar and resolve the foreign currency crisis through engaging support of the international community among many strategies. Although intensive input support schemes directed at 'new farmers' were initiated in all provinces, the policy like the ones before it could not be successfully implemented in the turbulent environment thus was abandoned midstream.

Other policies in the third decade suffered the same fate of poor or non-implementation. For instance, the National Economic Development Priority Programme (NEDPP) (2006-2008) designed to reduce inflation, stabilise local and foreign currency, reduction of debt and

improvement of the delivery of social services died a natural death as government was already working on a new development strategy during its tenure. The new policy, the Zimbabwe Economic Development Strategy (ZEDS) billed to run from 2007 to 2011 literally displaced NEDPP. ZEDS contained nothing new but repackaging of policies contained in the previous policy announcements (Sibanda and Makwata, 2017). Repackaging implies appreciation of the textual dynamic of policy. ZEDS came into being when the nation's woes were at their worst and this was exacerbated by controversial policies and activities bankrolled by the government such as the unpopular 'Murambatsvina' programme aimed at demolishing all unregistered residential settlements in urban areas. Operation Murambatsvina also officially known as Operation Restore Order was a large-scale Zimbabwean government campaign to forcibly clear slum areas across the country. The woes were compounded further by the enactment of pieces of legislation such as the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) and Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA). The pieces of legislation among many other things gave untold powers to the police, the Zimbabwe Republic Police (ZRP), and restrictive laws on independent and government media, respectively. In the intervening period, there was unparalleled hyperinflation and acute shortage of basic commodities. At the end of 2007, government indefinitely postponed the launch of ZEDS, an economic blue print that had been adopted in place of NEDPP.

Flip flopping on policy implementation continued unabated in the third decade of independence in Zimbabwe. The Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP 1) of 2009 focused on political and governance issues, social protection and stabilisation as key priority areas. The policy came after the formation of the Government of National Unity of ZANU PF and MDC formations. In the government, MDC ministers with the brief to reverse the ills of hyperinflation headed economic ministries. The nature of STERP 1 meant that some programmes and projects would not be fully implemented within the timeframe of nine months, and lack of anticipated donor funding for implementation of the programmes. Against this background, STERP 2 (2010-2012) was unveiled with the objective of facilitating sustainable rapid growth and further development of the economy. In the first three years, there was cohesion in government as ministers and bureaucrats from different political backgrounds closed rank to operationalise the policy, resulting in the dramatic fall of inflation to single digit levels and a rise in capacity utilisation in the manufacturing sector. As national polls of 2013 beckoned, politics started to

interfere with economics as ministers across the political divide played out their differences in public, frustrating the collective efforts and even undermining and sabotaging each other. As Matutu (2014) notes, elections emphasise political survival and electoral victory whose momentum gathers in the third year of five year periods and is inimical to policy implementation.

During the tenure of STERP 2, the government adopted the Medium Term Plan (MTP) (2011) designed to restore and transform capacities for sustainable economic growth and development, rehabilitation and completion of outstanding projects, employment creation, macro-economic stability, and Information Communication Technology (ICT) and science technology development and good governance. MTP was hastily abandoned when ZANU PF won the 2013 elections paving way for the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET) programme. The regulatory policies in the third phase were largely unpredictable as it was a case of, "...implement first, formulate and legislate later" (Zhou and Zvoushe, 2012: 9). Policy making was not only done in a highly unpredictable manner but also in a somewhat temperamental, exclusive, top-down and short range way.

The ZIMASSET economic blue print was an offshoot of the 2013 ZANU PF election manifesto, and consultative process of politicians, private sector and other stakeholders. Covering the period, October 2013 to December 2018, the policy was cluster based, modelled around internal relationships and linkages existing between various facets of the economy namely, food security and nutrition, social services and poverty eradication, infrastructure and utilities and, value addition and beneficiation. There were also two sub clusters that superintended over Fiscal Reform Measures and, Public Administration, Governance and Performance Management.

ZIMASSET provided for 'quick wins' covering the period October 2013- December 2015 while other 'deliverables' were targeted up to December 2018. The Office of the President and Cabinet monitored and evaluated the implementation of the blueprint and set 2017 as the year of 'practical delivery' of targets. ZIMASSET is located in arguably the extended third phase of regulatory economic policies as it regulates what needs to be done, the conduct of agencies and

ministries in the realisation of the ultimate developmental goals. ZIMASSET as a framework was destined to guide various socio-economic efforts by the government and non-state actors. The projected deliverables largely remained pie in the sky. However, there are intriguing interpretations of perceived achievements of the deliverables explained later in the discussion. Suffice it to say that variations in interpretation of discourses in policy text present a strong case for critical analysis of the linguistic variable in policy implementation processes. The crux of the matter relates to how critical discourses which are delimited and defined in terms of scope by the policy maker can complicate matters at implementation level. However, the advent of the 'second republic' marked the demise of the economic policy that had a results based agenda. The consignment of the economic policy to oblivion opened the door to the adoption of the Transitional Stabilisation Programme (TSP) which is premised on a reform based agenda. While the policies seemingly converge on the nationalist ideology it is in the motivation for the ideological construct that differences can be discerned. This is an issue that gains traction in the unfolding discussion which relates the policy formulation directly to potential implementation dynamics.

The TSP set to cover the period October 2018 to December 2020 paves way for the development of two five-year national development strategies. The First plan is for 2021 to 2025 while the Second plan is for the period covering 2026 to 2030. Therefore, it is a precursor to effective launch of developmental programmes and projects in the mould of five-year economic blueprints. The TSP is designed to stabilise the economy and lay a strong foundation for the successor plan. The TSP prioritises, fiscal consolidation, economic stabilisation, stimulation of growth and creation of employment. There are some areas of convergence between the TSP and ZIMASSET notably the beneficiation and value addition and 'quick win' initiatives and projects. Insights from evolving discourses seem to point in the direction of policy reversals, contradictory policy pronouncements and misinterpretations by different agencies of government around key aspects of the policy that bolsters the case for critically inspired research in the hidden and transparent textual issues of the policy. The question that lingers is as follows: Is the policy text debilitated by an intricate 'implementation deficit' playing out of what is on both the surface, and beneath that surface? This is a question whose answer fortifies the linguistic variable in critical discourse around the economic policy.

A litany of failed policies, long on talk but short on implementation precedes the TSP. There is a high turnover of economic blueprints in post-independent Zimbabwe which are located in different phases of the country's evolution. The policies modelled around, distributive, redistributive and regulatory orientations have the identity of failure inscribed on them, individually and collectively. Commenting on the common trend although sounding somewhat cynical, Masuku (2013:4) concludes thus,

...seems like you put together any three or four consonants, then add the vowel 'e' to represent economics, you will have come up with an economic programme (which) when once crafted (is) then abandoned or never implemented.

Thus given the grim background of failed economic policies and visions, it should then become apparent why the TSP offers hope and promise to the dejected. As a maiden ambitious project of the New Dispensation that purportedly marks a 'break with the past' and laying a foundation for prosperity the manual inevitably captures the mind of all and sundry, including researchers. The possibility of respite and hope that the key that unlocks the mystery of the yawning gap between a policy and implementation, lies in re-imaging government through the TSP should be enough stimulus to any curious mind.

Post independent Zimbabwe's economic policies preceding the TSP are duly illustrated in a table. Insightfully as the current study was drawing to a close, the successor policy to the economic policy studied was unveiled on 16 November 2020. Dubbed the National Development Strategy (NDS1), the country's new economic blueprint covering the period 2021-2025 is set to guide economic planning over the next half decade and succeeds the TSP which as explained expires at end of 2020. The blueprint will run under the theme "Towards a Prosperous and Empowered Upper Middle Income Society by 2030". Also the NDS1 is the first Five-Year Medium Term Plan aimed at realising Zimbabwe's Vision 2030 while simultaneously and asymmetrically addressing the continental and global aspirations as articulated in Africa Agenda 2063 and the United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The NDS1 is in turn expected to be succeeded by the second national development strategy that will be operationalised during the period 2026 to 2030. The TSP therefore provides the fulcrum

designed to anchor the cherished 2030 Vision and herein lies its strategic importance in the consummation of policy discourses.

Table 1 below, illustrates economic policies and programmes adopted in post- independence Zimbabwe.

Date	Economic policy / programme	Period Covered
1February 1981	Growth with Equity (GWE)	1981
	Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP)	1982-1985
	First Five Year National Development Plan (FFNDP)	1985-1990
18 January 1991	Economic Structural Adjustment Plan (ESAP)	1991-1995
29 March 2000	Vision 2020 & Long Term Development Strategy	1992-2020
1 August 2001	Millennium Economic Recovery Programme (MERP)	2001-2002
1 February 2003	National Economic Recovery Programme (NERP)	2003-2004
1 November 2004	Macro-Economic Policy Framework (MERP)	2005-2006
1 April 2006	National Economic Development Priority Plan (NEDPP)	2006-2008
30 September 2007	Zimbabwe Economic Development Strategy (ZEDS)	2007-2011
19 March 2009	Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP 1)	2009
23December2009	Short Term Emergency Recovery Programme (STERP 11)	2010-2012
1 July 2011	Millennium Term Plan (MTP)	2011-2013
1 October 2013	Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZIMASSET)	2013-2018
5 October 2018	Transitional Stabilisation Programme(TSP)	October2018-December 2020.

Table1: Economic policies, 1980-2020

1.4 Preliminary overview of relevant literature

It has been observed by many scholars that the process of policy implementation is the basis and crucial test for policies yet there are not many theories that have been developed to explain effective application of policy (Lee, 2011; Linton 2002). (Capsule (2011) argues that there is need for greater understanding of the nature of policy implementation processes in order to help policy makers devise appropriate instruments to reach their objectives. In addition, Hill (2013) maintains that policy making remains a very complex, multi-layered exercise that is also widely political owing to the principal actors involved in policy formulation processes. Part of the cast of these actors includes politicians, pressure groups and public servants. Economic blue prints or public policies are essentially outputs of political systems. Given the complexity and multi-layering dynamic in policies critical analysis of texts can go a long way in revealing the probable missing link between policy and implementation. It helps unpack laws in the book and how they function in the real world. Policy makers and authorities have an obligation to see to it that policy decisions and initiatives are executed and that the intended outcomes and results are achieved. They have an obligation to ensure that what they put forward as a policy is implementable. Huddleston (2009) argues that decisions enunciated in policy are hardly self-implementing. This implies that the policy maker should have a model reader of the policy text in mind so that the formulation easily connects with the implementation process. Policy formulation deals with the 'whats' and 'whys' of policy process whereas the policy implementation is concerned with 'the what', 'the where', 'the who', 'the when', (Geurts, 2011). From the given observation we see policy making and implementation converging on the 'what' issues in text which is a reflection of the possibility of a direct link between the two processes in policy making. In the context of public policy, more specifically language policies in African countries, Bamgbose (1999; 2000) highlights interesting issues around policy documents that significantly explain the gap between a policy and its implementation. Some of the intriguing features that are brought to the fore include vagueness and generalised statements which render the policies to non-compliance by the end users .In some instances the policies are said to be riddled with escape clauses which predispose them to non-implementation. Thus inertia and paralysis at implementation stages can be a reflection of the language that is used in crafting the policy.

Language as a variable in policy can be a stumbling block to realisation of intended outcomes. The linguistic variable assumes various descriptions including vagueness, inconsistencies all of which make it difficult to implement a given policy. As Skutnabb -Kangas, 2006) observes, escape clauses and use of alternatives in provisions of policy can be ignored by an indifferent implementer as they are not mandatory or obligatory. These are examples of textual issues, more specifically 'textual deficits' which are decipherable at textual analysis level. Combined with subtle, implicit and hidden textual issues extracted through complex thinking, it would be possible to explain why at the implementation stage activities and processes happen the way they do. Alternatively a case can be inferred on implications the language of text construction in its 'seen' and 'unseen' dimensions impact implementation processes.

Governance is about text. Gee (2010) argues that language and politics are connected in policy matters. Public texts originated by government are ideologically laden (Novak-Lukanovic[^] and Limon, 2012). The TSP is a specific text type or genre serving a social conventional use thus constituting a principal unit of analysis for CDA. An economic policy as a functional written text marks a site for discourses of struggle, power and ideology (Fairclough, 1992). Since a policy text is laden not only with transparent but also hidden issues it is imperative to invoke a flexible and open ended theoretical framework. This is how CDA owing to its problem oriented thrust, its interdisciplinary flavour and as an ensemble of methodological and theoretical approaches (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, Billig, 2003, Muspratt et al., 1997, Janks, 1997), is fit for purpose. As scholars argue, CDA is capacitated to unravel elite control of influential public discourses, 'absences and presences' as well as implied 'inclusion and exclusion' patterns in discourses (Van Dijk, 2005, Kress and Leeuwen, 2001, Blommaert, 2005, Pal, 1996). Opaque, grey areas, invisible aspects, machinations and subtlety in discourses are laid bare through the model. It is therefore prudent to deploy a model of analysis capacitated to untangle intricacies, potential deficits and more profoundly how the 'wrongs' may be 'righted'. In addition to linguistic elements and processes existing in a text or a set of texts retrievable at text analysis level, the model has scope to explain why and under what circumstances and consequences the producers of the text make specific linguistic choices among several other options available in language use. Its

unfettered outreach capacitates it to uncover complex linguistic choices made during the process of text production. In an economic policy the overt elements are the visible, official, explicit and written while the covert issues are the unofficial, implicit and unwritten aspects of policy (Schiffman, 2006). Figure 1 below illustrates graphically the mechanics of the interplay in discourses, and it gives perspective into the capacity of the selected model of analysis.

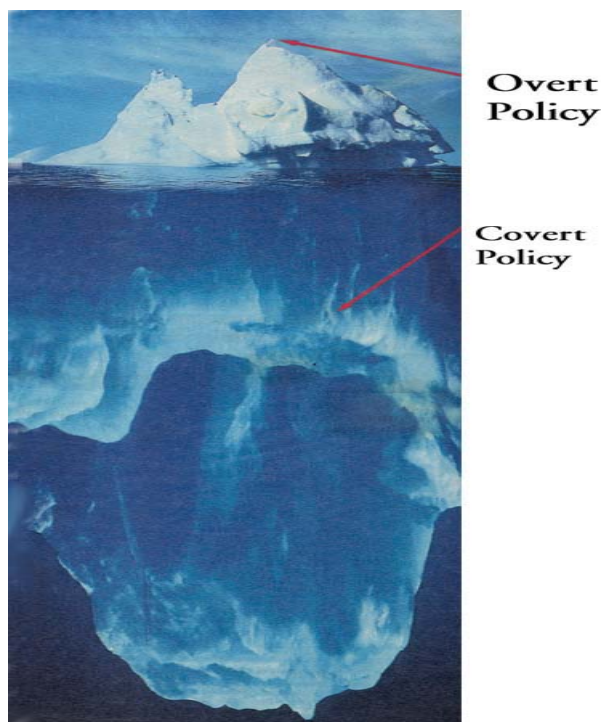


Figure 1: Overt and Covert policy (Adapted from, Schiffman, H.F, 2006)

As revealed in Figure 1 above, what we have in a given policy text is akin to a tip of the iceberg as more connected textual issues lie beneath the surface requiring exploration which evokes critical thinking. A researcher using CDA has ample room for manoeuvre and navigation around textual matters. CDA has the added advantage that allows different audiences to interpret texts differently as a result of realities such as different backgrounds, status, experiences, knowledge and political power. As scholars argue, the right interpretation does not exist (Fairclough, 2002; Wodak and Ludwig, 1999). Thus, creativity is enhanced within the frame although this has implications for standardised and uniform interpretation at policy implementation levels. It is a model that can be used to describe, interpret, explain, analyse or critique social life reflected in text. There is potential for illumination of ways in which dominant forces in a society construct

versions of reality that promote their interests. An ideological construct would for example be massaged in partisan and sectional interests. Groups in control of influential public discourses such as policy makers (in top-down theoretical models), politicians and authorities play a critical role in knowledge reproduction and perpetuation of certain ideologies in society (Van Dijk, 2003; 2005).

1.5 Statement of research problem and research questions

On October 5, 2018 the government of Zimbabwe, re-imaging as the New Dispensation, through the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development launched the TSP policy text anchoring the Vision 2030. The economic policy contains a raft of socio-economic and political interventions, strategies and initiatives that are set to lay the base for economic growth and actualisation of the enunciated vision. The success of the programme as the presidential foreword emphasises, “will not depend on Government efforts alone, but on a coordinated collaborative multi-stakeholder approach”. The emphasis gives perspective into how language used in formulating the policy can have grave implications when it comes to concretising specific issues at the implementation process level.

The TSP policy is premised against a background of multiple economic policy initiatives and programmes, with shared characteristics, in post-independent Zimbabwe which have however failed the crucial test of implementation. The economic policies have largely suffered a stillbirth, partial or non-implementation, and in order to explain the demise variables, ‘outside of’ policies have been proffered. Examples of such exogenous variables include social, economic and political considerations. It is apparent that the high turnover of economic policies is an indication that crafting or formulating the official state texts has never been a challenge, instead the major bone of contention lies with implementation. The gap between policy and implementation seems to elicit predictable responses; wherein as intimated, exogenous variables are tendered in respect of failed policies. The common refrain among commentators is foregrounding of social, economic and political factors whenever policy implementation fails and this response is predictable. It is however important to appreciate that the linguistic variable whose strength lies in that it couches the other variables plays a pivotal role in explaining the puzzle in policy implementation. The issue relates to how the text on the basis of its construction predisposes it

to implementation. It is possible that apparent and latent linguistic features in a policy text are liable for the fate or destiny of the same policy. Typical policy documents are marked by structural aspects inclusive of vagueness, avoidance, arbitrariness, fluctuations, let outs, opt outs, incoherencies, contradictions, inconsistencies, alternatives, technical justification handicaps and concealed agendas, (Annamalia, 2004; Webb, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003;2006). In the preceding policy, ZIMASSET, the scope for the linguistic variable, for instance, lay in the view that there is reference to useful documentation needed at implementation but which is not provided in the policy text. In the given policy text there is allusion to, “other critical targets, which have not been captured”. It is possible to work with a policy document that misses critical information that can be the basis for paralysis at the policy implementation stage. Thus, it is may not be farfetched to suggest that the TSP policy text has potential seeds linking formulation directly and indirectly to its implementation. The connection between policy formulation and implementation can also be established in the evolving discourses tied to the policy and playing out in the public domain. Additionally, the economic policy as a text offers scope for connection with texts in co-circulation with it, and various texts it links with retrospectively and prospectively. These connections have implications on, for instance, density, complexity and interpretation of outcomes and deliverables of the policy. In this regard, this study seeks to address the following research questions;

1.5.1 Research Questions

1. What overt linguistic strategies are employed in Zimbabwe’s TSP policy document?
2. To what extent do these linguistic strategies predispose the TSP economic policy to effective implementation?
3. To what extent does the TSP policy document constitute or is constituted by dominant socio-economic discourses?
4. Do political ideological shifts in Zimbabwe explain the textual composition of the TSP policy document?

To evaluate the textual aspects of the TSP policy document, the study uses the open ended and flexible CDA framework. More specifically within the CDA framework, the textual analysis draws from Norman Fairclough's three dimensions of discourse analysis which are represented as follows: Text analysis, Discourse practice and Social practice. At each of the levels, there are discernible textual issues in visible and concealed forms which when aggregated reveal the direct link between policy formulation and implementation processes. Thus, culpability of linguistic features in potential implementation dynamics can be established.

1.6 Hypothesis

In this study, a hypothesis is put forward as an assumption, an idea or hunch proposed for argument sake so that it can be tested to establish its veracity. Accordingly the research is modelled around the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The TSP policy text is a consolidated and complete policy document enunciating salient socio-economic and political issues lucidly and comprehensively. Use of text fragments which is essentially cherry picking would be construed in Stubbs' (1994, 1997) submission as designed to prove preconceived ideas or points. A small scale analysis naturally skirts linguistic patterns that are cumulatively frequent therefore representing powerful discourses.

Hypothesis 2: The policy text, formulated, launched, adopted and handed down to executing agencies is implementable as there are clear standard operating procedures. The letter and spirit of the policy provisions and initiatives are accessible and that there will be no deviations at policy implementation stage.

1.7 Aim of the study

This study seeks to examine the potential linguistic gap between the TSP text and implementation of the policy.

1.7.1 Research objectives

The objectives of the study are:

1. To explore intratextual aspects of Zimbabwe's TSP policy document using CDA method.
2. To evaluate effectiveness of linguistic strategies used in Zimbabwe's TSP policy document.
3. To investigate the extent to which Zimbabwe's TSP constitutes and is constituted by dominant socio-economic discourses.
4. To critique the extent to which political ideological shifts potentially influence effective implementation of Zimbabwe's TSP economic blue-print.

1.8 Rationale and Significance of the study.

In the developing world policy implementation has been cited as one of the major challenges that policy makers and authorities grapple with and this is the case with particular regard to widening gaps between policy intentions and outcomes (Sibanda and Makwata, 2017). With respect to Zimbabwe, since 1980 the government has initiated socio-economic policies intended to launch the nation on the path to meaningful development but there has been partial, poor or non-implementation of the same. While various explanations have been proffered to explain the missing link between a policy and implementation, the linguistic voice has been somewhat muted in the critical national discourses yet its causal effect cannot be downplayed. "Policies need to be properly formulated and must as well be properly monitored so as to avoid failure", (Samson and Stanley, 2014). The failure of a public policy is a failure of government and governance. Effective implementation of policies results in the attainment of desired goals which will propel Zimbabwe to the league of developed nations. Therefore, a linguistic study designed to interrogate the TSP text goes a long way in articulating effective discourses that can bridge the yawning gap between policy and implementation. While vagueness can be a linguistic strategy by the elite as insurance against non-compliance, it is possible that it can be an error of omission and not necessarily commission. If the practice is by default not design, then textual analysis is a critical step towards defining best practices in public policy.

There is also as Kapsali (2011) observes, need for a much greater understanding of the nature of policy implementation processes in order to help policy makers devise appropriate instruments for the actualisation of decisions into programmes .A study that establishes a direct link between policy formulation and implementation will go a long way in explaining why things, activities, processes and practices happen the way they do at implementation levels. In addition, the research proffers possible explanations as to how policy outcomes and deliverables should be actualised. This is a critical study designed to play a part in narrowing the divide between a policy and its implementation. To my knowledge, the evolving historic and ambitious TSP which is enriching contemporary discourses has not yet been subjected to scholarly interrogation with the view to explaining the linguistic aspect in relation to policy implementation. Instead, few commentators have focused on the evolving TSP with regards to how it is ill-fated from mainly economic and political perspectives. Prospects for successful implementation of TSP seem bleak if indications from some researchers are anything to go by. For instance, Sibanda and Makwata (2017:34) referring to the preceding policy to the TSP, argue,

The implementation time frame for ZIMASSET despite its well-intended cause remains too short to transform the economy due to the complexity of the challenges bedevilling the country... ZIMASSET risks being reduced to a mere piece of paper waiting to be retired in the dustbins of history due to challenges of funding its complete implementation.

So the time frame aspect attributed to the preceding policy can be applied to TSP which incidentally covers an even shorter period of October 2018 to December 2020. Such is an example of an economic explanation proffered on the possible fate of an economic policy which can be transferred to policies of shared characteristics. On specifically the TSP, ruling party ZANU PF spokesman, Simon Khaya Moyo says,

Of course we are aware that the programme will require financing. If there is no money, then it would not be implemented. It is up to the Minister (Mthuli Ncube) to come back and explain to the party that he does not have resources or he should find a way of raising the required money, (Chidza, 2018:4)

There is evidence that economic pronouncements have been made in relation to the potential implementation challenges of economic policies. Other analysts have trumpeted the political variable. For example, Matutu (2014) bemoans the periodic election mode as a potential factor towards non-implementation of policies. Kanyenze (2014) approaches the political dynamic from a different perspective in his submission that ZIMASSET's failure will be attributable to its direct link with the ruling party's election manifesto and not necessarily lack of an all-inclusive

consultative framework. The linguistic voice seems glaringly muted in the critical discourse around implementation gaps. Are policy makers presenting policies that are implementable to the end users? That is a possible question that can orient the discourses around policy making processes in the space of the linguistic features and voice.

At a theoretical level, the study hopes to deepen the appreciation of CDA and assert its strategic importance in unpacking textual matters between policy formulation and implementation. In this vein, the research serves to extend frontiers of applied linguistics which benefits the discipline. Generalisation of this study can also percolate into the body of future policy makers, researchers and planners. The study will be useful to planning ministries, agencies and political leadership principally on textual matters around public policy. The study helps to inform the formulation of similarly oriented policies which has traditionally been the norm in government that, after securing mandate from polls, a new government adopts a new economic blue print.

Finally, Speaker of the House of Assembly, Advocate Jacob Mudenda addressing parliamentarians at a pre-budget briefing criticised academics for not analysing the preceding policy, ZIMASSET, remarking thus,

We cannot have ZIMASSET as a decorative document like a mirror all the time...how good is it if we are not pursuing its implementation? So these scholars have let us down...we want research that is done for people here in Zimbabwe then our universities will be relevant (Murwira, 2016:1).

Therefore, focus on TSP is an indirect response to the plea in the study that hopes to contribute significantly to the critical national discourse around public policy matters from a linguistic point of view.

1.9 Overview of the research design and methodology

The case study research of the TSP policy document involves a close in-depth and detailed examination of the text and related contextual conditions. The case study in line with Simon's (2009) view, offers in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project or programme in a real life context. The text will be studied within its real world context through empirical enquiry (Yin, 2014). This will be done within the broad framework of CDA which is both theory and method. The specific CDA tenet to be used

for analysis of the data is Norman Fairclough's three dimensional analysis of discourse which has text analysis, social and discourse practices as its pillars.

The study employs a qualitative research technique for analysis. However, as Baker (2008) posits there is a fuzzy boundary between the qualitative and quantitative approach. The fuzziness lies in that in a research qualitative findings can be quantified in line with quantitative approach while quantitative findings need to be interpreted thus aligning with qualitative approach. McEnery and Wilson (2001: 77) emphasise that, "quantitative analysis can provide greater richness and precision, whereas qualitative analysis can provide statistically reliable and generalizable results". Therefore the two are not incompatible perspectives on data. In this qualitative research, although in isolated instances frequencies of occurrences of certain discourses coded are numbered, the underlying principle remains profoundly qualitative. Although certain variables in social science research may be captured quantitatively they remain qualitative. The use of numbers or assigning numbers can be understood as mere labels associated with personal evaluation. The open coding system to be adopted involves clustering concepts into categories, and ultimate themes which capture discourses that provide a link between policy formulation and implementation. It has to be emphasised that there is no fixed, standard or uniform way on how to design a qualitative study. Lack of rigidity in terms of structure allows for creativity on the part of the researcher. This is a flexibility which coupled with the open ended CDA theoretical framework particularly the lack of absoluteness in interpretation of discourses, allows for creativity on the part of the researcher who is not constrained. The researcher is not structured but navigates freely handling data in creative ways. The theoretical framework and reviewed literature inform the data analysis. A detailed discussion of the research design and methodology of the study will be presented in Chapter 3.

1.10 Outline of the remainder of the thesis

The remaining chapters are broken down as follows:

Chapter 2 covers the literature review and theoretical framework. The literature review addresses theoretical perspectives from scholarly arguments around public policy matters and evidence from similarly oriented studies that expose gaps that will be filled in by the study. The

literature will guide and inform the analytical process. Insights into CDA are presented and specific reference is made to Norman Fairclough's three dimensional model of discourse analysis which has three levels, namely, text analysis, discourse and social practice.

Chapter 3 covers a discussion of the research design and methodology applied in the textual analysis of the TSP policy document. This is a case study research which uses qualitative data analysis. The method of analysis is also evaluated, as well as pilot study findings and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 focuses on data presentation, analysis and interpretation. The detailed chapter is organised within the levels, namely, description, interpretation and explanation which are inextricably intertwined. The interrelatedness of the levels encapsulates the analysis dynamic provided for in this chapter. The organisation makes it possible to navigate the intratextual, intertextual and ideological issues which are explained in relation to the link between policy formulation and implementation.

Chapter 5. The chapter presents discussion of the findings drawn from the data presented at the respective levels of text analysis, discourse and socio-cultural practices.

Chapter 6 offers a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the research. The findings, conclusions and recommendations are aligned to theoretical models and CDA adopted in the study and the reviewed literature. Additionally, discussion of the major conclusions drawn from findings will be related to objectives of the study, and they will cover the interrelated levels of the three-step model of analysis. The recommendations which gloss over limitations, provide the scope for potential remedy and future research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the literature review of public policy making processes, and the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) theoretical framework. Review of related literature illuminates the essence of public policy and this gives a clear perspective to the appreciation and conceptualisation of the Transitional Stabilisation Programme as an example of a state official text. There is also focus on models of public policy making processes with specific emphasis on the 'turbulent flow' whose explanation and illustration reveals the possibility of exploring direct connection between policy formulation and implementation. The connection plays into the thrust of the study in a profound way. There is also a highlight of the ideals or perspectives which reveal that public policy making process is largely a politically driven exercise and this is a reality that also gives scope to the view that governance is all about text. Conceptual issues of the political 'hand' in public policy are fossilised in the main in the top-down, bottom-up and hybrid theoretical models which are elaborated in the quest to place policy formulation and implementation in clear context. There is also focus on linguistic aspects of a public policy which highlights potential textual issues playing into the link between policy formulation and implementation. Textual issues which essentially cover overt discourses pave way for appreciation of the CDA theoretical framework which is capacitated to unpack covert discourses within its ambit. Therefore for clearer progression of the outreach envisioned in the study, Norman Fairclough's CDA tenet of three dimensional model of discourse analysis comprising text analysis, discourse practices and social practices is conveniently located in this chapter

2.2 Essence of public policy

A policy guides and reflects a government and its actions. It is a statement by authorities, more specifically government on what it intends to do in order to solve a public problem. According to Kraft and Furlong (2018: 38),

Public policy is a course of government action or inaction in response to public problems. It is associated with formally approved policy goals and means, as well as the regulations and practices of agencies that implement programs.

From the definition what can be emphasised is the role of government in public policy. What authorities and by extension citizens represent, choose to do or not to do about socio-economic and political issues is the essence of public policy. Public problems can be viewed as conditions that the public widely perceives to be undesirable and unacceptable and that therefore warrant attention and intervention. Public policy is therefore largely driven by arguments around problems and solutions in a society. The costs involved in the potential solutions of the identified challenges are provided in real terms or projections. It is important to note that many players are involved in framing problems in a particular way as well as the attendant set of solutions.

Public policies emerge as a result of socio-economic challenges besetting society warranting intervention by government. Public policies also affect and encompass all citizens. The proposed course of actions manifest in socio-economic and political initiatives and interventions embedded in the policy. A government which does not have a clear plan of actions is likened to a traveller who embarks on a journey without a sense of purpose and direction and who will therefore not be clear about the destination (Chijioke, 1987). Destination can be likened to purpose which is critical in that it ensures that the traveller does not wander, stray or ramble aimlessly in the jungle. The purpose and direction for government practices is enshrined in policies. More specifically an economic blueprint as an example of a public policy typically charts policies, institutional reforms and national priorities. Governments are guided by policies and informed criticisms and appraisals are premised on policies. Governments behave the way they do largely due to policy positions. Various interest groups, stakeholders and the general public will tell if the government is responding to their demands on the basis of policy pronouncements. Some of the demands that people make upon policy makers in policy making processes relate to values, interests, claims and benefits. Policies address socio-economic challenges which are reflected in policy formulation processes as inputs. Policy outcomes as opposed to the demands are the overall manifestations of policies in terms of goals set for attainment. The manifestations could be the envisioned or accidental consequences of policy for the society where the policy is implemented. It is policies that give an indication of how the government proposes to grapple with issues of concern to the populace. A public policy is an official state text which provides a broad framework designed to operationalise ideas, philosophes, programmes, decisions or

visions. Anderson (2010) posits that a public policy is purposive and that it involves actors dealing with prevailing challenges or matters of concern.

A public policy also spells out a broad range of strategies and actions desirable for the attainment of desired goals. Thornhill (2012) argues that public policies are framed in broad terms and that they derive largely from the ruling party. An even more comprehensive conceptualisation of policy is proffered by Cheminais' (1998) view that, in a policy aspects such as what needs to be achieved and who needs to be involved ,the various means to be utilised and the time frames for specific activities are articulated. Policies are a guide and offer solutions to societal problems prevailing during a particular time or over a period of time (Knill and Tosum, 2008). A public policy as a statement of intent provides guidelines which are supposed to be followed to achieve set objectives as well as to provide effective governance (Chigumira, 2005). It is certainly through policy that a government translates socio-economic and political vision into programmes and action. Thus, it can be argued that governance is all about policy. In linguistic terms one can argue that governance revolves around text. Economic policies are examples of public policies and some of the types include distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies.

Public policies are realised through effective implementation (Meier, 2000). A public policy must be implemented for success of any policy lies in its implementation. The link between a policy and implementation lies in the view that, a public policy is a theory or a hypothesis derived from a theory as it carries an assumption that certain action will result in a specific outcome (Dresang and Huddleston, 2009). Transcending policy goals into operational reality falls within the domain of implementation. Theory, as explained, transcends into action as the policy is 'brought' into life or execution. A policy becomes meaningful only when it is implemented (Hanekon, 1978). Policy implementation has often been viewed as the Achilles Heel of any policy since the failure of any policy to have desired outcomes is often attributed to poor implementation of the policy. Policy implementation is therefore a complex area of policy in that it involves conceptualisation, appreciation and comprehension of many details inclusive of the following; familiarisation with concrete steps or procedures, allocation of human, material and financial resources, adherence to timelines, coordination and evaluation of progress. There is also the reality that there has to

be a long view of the process that may overstretch the patience of politicians seeking 'quick fixes' or rapid results initiatives for challenges. The implementation of a policy involves undertaking activities and action points set out or pronounced in the policy. There is a gap between policy and implementation which can be attributed to many factors which include structural issues of the policy itself. How the policy is structured can pose grave challenges for implementation process. A public policy should be implementable using prevailing and or existing capacities in terms of skills, institutions, infrastructure and finances. Clear goals devoid of contradictions should be a key feature of a sound policy. Part of that understanding entails engaging and familiarisation with the stages involved in the public policy making processes. The engagement reveals peculiarities and complexities at various stages.

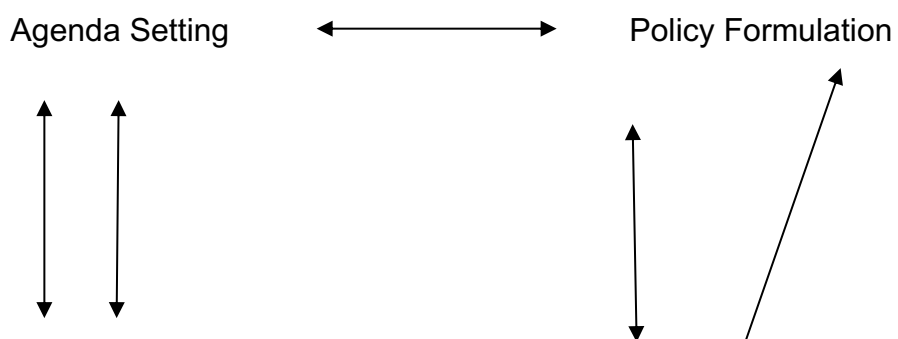
2. 2.1 Public policy making process.

Designing and developing a policy is a complex exercise involving patterns of actions, behaviours, attitudes extending over time and involving many decisions. There are varied models that can be proffered to explain the public policy making process. Some researchers, for example Sambo (1999) regard the process as a product of distinct stages. The distinct stages suggest that the 'policy process' involves some kind of a system that translates policy ideas into actual policies that are implemented and have a positive effect. This is a classic way to study policy making through breaking it down into stages which vary by context but whose basic ideas remain the same. It is a descriptive model that simplifies a complex process by identifying its key elements. There is division of the policy process into a series of stages from a notional starting point at which the policy maker reflects on a policy problem to a notional end point of policy which in some instances is defined by policy termination stage as what happened to the ZIMASSET policy document in Zimbabwe. The fate of the economic blueprint became ill-fated with the collapse of the government led by the late former President Robert Mugabe. The policy document was terminated and consigned to oblivion as archival material paving way for the inauguration of the TSP.

Fragmentation of the stages offers scope for possible range of studies and discussion points based on the analysis of individual stages as in the top-down and bottom-up theoretical models

to the study of policy making. It can be noted that distinct stages are simple, understandable and this is essential to those new to policy studies. However fragmentation of the stages constitutes what traditionally is regarded in public policy texts as ‘textbook model’ or ‘stages model’ of policy process which has been subjected to considerable critique in recent years. The main criticism relates to how the model implies that policy making proceeds step by step, commencing and ending at specific points. The linear dynamic of the stages model provides for a simplistic view that does not adequately account for the reality of public policy given that the steps that appear discrete and sequential negate simultaneous occurrence of the steps which is out of order in real life policy making. Critics also argue that a policy ideas do not as a matter of principle reach every stage instead they may for example get to the agenda stage but fail to move beyond that stage. There is a possibility for criss-crossing of the stages which renders the model defective in terms of explaining how policy process works. As an input-output model the stages model falls short in explaining the complexity of the policy making process and even more profoundly the reality that stages are often avoided skipped or even flattened owing to contextual and circumstantial considerations. Consequently, the given realities make it difficult for linear progression of stages in policy making.

For purposes of perspective and laying basis to the appreciation of linkages between the stages, the policy making can be regarded not in terms of ‘fragmented’ events but as interplay of various stages. Using a ‘turbulent flow’ model, ‘moments in the life’ of a policy making process are discernible as well as an appreciation of the interrelatedness of the stages. Figure 2 below, illustrates the philosophy behind the given perspective whose elements will be subsequently explained in relation to each of the stages.



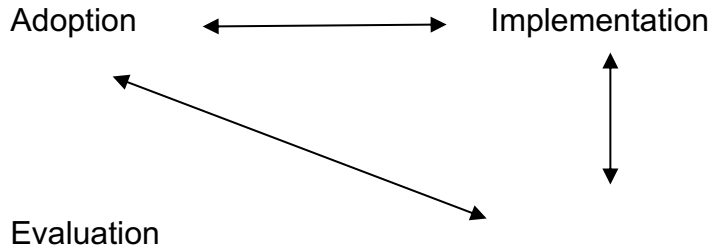


Figure 2: Stages in policymaking: a turbulent flow (Adapted from, Benoit, 2013)

What emerges from the illustration above is the interconnectedness of the stages constituting the public policy production process. The moments captured include agenda setting which simply means that a policy is crafted in response to a specific problem arising in a constituency or discourse community. Issues compete for space on the policy agenda. When authorities or policy makers actively engage in discussions around societal challenges and possible solutions the issue is said to be ‘on the agenda’. In this vein, Cobb and Elder (1983) provide a distinction between a systemic agenda, which entails what the public would be aware of and discussing, and an institutional or government agenda, to which policy makers or authorities give active and serious consideration. It can be argued that if an issue or problem fails to attract appropriate attention government response will not be guaranteed. How agenda setting plays out at government level can be related to the American context. In the given context, the media, interest groups, members of Congress or the president may present matters of particular concern and which have to be addressed, as:

President Lyndon Johnson did in the 1960’s for civil rights, President Bush did in 2001 for education reform, and President Obama did in 2009 for health care reform, and Donald Trump did so in many issue areas upon taking office in 2017. Governors or mayors do the same at the state and local level, as illustrated by the New Jersey governor Chris Christie’s action and statements on disaster relief following Hurricane Sandy (Kraft and Furlong, 2018: 160).

It can be emphasised that policy makers do not typically develop a list of items that they will claim to be on the agenda. Instead, concerned citizens and societies can get a sense of what the authorities feel are important problems or issues based on their topical issues for discussion in press conferences and web resources. Topical issues that are apparent and have thus applied the minds of the citizenry feed into the agenda setting realm. In some instances, it is a question

of application of decision agendas whereby the government simply decides arbitrarily which issues to give primacy to at the agenda level.

Political parties establish policy guidelines normally in the manifestoes and they make them known to the electorate. The policy ideas from political parties may or may not be considered by the party that ultimately wins and duly constitutes the government. It is then possible to have competing policies in the market place. The decision agenda finds expression in the top-down or macro theoretical approach elaborated below. Wu et al. (2010) state that unless a problem becomes a part of the government agenda there is absolutely nothing that can be done about it as it will just remain a problem on the fringes. In any society there are always such problems which need to be resolved. Those involved in policy processes prioritise which policies should be presented in which order. Clearly without agenda setting there will be no policy to be consummated. Ideally, individuals or groups in society must acknowledge that a situation is problematic, and engage in activities and processes that will draw the attention of the government so that it intervenes. The latter scenario which speaks to community engagement makes it imperative to unpack the gap between policy and implementation. Also grassroots or community engagement issues in public policy are conceptualised within the framework of the micro or bottom-up theoretical approach articulated below. Therefore, “the agenda of a policy is collectively influenced by actors who are within or outside government” (Jann and Wegrich, 2007:46).

At formulation stage policy makers who include professionals, politicians and policy consultants, narrow the number of issues given to them at the earlier stage noted, and determines a set that will actually become the focal point of reference. The authorities take a decision regarding what to do and how it is to be done (Sambo, 1999). Policy formulation entails developing a series of activities and processes that will be a course of action to help resolve a public problem. According to Kraft and Furlong (2018: 165) “Formulation is a technical as well as political process. Policies that are carelessly formulated, for example, by using inadequate data, questionable projections, or unreasonable assumptions-may fail”. It is a complex stage in which

choices and alternatives are made. The choices could be informed by considerations including partisan interests or cost implications.

There are many actors involved in the central process of policy formulation and these include legislators, civil groups, and agency officials. Appointed and career officials in a bureaucracy are also some of the actors as they generally have requisite expertise and experience. Interest groups are also active contributors to policy formulation as they normally have a great deal of information ranging from technical details and 'political correctness' of policy ideas at their disposal. The crafting of the policy is open to manipulation by policy makers with sectional interests. Hidden agendas are smuggled into the process at this stage, and the fossilisation is so intricate that it requires 'detective work' to untangle it. Detective work entails investigation usually done by a specialised section of the police force that sifts through the 'rubble' for possible evidence. The reality presents a legitimate case for the adoption of a model of analysis capacitated to lay bare the explicit and implicit discourses ingrained in the policy. There is extensive examination of various policy options and possible solutions. Power relationships crystallize determining the direction a policy will take. Anderson (2013) observes that there is much politics involved in the policy formulation process and even across the various stages of the policy production process. Ideas that are not in sync with government position are unlikely to gain traction and fossilization into the policy text. In the unlikely event that they do, government's commitment to their actualisation will be indifferent. There will be no conviction from government as a critical stakeholder in the initiative.

Lack of commitment that is stimulated can be used as a basis for the explanation as to why authorities institute provisions in a policy that are destined to fail. There will be awareness that the provisions are not implementable but they are entrenched in the policy begrudgingly. The policy makers are better placed to explain the grandstanding involved in production of policy provisions that takes place at this critical stage. The motivation involves going beyond textual analysis and engaging authorities and policy makers. Motivation for lack of conviction, forthrightness or stringent conditions remains speculative. At the formulation stage there is need

for the policy makers to be alive to circumstantial, contextual and environmental realities lest the policy be ill-fated and destined to suffer an implementation gap.

Policy implementation gaps can result from policy makers who fail to take into account social, economic and sometimes administrative considerations when formulating policies. Makinde (2005) commenting on experiences in public policy making process in the Nigerian context, helpfully advises that policy makers in a context for example one that is muslim dominated community should avoid formulating policies that are offensive to Islamic tenets to mitigate implementation problems. The policy maker would have failed to consider the socio-cultural variable. In addition, using the same context, it is observed that a policy that contradicts the ruling party manifesto is likely to be illfated as it may lack support, both financial and administrative. Policy formulation is a complex multi-layered process that involves consideration of various realities. The process is widely political because of the players that are directly or even indirectly involved in the policy formulation process who include politicians, interest groups, civil servants, and sometimes those who view themselves as the passive recipients of the policy (Hill, 2013). There is involvement of various stakeholders in particular development partners in the production of policy documents. May (ed) (2009:136) using the Papua New Guinea case argues that although development partners do not engage directly in policy formulation it is worthwhile to note that:

Policies and forms of assistance provided by development partners have the potential to drive policy formulation. The World Bank, for example, in the mid-1990s, was prepared to support only development projects that targeted universal basic education and would not entertain forms of assistance at tertiary levels of education.

Governments, depending on the societal problems craft policies to deal with the problems as illustrated with the post-independence Zimbabwe's distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies elaborated above. Policy formulation provides for a tangible outcome in the form of a draft policy ready for adoption. Adoption of policy means the policy is launched and passed by the relevant authority normally the cabinet so that it is binding. For example, the economic policy, TSP was launched by the government on 5 October 2018 in Harare. In the Zimbabwean context before an economic policy is adopted and distributed for consumption purposes, it is

commissioned by an incumbent President of the Republic whose presidential foreword or preface is a point of entry into the main text.

Policy implementation is an important stage in policy processes as it defines where one sees tangible government intervention and real consequences for society (Goggin et al., 1990; Mazmanian and Sabatier, 1983). Policy implementation entails engagement in practical activities and action points pronounced in the policy manual. Implementation is viewed as the “set of activities directed toward putting a program into effect”, (Jones, 1984:166). The implementation of a policy is concerned outcomes, deliverables and what in general terms happens to a policy or programme after it has been formulated. Implementation is how policy is put into action and practice, (Parsons, 1995). ZEPARU (2012) states that the extent to which a policy can be successfully implemented depends on the complexity of the policy, coordination between those agents executing the policy and compliance with identified targets. “Policy implementation is the process whereby the policy is converted from being a plan, an idea or an expectation into action...its activation of decisions into programmes and practices”, (DeGroff and Cargo, 2009:15). The assumption is always that once a policy has been formulated that policy will be implemented. Instead, “implementation is the nemesis of designers”, (Honadle, 1979:6). A policy is being equated to a building plan and one can add that contrary to the impression given, the policy is not necessarily ‘beautiful’. A structurally defective policy text is theoretically possible. As Knill and Tosum (2012:162), argue, a “deficient policy formulation” is a possibility. A policy oriented thus will be difficult to implement which is the crucial test of any policy. It is an effectively implemented policy that produces the intended outcomes and deliverables. It would not be remiss to regard implementation as the hub of the policy process. Olaniyi (1998) regards the formulation stage as the most difficult stage as it is premised upon certain assumptions which include the view that the policy delivered is implementable, as the policy initiatives and projections are feasible. Enacted public policies handed to implementation agencies are affected by many variables including the policy environment, policy targets and the role of the implementers all of which individually or collectively bear on implementation processes. Kraft and Furlong (2018: 172) argue that successful implementation of policy hinges on three activities namely, organisation, interpretation and application. Accordingly, organisation is explained as establishment of resources, offices and methods for administering a programme while

interpretation involves translating the programme's language, plans, directives and regulatory requirements. Finally, application is concerned with provision of services, payments and contractual obligations.

Policy implementation is also a complex process that derives from how the policies are structured. While the role of actors is crucial in determining successful implementation of a policy in that they are responsible for enforcing the policy, how well a policy was crafted during the problem identification and policy formulation stages is critical. Problems that arise at implementation stages can enhance learning about better ways to design policies so that unintended consequences are mitigated. Policies that are well-crafted increase the likelihood of implementation success. Gaps between goals set by the policy's drafters and actual implementation attest to need for exploring the direct connection between formulation and implementation as critical stages of policy making processes. The link between the two stages is illustrated succinctly in figure 2 above.

The other stage in the policy production process is evaluation which addresses issues relating to how a policy achieving its intended objectives. Evaluation involves, "...coming up with corrective measures to whip the policy in line with its aims", (ZEPARU, 2012: 4). In the implementation stage, a public policy may be expected to undergo changes such as adjustment; further refinement and such activities can even be negated but preserved during this stage (Fox and Bayat, 2006:58; Hill and Hupe, 2014:7). Where there are deficiencies in terms of human, material and financial resources, more resources would be sourced and distributed accordingly. Evaluation involves verification to check whether policy implementation is clearly aligned with the objectives and how these are playing out. Policy evaluation can be done by the government agencies, consultants or civil society, (Howlett and Ramesh, 2003). Additionally, Cochran et al. (2015) indicate that policy implementation creates impacts and impressions largely explained in terms of what happens when a policy is being put into execution. Evaluation is primarily concerned the impact of a policy as it is largely from the performance and consequences that a policy's success or failure can be assessed.

Glaringly missing from the stages in figure 2, is termination which entails abandoning the public policy owing to changes in the socio-economic and political environment. When the changes arise, new priorities, realities and visions would be set and these might not necessarily align with existing policies culminating in them suffering a stillbirth. Also, “A policy is terminated after it becomes obsolete, has failed to work or has lost support among the stakeholders”, (ZEPARU, 2012:4). Therefore policy termination is a potential stage in policy processes.

As illustrated in figure 2 above, the policies can be divided into several stages which are however not rigid but flexible. The stages are not necessarily linear but they can be skirted and sometimes they occur simultaneously or in inverse order. As Sabatier cited in Fischer et al. (2007) observes, in real life policy processes do not necessarily fall into sequential stages. Instead, overlaps in the stages can be discerned and it is also possible to have execution of the stages done concurrently. In some cases the stages can overlap, crisscross, be integrated or reversed.

The linear approach to policy making would have decomposed the process into successive phases or stages designated as agenda setting, policy formulation, adoption, implementation and evaluation. The model passes for what Nakamura (1987) calls the ‘textbook approach’ viewed by Sabatier (1999) as ‘stages heuristic’. However, the stages model has enhanced a certain degree of specialisation within the policy sciences wherein specific stages, for instance implementation, can be an area for specialisation in terms of study. However, the stages model has been subjected to devastating criticism amplified in the conclusion that, “The stages heuristic has outlived its usefulness and needs to be replaced with better theoretical frameworks”, (Sabatier, 1999: 7). This is the context in which the policy making stages illustrated in figure 2 above as the ‘turbulent flow’ should be viewed. A theoretical weakness of the turbulent flow lies though in that the stages are not regarded distinctly as the boundaries between the stages remains unclear or hazy (Bernier and Lachapelle, 2010). The criticism that can be levelled against the turbulent model lies in its perceived oversimplification of reality as it seemingly breaks down the complex reality of the policy process. However, with respect to regulatory policies in post-Independence Zimbabwe, Zhou and Zvoushe (2012) argue that there was largely lack of predictability in terms of policy making. The economic policies adopted an ‘implement first, formulate and legislate later’ orientation which is not in sync with linear progression. Instead, the

production of the economic policies in the era seems oriented more in the direction of the less rigid but flexible model.

Public policy making processes grapple with issues of what constitutes an ideal policy as well as possible constraints that arise when policies are being designed. In the main these are issues that can be explained within the framework of how politics influences policies. There are models in literature which are not necessarily competitive but are mutually supportive in their focus on political life and characteristics of policies (Dye, 2005: 12). Part of the models include the Institutional ideal or perspective which views policy formulation and implementation as falling within exclusive realm of institutions. Policy making is thus seen as a smooth and technical process that is guided by relevant institutions to the extent that intra-institutional participation remains obscure. There is also the Rational model that strives for 'optimal' policy decisions and more profoundly the view that governments choose the policy that is expected to yield the best results (Meseguer, 2009). The Rational model is premised on a number of assumptions which include that policy makers are expected to have perfect information given that all political actors are assumed to behave rationally. The implication is that rational political actors reduce costs and maximize benefits instead. It will be interesting to test the efficacy of the model in competitive political environments where political actors do not seem to behave rationally but are inspired more by partisan considerations.

A direct response to the rational ideal is the Incremental model which acknowledges limitations of decision makers. Generally, incremental decisions call for gradual or limited changes to existing policies (Anderson 2003). The model allows for adoption of policies from contexts or situations considered to be successful. Incremental adjustments can be made to policies although it remains unclear how decision makers accomplish this feat. There is also the Group model which assumes that policies are a result of an equilibrium reached in group struggles emanating comparative strength of each interest group (Latham, 1965). Groups can be distinguished in terms of variables such as income, organisational aspects and leadership styles and that changes in the relative strength of the individual interest groups involved may necessitate policy change. According to the model policy-makers and authorities are constantly reacting to group pressures, which motivates politicians to form majority coalitions for which they

have the competence to define what groups are to be included or excluded (Dye 2005). What is assumed in the model is that there is equal access to the policy-making arena and that in the attendant process the government observes neutrality.

Finally, the Elite model posits that policy-making is determined by the preferences of governing elites (Mills, 1956). Proponents of the model claim that the electorate is ill informed about policies and that it is then incumbent upon the authorities to shape the public opinion and discourses on policy ideas. It is obviously a biased model which does not promote adoption of policy alternatives and democratic inclinations as policy decisions are expected to correspond to the preferences of the elite than the general public. The argument of the elite theory is that public policy is not determined by the demands and actions of the 'masses' but rather by a privileged class of the ruling elite whose preferences are promulgated by public officials. Therefore public policy reflects prevailing values of the elite as opposed to the demands of the masses. Public policy making processes are therefore politically driven through various models. Features of these perspectives largely find expression in the top-down, bottom-up and hybrid approaches elaborated below.

2.3. Linguistic aspects of policy texts

There are textual issues in policies identified in other researches that are germane to understanding the relationship between policy formulation and implementation. The linguistic features should be viewed in the sense of explaining a possible direct link between formulation and implementation whose interrelatedness has been alluded to in Section 2.2.1 above. An effective policy spells out clear strategies on how the policy will be communicated to stakeholders and this entails clarity in terms of presentation of objectives, implementation strategies, intended outcomes and feedback mechanisms, (ZEPARU, 2012). Kraft and Furlong (2018: 37) argue that language used to discuss public policy can be confusing owing to lack of clarity by the policy makers on goals, plans, proposals, programmes, decisions and choices that is, "specific actions that are taken to set goals, develop plans, and implement programs". What may also give rise to public policy implementation failure is when the public policy as envisioned by the decision-makers is not "correctly or precisely translated into practice" (Howlett, 2009:160). The assumption that there will be no deviation latched onto earlier dovetails with the injunction

of correctness and precision which suggest that the policies handed down to the policy maker by the authorities are implementable. The how question intimated speaks to procedural issues which are within the purview of the linguistic variable. It is the linguistic features that give the direction, the sign posting and the actual destination lest the traveller falls short or even goes beyond.

The complexity of a policy lies in implementation stage where the cracks and crevices in the policy are noted. Textual issues, explicit and implicit, have a bearing on implementation of public policies. Part of challenges that can arise in the implementation of public policies include technical language that is used in some policy documents; and the different aspirations of drafters and executors of the given policy (Knill and Tosum, 2012). A policy document riddled with a complex of scientific and/ or technical characteristics can lead to difficulty in interpreting the policy aims both by principals and agents. For example an economic policy crafted in this manner would require specialised knowledge that is not accessible to certain discourse communities who are supposed to be end users. Technical language used in some policy documents can create a gulf between those drafting and those executing a public policy. Lack of clarity can lead to policy ambiguity. Berman (1978) argues that lack of specificity about the means to go about achieving desired outcomes can be a source of paralysis in a policy at implementation stages. The end users of the policy will then experience complexities that will frustrate or forestall implementation processes. A case in point is the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) economic policy launched by the African National Congress (ANC) upon the attainment of majority rule in South Africa in 1994. The RDP was presented as a coherent and integrated socio-economic policy framework achievable, sustainable and meeting objective of freedom from apartheid and improving standards of living and quality of life for all South Africans. The RDP sought to redress the inequalities and injustices perpetuated during the period of minority rule by giving due attention to social issues like job ceation, (Moyo and Mamabolo, 2014). However, RDP failed to provide the 'how' and 'what' the "new economic strategy would entail", as it was fraught with ambiguity and vagueness, (Aliber, 2003: 475). It is a case of a laudable policy that is debilitated by the language issue wherein the matrices, initiatives and provisions are not clearly defined but they are also not sufficiently motivated in terms of how they will be rolled over. Brynard et al. (2011: 138) argue that the nemesis of public

policies is attributable to the view that they describe the 'what' and do not explain the 'how' yet it is the crucial aspect that addresses how policy is executed or put into effect.

Also, a policy should be clear, concise and precise for it to resonate with the citizenry it hopes to serve (Madigan et al., 2004). The scholars suggest further that a policy provides for clearer interpretation if it is guided by the SMARTE model which is an acronym for specific, measurable, achievable, traceable and enforceable goals or outcomes. Khan (2016:8) weighs in thus, "A policy must have clear, specific, measurable, attainable, rational and time-bound (SMART) goals and objectives". Additionally, there is need for clear pronouncement of tasks and concerned actions of policy implementers to avoid what Bardach (1977) refers to as the 'not our problem' syndrome. Lack of clear statements on implementation procedures such as whose responsibility it is to enforce the policies and provide the necessary resources to back implementation sustain the status quo. There will be no movement at all as the language fails to spell out policy positions and this can be a possible explanation for lack of buy-in from stakeholders for it will be difficult to run with what is not provided or pronounced clearly. In the text, it should be clear whose responsibility it is to perform certain tasks and activities and the necessary timelines.

The case of the implementation of a public policy namely, Mental Health Reform in California, United States studied by Bardach (1977) reveals 'games' that impact negatively on policy implementation, causing implementation delay or implementation failure. The 'games' can be summed up thus; diversion of resources, deflection and changing of policy goals, dilemmas of administration and dissipation of energies. Diversion of resources gives an indication of misuse or misdirection of material, human and financial resources. Deflection of policy goals entails shifting of goal posts as it were and taking undue advantage or success. The dilemmas of administration include what the scholar refers to as tokenism in which there is an attempt to be contributing to the success of the policy publicly yet in private the authorities behave otherwise. Additionally, there could be evasion of responsibilities specified in the policy mandate or employing of what is called the management game wherein there is no one taking responsibilities thus no concrete decisions are made or taken. The status quo then remains as there will be lack of traction at implementation. Finally, dissipation of energies entails grappling with old habits that refuse to change, failure to establish clear liability or responsibility, and personal ambitions,

needs, rivalry and competition. The case study highlights the centrality of the linguistic variable among a catalogue of variables at play in public policy discourse. Therefore, clarity in policy is priceless for, "...it is advisable to have clear policy goals and directives, as the clearer the policy is, the clearer the direction which the policy implementer can follow", (De Leon and De Leon, 2002:474). Therefore textual aspects have a bearing on policy implementation dynamics. While clarity is evident in the overt discourses, it is imperative however to penetrate beneath the surface, interpret and explain positions playing out but with implications on implementation processes. Policies should not be vague as this will subject the policy to non-compliance, (Madigan et al., 2004). Mitigation of vagueness can be done through awareness programmes and requisite educational programmes for end users on the content of the public policies. As theory transcends into action vagueness can prompt the 'why' question typically, why the policy happened the way it did? Language has to enunciate the policy in a way that makes it possible for the end users and policy makers to find each other in terms of the vision espoused.

The linguistic variable in policy is pivotal in the sense that the seeds of destruction or even distraction or failure of a policy could be entrenched in the policy. In some cases there is pronouncement of grandiloquent statements, promulgations and decrees which complicates the end user's life. In a way, inept policy implementation initiatives can be explained metaphorically as a typical case of the right hand not knowing what the left hand is doing. In driving parlance, there could be a disconnect between where one indicates to turn and where one actually turns. Put simply you indicate right but proceed to turn left. Lack of synergy and cohesion between policy and implementation appears to be the nemesis or missing link prevalent in public policies which can however be explained and remedied in linguistic terms. Hood (1998:51) argues that the major problem with implementation studies relates to the fact that there are certain assumptions by the researcher that certain initiatives or interventions will not actualise as given in the policy document. Tied to this is the assumption that there is a 'perfect administration' desirous to see to fruition policy pronouncements. It is imperative therefore to be wary of what can be presented as a 'dead end' mentality in which the researcher, motivated by preconceived ideas, is eager to show that a policy document is defective akin to 'the Emperor has no clothes' motivation. The latter is the case when what is involved is showing that something has not happened that no one expected to happen anyway. The mentality cannot gain currency in this

study which penetrates beneath the surface to account for the concealed and implicit issues whose import is not known but requires critical evaluation. The interpretation of the evolving discourses is not even absolute. Thus, there is room for other possibilities in terms of interpretation which remain insightful, revealing and enriching in policy rhetoric or linguistics in general.

Policies on the social front, more specifically education, offer insights on the centrality of the linguistic variable which can be transferred to policy matters in general and economic blueprints in particular. As shown in figure 1 above, Schiffman (2006) unravels the surface and deep elements in a policy which are essentially the overt and covert issues, respectively. Overt policy entrenches the visible and explicitly given statements while the covert constitutes the unofficial, implicit and unwritten positions. The dichotomy pronounces two shades of a policy and this is discernible through critical analysis. The covert dimension is littered with cynically subversive issues which potentially militate against policy implementation. Thus, Schiffman (2006:45) argues, "The authorities want it to fail and have planned for it to fail by setting unrealistic goals". Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:464) state that policy-makers intentionally foster "ambiguities and contradictions" which predispose the policy to non-implementability. The nefarious and hypocritical issues which can be conceived as 'hidden agendas', are inbuilt textual issues which predispose policy to failure, (Shohamy, 2006). Schiffman (2006:45) accentuates the view that policy makers choose the policy aware and convinced that it will, "...never be implemented", or that it is, "...guaranteed to fail". This claim is substantiated by the case of bilingual programmes in the United States which on the surface espoused egalitarian principles purporting that all languages are on equal footing yet in practice keeping English at bay. The implication is that when authorities dither or fail to implement a policy it is mere confirmation of a linguistic strategy. As Schiffman (2006) contends, the authorities will deny lack of commitment to policy implementation notwithstanding availability of ample 'textual evidence'. The motivation for the linguistic strategy remains opaque, speculative and contentious.

Still on language policies, Bamgbose (2000:47) reveals a characteristic feature applicable to African countries wherein there is apparent vagueness and generalisation which makes the policies prone to non-implementation. There is also the aspect of declaration without

implementation reflected in policies which are declared but cannot be implemented in given circumstances and the policy makers are conscious of the reality (Bamgbose, 1991). The motivation for the launch could be populism and propagandistic inclination. Policies may be riddled with escape clauses which translate to insurance against liability in the event that actualisation of the policy does not materialise. Escape clauses do not make it mandatory or obligatory for the authorities to take positive measures as they are weak, neutralised and less compelling in terms of force. Coupled with a range of other linguistic strategies such as avoidance, contradiction, arbitrariness and fluctuation, escape clauses facilitate consignment of policy into archival material to be only quoted by keen researchers and scholars keen on policy issues. Alongside escape clauses a policy can entrench stringent conditions that will complicate implementation processes. Individually or collectively the textual issues provide a strong “alibi for non-implementation”, (Bamgbose (1991:117). Escape clauses and other linguistic strategies such as provision of alternatives ensure maintenance of the status quo and as researchers intimate, they attest to lack of political will (Bamgbose, 1991; 2000; Annamalia, 2004; Webb, 2004). The linguistic features ensure that the situation remains the same as the implementers will be under no obligation to deliver on the policy provisions and initiatives. Proliferation of such discourses in a policy is a possible indication that the text is possibly being used creatively to impede policy implementation by ensuring that it remains only in blueprint.

Fischer et al. (2007) maintain that ideally policy implementation should involve specifying programme details in terms of execution, by who as well as how it should be understood, allocation of resources such as capacity, finance, materials, infrastructure and anything required to facilitate implementation and focusing on how decision steps will be undertaken. According to McLaughlin (1987:172), a policy success is guaranteed when then there is local capacity and involvement of stakeholders. There is need for a critical mass with the necessary skills experience and knowledge as well as willingness and commitment by stakeholders to bring the intended policy to fruition. The elements attest to the strategic role of language in policy as it relates to ‘how’ issues. Also, Najam (1995) presents the 5C protocol namely, content, context, commitment, capacity and coalitions which serve as critical variables of policy implementation. The content variable addresses goals, objectives and methodology issues which require clarity. Therefore the content which essentially is defined by the text has implications on policy

implementation process. The context variable is complex as it is influenced and driven by different actors from social, economic, political and legal settings. Human (1998:49) concurs thus, “theory must fit the context” and that the actual “policy must respond to the actual situation”. The commitment aspect of the protocol covers commitment by stakeholders to responsibilities and obligations expected. The capacity variable calls on effective capacitation of the implementers with requisite skills, knowledge, resources and understanding of issues around the policy they have to implement. Finally the client variable relates to buy-in from current and prospective clients who are expected to have coalitions or synergies with stakeholders including the government. Coordination of all the protocols, coalitions and synergies is dependent on effective communication. Thus, the centrality of the linguistic variable in engendering coordination cannot be overemphasized. It is the vehicle that drives provisions that give rise to the projected deliverables.

Bowe et al. (1992:21) argue, “texts carry with them both possibilities and constraints, contradictions and spaces”. For actualisation of the policy there is need for compromises and accommodations. The scholars emphasise that ‘policy texts’ as a variety of official documents are “not necessarily internally consistent and clear”, but are “fraught with the possibility of misunderstanding” and they are never exhaustive. They observe further that:

policy is not done and finished at the legislative moment...it evolves in and through the texts that represent it, texts have to be read in relation to the time and particular site of their production. They also have to be read with and against one another – intertextuality is important.

It is evident from the observation of the scholars that there are many linguistic issues in text which have a bearing on implementation of given policies. Policy makers have to be wary of the discourses to guarantee effective implementation process. Even more significantly is the need to view the discourses in context for clear meaning. Issues of interpretation, context and intertextuality are handled more closely within the three dimensional model of analysis, as will be explored below. Suffice it to say that the gap between policy and implementation can be explained in linguistic terms. As Koh (2012:19) amplifies, “many of the variables that impact implementation can be regulated through a well-written policy...”. Birkland (2001) argues on the strategic importance of the ability of policy creators who need to learn how to ‘structure policies’ more clearly and how to market better given policies. Giving primacy to linguistic issues does not

in any way downplay or negate the existence of non-statutory variables such as public support, political support, resources, attitudes, skill and the commitment of implementing agencies and officials.

Governance, as explained above, is about text. Meaning that informs or drives policy is derived from text. Politics is about creating a perception of legitimacy through management of meaning. Therefore, apparent and hidden meaning embedded in text is a critical feature in policy implementation processes. It is a truism that implementers proceed on the basis of meaning derived from the official state text. Progress in the implementation drive or lack of it can be explained among many variables in terms of the text variable or the policy structure itself. Explicit and implicit linguistic features in text have potential to connect the policy formulation and implementation. For a clearer understanding of the possibilities, it is imperative to dissect policy implementation theory.

2.4 Policy Implementation Theory

Policy implementation has been inhibited by many factors including deficient direction or guidelines on how the critical policy making stage should be managed. The direction derives from theories which it is supposed to follow given the fact that theory is the basis of practice. Theories provide an explanation for social phenomena and they supposedly go a long way in simplifying and clarifying issues and appreciation of politics influences public policy. “Unfortunately, there is consensus amongst the scholars that the discipline, policy implementation suffers from lack of viable, valid and universally accepted grand or good theories”, (Khan, 2016:2). Theory is defined as:

a way of interpreting, criticising and unifying established generalisations... Theory is pliant in that it allows its generalisations or ‘laws’ to be modified to fit data unforeseen in their formulations, heuristic in that theory itself provides a way of finding new and more powerful generalisations (McLaughlin, 1991:6).

Theories help in understanding and organising data of experience as they facilitate summary of relatively large amounts of information through relatively short lists of propositions. McLaughlin (1991) argues further that theories bring meaning to what is otherwise chaotic and inscrutable or indecipherable, and they constitute the ground from which hypotheses spring. It is therefore

theories that generate new hypothetical laws that will be put to empirical test. Additionally, theories should be viewed not as a guess at an answer to a riddle but an idea about the next step that is worth taking. There are apparent gaps in terms of the existence of grand or fully fledged theory that explains implementation gaps in policy texts. Part of the explanation of this can be attributed to the fact that the discipline is in its infancy. Also, policy implementation is largely context specific as it is dependent on social, economic and political variables which play a significant role in influencing how well or how poorly a policy has been implemented, (Stewart et al., 2008). There are also variations in terms of how policies across different states are implemented. The variations can be understood in terms of governance and traditional dispositions. Implementation of any policy in for example, a democratic state opens the process to scrutiny by stakeholders whereas non democratic states curtail openness and consultative processes.

It can also be noted that, “Although the discipline policy implementation lacks in having grand or classic theories, over a span of time different theoretical models or approaches (at least two: top-down and bottom-up), have been developed”, (Khan, 2016:3). Although it is necessary to distinguish between the macro and micro which are the top-down and bottom- up theoretical models respectively, in reality they are mutually supportive making the distinction a false one. The interplay between the micro and macro models can operate in either direction. The linkages between the top-down and bottom-up theoretical models provide for the integrated hybrid approach which concerns itself with connecting the, “macro-world of the policy makers” and “micro-world of policy implementers”,(Knill and Tosum, 2012:154). Individually and collectively, the top-down, bottom-up and hybrid models offer useful insights into the public policy implementation process. The crux of the matter revolves around determining when to apply which model, because each model can be valuable – depending on the scenario in which a public policy is being implemented (Brynard et al., 2011). It is in the context of the theoretical models that literature of public policy implementation is decipherable as will be explained below.

Through the theoretical models it is possible to open the proverbial ‘black box’ between policy formulation and its intended outcomes and deliverables. Pülzl and Treib (2006) divide the

approaches into three generic categories which are top-down, bottom-up and hybrid theoretical models.

2.4.1 Top-down theoretical model

Proponents of top-down policies view implementation primarily as a matter of, “assembling action in support of the intentions and orders of political leaders”,(O’Toole, 2001:10). Government and its agencies constitute the top while consumers to whom policies are directed are the bottom. According to Wilson(1887), the philosophy which inspired the top-down policy implementation theoretical model is attributable to the principal of the dichotomy between politics and administration. The thinking prevalent in the period leading to the 1970s dictated that policy making was the preserve of politicians who, as representatives of the people, were mandated to make policies on behalf of the public. Policy making was deemed the exclusive domain of politicians who applied their ‘minds’ and delegated the implementation to the bureaucrats who served as a ‘pair of hands’ performing a simple task of actualising the process as envisaged. The implementers are simply dictated to in this prescriptive approach to policy making. The top-down model is preoccupied with what is ‘wrong or right’ with public policy implementation process, the institutions as well as actors who are responsible for the implementation of the policy rather than with the actual policy (Bain, 1992). Thus investigating the actual policy which is the motivation for the current study offers a significant contribution to the interpretation of the gap between policy and implementation. Also motivated by this model and its prescriptive disposition policy makers impose decisions on for example a linguistic community without involving it in the decision making process (Benson, 2005).

The top-down model, viewed by Majone and Wildavsky (1973:141) as ‘implementation as control’ approach, is hegemonic in that the policy creators direct the process which is deemed “too clean” to the extent of leaving out intricacies of real life. They argue further that the model “leaves out the detours, the blind alleys, the discarded hypotheses, the constraints tightened and loosened, and the lumpy stuff of life in favor of a predigested formula.” Put differently, the model is a straitjacket which makes ‘implementation as control’ not amenable to black and white situations. Reality though provides for grey areas which are negated by the top-down model. The aspirations and linguistic strategies of the politicians are embedded in the policies with

micro model persuasion or inclination. As Knill and Tosum (2012:156) argue that at policy formulation many variables need to be taken into consideration particularly interests of the politicians who tend to have policy objectives that are, “vague,ambiguous and ambitious”. On the basisof the promotion of these interests it can be inferred that authorities employ linguistic strategies using top-down approach to policy making process. Additionally, implementation is viewed as a chain beginnning with a policy message sent from the top and cascading to the grassroots. Accordingly, the assumption is that the said policy enshrines clearly defined goals and policy tools and that,”policy designers have good knowledge of the capacity and commitment of the implementers”, (Birkland,2001:179). In other words,they know what is good for the communities therefore they simply produce policies which theoretically the recipient communities will consume.

The top-down model is also referred to as the “classic model of policy-making and public policy implementation”, (Bain, 1992:112). Some researchers view the model within the frame of the ‘Elite/Mass’ theory in which power is concentrated in the hands of the minority class regarded as the elite who then perform all poltical functions. They are a minority group that wields control in crucial governmental policies and makes decisions that are authoritative and binding in society. The masses though bemoan the particularist interests of the minority ruling class exercised to the detriment of the majority. The resistance and misgivings from the masses stems from the fact that ‘top-downers’ are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society. It is in a practical sense a case of the the minority that has power while the majority does not have it. The top-down model is rooted in the stages model theory (Hill, 2005). In the context of the stages model, policy making precedes implementation and implementation simply means carrying out policies which have been earlier developed. It is this policy development which is the preserve of the authorities as policy makers in the top-down approach. The top-down approach regards policy making (formulation) and implementation as distinct processes,(Hill, 2005). The distinction allows for the actual comparison of policy objectives and policy outcomes of public policies to take place. According to Knill and Tosum (2012:153), “The degree of goal attainment serves as an indicator of implementation success”, (Knill and Tosum (2012:153). This provides the basis for determining whether there is a correlation between the actual “policy objectives and policy outcomes”; hence, the use of the top-down model (Brynard

et al., 2011:139). The top-down theory is motivated by the assumption that public policy implementation commences with a decision taken by “central government or the legislature” and how the public policy is carried out at the bottom (Brynard et al., 2011:139). The top-down model is derived from the traditional inspired thought process that is elitist which views the elected or appointed leadership as the only actors “within a society who are legitimised” and authorised to take “binding decisions” on behalf of the people in society (Pülzl and Treib , 2007:94).

Nuances of implementation process within the top-down model can be explained and illustrated using the Oakland Experiment. In the experiment an economic policy was adopted by the Federal Government in Washington to solve the problem of unemployment standing at 8.4 % by employing the unemployed African-American population of Oakland, California (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973:2). The researchers state that the economic project designed to be executed by the Economic Development Agency (EDA) instituted a series of public works and various other socio-economic programmes designed to create more jobs directly and indirectly. Also different developmental projects including construction of a large airport hangar, marine cargo terminal with access roads as well as an industrial park , and facilitation of business loans conditional to provision of an employment plan specifying how interested companies would create employment opportunities for the African – American residents of Oakland. Theoretically, the federal government had unveiled an economic project capacitated to realise expected outcomes. In practice though, four years down the implementation road, the results were far from satisfactory as the envisaged training programme suffered a stillbirth, job creation was far below expectation and the business loan initiative was an utter failure. Implementation challenges of the policy can be explained in terms of inadequate finance for developmental programmes, absence of a clear hiring plan for targeted cities and links in the implementation chain in which the ultimate success of the programme depended on their clearance or approval. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973:116) accentuate the view that delays caused by the number of clearance at certain points and the incurrence of time and money to convert that ‘no’ into ‘yes’ proved the nemesis of the policy. The policy failed to touch base with the communities it purported to serve and there was lack of clarity in many aspects of which could have been robustly motivated by effective communication. Therefore, it is possible for seeds of destruction or failure of a policy to be embedded in the policy.

The other case study of top-down approach to policy making can be drawn from the Nigerian context where there are reported cases of policy documents emanating from the authorities or government rather than from the target groups. The target beneficiaries are frozen out of the formulation of policies which affect their lives and felt needs. An example relates to the Better Life Programme (BLP) of 1987 that was Introduced by Mrs. Mariam Babangida during the tenure of her spouse General Ibrahim Babangida as the President of the country. The BLP essentially targeted rural women in Nigeria with the aim of raising their awareness to socio-economic issues around them. The awareness drive would then make this constituency realize and actualize their full potential in national development programmes. The necessary mobilization, and empowerment of this sector would engender active and productive participation in local, provincial and national programmes. In a way it was capacity building initiative for the rural women folk who were deemed to have immense potential that needed to be nurtured and subsequently exploited for the benefit of the nation at large. The military government of General Ibrahim Babangida put in place a civilian Interim Government of Nigeria led by Ernest Shonekan on 26 August 1993. The administration continued with the BLP that was the brainchild of the former President's wife. However when General Sani Abacha overthrew the Interim Government in a military assisted coup of November 1993, the BLP fate hung in the balance. Mrs. Maryan Abacha, wife of the 'new' President transformed the BLP into the Family Support Programme (FSP) in 1994. As Makinde (2005) explains, the FSP policy in Nigeria illustrates application of the top-down model by the incoming 'First Lady' who was principally motivated by the desire to make a name for herself. In context though, the FSP appeared to be a direct response to the United Nations' (UN) declaration that 1994 was the International Year of the Family. The change in name was largely viewed as sheer convenience and an ego problem wherein the successor First Lady could not be seen to be championing a cause initiated by the predecessor. FSG pledged to address the Nigerian Women's issues from the perspective of the family unit. The programme was driven by the philosophy that women's strategic role as agents of national development can be enhanced at family life level. One of the cardinal principles of FSG was to improve and sustain family cohesion through the promotion of social and economic well-being of the Nigerian family for its maximum contribution to national development. There was also a drive towards assisting families identify economically viable projects and ventures for

income generation as well as providing necessary support for their implementation. Members of each family were also expected to learn more about the dynamics of families including psychological issues. In essence, there was similar focus with earlier policy initiated by the former first lady bringing into question the motive for even changing the name of the policy.

Due to the ego problem, it became prudent for the successor First Lady to rebrand the existing programme, change a few areas and rename it instead of running with the predecessor's project. The issues of interest in the case study provided relate to how policies are driven by an elite class, more specifically individuals who are not amenable to participatory systems. Participatory systems which are negated in top-down models ensure that policy makers plan with the people as opposed to planning for the people. When targeted beneficiaries of policies are not involved at planning and formulation stages this poses grave challenges for policy implementation processes. From the BLP and FSG fiasco, it is apparent policy implementation processes suffer when a government collapses. There will be lack of continuity which is a possibility even when there is a formal and democratic change at government levels.

Economic policies in post apartheid South Africa have been influenced by the top-down model. In the given context which is the post 1994 majority rule era, the engagement of the public around public policy choices has been minimal as most of the decisions are reportedly done unilaterally by authorities. Lack of "consultation and participation around policy choices" has resultantly created problems for public policy implementation, (Mkhize,2015:193). For example the African National Congress (ANC) led government scrapped their commitment to social democracy enshrined in the form of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) in favour of the neoliberal macro-economic policy namely, Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) without democratic involvement, consultation and participation of the grassroots (Mkhize, 2015). Consequently, implementation of the policy was problematic as it did not sit well with the public. Instead what emerged were long periods of uneven development and loss of jobs. Apart from lack of consensus building around policy, other scholars provide other interpretations for failure to implement policy in the South African context. For example, Human (1998:48) argues that with regards to public policy implementation, policy makers in South

Africa, tend to apply and adopt 'Western' solutions to 'African' problems. This view is accentuated by Ferim (2013:1) who maintains that it is not advisable to be implementing Western prescriptions to economic challenges in the country, since the Western world has over more years' democratic experiences and therefore the Western worlds' history is unlike that of Africa. The latter view implies that there are two world views framed as Western and African whose complexities make them incompatible in terms of addressing objective conditions in different contexts. There is certainly merit in explaining implementation issues in terms of resistance to unilateral and arbitrary approaches by authorities and existence of different world views. The gap that can be picked from the case studies is exploration of explicit and implicit discourses that predispose given policies to potential implementation dynamics.

It is also interesting to note that while the TSP as explained above, lays a foundation to actualisation of Vision 2030, in the South Africa context, the National Development Plan (NDP) launched in 2012 is premised on attainment of a "long-term development vision" by the year 2030. As the NDP implementation process is being rolled out scholars have identified discrepancies marking the economic policy. Notably, around the issue of "Inclusive Rural Economy" there is inability to stipulate 'how' to achieve the land reform programme, the aptitude to produce anticipated outcomes and commitment to "transfer of land to the black population", (Moyo and Mamabolo, 2014: 955). Although imposition of decisions on a linguistic community without engaging them seems problematic in a consultative participatory sense, without doubt, political will is required to give momentum and impetus to the implementation of the policy, (Batibo, 2005; Bamgbose, 2007; Lewis and Trudell, 2008). The reality is that policies need to be sanctioned by the government to have the force that compels compliance. Political will is a prerequisite for policy implementation and it is demonstrable through provision of an enabling environment, necessary inputs and conditions. While communities can block or delay and even frustrate key elements of the public policy, political will is still required to provide strategic direction to the implementation process. Literature is replete with cases of promises made by politicians during electioneering campaigns which find their way into public policies but governments have in turn lacked the political will to execute such policies. No matter how lofty or laudable a policy appears, without political will it will be difficult to guarantee its

implementation. Therefore, there is need for involvement of the government and its agencies to see through the policy making and implementation processes.

2.4.2. Bottom-up theoretical model

The bottom-up model which emerged in the late 1970's and early 1980's was a response or critique to the top-down approach. The model as espoused by Lipsky (1980) does not regard policy making and implementation as distinct but as intertwined and interactive processes. The bottom-up approach suggests that policy implementation is best conceptualised by studying it from the lowest levels of the implementation matrix or chain and moving upwards to see where implementation is more successful or less so. The model focuses on the local level through activities of what Lipsky (1980) terms street level bureaucrats who are essentially front-line public officials implementing government policies. It is in reality street level bureaucrats who are the real policy makers and implementers. Weimer and Wining (2011) argue that street level bureaucrats or frontline implementers actually implement all policies. It is decisions of street-level bureaucrats, their routines and strategies they employ that effectively become public policies they carry out. In practical life, street level bureaucrats are, "teachers, police officers and law enforcement personnel, social workers, judges, public lawyers and other court officers, health workers, and many other public employees who grant access to government programmes and provide services within them", (Lipsky, 1980:3). These implementers, as indicated, are officials in different organisations who are involved in service delivery and they develop self-styled ways and routines which become the actual policy.

The bottom-up model suggests that the grassroots configured as street level bureaucrats have a lot of room and discretion in the policy implementation process for it is at the bottom where real power lies. The bottom-up approach did not only counter the divide between policy formulation and implementation but also the view that public policies should be centralised and that the rank and file no option but to adhere to objectives given by the top executive, (Pulz and Treib, 2007). The public officials are the principal actors in public policy implementation due to their proximity to the ground level where real problems exist than the executive. Additionally, the micro approach regards the implementation stage as "negotiation processes within the networks of implementers" where each actor involved in the public policy implementation process

challenges the status quo in an attempt to prioritise his/her own interests (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:478).

In the bottom-up model the lower levels and communities make an input to policy formulation. Drawing from language policies which in essence are public policies, Hatoss (2008) states that in the macro model the community becomes the active agent that promotes communal interests. In the same vein, the local groups are empowered to determine and shape their linguistic repertoire based on their own needs and priorities (Baldauf, 2005). Still on language policies modeled within the bottom-up framework, Hornberger (2010) argues that it is in the grassroots contexts where 'language use' and language changes are experienced and comprehended by people. By the same token it is the grassroots that has economic needs, economic problems and economic aspirations finding expression in the macro theoretical model. Communities have preferences, prejudices and even basic rights which they hold dearly. Negation of concerns, aspirations and inputs from the communities can impact negatively on policy implementation. Fostering buy-in from local communities can be enhanced through the linguistic variable in public policy. Intricate aspects in policy implementation which play out giving insights into impact on communities can be laid bare through CDA.

Webb (2002:272) observes further that people are not passive beneficiaries of technical and scientific terms but are actors in developmental initiatives, thus local communities must be 'sold' whatever policy is conceptualised. Therefore, in the implementation process, a lot depends on the actors or organisations that are involved in implementation process rather than it being a process that is driven from the top through well-designed policies. As Hill and Hupe (2002:55) argue, policy is a "negotiated order" reached through the interaction of various actors who themselves might be having differing assumptions and interpreting the phenomenon in their peculiar ways. Thus the bottom-up model provides a democratic inclination. Democracy thrives in a 'participatory model of democracy' which the bottom-up model offers. As a 'participatory model of democracy' the model does not exclude those whom the public policy affects or concerns such as those at grass-root levels; interest groups or private actors such as businesses (De Leon & De Leon, 2002:468). The philosophy that drives the bottom-up model is encapsulated in the following dictum; public policy is for the public, and as such the public should

have a say in all due processes of the policy cycle. The bottom-up theory dovetails with democratic dispositions enunciated by many governments which are generally ushered into power through the electoral mandate. Therefore, any theory which connects and intergrates with the citizenry naturally should appeal to politicians and public office bearers who cherish and uphold democratic principles. Booyesen (2009:3) concurs thus, “democracy is a system of government based on wide public participation”. The bottom-up approach involves people and institutions fully in the planning, management and implementation processes. It is the grassroots, interests groups and private actors, communities whom the public policy affects (Pulzl and Treib, 2007). The identified groups constitute a constituency who serve as role players of public policy implementation who have to be consistent with objectives and guidelines outlined in the public policy text (Mazmanian, 1980). Theoretically, there is not only community involvement but also consultation and participation. Given the foregoing, those to be served by the policy will have an obligation and are expected to carry on, even when there is limited or no external support or political will. Planning with the people and meeting their felt needs will engender a sense of belonging as fostering commitment to successful implementation of the policy. Failure of the FSP policy cited in 2.4.1 above, can be explained by the fact that beneficiaries were not involved at the planning stages. It was difficult to galvanise the people for cohesion and buy-in as they had no sense of ownership.

There is a fundamental difference between the top-down and bottom-up theoretical models in terms of public policy implementation. According to O’ Toole (2001:10) top downers view implementation in terms of “assembling action in support of the intentions and orders of political leaders” while bottom-uppers regard it as, “mobilising the energies of disparate stakeholders to make sensible choices in congealing problem solving around a complex, context-specific, and dynamic policy issue”. The former model extols compliance and monitoring and the latter’s primary focus is collaboration and creativity. Policy contributions of political players and authorities resonate with top-down proponents whereas contributions from actors beyond political principals find expression in the bottom-up model.

Some scholars view the bottom-up model negatively on matters around implementation dynamics of public policy. For instance, Hogwood and Gunn (1984) argue that while

'implementation failures' can be attributed to a myriad of interpretations inclusive of inadequate policies, it is the oppositional position to elected officials or antagonism to authority by 'bottom-uppers' that frustrates implementation processes. The argument put forward is that bottom-uppers fail to acknowledge that it is not necessarily every policy measure initiated by the political principals that is outrightly bad as it were. Actually the contribution from the top is by no means less valid than that from other constituencies including the grassroots. The scholars substantiate the view with the case of a legislative measure deciding to move from the left-hand to right-hand drive on the roads. It would be folly to subject such a measure to 'negotiation' between road-users, local authorities and the central government on such questions around the measure as when, how and whether the change-over should take effect. Using the bottom-up model can be long drawn out, tedious and energy sapping when elected officials can apply their minds and take informed positions on issues.

The tension between bottom-up and top-down approaches sometimes overstates the extent to which low-level implementers are prepared to resist and frustrate policies passed on to them from the top. It is not always a case of antagonism that defines relations between the 'bottom and top' actors in policy making. Instead, the street level bureaucrats may genuinely want to follow the path charted by the top level designers, even displaying eagerness in running with the goals handed down from the authorities. The low-level implementers may be keen to collaborate with the elite and this is a reality that is glossed over by outright sentimental attachment and subscription to the top-down model. There are also examples of policies that can be configured as 'policies without publics' meaning they are consummated without engagement and participation of those at community levels. Such policies are designed with relatively little public input particularly policy areas that are highly technical.

2.4.3 Hybrid theoretical model.

The hybrid model falls within the third generation research era. The hybrid or synthesised approach can be viewed as an integration of the top-down (thesis) and bottom-up (antithesis) theoretical models. According to hybrid model, implementation outcome is influenced by central (policy makers) and local actors (implementers). The motivation for the hybrid lies in the need to bridge the gap between the top-down and bottom-up perspectives representing the first and

second public policy research eras. The gap relates to limited explanatory ability of the dynamics of policy implementation from both models' analytical frameworks (Stewart et al, 2008). The hybrid model combines the two models in a bid to contribute to theoretical frameworks of both models. The synthesised approach links the "macro-world of the policy makers" and the "micro-world of the policy implementers", (Knill and Tosum, 2012: 156).

The hybrid model acknowledges that there are positives from each of the two models preceding it such that there is need to reconcile or foster collaboration in an integrated theoretical framework. More clearly there are actors within and outside government structures who can provide convergence on some aspects of policy notwithstanding divergence on certain matters. Therefore, even in the context of a synthesised model, there will inevitably be differences particularly on policy goals, and according to Colebatch (2002:59) these will revolve around "ambiguity of political objectives or goals...lack of clarity in defining policy objectives or stipulating ways of achieving them". Additionally differences can relate to intricacies of policy complexes, policy ambiguity as well as government capacity on policy deliverables, (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975). Therefore, the linguistic variable looms large in the discourse around the analytical framework of the hybrid model. The NDP explained above, is presented as national policy designed to eradicate social ills afflicting South Africa. Analysts argue that there is no course of action presented on how to implement the measures provided in the policy guidelines. This leaves room to varied interpretation. Against this background, the argument raised by McLaughlin's (1987) that public policy implementation is fraught with the thorny issue of policy makers who do not have requisite knowledge to implement policies drafted by them, and therefore they have to rely on bureaucrats to implement what they have drafted, can be sustained. Therefore connecting the policy maker and bureaucrat makes a strong case for application of the hybrid theoretical model.

Researchers on language policies provide insights on what the hybrid model entails. They emphasise that in the pursuit of clear language policies, the theoretical models are not mutually exclusive processes instead what plays out is synergy, cooperation and interdependence They should be viewed as interdependent processes needed to achieve local or national goals of any policy., (Shohamy, 2006; Hatoss, 2008; Mwaniki, 2012). The has to be consultation and

continual dialogue between agencies and concerned bodies in consultation with communities for successful application of the hybrid theoretical model. It is at the macro level where legislation and allocation of resources is expedited while the grassroots, which is the micro level, engenders commitment and community support. It is a complex interplay of political will, human and material resources and local interpretation of national policy direction and readiness to participate that serves as critical ingredients in the implementation matrix (Batibo, 2005; Kamwendo, 2005; Trudell, 2006; Baldauf, 2008).

Language policies betray a complex interaction of the top-down and bottom-up strata manifesting as hybrid model. The complexity lies in that the interaction between the macro and micro can operate in either direction. Most successful top-down and bottom-up initiatives owe their success to collaboration and the coordination of activities between the top and the bottom; within the top and its structures and the bottom and its structures. The macro level enables implementation through legislation and allocation of resources, while the micro level provides grassroots commitment and community support. Implementation variables in minority language policies cut across the macro and micro levels and these include political will, the availability of resources and expertise, local interpretation of national policy direction and local readiness to participate in their implementation, (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003; Kamwendo, 2005). The argument that emerges from the discourse around language policies can be summed thus; policy formulation and policy implementation are inevitably the result of interactions among a plurality of separate actors with separate interests, philosophes, goals and strategies. The location of the actors cuts across the top and down levels and this reality bolsters the case for the hybrid theoretical model. The implementation process appeals to different stakeholders with unique interests and hailing from different departments. This view which attests to utility of synthesised approach resonates with the following assertion:

Implementation processes involve many important actors holding diffuse competing goals who work within a context of an increasingly large and complex mix of government programs that require participation from numerous layers and units of government and who are affected by powerful factors beyond their control (Ripley and Franklin (1982: 9) cited in Hill and Hupe, (2002: 61).

The researchers argue further that the governance pattern alluded to is discernible in almost all governments and societies particularly in federal programmes that are implemented wholly

or directly in Washington. A policy that cuts across levels as intimated inevitably calls on devotion to the linguistic variable for effective implementation to be accomplished. The hybrid model is in sync with the view that the top-down and bottom-up are not mutually exclusive. Instead both approaches enlighten us from their own perspectives, that is, for purposes of understanding the dynamics of the implementation process. It can be argued that policies should not be seen as being merely implemented but they are actually shaped on the ground by role players at the local level who are certainly not passive recipients of government policies and helpless victims or vague resisters. They participate in the discourse around public policy implementation alongside government structures and agencies. Insights from language policies enunciate the perspective in a refreshing manner. In this vein, scholars argue that exclusive top-down approaches are hegemonic and assimilationist such that they are not easily implemented at the grassroots level without being resisted. The explanation for resistance lies in that local communities often regarded as docile, pliable and weak have the capacity to resist, frustrate and even counter domination by the elite. Thus there is need for cooperation and a harmonious working relationship between the 'top and down', for effective policy implementation processes (Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008; Ndhlovu, 2010). Therefore it is not unilateral and arbitrary government initiatives that give scope to policy; instead it is the linguistic responsibility of citizens. In the case of language formulation and implementation processes, scholars laud active participation by civil society including concerned language speakers so that the envisaged policy will pay dividends. Considering language planning as a sole property of those wielding institutional power to effect decisions on policy negates the interplay between the micro and macro approaches to public policy making processes. Individuals with requisite skills act on behalf or in consultation with the community and the government or non-government institutions and this makes integration of the bottom-up and top-down initiatives critical in, for example, policy implementation within multilingual contexts, (Crystal, 2000).

The need for synergy between institutions, local communities and government is priceless in that it has a cross cutting appeal that integrates the macro and micro levels. Research has established that language policy implementation succeeds where the efforts and support of the speakers and national institutions are embraced. Where there is lack of interaction between

the top-down and bottom-up models there are high chances of failure of a national policy. Therefore research in language policy give an indication of not only what the hybrid model offers but also insights into what informs public policy implementation in general. The theoretical model can be specifically applied to economic blueprints and allusion to synergies or interface between the top and down levels bring to the fore the centrality of the linguistic variable in policy. Language gives perspective to the procedures involved in the synergy and collaboration of the theoretical models.

Regardless of theoretical model applied in public policy, implementation remains critical for there is an implicit assumption that once a policy is formulated the policy has to be implemented. As explained, the hybrid model marries the macro and micro implementation. Brynard et al. (2011) state though that the top-down, bottom-up and hybrid models individually and collectively offer useful insights into the public policy implementation process. Policy implementation remains complex as it grapples with a multi-layered process cutting across, within and outside the levels specified by the micro, macro and synthesised model. Take for instance the case of contending views of various actors at implementation amongst street level bureaucrats and between local actors and the public officials. The disputes that could have been held in abeyance at the initial stages of policy making process play out at the decisive stage of implementation. The disputes have to be resolved using, in the main, the policy document as a point of reference. The quality of the document in terms of 'writing' inevitably becomes an imperative for effective implementation to subsist. Clear policy goals and directives provide a clear direction which end users or implementers can follow. Another complexity lies in the view that irrespective of theoretical model, there is practically always a 'top' in policy formulation and critical decision around what has to be implemented. In practice then, the location of that 'top' may vary for it may be even 'at the bottom'. Explained differently, in the context of the bottom, the top can be discernible in terms of decision making that bears on policy implementation.

To illustrate the fact that irrespective of theoretical model there is always a structure or agency that plays an oversight role and to which the policy making process is beholden the case of post-independence Papua New Guinea comes in handy. In the developing country policy making

processes across a range of sectors including agriculture, mineral development, health, education, environment and forestry are insightful. With specific reference to education, Guy (ed.) (2009: 143) observes that, the national government of Papua New Guinea is ultimately responsible for the direction of policy in specifically education as expressed in the “ Medium Term Development Strategy 2005-2010 (MTDS). The National Executive Council (NEC) recommends to the government policy directions that are developed by the Department of Education through a series of internal committees and processes”. Further observation relates to how in the process of policy formulation it is the Top Management Team (TMT) that is the central unit steering major policy initiatives through the NEC as evident in the Literacy Policy (2000), National Skills Policy(2000), Self-reliance Policy (2001) and Gender Policy (2002). Ministerial policy statements and circulars from the permanent secretary desk are then forwarded to the key education officials at national, provincial, district levels and head teachers of schools to advise them of new and revised policy initiatives. The point to note though is that there is provision for the centre that directs the policy formulation notwithstanding consultative processes that take place.

The other complexity, irrespective of theoretical model applied relates to strategic choices of policy implementers. Tied to the reality is the ability to explain and predict implementation outcomes. There is need to know the interests, motives, capacities, and resources of individual implementers. According to Lester and Goggin (1998:5) the complexity entails familiarisation with what role orientations are adopted by individual policy implementers and whose interests they serve. There are also psychological qualities and professional abilities of implementers. There are roles that implementers can play to inhibit, frustrate and subvert policies and political intrigue that can surround attempts to implement or suppress specific policies, (Nakamura & Smallwood 1980).

The other critical issue that informs effective implementation relates to conceptual skills of the human resource base that drives policy implementation processes (Mwaniki, 2004).In some instances implementers interpret public policy in a creative but justifiable way. Being implementers, they may, in fact, sometimes practise discretion and decision making additional to the formal policy at hand. Therefore, policy implementation involves a deeper interrogation

of actors and even by extrapolation, textual matters below the surface. Policies as textual interventions carry with them material constraints and possibilities. It follows that response to official state texts in the mould of economic policies have consequences experienced in the operational context of the policy. A policy is, therefore, not merely received and implemented without being subjected to interpretation. It is this interpretation that reveals multi-layering in policy, a feat that invites 'detective' work that is ideally multitheoretical and multimethodical in scope and orientation. In this vein, the flexible and adaptable CDA framework is fit for purpose as its multidimensional scope can crack the 'seen' and 'unseen' in a text as illustrated in Figure 1 above.

2.5 Theoretical Framework: Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

2.5.1 Introduction

This section presents CDA as the theoretical framework deployed in the study of the TSP policy text. Major aspects of CDA will be highlighted and there will be an overview of what CDA as a theory entails. The section closes with an explanation of Norman Fairclough's (1995) Three Dimensional Model of discourse analysis which is the specific CDA tenet used in the study.

2.5.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA ties and relates well with Critical theory which questioned the dogmatism of Marxist ideology as well as revitalising the weakening academic community through restoration of critical discourses covering all facets of life. Critical theory challenges power relations within society and views the individual as an active autonomous knowledgeable subject as opposed to the Marxist portrayal of an individual as passive puppets or mere recipients of information. Instead, individuals are regarded as rational, critical and reflexive agents who produce and reproduce social conditions in which they live. Also,

Critical theory is primarily concerned with the historical and social genesis of the facts it examines and with the social contexts in which its results will have their affects (Hoy and McCarthy, 1994:16).

Both CDA and Critical theory are critical constituent elements of the broad based Language Management Approach (LMA). CDA draws from various disciplines casting it as an approach that is multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary. In this context, CDA and Critical theory are useful in pointing out how texts, discursive and socio-cultural practices are integral, for example, in multilingual language policy, planning and implementation, (Mwaniki, 2012:28). Commenting specifically on language policies which are essentially policy texts, Lo Bianco (2009:113) argues that power, politics, ideologies and status differentials play out in such documents. The emergence of critical perspective within linguistics was hinged on theorising language as a social practice, and as an intervention in the social and economic order, and one in which it works by reproduction of ideology, (Fowler and Kress, 1979). Thus, CDA unpacks ideology not in a Marxian sense of economic base and superstructure dichotomy but, the more hidden, opaque, and subtle type of everyday beliefs often disguised in language.

CDA emerged as a separate field of teaching and research in the 1970s and 1980s and subsumes a number of versions and approaches which differ in sometimes major ways. CDA is fundamentally interested in analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, ideology, power, and control as manifested in language. CDA investigates critical social inequality as it is expressed, constituted and legitimised by language. Deployment of CDA brings awareness to discursive differences playing out and negotiated in, for instance, functional written texts. Policy texts are often sites of struggle in that they exhibit traces of differing discourses and ideologies competing for dominance. Power struggles, entrenchment of positions and manipulative tendencies are not only signalled by grammatical forms within a text but also outside of it as well. Also, “policies embody claims to speak with authority, they legitimate and initiate practices in the world, and they privilege certain visions and interests”, Ball (1990b:22). As illustrated in Figure 1 above, CDA’s open ended outreach enables it to unpack ‘presences and absences’ in texts for what is missing or not included in a text is often just as significant. Major contexts play beneath the surface and even behind the scenes and such issues that are connected to the text but requiring exploration are critical. Insightfully, analysis of implicit content can provide valuable insights into what is taken as given, as common sense and more significantly it, “gives way into ideological analysis of texts, for ideologies are generally implicit assumptions”, (Fairclough, 1995:6). As a specific text type that

is potentially ideologically laden, the TSP therefore constitutes a principal unit of analysis for CDA. Thus; CDA demonstrates that policy texts often carry agendas they conceal.

CDA investigates power relations and ideology through establishing what the shades and perspectives of the society and culture under investigation are, and how these assist in sustaining. It is not enough just to analyse texts alone but it is also necessary “to consider how texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have” (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 275). On power, critical discourse analyst van Dijk (2001: 302) argues that:

Power involves control, namely by (members of) one group over (those of) of other groups a powerful group may limit the freedom of action of others, but also influence their minds. Besides the elementary recourse to force to directly control action...modern and more effective power is mostly cognitive, and enacted by persuasion, is simulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to change the minds of others in one's interests. It is at this crucial point where discourse and critical discourse analysis come in: managing the minds of others is essentially a function of text and talk.

In addition, Norman Fairclough (1995) and Ruth Wodak (1989) illuminate problems stemming from manipulative and biased language use by powerful groups. Given the diversity in terms of perspectives, application of CDA to an official document, reveals succinctly the political agenda, hegemonic tendencies behind the text, inclusion of particular voices versus the exclusion of others, and the way(s) in which value systems are expressed and realised. CDA can highlight ways in which dominant forces in a society construct versions of reality that promote and entrench their interests.

There are many thinkers or researchers whose insights have broadened the scope of CDA. For example, themes of ideology and genre theory are illuminated by the works of Louis Althusser (1971) and Mikhail Bakhtini (1980) respectively. Blommaert (2005) argues that on CDA there are leading scholars, each with a background of their own, who agree on certain principles of analysis, issues, and who have designed some institutional tools for doing so. In this vein, the quartet of Norman Fairclough (background in systemic-functional linguistics), Ruth Wodak (interactional studies), Teun van Dijk (text and cognitive linguistics), and Paul Chilton (linguistics, semiotics and communication studies) is generally considered as the leading critical discourse analysts in a huge pool with a network of scholars with very different backgrounds and predilections. Therefore CDA offers diversity in terms of scope and

perspectives. The reality enunciated in the foregoing, contextualises the view that CDA is both a theory and method and does not have a unitary theoretical framework or methodology. As Wodak (1989) explains, research in CDA must accordingly be multi theoretical and multi methodical, critical and self-reflective. It should involve deep critical thinking. CDA approach is problem oriented and applies an eclectic theoretical framework and method of analysis.

2.5.3 CDA as Theory

At a general level, Blommaert (2005) observes that in terms of orientation or persuasion, CDA displays immense interest in theories of power and ideology. There is however no guiding theoretical viewpoint that is used consistently within CDA. Therefore it is not a total or closed paradigm but an open ended, flexible and heterogeneity of theoretical approaches. The view is accentuated by Wodak and Weiss' (2003: 6) contention that it is quite difficult to make consistent statements about theoretical foundations of CDA for there is, "no such thing as a uniform, common theory formation determining CDA, in fact there are several approaches". Also, Meyer (2001:18) notes, "There is no guiding theoretical viewpoint that is used consistently within CDA, nor do CDA protagonists proceed consistently from area of theory to field of discourse and then back to theory". A variety of theories are brought into dialogue. For example, social theories on the one hand and linguistic theories on the other are synthesised to theorise on a phenomenon. In this vein, CDA offers an open ended, flexible, adaptable eclectic and unsystematic theoretical framework which incidentally can be viewed as a positive attribute.

The range of theory and methodology can be highlighted as a specific strength of CDA, (Wodak, 2002; Fairclough, 1999). Given the flexibility of CDA, interpretation of texts can never be deemed final or absolute which is a typical image of a 'sect'. It follows that application of CDA on the same policy text by different researchers will generate different interpretations, for the approach is not strait jacketed. In other words interpretations will be varied as the scope's flexibility does not provide for uniformity and absoluteness. Analysts agree that different audiences may interpret texts differently. As critical analysis posits, discourse is not produced without context and needs to be understood in terms of the current and historical socio-economic developments. Discourse enunciates linkages between past and current

social context since texts can be interpreted in different ways by different people due to different backgrounds, knowledge and power positions. Thus, the right interpretation does not exist (Fairclough, 2003: Wodak and Ludwig, 1999).

Therefore criticisms leveled against interpretation should always specify which research or researcher they relate to because the interpretative and analytical framework cannot be viewed as a holistic or closed paradigm. In support of the flexibility, Fairclough (2002) observes that an order of discourse is not a closed or rigid system, but rather an open system, as it emphasises what happens in the actual interactions. Cross (2010) weighs in with the view that CDA should open its analysis to different theoretical discourses which construct the problem in focus in different ways.

As Wodak cited in Kendall (2007) observes, being 'critical' means avoiding taking cases for granted but opening up complexity and being self-reflective in the research. Critical should not be viewed negatively in the sense of blemishing instead it involves being creative in terms of proffering alternatives. Alternatives that address complexity thrive in multi theory contexts. Wodak argues that in seeking to interrogate and explain complex social phenomena it is imperative that an interdisciplinary approach is invoked. Furthermore, Fairclough (1992) argues that social practice has various orientations— economic, political, cultural, and ideological— and discourse may be implicated in all of these without any of them being reducible to discourse. The net effect of the scholarly submissions amplifies utility of CDA in the current study as it deploys a broad range of tools in analysis of texts. Employing interdisciplinary techniques to look at how a consolidated policy text is constructed and predispose itself to implementation can be ably done through CDA.

Fluidity in terms of theoretical orientation has taken flak from other researchers notably Widdowson's (1998) criticism of perceived vagueness of many concepts and the analytical models in CDA. The perceived fuzziness particularly in terms of tenet or framework motivates the adoption of a model of analysis of discourse. According to Blommaert (2005: 29), "The most elaborate and ambitious attempt towards theorising the CDA programme is undoubtedly Fairclough's ... three-dimensional framework for conceiving of, and analysing, discourse".

2.5.4 Norman Fairclough's Three Dimensional-Model of Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analyst, Norman Fairclough, offers the three dimensional conception of discourse, which can be used creatively to describe, interpret and explain a policy text in terms of both explicit and implicit terms. The background to the model is informed by the realisation that in society there are powerful participants who control and constrain the contribution of the less powerful participants. For example, the powerful who produce a policy, newspaper or programme determine what is included and what is excluded. Creative application of the philosophy to textual analysis implies then that what is in a text and what is absent are both significant. The motivation for using the three dimensional model lies in that, "It is an important principle for critical discourse analysis, that analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discourse practices within which texts are embedded" (Fairclough, 1995:9). The model caters for the aspect of context intimated particularly at the interpretation stage as the second level of analysis.

The following model illustrates the three critical dimensions of text analysis, discourse and social practice which provide for navigation of explicit and implicit textual issues.

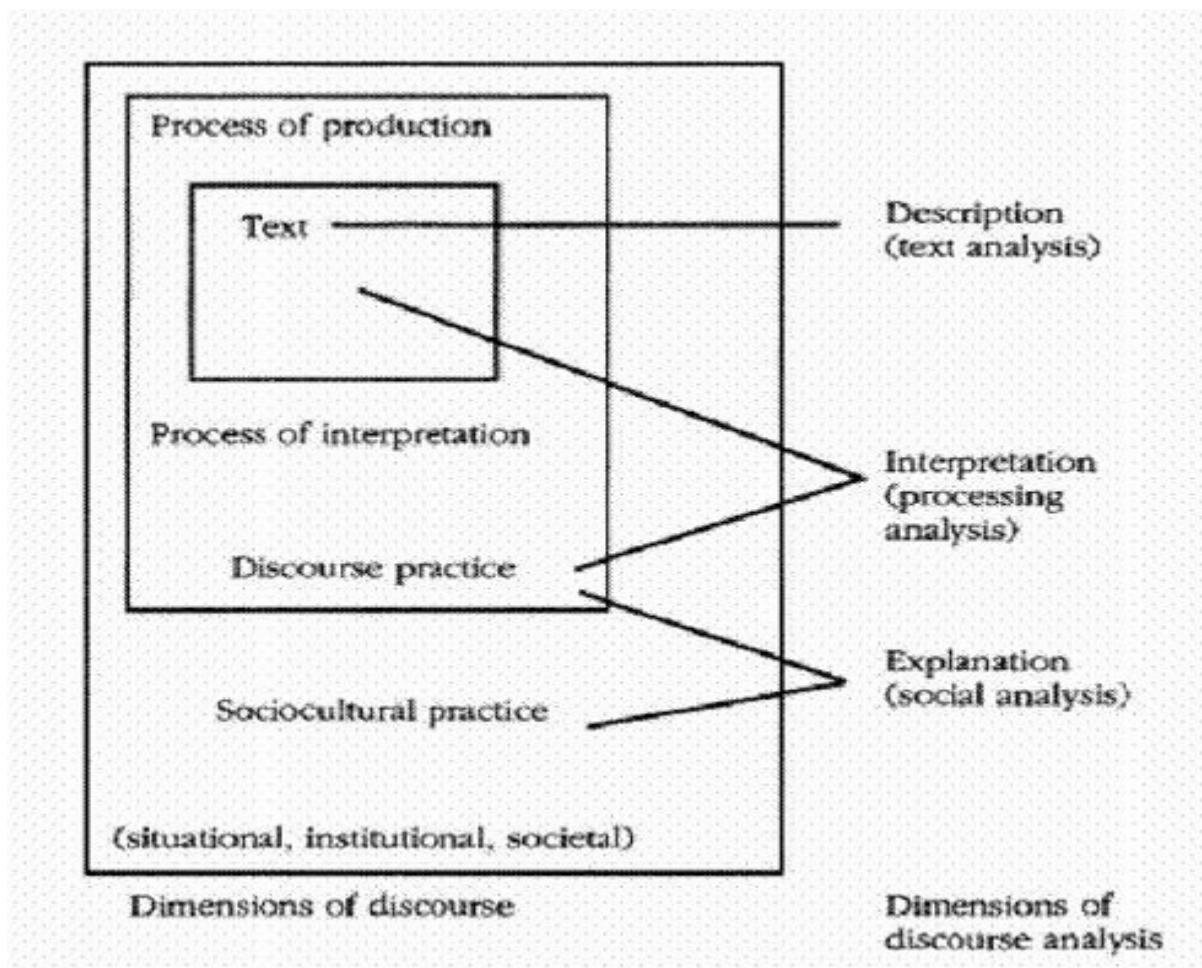


Figure 3: Three dimensional conception of discourse(Adapted, Norman Fairclough, 1995:98)

As indicated in figure 3 above, discourse is conceptualised at three interrelated and interdependent levels namely, (i) a language text (spoken or written), (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation) and (iii) sociocultural practice. The different levels illustrated which are explained sequentially dictate that each dimension addresses a different type of analysis. Breaking down the model at a general level, what is emerging is provision for revisiting of the text at different levels. In so doing it will be possible to generate questions around it, imagining as well how it could have been crafted and amking comparisons with real and imaginary texts of similar shared characteristics. What follows is illustration of the three dimensions enshrined in the model.

Text analysis which is essentially descriptive covers the overt structural aspects of a given text. As Fairclough (1995) explains, the first dimension addresses linguistic features and organisation of concrete instances of discourse. Thus textual analysis provides insights into what is 'in' a text as articulated in for instance vocabulary and grammar. At the descriptive level the linguistic analysis aims to describe the contents of the text. A text can be spoken or written or visual. A text can be viewed as, "any passage spoken or written of whatever length that does form a unified whole" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976:1). Additionally, a text is conceived as a communicative occurrence which meets standards of communicative occurrence namely, cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality (De Beaugrande and Dressler, 1972). In the context of the current study, the written TSP policy document serves as an actual text and a record of a communicative event that involves the presentation of facts and beliefs. Like an iceberg of information a text it is only the tip that is expressed in words and sentences (Van Dijk, 1998).

Text analysis constitutes a critical step in what can be deemed a continuum of three levels in that, "detailed aspects of language such as grammar, vocabulary, metaphor and idioms can be ideologically significant" (Hastings, 1998:196). As will be explained below ideological analysis embedded in the apex dimension draws significantly from the text analysis level. An analysis of lexical and grammatical features reveals how discourses are reproduced in and permeated in a text.

The dimension of discursive practices can be described in terms of production and reception of a 'text' in a particular 'context'. The notion of texts and contexts is explained more incisively within the concept of intertextuality which explains how "texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualise and dialogue with other texts" (Fairclough, 2003:17). Also, Ball (1993:46) states that, "sometimes when we focus analytically on one policy or on one text we forget that other policies and texts are in circulation and the enactment of one may inhibit or contradict or influence the possibility of the enactment of others". Intertextuality reality inspires the focus on other policy texts predating the TSP for no text is an island. There is also the dynamic of the interdiscursive level of CDA, which encompasses the rules which structure the production of official discourses. In terms of texts and contexts dynamic, policy texts cater for retrospective and prospective linkages

for sustenance. The interdiscursive level mediates between the social and contextual analysis of the text as it unpacks the order of discourse, and “the way in which diverse genres and discourses are networked together” (Fairclough, 2001: 235). In the context of CDA, it is certainly imperative to note that discourse is produced in a context thus it can only be understood clearly if context is taken into consideration.

The discourse practice level of analysis focuses on text production, for example, official policy documents. The analysis addresses ways in which policy texts are created to establish if there are certain rules that govern the use of language within critical policy documents. The discourse practice level is the interpretative level which aims to interpret the, “relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text”, (Fairclough, 1995:97). Discursive practices may have major ideological effects in terms of producing and reproducing unequal power relations in society for example between social classes, and majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people, (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Within the CDA theoretical framework, texts are understood differently and a text does not uniquely determine meaning although there is theoretically a limit to what a text can mean. Different understandings of the text result from different combinations of the properties of the text and the properties of the interpreter.

The interpretative perspective has been adopted by various researchers in the field of policy analysis, (Palumbo and Calista, 1987; Torgerson, 1985; Yanow, 1990). Also, the interpretative approach is used in many fields to unearth the hidden reality and meaning of a phenomenon. With specific reference to policy and implementation analysis, Yanow (1993), raises few questions for example, What does a policy mean? To whom aside from its drafters, does it have meaning? How do various interpretations of meaning affect policy implementation? All these questions resonate with the scope of discourse practice in terms of production, distribution and more profoundly the consumption of the policy text. Aspects of policy implementation which are not discernible can be captured through interpretation of meaning which is in this case between producer and consumer or creator and interpreter respectively. Interpretation is influenced by a myriad of variables which include interpreter’s interests, background knowledge and objectives.

This view connects well with policy implementer variables presented within the hybrid theoretical model (2.4.3) above. Interpretations as indicated within CDA framework, may differ from one another and may diverge from the intent of the policy legislators. This multiple interpretation may facilitate or impede the policy's implementation (Yanow, 1993). "The interpretations are not discernible as an objective fact rather it is the researcher who digs out hidden meanings by understanding the phenomenon in its natural context" (Saeed,2012: 111).

Finally the sociocultural practice dimension can viewed as 'power behind discourse' or as social practice functioning behind the entire process and governing the power relations in discourse. Power behind discourse speaks to power dynamics around issues which participants wield and exercise power in society. The dimension involves analysis of social conditions in which a text is produced, disseminated, consumed and interpreted. Issues that play out in this dimension include, social relationships, power, ideology, hegemony and solidarity.

Basically, the three dimensional model dictate that each dimension performs and represents a different type of analysis. Text analysis provides for essentially description, the discourse practice processing analysis or interpretation, and the third dimension caters for social analysis or explanation. All dimensions are interdependent and therefore it does not matter with which kind of analysis one begins with as they are "mutually explanatory"(Janks 1997:27). The motivation for the three dimensional model lies in that,"it is an important principle for critical discourse analysis, that analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discursive practices within which texts are embedded", (Fairclough: 1995:9). Put differently, when analysing policy texts one should also have regard to routines and processes of policy production and circumstances and production of audience reception.

CDA as explained is useful in unpacking the multi-layering in policy and as illustrated in figure 1 above, the framework tackles the overt and covert aspects of policy texts. Its interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary property makes it flexible in investigating texts such as official documents. CDA is a valuable and suitable tool for an effective but not exhaustive or definitive interpretation

of policy texts. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 279), “interpretations are never finished and authoritative; they are dynamic and open, open to new contexts and new information”.

The nature of official text production means that it always serves as a platform for the expounding of bias and subjectivity, (Phillips et al, 2008). Also the researchers argue that discursive practices such as producing and circulating texts is a highly political act arising from contest for determining the nature of concept and control around how the outcomes are handled and understood. Insightfully, discourse in CDA conception is purposefully hegemonic in that it aspires to inculcate consensual understandings of issues at play, which then become accepted as norms with regard to how those things are talked or written about in the public domain. Such dynamics play into the realm of CDA. Although the reading of a policy text is a question of subjective interpretation, using critical discourse analytical approaches permits a linguistic textual analysis as well as deployment of “ideology critique or deconstruction to highlight the constitutive practices texts use” (Taylor, 1997: 27). Additionally, it has been argued that within the wider policy area, policy texts enter and often sustain, “rather than simply change power relations” (Ball, 1993: 47). Thus CDA application in policy texts is a useful tool with capacity to determine, and subsequently challenge, the knowledge which has been constructed, assumed and perpetuated within policy discourses.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has located implementation in the policy making process using the ‘turbulent flow’ illustrated in figure 2 which essentially departs from the linear approach to policy making. After locating implementation in the matrix, linguistic aspects of policy texts were highlighted. The argument around policy texts is that they are marked by cracks and crevices which bear on policy implementation processes. It has been noted that the nemesis of policy texts lies in that they describe the ‘what’ and fall short on the ‘how’ yet it is the latter aspect that addresses how the policy is executed. Also, there is an interesting debate around issues like vagueness, ambiguities and fuzziness that define policy texts. The question as to whether policy makers deliberately or consciously design policies destined to fail, non-implementable or guaranteed

to fail remains largely speculative. At best though, the view that can be put forward and sustained is that a linguistic strategy in policy making process is at play.

A review of literature in this chapter reveals that the policy implementation as a discipline appears handicapped by lack of viable, valid and universally accepted grand theories. Appreciation, conceptualisation and comprehension of public policy implementation processes have been done within the top-down; bottom-up and hybrid theoretical models. It has been argued that hegemonic policies are not easily implementable at grassroots without resistance. Within the macro conception policy makers are regarded as the 'minds' while the local communities are the 'hands' in the policy implementation matrix. In the micro approach policies can be initiated from the lowest levels of implementation system. Street level bureaucrats are presented as the frontline public officials serving as the real policy makers with an understanding of how the discretionary powers and decisions made by policy implementers affect its successful implementation. While the synthesised model links the macro world of policy makers and micro world of policy implementers it is important to note that individually and collectively, the theoretical models offer useful insights into the public policy implementation process. There are also issues around end users or implementers such as value system, skills, capacities and motives which bear on policy implementation dynamics.

Finally, the chapter unveiled CDA theoretical framework which has been deemed suitable in unpacking policy texts as illustrated in figure 1. Owing to its flexibility and open-endedness, CDA has capacity to unpack power, ideology and status differentials entrenched in policy documents thus laying bare potential attendant implementation dilemmas. The three dimensional model which encompasses text analysis, discourse practice and socio-cultural practice which will be deployed in this study has been explained and illustrated. It has also been argued that CDA provides for linkages with other approaches, in particular the interpretative approach which dovetails with the discursive practices. However, it has to be emphasised that there is no interpretation which can be deemed absolute, definitive and exhaustive. The reality dovetails with the thrust of the research which is unfettered in terms of structure and content analysis and discussion.

The next chapter focuses on research design and methodology. The TSP case study research and the data analysis techniques, ethical considerations and pilot study issues will be presented in the chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3. 1 Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the research design and methodology that was used in the linguistic study of the TSP economic policy. Although the research is essentially a textual analysis of the given policy text, there are also some reflections on ethical considerations given complex and potential sensitive interpretation of overt and covert discourses. At the end of the chapter is a brief presentation, analysis and discussion of the preliminary results and findings of the pilot study that was conducted prior to the main research.

The research is a textual analysis of Zimbabwe's TSP economic policy which anchors the Vision of a prosperous and empowered upper middle income society by 2030. The policy text unveils a reforms agenda covering the period October 2018 to December 2020. The research examines the policy formulation to establish how it speaks to policy implementation. For clarity on motivation and scope of the research, a provision extracted from the TSP is conveniently referred to at this stage. It stipulates that:

Government currently faces challenges arising from line Ministries, and departments and agencies that operate in silos. As a result, there is no coherence in policy formulation and implementation (point 363).

Against a background of failed economic blue prints, lack of synergy in Government, and taking a cue from the policy text provision illustrated, there is a plausible case for examination of the connection between a crafted policy and implementation. Therefore the researcher examined the linguistic variable as expressed in the direct link between policy formulation and implementation. In other words, on the basis of what is 'seen' and 'unsaid' in a policy text a case for implementation of a given policy can be reasonably made. The link is made in Figure 4 below which creatively and succinctly illustrates this premise through an adaptation from Egonmwan (1991).

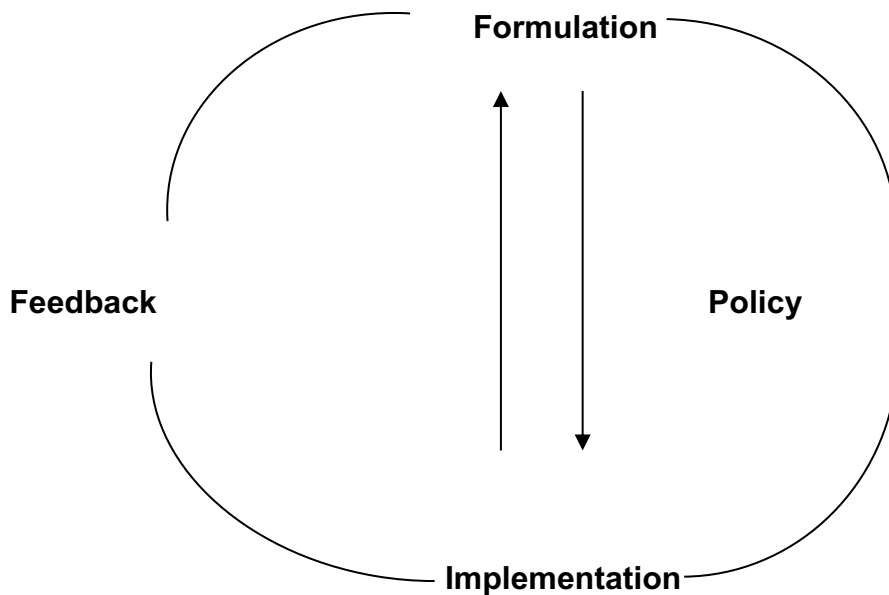


Figure 4: Policy Making Process (Adapted from, Egonmwan, 1991)

Thus Figure 4 above gives perspective to what the research does in terms of focus. The arrows reveal direct connection between policy formulation and implementation. While other researchers explain implementation of policies in terms of other variables including exogenous factors such as funding and political will, the researcher tracked the linguistic variable expressed in overt and covert discourses that play out in the official state text. The research creatively connected policy formulation and implementation using a three pronged attack on the text that describes, interprets and explains overt and covert discourses within Fairclough's Three Dimensional Model. The transparent and hidden discourses warranting detective work are central to appreciation, conceptualisation and comprehension of policy implementation.

The researcher worked on the assumption that the policy text is designed to serve its purpose and a specific audience. Tied to the assumption is the view that the policy maker would maintain a consistent imagined reader on track without confusing him/her. Above all else is the assumption that the policy is implementable. Inevitably the imagined readers and users would naturally build up a cumulative picture of their imagined reader culminating in social cohesion. The researcher engaged a potential problematic text given its location in a large family of failed economic blueprints. Clearly, the researcher was not on a mission to generate prescriptive

statements but to let data bearing on potential implementation dynamic talk. In the process, instances of badly written text or inadequate textualisation would be viewed positively in terms of enriching texts as effective communication acts. The evidence would be used to bolster the linguistic variable in discourses around policy implementation procedures and processes. As Coulthard (1994) argues, just as studies of aphasia and slips of the tongue have provided fruitful evidence for hypotheses about how language is organised in the brain, so a study of badly written text, or inadequate textualisations, may help us to understand better the nature of successful textualisation.

3.2 Research design: A case study research

A research design is “the blue print for fulfilling research objectives and answering research questions... a master plan specifying the methods and procedures for collecting and analysing the needed information” (Adams et al., 2007:81). It is the overall plan of the research project and how to execute its implementation. Case study research “involves the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system (i.e. a setting, a context)”, (Creswell, 2007:73). A case study research is a type of design in qualitative research, or an object of study, as well as a product of the inquiry. It involves an in- depth investigation of a problem in one or more real life settings or case sites. The motivation for use of a case study lies in limiting the scope of the study. Focusing on a single case is in many ways, ideally suited to the needs and resources of the small scale researcher (Mikkelsen, 1995). Limited resources make it difficult for the small scale researcher to spread effort by engaging in more case study researches. There is also the objective reality of time, space and processing constraints which make it imperative for one to concentrate exclusively on a single case study. Selection of a case can be based on accessibility and convenience to the researcher. Such realities call on the researcher to decide the scope or boundaries. For example, one could focus on a specific campus, and even delimiting the scope in terms of the specific levels that will be covered. There are a number of positives associated with a case study research. Intensity on a single case facilitates a rich and thick description which allows readers to make decisions on possibility of “transferability” because of shared characteristics (Erlandson et al., 1993: 12). The positive aspect is accentuated by Bhattacharjee (2012: 102) who submits, “case research can help

derive richer, more contextualised, and more authentic interpretation of the phenomenon of interest than most other research methods by virtue of its ability to catch a wide array of contextual data”. What should inform selection of a specific case is rationale for the purposeful sampling strategy and collecting information about the case. The handling of multiple cases results in less rigour and intensity at all levels, particularly data collection and analysis. As Creswell (2007: 76) observes, “The study of more than one case dilutes the overall analysis, the more cases an individual studies, the less depth in any single case”. However, more cases provide for ‘generalisability’, and development of richer and more nuanced interpretations of the phenomenon (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Transferability and generalisability embody the notion of replication logic in other contexts that have similar orientations. While findings from a single case may not be readily generalised to other case sites, such generalisability though can be engendered by replicating and comparing the analysis in other case sites in a compound case design. Also due to different circumstances and contexts it is difficult to make reasonable generalisations on findings derived from a specific case. Additional case studies done in different contexts with different predictions can be readily generalised if such findings are consistent across studies.

Although case study research presents uniqueness and particularisation rather than generalisation, the rich and thick descriptions can be a solid base for generalisation of cases. The rich source of data that is gathered as observed by Erlandson (1993) offers possibility for transferability across the family of texts. Adams et al. (2007:113) amplify the view that “small generalisations can be made about a particular case” and even more profoundly, “Case studies may also provide counter examples that invite modifications of a grand generalisation”. The researcher focuses on single instances, and “draws meaning from it without looking at multiple instances” (Creswell, 2007:163). It is the depth and detail from the instances or individual cases that in the context of this research was described, interpreted and explained within the framework of CDA. Justification for focusing on a single case according to Hamalet (1994), cited in Nieuwenhuis (2007:76), lies in that focusing on a single case as an object of study is like the concentration of the global on the local.

In line with deductive approach, case study research starts with a theory and tests theoretical claims using empirical data. Also, “Case research can be used for either theory building or theory testing” (Bhattacharjee, 2012:102). Additionally, cases study “can be a very powerful research method in terms of questioning accepted theory” (Adams et al., 2007:112). Critiquing a theory’s applicability in a case research is informed by the reality that theory is not truth or fact. A theory is not sacrosanct, instead it can be questioned and researchers should endeavour to test, build better and more comprehensive theories. The basis of doing that lies in case study research which as Creswell (2007) posits, involves a process pulling the data apart and putting the data back in more meaningful ways which is akin to disrupting in order to reconstruct. The collected and analysed empirical data is related to theoretical postulates and propositions for testing or developing other theories by other researchers.

A case research is useful in capturing data that cuts across social, cultural, economic and political issues relating to phenomena of interest and beyond. The analysis in the case research as highlighted is oriented towards qualitative orientation, and the interpretation of the findings demands observational and integrative abilities of the researcher. A case researcher has a wide array of texts which may present unusual or unique situations which can be chosen and analysed. Individual texts as case studies exhibit unique traits in terms of design, purpose, circumstantial and contextual variations. Notwithstanding the peculiarities, texts exhibit shared characteristics. The claim holds for the economic policies family in which we locate TSP.

3.2. 1 The TSP policy text

The TSP text falls within the realm of case study research sites which according to Creswell (2007: 125) are used for qualitative research and “can purposefully inform an understanding of the research problem and central phenomenon in the study”. The motivation for using a specific site or text is the need to search for the richest and thickest possible data in qualitative research. There is a high turnover of economic policies in post-independence Zimbabwe as reflected in Table 1 above. Evidently, there are many official state texts serving as economic policies which could have been sampled for analysis. The researcher sampled at the site level, a specific case or text from the rich family of economic blueprints. Selecting the text from the population of texts

for analysis was not random but informed by various considerations including pertinent content. In a way, the selection can be explained in terms of non-probability and purposive sampling rather than probability or random sampling approach. However, it is the entire TSP text, as a site for case study research that was extracted from the population. The question as to why focus was exclusively on the policy text as single instance and not any other text from the multiple instances is explained below.

The TSP text covering the period October 2018 to December 2020 is current, evolving and implementation processes are set to enrich and deepen the overt and covert textual issues. The other texts at the time of research largely pass for archival material from which useful connections to the case are extracted. ZIMASSET as the immediate preceding policy offers more in terms of the linkages. Motivation for selecting the policy text also lies in that it is an economic blueprint located at the defining moment in the history of Zimbabwe. The defining moment is explained in terms of transition in Government from what is helpfully noted in the policy text, Old Dispensation to New Dispensation configured as First Republic and Second Republic, respectively. The high sounding nomenclatures are among discourses with magnetic effect to linguistic research. In brief the birth of the economic policy derives from a purportedly new Government destined for a break with the past, nation building and nationalist ideology which invites linguistic insight and oversight through critical lenses.

The economic policy was ushered in by the new government inaugurated against the backdrop of the so called soft coup which dislodged the Government of late former President Robert Gabriel Mugabe on 14 November 2017. The historic background to the TSP lies in the power contest in the ruling ZANU-PF party between former First Vice –President Emmerson Mnangagwa, backed by the Zimbabwe Defence Forces, and then First Lady Grace Mugabe backed by the younger Generation 40 (G40) outfit over who would succeed the 93-year old President Mugabe. With the demise of the latter, President Mnangagwa’s Government ushered in through the military coup dubbed ‘Operation Restore Legacy’ consolidated its hold on power after winning in the hotly contested plebiscite of 30 July 2018. This is the Government to which the TSP owes its parentage. Apart from the dawning of the new era which raised expectations and anxiety the policy text sells a vision, It is the grand vision, ‘ Towards a Prosperous and

Empowered Upper Middle Income Society by 2030' which distinguishes it from the population of economic blueprints in terms of appeal. The idealism draws attention to the policy text which anchors it.

The strategic choice of the TSP text as a case study research derives from multiple considerations. The document is in the public domain and was studied in its complete and consolidated form in terms of both its inclusive and exclusive features. There was dependence on the single case which related to a theoretical framework which in some scholarly discourses capacitates it to generalise from one case to situations with shared characteristics. It is a strategic text whose conclusions are likely to bear on texts with shared characteristics. The site can be the basis of generalisability to that case and similarly oriented cases. Although qualitative researchers are generally averse to generalising from one case (text) due to circumstantial and contextual variations, the current researcher was optimistic that rich, thick and vivid description of this particular case can be a solid basis for generalisation of cases within the family. Thus the depth and detail from the policy text laden with socio-economic and political discourses transparent and hidden, described, interpreted and explained within the framework of CDA provides alibi for generalisability. Also, at least within the Zimbabwean context the researcher intermittently illustrated observations which serve as potential basis for exploration of constructs and relationships of the TSP and preceding policy texts. A site can cause existing theories which are by no means sacrosanct to be re-evaluated in a new light. In addition, Adams et al. (2012:112) posit, that case studies (texts) raise 'How' and 'Why' questions, research questions may evolve as the research progresses, and "generate rather than test hypotheses and these models and hypotheses or models can then be tested possibly by other researchers". The flexibility ingrained in cases and the capacity for connections with discourses with shared characteristics cannot be over emphasised. Also a site of which the policy text is a member provides for what Yin (1994) contends describes as a real- life context in which an intervention has occurred.

3.3 Qualitative and Quantitative Research

The researcher brings into the matrix the quantitative dimension in the qualitative research for purposes of making a distinction between the two and clarifying potential misconceptions that

may arise. Qualitative and quantitative researches essentially involve empirical or data oriented considerations concerning the data to be gathered and how to analyse them. Qualitative research relies mostly on non-numeric data and is descriptive. There is application of reason and use of words to get meaning, feeling and describe the situation. Given its exploratory orientation, qualitative research investigates the 'how' and 'why' questions of decision making process. On the other hand, quantitative research employs numeric data such as scores and metrics. It is non-descriptive, and applies statistics, figures and numbers as an iterative process of evaluating evidence. The results are largely presented in tables and graphs to give direction to the 'what', 'where' and 'when' questions of decision making. Statistical procedures in the mould of regression analysis for example analysis will have no place in qualitative research which instead employs coded data which can be tabulated quantitatively as frequencies of codes. The coded data is not statistically analysed though. Accordingly, "many puritan interpretative researchers reject this coding approach as a futile effort to seek consensus or objectivity in a social phenomenon which is essentially subjective" (Bhattacharjee 2012: 112).

For clearer perspective, issues of interpretative, naturalistic approach and meaning resonate with qualitative research. The perspective coheres with Denzin and Lincoln's (2005: 3) observation that, "qualitative researchers, study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring". The researches are done in natural settings. Creswell (2007:39) amplifies the view that, "Qualitative research is a form of inquiry in which researchers make an interpretation of what they see, hear, and understand". The scholarly views have helped in locating the home of puritan interpretation as qualitative research. Their concern is that qualitative research should remain distinct and not integrate objectivity through references to frequencies in coding, a presumed aspect of quantitative research. The nature of qualitative data collection and the interpretation process is viewed as largely subjective and ought to remain as such. This is so regardless of the fact that qualitative method examines social and cultural phenomenon based on questions, such as what, why, and how (Keegan, 2009: 11). These are probing and incisive questions but they do not generate a uniform interpretation of findings by researchers. There is also no interpretation that is absolute hence the subjective inclination. The flexibility can however be viewed positively in the sense of promoting creativity. Further to the subjective matrix which the puritan interpretation

upholds is the view that, “there is no agreed structure for how to design a qualitative study” (Weiss and Fine, 2000:41). The flexibility opens room to diversity where some scholars emphasise familiarisation with study, discussion of procedures and highlighting emerging issues for concise qualitative inquiry. Yet other scholars dwell on the ‘how to’ perspective which demands succinct and incisive design principles. Therefore what plays out owing to lack of rigidity is diversity. The argument can be applied to qualitative text analysis where philosophical positions can create their own methodologies which enable analysts to choose or even create ones which suit their doctrine. For example, as Hoggart, et al., (2002: 165) note, for discourse analysis, qualitative text analysis is “something like bike riding...which is not easy to render or describe in an explicit manner”. The researcher finds diversity appealing, in particular, unity in diversity that in the ultimate embodies the notion that design should provide for problem identification, data collection and analysis.

Although the researcher’s orientation is qualitative, there is intense debate around the alleged dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative research often conceived as spurious that needs to be acknowledged. As some scholars argue, it is difficult to present quantifiable explanations without going through qualitative analysis. For example, in textual analysis a researcher sometimes grapples with qualitative distinctions between categories and then proceeds to invoke quantitative analysis through measuring how many words belong to one or other category. Thus the distinction between the two is fuzzy, and along the way one negotiates with the other for passage to the intended destination as it were. Bauer et al. (2014:12) offer a radical view of the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research which they regard as superficial and perpetuated due to interrelated factors, namely the bid to eliminate “ambiguities” in research and “overzealous” effort to categorise methods as well as interpretative work associated with the two researches. The argument claims further that there are misconceptions that the two approaches are incompatible, and hence, allusion to “qualitative researcher” and “quantitative researcher” divides which in reality should be regarded as an artificial contest.

The other way of looking at the symbiotic relationships is expressed thus, “We use qualitative research to follow up quantitative research and help explain the mechanisms and linkages in causal theories and models” (Creswell, 2007: 40). Further to this, qualitative and quantitative

methodologies play a complementary role as is the case in triangulation where associations can be established between different research results emanating from applying different methodological approaches to the same problem. The idea with triangulation as it blends qualitative and quantitative research is to collect data by different means and the hope is that there is convergence on truth (Adams et al., 2007). The philosophy behind triangulation is that there are multiple perspectives or views of a case warranting representation and there is no way to establish beyond any doubt the best view or truth. Sometimes, combining qualitative and quantitative data “may help generate unique insight into a complex social phenomenon that are not available from either types of data alone, and hence, mixed- mode designs that combine qualitative and quantitative data are often desirable” (Bhattacharjee, 2012:44). There is ample scope for integrating the two researches; however the current study provides a strong alibi for qualitative research.

The motivation for qualitative research arises from the need to untangle complex issues and hear the muted voices. It calls on strong commitment to engage in complex and time consuming process of data analysis involved in the onerous task of sorting large amounts of data and breaking them down to a few themes or categories. Qualitative text analysis applied an open coding process which in the main involved familiarisation with the entire policy text’s provisions which are all numbered numerically with supportive documentation also listed in the appendices. Guided by reference to specific discourses that predispose the policy to implementation, the open coding applied at textual analysis (descriptive) stage was aimed at identifying concepts or key ideas. The key ideas had to be extracted from the textual data so this entailed examination of the data in individual provisions of the text. Some concepts were clear, simple and unambiguous while others were complex and ambiguous demanding meticulous verification. The open coding frame was handy in the sense of being open to adjustment and amendment allowing new concepts and regrouping of the concepts. What followed was grouping of the concepts into higher order categories which are broad and generalizable. From these categories there was development of themes which in essence subsumed previously coded categories. The theme relates to the interpretation and explanation stages which also drew extensively from the hidden discourses and evolving processes around policy implementation matrix. Lengthy quotations or provisions used across the stages have the number inscribed in brackets for

convenience of reference. Qualitative analysis is thus seen utilising a coding process that goes through stages which permit back and forth movements. Through this coding frame, as highlighted in the context of puritan interpretation, qualitative analysis can be considered an extension of quantitative analysis through tabulation of frequencies in codes. As Mayring (2000) notes, qualitative analysis aims to complement the systematic nature of quantitative analysis with the qualitative –interpretative steps of analysis by substituting the stringency of the machine with the elasticity of human coders. Some scholars though suggest the distinctness of the researches. For example Bhattacharjee (2012: 53) argues, "many variables in social science research are qualitative even when represented in a quantitative manner". The argument goes further to say that using numbers or assigning numbers are largely labels associated with personal evaluation but the underlying variable still remains qualitative even though it is represented in a quantitative manner. By extrapolation one could extend the argument by saying a nomenclature like New Dispensation is qualitative and its status is not altered to become quantitative because of counting the number of times it is used in the policy text.

The primacy of qualitative is amplified by observation that in the final and perhaps crucial stage of any analysis, it is the interpretation of outputs that is the key to making sense out of it all, and complexity of given statistical models (quantitative) impacts interpretation of attendant results (Bauer et al., 2000). The researcher in applying qualitative for text analysis was guided by the philosophy that a policy text embodies socio-economic reality which is shared and makes sense to a community through reflexive processes. It is a view which approximates text analysis with qualitative research as it permits reconstruction of constructions. Thus, social action should be read as text, text is the model of social life (Riceour, 1973). It can be observed further that in pursuit of social life, what takes precedence is interpretation of social life and not concoction of laws which is the hallmark of physical sciences. Texts represent values, beliefs, rituals and practices of a community. Text analysis in the sense of qualitative research tries to understand intentions of the author, the text itself, and of the reader/audience from their perspectives.

3.4 CDA as Method

A research method provides a specific strategy outlining the way the study will be conducted and implemented. Methodology operates at a general level encapsulating a systematic

theoretical analysis of methods applied to a field of study. Adams et al. (2007:25) amplifies thus, "research methodology is the science and philosophy behind all research". CDA deployed in the analysis of the TSP policy text performs a dual role as theory and method. The roles for the multiple theories and methods that play out are inextricably intertwined. Various methods of analysis have theoretical underpinnings serving as best practices to apply to specific cases. Theoretical influences from various CDA approaches percolate methods of analysis. For a clear perspective, examination of CDA in the theory and method interplay, broad principles and approaches, and the procedures in the three dimensional model ensues. Note though that part of reflections on CDA as theory conveniently laid the basis to consummation of the theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter.

There is a wide range of approaches in CDA with no unified school that can be classified as the guiding method. The diversity in terms of approaches applies to the theory dimension as well. Wodak and Meyer (2001: 11) emphasise that CDA must not be understood as a "single method but rather as an approach which constitutes itself at different levels and at each level a number of selections have to be made". There is no specific direction in CDA research hence the conclusion that it is best grasped as a shared perspective encompassing a range of perspectives (Amoussou and Allagbe, 2018). This implies that there are no specific methods distinct from other social studies. Instead it shares methods with disciplines that study social groups and social structures inclusive of anthropology, sociology, sociology, ethnography, and ethno methodology and cognitive and social psychology (Bloor and Bloor, 2007). Thus, one gleans the unlimited and expansive scope and outreach of CDA across various disciplines within the social sciences. Also its imprints are noticeable in language. According to Fairclough (1989), approaches to language notably linguistics, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, cognitive psychology and conversational analysis exploit CDA. When forays are made, the interest is not in the linguistic units per se but exploration of social phenomena which are necessarily complex, and hence, the need for a multidisciplinary and multimethodical approach. In terms of both method and methodology, CDA is multifaceted and open to the broadest range of factors that exert an influence on texts.

The interdisciplinary feature embodied in the method permits investigation carried out from widely differing perspectives. It is an unrestricted method with unlimited options to carve research pathways. CDA can be adapted to investigate an object of study from widely different perspectives. The researcher can migrate continuously between data collection and analysis as the methods are not rigid, fixed and constraining. What is discernible in CDA is absence of 'total' or 'closed' theories and methods. It is the heterogeneity of methodological and theoretical approaches which offers diversity of methodology that practitioners encourage and welcome (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). The positive depiction is amplified by the observation that, CDA has never been and has never attempted consolidated theories or methods but works from multifarious positions due to different theoretical backgrounds oriented towards different data and methodologies (Wodak and Meyer, 2002). The eclectic nature of CDA poises it to grapple with diverse problems in society which are too complex to be studied from one point of view. Therefore an integrated ensemble of diverse theories and methods will unpack the complexity. Complexities play out in consolidated policy texts which are ironically an ensemble of socio-economic and political issues. Controversies associated with CDA concretise what can be perceived as irreconcilable positions within the methodological debate in social research.

CDA as an unsystematic method of analyzing discourses has attracted spirited criticism from scholars, notably, Widdowson (2004) who disparages it for not being critical towards its own purposes, methods and practices, and not being explicit in methodological practices which are not replicable. The argument is taken further in the view that there is no application of consistent principles and systematic linguistic theory in CDA. There is implied criticism of CDA in Titscher's et al. (2000:5) cited in Wodak and Meyer (eds.) (2001:15) submission that, "If one proceeds systematically, wrong turnings are avoidable for methodical procedure can, like, Ariadne's thread, guarantee the researcher a safe route back". The criticisms have been countered with the common refrain that there is also need to be systematic in the attack. Being systematic in the criticisms involves avoidance of generalised attacks of the model but specifying which research or researcher they relate to. There are variations in CDA inspired interpretations which warrant specific reference to source and not blanket diatribes. As Luke (2002: 98) affirms, "the stances, positions, and techniques of CDA vary". The argument is amplified by Bloor and Bloor's (2007) assertion that whatever method or combination of methods is chosen depends on the

choice of research question. This, in turn, depends partly on the nature of the social problem and partly on the disciplinary background of the analyst. Thus, different audiences may interpret texts differently. Billig (2003) hypes defence of CDA with the observation that naturalisation and institutionalisation of a critical approach as demanded by scholars yearning for systematic methods may itself become a dominant discourse and consequently a dominant discipline with shortcomings of approaches it criticizes. Realistically, there is no discipline, fully fledged or otherwise that is immune from criticism. The multidisciplinary dimension of CDA has been viewed positively by some scholars who actually maintain that this capacitates it to account for complexities in relationships between discourse and social structures. Social practice has various orientations including economic, political, cultural and even ideological persuasions, and discourses may be implicated in any one or all these, thus warranting multifarious approaches to decipher intricacies. A multitheoretical and multimethodical disposition is applicable in the area of political discourses where the relationship between politics and people is complex. The complexity arises from the fact that it is not clear what influences the other. To crack the puzzle, interdisciplinary work will make the relationship transparent. Wodak, in Wodak and Meyer (2001) emphasises that explaining complex relationships on the basis of individual theories amounts to conspiracy theory that is not applicable in global societies.

Methods in CDA are viewed as a hermeneutic process. The process involves, “the method of grasping and producing meaning relations” (Meyer, 2001:14). Procedurally, CDA follows the hermeneutic circle which implies that the meaning of an element or part is understood better in the context of the whole. The idea is that an understanding of the entire text is established by reference to the individual parts, and that an understanding of the component parts is accessible through reference to the whole. It is a circular view in which neither the whole text nor any individual part can be understood without reference to the other. Any form of reflection or interpretation oscillates between particular and general, part and whole. According to Ricoeur (1973), since the whole is never fully complete, we start with an educated guess about the meaning of a part and check it against the whole and vice versa. Therefore all interpretative activity is then a dialectic process of guessing and validating. It is then possible to have conflict of interpretations made even by the same person. The meaning of a text is context bound thus interpretation is linked to the situation of the interpreter for construction of a history from the

particular set of circumstances in which one currently exists. Wodak and Meyer (2001: 16) argue that for the methods and procedures used for analysis of discourses, CDA generally sees its procedure as a hermeneutic process, a characteristic though which is “not completely evident in the position taken by various authors”. They also acknowledge that “hermeneutic interpretation in particular urgently requires detailed documentation” given that the “specifics of the hermeneutic interpretation process are not made transparent by many CDA-oriented studies”. There are gaps intimated in the framing of a method of analysis around the hermeneutic process. However, the provision of the context variable resonates with the thrust espoused in CDA in general. In this vein issues are connected to context, a text should be understood in terms of context. Also using the concept of individual parts and whole matrix can be creatively replicated to a text as individual part, and the texts of shared characteristics configured loosely as the whole. The configuration would make it possible to explore patterns and shifts in ideology as creative application of the hermeneutic process. Methods of analysis are connected and draw from a myriad of CDA principles and approaches.

There are eight foundational principles for CDA cited by researchers and these highlight the usefulness of the critical discourse analysis method for social research. Also, Amoussou and Allagbe (2018) argue that any work which claims to be of the CDA paradigm should be characterised by some basic criteria. The principles provide a general guide useful in social research. The principles or tenets of a basic CDA programme elaborated by Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-280) can be summarised as follows:

- (i) CDA addresses social problems
- (ii) power relations are discursive
- (iii) discourse constitutes society and culture
- (iv) discourse does ideological work
- (v) discourse is historical
- (vi) the link between text and society is mediated
- (vii) discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory
- (viii) discourse is a form of social action.

The foundational principles assist in rationalising the use of the CDA method for social research in view of the application of critical discourse analysis methods in social research (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1995, Wodak, 1996, van Dijk, 1998). In the current study, in line with one of the espoused principles, CDA does not only interpret text but also explains it. In so doing the discourse is a historical dynamic which speaks to context and ties with the ideological construct at the explanation level. Beyond the CDA principles, Wodak in Wodak and Meyer (2001) argues that the concept of intertextuality which is not pursued in other methods is also addressed. Intertextuality in the words of Fairclough (2003: 17) relates to how, “texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualise and dialogue with other texts”. Even more profoundly intertextuality bridges the gap between language and social context, and text. Intertextuality brings to the fore the notion that texts have no unity or unified meaning on their own but they are thoroughly connected to socio-economic processes. As noted, it is a central linguistic feature, and hence, provides for framing of an objective of research around it. The principle around power relations in discourse explains how texts are often viewed as sites of struggle with differing ideologies contending and struggling for dominance.

There is an ensemble of theoretical and methodological approaches to CDA. The researcher reviews three prominent approaches namely, Socio-cognitive approach, Discourse-historical approach and, Socio-cultural approach. From the approaches insights can be deciphered in the operationalisation of the CDA tenet deployed as method of analysis. It is the central approaches that explain why certain procedures were adopted or overlooked. The adoption of a tenet is informed by principles and approaches to CDA as they spell out expectation. The approaches which are not in the order of genesis are outlined as follows:

1. Socio-cognitive approach is associated with leading scholar, Teun van Dijk. It posits that discourse is a form of social practice. Social-cognitions are, “socially shared representations of societal arrangements, groups and relations, as well as mental operations such as interpretation, thinking and arguing, inferencing and learning”, (van Dijk, 1993: 257). The CDA approach within this framework is based on the understanding that ideological structures and social relations of power are embedded in discourse. The approach to CDA is that it is not limited to relationship between discourse

and social structure but encompasses intervening mental models, goals and general social representations. The study of language triangulates between society, cognition and language playing out as the tripartite discourse- cognitive –society model of ideology. Critical analysis of text within the model hypes the ‘us’ versus ‘them’, and strategies used in wielding and exercising power.

2. Discourse –historical approach associated with Ruth Wodak in the main regards discourse as social practice. The approach observes that all discourses are historical in the sense of being connected to context and focuses as well on the interdisciplinary and eclectic of CDA. Wodak in Wodak and Meyer (2001: 66) note, “The theory and method is eclectic, that is, theories and methods are integrated which are helpful in understanding and explaining the object under investigation” The discourse-historical approach has the following three levels:
 - (a) Text or discourse immanent critique is the level which pays attention to inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes, and problematic issues in the text-internal or discourse-internal structures.
 - (b) Socio-diagnostic critique invites background and contextual issues in understanding discourses. There is scope for application of social theories in the interpretation of discursive events.
 - (c) Prognostic critique is the stage that caters for improvements in communication through paying attention to language barriers and sexist language.

One can observe how the approach can be adapted to navigate issues in texts. The first level pays close attention to what is ‘seen’ or given in a text which can be viewed as the intratextual issues. There is scope for exploration of connections between fields of action, genres, texts and discourses. The second level gives primacy to contextual issues explained above as central in CDA. There is also provision for integrated theories to explain the context. According to Wodak and Meyers (2001: 22) in the approach, “context is understood mainly historically”. The final stage speaks to clarity in communication through attending to impediments. The approach, characteristic of CDA method of analysis, is abductive in the sense of permitting back and forth movement between theory and empirical data.

There is no well-defined empirical method but a cluster of approaches, and consequently there is no typical CDA way of gathering data. To reinforce the point scholars in explicit terms argue that absence of data collection techniques is attributed to the reality that "...data collection is not considered a specific phase that must be completed before analysis begins" (Wodak and Meyer, 2001:24). What happens in practical terms is that the initial data collection triggers indicators for classification of concepts into categories and the initial results prompt further data collection and refinement of categories and so on and so forth. Therefore, as the scholars maintain, data collection is never completely excluded for new questions arise which call for new data collection. Data collection in this regard is not a phase that must be completed before analysis ensues but it is an on-going procedure. The back and forth movements applicable within CDA methodology dovetail with the open coding illustrated and explained in the context of qualitative research presented above. The movements in a way place CDA along the path with the Grounded Theory as explained by Glaser and Strauss (1967). In the theory the scholars basically put forward an Open coding technique for analysing text data which involves building concepts into categories until the selective coding stage where one can talk of probable theoretical saturation. At all stages modifications, refinement and updating continuously takes place. The researcher premised data collection on the principle that there is no universally accepted canon for data collection requirements.

For the same data that is collected, a general observation applicable to the multiple approaches in CDA can be made. It is that in any practical sense there is no such thing as a complete text or discourse analysis. As Teun van Dijk cited in Wodak and Meyer (2001:26) observes "complete discourse analysis of large corpus of text or talk, as we often have in CDA research, is therefore totally out of the question". One can add that even a short or truncated text cannot be subjected to a 'full' analysis as it can take months on end and fill hundreds of pages. In other words, it is realistically and practically difficult to complete an analysis of a text regardless of its size. The flexibility in terms of analysis was noted at qualitative research with allusion to lack of designed structure, and these considerations guided the researcher's worldview. It is a view which is not tethering and constraining in creatively adapting a model that served as a method of analysing the policy text. Although, the Discourse Historical Approach enriches methodology of CDA in many ways including adaptability to linguistics, it remains a broad based entity making it difficult

to delimit scope and its participants. It is a general social theory proffering a general method of analysis applicable to the field of politics in the main. Therein lay the motivation for using a method of analysis which the researcher creatively adapted for the description, interpretation and explanation of the TSP policy text.

3. Socio-cultural approach which views discourse as social practice is associated with the leading scholar, Norman Fairclough. The system of discourse analysis has three dimensions namely, a text, discourse practices in terms of production, distribution and consumption of the text. And a socio-cultural practice. “Subsequently, Fairclough provides a three- dimensional framework for the analysis of text and discourses”. (Amoussou and Allagbe, 2018: 14). The Three Dimensional Model which derives from the Socio- cultural approach was creatively adapted and used in this study as both as both theory and method of analysis of the policy text. The model as illustrated in Figure 3 on theory has three levels. Used as a method of analysis, the model revealed in succinct ways the interconnected and interdependence of the three phases namely, description, interpretation and explanation in the research. The case of overlap was a recurrent feature at pilot study and the subsequent data analysis stages, and hence, the motivation to illustrate this dynamic more succinctly and vividly at source level, as pronounced in Figure 5 below:

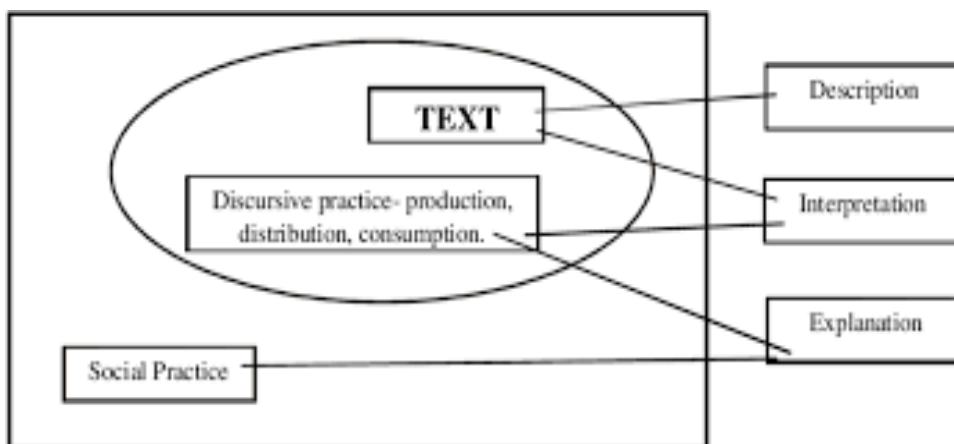


Figure 5: Levels of analysis in CDA (Adapted, Fairclough, 2010)

The text level stage covering the 'seen' and transparent linguistic features incidentally is in sync with the view, "Description is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text" (Fairclough, 1989: 26). The intratextual features around which an objective of the research is framed, offered vocabulary, grammatical features and textual structure issues which in terms of formulation as creatively illustrated in Figure 4 above, bear on implementation. The guiding principle was simply informed by presentation of textualisation as manifest in the 'presences' and showing how they predisposed policy to implementation. The linguistic features necessitated clustering premised on identification of concepts, developing categories and arbitrary classification of themes. It is an open coding whose lack of rigidity was designed to curb cluttered presentation of textual 'deficits' serving as potential alibi for non-implementation of the policy. The question the researcher grappled with at the description stage was, did the policy makers use language that forges a perceived consensus between the insider and outsider? At interpretation level framing of the objective was around intertextual analysis. Fairclough (1992: 84) defines intertextuality as, "basically the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth." The motivation for framing an objective around intertextuality was informed by the realisation that production, distribution and consumption issues trigger co-relations with texts in given contexts which fall within the purview of intertextuality. Textual comprehension goes beyond linguistic knowledge and as implicit in intertextual conception, a text is really like an iceberg of information and it is really only the tip in the layering which is actually expressed in words and sentences. The rest of the information is assumed and is supplied by the users.

At the interpretation level, it became apparent that there was need to grapple with the 'absences' in the discourses. There was need to be critical which entailed being reflective about what is written and the context of its production including time, circumstances and policy context. The context dimension is explained by the observation, "...that all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context" (Wodak, 2009:20; Meyer, 2001:15). Invoking CDA provides a valuable tool for comprehensive analysis of a social research problem notwithstanding attendant lack of definitive interpretation. As Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 279) posit, "interpretations are never finished and authoritative; they are dynamic and open, open to

new contexts and new information”. Issues around linking the text to context and the interpretation bear on policy implementation, hence the call to create space for the muted linguistic variable in discourses around implementation matrix. The explanation stage corresponds to the dimension’s socio-cultural practice. The researcher framed an objective around ideological shifts necessitated by the existence of policy texts with shared characteristics and more profoundly the nationalist ideology espoused in the purported New Dispensation (new government) drive. The motivation was not pursuit of ideological issues but how framing of a specific ideology potentially bears on policy implementation.

The research adapted the three dimensional model as a method of CDA analysis that has an integrated approach in terms of describing, interpreting and explaining TSP as a communicative act. Navigating a policy text using a model that unpacks transparent and hidden discourses determines, and challenges knowledge constructed and perpetuated within policy discourses. The three levels which can be referred to as the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis, respectively, constituted a method operationalised in the given order. The combined analysis gave the researcher a closer insight into the policy text, through combining textual, discursive and socio-cultural practices. Therefore critical discourse analysis was applied as a method in the examination of a policy in order to describe, interpret and explain discourses. As applied in the research the three steps are closely related with each other and none of them is indispensable.

3.5 Ethical considerations

The TSP text policy on economic reconstruction endeavour is in the public domain. The presidential foreword clearly states that in this endeavour “everyone has a responsibility” and “this includes the academia”. Therefore the research which specifically engages in textual analysis of the policy document is a response to the clarion call. However it is important to note that case study researchers in particular, must be sensitive to the needs of participants, sites, stakeholders, and audiences of the research (Creswell, 2013). Also the scholar maintains that ethical issues arise during different phases of the research process, including data collection and analysis. The researcher tells other people’s stories and interprets associated discourses. The researcher considers himself as part of the social phenomenon with a specific role and

involvement in the research process. CDA method of analysis adopted in the study, uncovers transparent and hidden discourses connected with the policy text. It is interpretation and explanation of the discourses that potentially opens avenues for unethical conduct. Adams, et al. (2007: 35) allude to the possibility of, "Biased and inappropriate analysis". Biased interpretation results from selectivity, partiality and voice. With voice the researcher speaks for the consumer of the text. In so doing certain ideological meanings and unmotivated interpretations onto data are imposed on the reader. The researcher becomes the arbiter of meanings, leaving a trail of disempowered readers. As Pennycook (1994) argues, whatever is ill-intended will also be ill-received. There are transparent, subtle and hidden political gymnastics that play out in a policy text ushered in against the backdrop of a hotly contested plebiscite which calls for adroit, fair and responsible navigation by a researcher.

The researcher is alive to potential relapse into unethical conduct in a case research study of a document in the public domain. The awareness is a critical step towards empowering the researcher who proposes to handle the potential vice in various ways. The ways include reiterating that textual analysis of TSP text strictly confines research to the given policy, and cross references will be factual and duly acknowledged. The researcher will let the 'data talk' as it were with all sources and commentator's views meticulously verified and acknowledged accordingly. Seeing through the smoke requires an objective mind which involves adopting a neutral position or unbiased position at critical phases of data collection and analysis processes.

There are ethical considerations that require clarification in pursuit of the data collection and analysis of the public document. The researcher adopts a 'neutral' or unbiased position during data collection and analysis processes. CDA which is used as a theory and method of analysis allows the researcher to project not only the transparent discourses but also the hidden discourses. Uncovering the 'absences' and using them in a study requires objective analysis, responsibility and fairness. As intimated in the research there are subtle, hidden and even apparent political gymnastics that play out in the highly polarised society. Given this background the researcher is guided by the dictum which says, let the data talk, and on contentious issues there will be acknowledgement of sources. At data collection, the researcher confines to the policy text and endeavours to be factual in the use of cross references. The researcher engages

the policy text using CDA lenses but with an open mind that will facilitate navigation of sensitive issues laden with political innuendo which can place vulnerable populations at risk owing to unmotivated interpretation of discourses.

The research is done with an open mind, and not based on assumptions that can impact the inquiry such as that the policy text like its predecessor's will fail, it is structured to fail. Along this trajectory CDA becomes a 'symptomatic' analysis aimed at proving the presence of a disease on the basis of analysis of its symptoms. Therefore researcher endeavours to produce substantiated analysis. Guidance is derived from Sieber's (1993) aversion to application of principles deliberately set to harm or wrong others, but to promote the good, to be respectful and to be fair.

3.6 Pilot Study

The researcher had to go through the motions or steps critical in the analysis of a policy text. It was important to go through the pre text stage in line with the recommendation suggested by Bauer et al. (2014). The scholars explain that at the identified stage the researcher familiarises with the general context of the policy text, chronologically, contemporarily or geographically. The pre text stage is followed by initial impression concerning how much the text contained in terms of content, and structure. It was a case of having the feel of the text in terms of presentation before engaging in the preliminary study.

It was then imperative to engage in a preliminary study on a small scale before the full-scale research for a number of reasons. The pilot study enabled the researcher to have an in-depth understanding of the feasibility of the study that was to be rolled out. As a small scale research project, a pilot study is designed to study in reality how likely the full scale study is to be operationalised in terms of logistics around data collection and analysis. A pilot study gives clear perspective on efficacy and feasibility of the final research study. When piloting a study, a researcher can identify or refine a research question, discover what methods suit the study, estimate how much time and resources will be needed to complete the full scale study. The pilot study increases research quality in the sense that a depth of understanding is done. The question motivating pilot study would be, Can the full scale study be conducted in the way

planned or should some aspects be changed? The small scale study is designed to test efficiency and effectiveness of the methodology. The researcher would be testing the waters and this goes a long way in testing suitability of the of the research techniques. There are challenges that could be hidden but likely to impact the research that can be exposed and addressed prior to commencement of the main research. Some of the challenges are likely to do with the amount of data to be collected and how to process the data and at what stages. You also come to terms with potential gaps in the research instruments you intend to deploy in the full scale project.

Preliminary findings identified areas of overlaps in terms of the analysis particularly in the method of analysis which consists of three levels namely description, interpretation and evaluation. It became apparent that the levels which are labelled distinctly are in practical terms interdependent. At description level discourses or concepts exhibited similar features in a number of areas such that categorising them warranted scrupulous back and forth movements which called for patience, perseverance and commitment which could potentially prolong the research. Tied to the back and forth movements, was the observation that the case study research was generating large amounts of data that necessitated systematic organization and storage.

Given the reality of overwhelming data it became imperative to prepare a soft copy database as well as a filing system for hard copy data to expedite categorisation and accessibility during analysis. The source of the data, the policy text structured in terms of numbered provisions, produced so much data that perplexed the researcher. It was also incumbent upon the researcher to devise an open coding system that captured salient illustrative points. That was a way of delimiting the scope of the analysis. Also, interpretation of discourses was clearly not absolute. It is an issue that was noted with selected discourses. There were significant areas of overlaps noticeable across the levels of the three dimensional model of analysis. Focus on the micro, meso and macro levels of analysis provided an indication of the language that potentially predisposes the policy to paralysis or confusion at implementation processes. The language was not negative in an absolute sense of 'textual deficit' but also overly optimistic. The preliminary

findings alerted the researcher to the importance of due diligence in handling and categorising discourses.

There are also profound lessons on research design at pilot study stage. The lessons were in sync with Wagner's (2010) observation that there are lessons on research design in particular its feasibility, gaps and its configuration in relation to the research questions and objectives. In tandem with the erstwhile lessons, objective 1 and 2 were designed to cater for intratextual issues, while objectives 3 and 4 in line with the research questions relate to intertextuality and ideological issues, respectively. The realignment ensured that objectives not only focused at specific levels but also reflected complexity with transitions across the three levels. After description, interpretation and explanation of the results, the main study was deemed feasible with close attention being paid to quantity of data. The areas are not stand alone but are interrelated. The pilot study engendered appreciation conceptualisation, comprehension of overlapping of categories and levels of the three dimensional model. It became imperative to refine design flaws, data collection and analysis plans.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the research design and methodology. The case study research was presented as a qualitative research which among many highlights is flexible in that there is no agreed structure for how to design a qualitative study. CDA was presented as both theory and method. It has been argued that there are principles and approaches of CDA which give perspective and expectation to what a method of analysis steeped in critical discourse analysis should project. A critical issue deciphered is that data collection is not considered a specific phase that must be completed before analysis begins. There is no well-defined empirical method but a cluster of approaches, and consequently there is no typical CDA way of gathering data and this explains the negation of data collection techniques. The three dimensional model of three interrelated levels namely, description, interpretation and explanation was examined, and duly presented as a method of analysis for the case study research. Fundamentally, it was the 'how' and 'who' questions that were pertinent to this chapter. There was also presentation and discussion of ethical considerations, and pilot study's findings and key lessons. The next chapter

presents findings and analysis of the data gathered within the framework of the three step model proffered.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Four focuses on data presentation, analysis and interpretation. Textual analysis of the policy document will be examined first in line with the first and second objectives of the study. The objectives relate to exploration of intratextual aspects of Zimbabwe's TSP policy document using CDA method, and evaluation of the effectiveness of the linguistic strategies used in Zimbabwe's TSP policy document, respectively. The section focuses on linguistic features and organisation of concrete instances of discourse. The discourses extracted from the policy text through exploration are evaluated in relation to the objective world of a potential policy implementer. At mid-point in the matrix in terms of the three step model of analysis are discursive practices explained in relation to how the TSP influences and is influenced by socio-economic and political discourses. The mid-point caters for the interpretative stage where discourses connected to the policy text in terms of mainly the retrospective and prospective orientation can be viewed in relation to the potential reader or end user of the policy. Finally, perched at the upper end of the three step model of analysis are socio-cultural practices, specifically the ideological orientation and how it relates with the worldview of potential implementation of the given policy. Navigation of the three levels of the three dimensional model of discourses analysis reveals how a direct connection can be made between policy formulation and implementation of the same as illustrated in Figure 4 above. Creativity of this initiative lies not only in the deployment of a three pronged model, in an integrated focus on a policy documentation but also on bolstering the muted linguistic variable in discourses around policy implementation. Through the CDA model of analysis, detective work that lays bare the 'presences' in discourse, and cracking the 'absences' reveals more that props the linguistic variable that is presented, analysed and interpreted in this chapter.

In this chapter the interconnected levels of description, interpretation and explanation are creatively integrated using a model that has been adopted and adapted to sift through intratextual, intertextual and ideological positions that will go a long way in fortifying the linguistic variable in policy formulation and implementation processes. The levels are conveniently viewed as points on the 'continuum' in terms of accessibility and processing. Conveniently, the levels

can be collapsed into positions of overt and covert discourses graphically illustrated in Figure 1 above. The positions speak to what Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) define as 'presences and absences' whose navigation invites creative and complex thinking. A case is built on the basis of the 'seen' and 'unseen' discourses potentially serving as 'cracks and crevices' or lacunae bound to complicate or confuse policy implementation processes. However, the findings will be presented against the assumption that the policy document is implementable and sufficiently guides the implementer. It is not a farfetched assumption given submissions from scholars. Olaniyi (1998) argues that policy formulators assume faithful adherence to policy text without deviation as the policy provisions are executable. Blommaert (2005) emphasises that an assumption that is often made is that any given text is clear and transparent enough to enhance effective communication of intended meaning. Situations though have shown that these assumptions may be unrealisable and this often creates a lag between policy formulation and implementation capability (Sambo, 1999). In this chapter each of the three levels of analysis are undertaken in the order presented in Figure 5 above, with a combination of all three levels informing the discussion and conclusions in subsequent chapters of the thesis.

4.2 Textual Analysis

The discourses described in this section are part of the 'seen' or visible aspects of the policy text. Policy formulation provides multiple discourses that have implications for policy implementation. Examples of such discourses are placed in categories and the categorization is a result of evaluation of the specific discourses. Categorisation is feasible after evaluation of the specific intratextual discourses. It is also apparent that the discourses constitute a structure which incidentally becomes the point of departure in terms of categorisation.

4.2. 1 Text Structure

According to Bauer et al. (2014), analysis of structural features considers the text as a design in terms of sequential organisation of the content. The TSP policy text is 388 pages long and adopts a numbering sequence which ends at 1818. The provisions of the economic policy are numbered for ease of reference. At the apex of the economic blueprint clearly marked as a 'reforms agenda' is the Zimbabwe logo encapsulating the motto inscriptions of 'unity, freedom and work'. The motto inscriptions can be viewed as rallying points driving the economic policy initiatives. There is, in sequence, the preface or foreword commissioned by President of the Republic of

Zimbabwe, Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa who claims that the plebiscite of 30 July 2018 was “free, fair, credible and peaceful” and makes a “strong appeal to all stakeholders that we all put Elections behind us”. The Elections presented in capital letters for emphasis to denote an area of special importance so that the event cannot be overlooked by the reader as it stands out from the rest of the text. The interpretation stage will elaborate the election event more closely. However, the President further makes an appeal for all to work in unison for economic reconstruction.

As part of the textual structure, there is then an interpretation of a catalogue of acronyms which is followed by an executive summary with five major highlights namely, ‘vision 2030’, ‘reform initiative’, ‘sacrifice and perseverance’, ‘opening up the economy for business’ and ‘rule of law, human and property rights’. What follows is a list of programme highlights itemised in eight parts as follows; Part I: Policies Dealing with Macro-Economic Imbalances, Part II: Institutional Reforms to Achieve Growth & Development, Part III: Productive Sector Reforms, Part IV: Services Sector Reforms, Part V: Investing in Public Infrastructure, Part VI: Human Development, Part VII: Governance Reforms and Part VIII: Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation. The programme highlights are followed by the table of contents which seals off the Roman numeric numbering device at xxviii (28) pages. The Introduction which follows adopts a numbering system which culminates in 1818 points of reference. The first page is clearly marked starting from the Introduction which highlights a number of issues including reference to the quest to catapult ‘Zimbabwe from low income to an upper middle income country by 2030’. There is a bold claim to the effect that, the TSP “contains and expresses the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe under the New Dispensation ushered in on 24 November 2017”.

The introduction paves way for elaboration of the identified programme highlights using presumably relevant graphs and tables for example, the Macro-economic and Fiscal Projections enunciated in Point 18 and annual inflation trends shown in point 54. The conclusion covering points 1816 -1818 indicates in the last point that implementation measures to transformation will be further institutionalised during the 12-year Vision 2030 span, stretching from 2018 to 2030 through the First Five Year Plan for 2021-2025, as well as the Second Five Year Plan 2026-2030. As part of the appendices there are five tables of implementation matrices and twenty

tables on compendium of infrastructure projects. Also, there are fourteen largely annexure tables on 'trends in per capita income growth', 'sustainable developmental goals', 'agenda 2063 aspirations', 'financial inclusion indicators', 'approved short term state enterprises and parastatals(SEP) reforms', 'progress report on the implementation of SEPs reform framework', 'bilateral investment promotion and protection agreements', 'summary of winter wheat inputs requirements', 'seed requirements', 'national farm mechanization and related costs', 'distressed and closed mines', 'quick win e-government projects', 'new courts' and 'programme implementation architecture'.

The main text has to be read in conjunction with circulars, matrices and annexures as supportive texts which inevitably opens it to complexity and density. The supportive texts also complicate implementation in that they use technical language which may not be accessible to a lay end user. The policy text is not a one-stop shop where customers, in this case, end-users or implementers expect to get all they want under one roof. Instead, reference to annexures and matrices tosses the implementers, back and forth, in search of useful bits and pieces that are lie elsewhere but are part of the main text. This is an engagement that can be cumbersome and takes patience, effort, dedication, sacrifice and perseverance to search and integrate all the requisite documentation in the implementation matrix. The policy text is a voluminous document and to have clear meaning one needs to have a sense of the complete document which leads the implementer to complexity and density. Ricouer (1981) argues that, we need a sense about the whole of the text to understand the part and that the whole is never fully complete. Also, Ricouer reiterates that in deciphering meaning one starts with an educated guess about the meaning of a part and the proceeds to check it against the whole and vice versa. Even more significantly is the bolstered view that all interpretative activity is then a dialectic process of guessing and validating. It is this reality that opens up a conflict of interpretations made even by the same person. In describing the complex structure we discern connections with interpretation which is at the second level. The interrelatedness of the levels is thus confirmed.

A critical component of the textual structure is the presidential preface. The incumbent President of the Republic of Zimbabwe, Emmerson Mnangagwa commissions the policy. Thus he

becomes a critical component alongside governance discourses. The President has a seemingly ubiquitous presence in the text, directly and indirectly. He says the plebiscite mandated him to constitute the first government of the “Second Republic” which is also subsequently referred to as the New Dispensation. The discourses around the President, the government he presides over and the elections which gave him the mandate are illustrated in Table 2 which I present below, as ‘Governance discourses’.

Discourses	Frequency
His Excellency Mhangagwa	5
President	29
New Dispensation	46
Second Republic	5
Harmonised Elections	5
Elections	1
Old Dispensation	9

Table 2: Governance Discourses

The table above highlights frequency in terms of the use of discourses associated with governance. Of interest is how the President is identified by name and in other references by official capacity. There is an apparent attempt at rebranding the governance structure as the government led by late former President Robert Mugabe is presented as an Old Dispensation. In essence the First Republic in Zimbabwe defines the period of independence in 1980 up to the time when the first executive President Robert Mugabe resigned in 2017. The executive summary of the policy text refers to the ‘new government ‘for the first time, in number 6, as the ‘New Dispensation’. Thereafter in the same context, namely numbers 8, 11 and 67 use the same identity which is bolstered in subsequent references in the policy text. It further stipulates that:

Under the New Dispensation, the first Government of the Second Republic will be implementing austerity measures aimed at addressing fiscal and debt challenges for sustained macro-economic stability and growth (224).

The provision yokes the nomenclature New Dispensation with the Second Republic and defines the mission of the new government as turning around the fortune of the country for the better. The development path entails initial pain and sacrifice. There are questions that can be raised about the appropriateness of the new identity given the participants driving the project. The issue is grappled with more succinctly and incisively at the other levels in the three step model. The deeper issues around legitimacy of the President and configuration of the new government are divisive issues that militate against social cohesion, and subsequently the policy implementation processes.

On the surface the incumbent derives his mandate from a plebiscite that was above board in terms of credibility but there are suppressed details about the hotly contested elections. What we have playing out in the policy document as “credible, transparent, and violence free environment, under watchful eyes of regional, continental and global observers” instead offers more than what meets the eye. What is inescapable at this stage is the presidential strong appeal to put elections behind in a bid to galvanise the aggrieved critical opposition mass for social cohesion. Therefore there are issues beneath the surface, glossed over by the text, which can only be deciphered through investigative work realizable beyond the description level. The President does not only commission the policy document but also serves as an embodiment of that government encapsulated in the claim that he derives his mandate from the victory posted in the polls enabling him to “constitute its first Government” and alludes to efforts by “my Government” to re-engage the world. Against the background of elections, the President makes it abundantly clear that he is in control of the government. The government is individualised and nominated, that is personified in the person of the incumbent President which can engender revulsion in democratic spaces. The revulsion and repugnance can be transferred to the official state text that is likely to suffer as part of collateral damage. In any case individualising the government flies in the face of the text’s call for collective, inclusive and committed action. Also averse to social cohesion is the heightened attack of the dethroned government labeled Old Dispensation accused of a litany of charges which I summarise within the framework of what I present as ‘ Old Dispensation charge sheet’ in Table 3 below.

Old Dispensation Charge Sheet		
Charge Number	Allegations	Comment
514	'absence of demonstrable political will to combat corruption'	negative
543	'curtailment of illicit financial flows that represent leakages'	negative
893	'limiting issuance of farm leases to A2 dairy farmers'	negative
1019	'years of international isolation'	negative
1610	'years of neglect...reversing the huge gains'	negative
1784	"craft(ing) and launch(ing) ...Transitional National Development Plans, ESAP, ZIMPREST...ZIMASSET, among others.	positive (maybe)
1785	'lacked ultimate discipline to see through implementation of most of the above blueprints'	negative
1786	'parcelling out declining cake at the expense of growing the cake'	negative
1788	'content to dwell on past and historical injustices'	negative

Table 3: Old Dispensation (First Republic) summary charge table

As reflected in the given table, there are nine direct references to the Old Dispensation cited in the policy text which are all patently negative, emotively subjective with the exception of one which appears on the surface to be positive. The provisions numbered sequentially in the left column cite verbatim part of the charges leveled against the First Republic. The stand out charge viewed as 'maybe positive', is immediately followed by negative characterisation of the same point. Therefore, in isolation it may be viewed positively but in context it is like the rest, negative. Coupled with indirect negative references fossilised in a statement like, 'prior to the New Dispensation, corruption had spread unchecked, negatively affecting the social and moral fabric of the nation' we have exhibition of vindictive discourses of vitriol targeted at the former government. Propagation of negative discourses creates potential fissures which work against the spirit of cohesion. What baffles the reader is that negativity arises against the background of a call for collaboration. In the presidential foreword there is an appeal to "all stakeholders" to "collaboratively participate fully" in the economic reconstruction drive. It becomes difficult to reconcile conflicting positions of cohesion and fragmentation enunciated in the same policy text. The old government is a constituency with affiliates, associates and loyalists who should be

galvanized to run with the policy text if a more discreet and non-offensive text construction is invoked.

The new government is being cast as a bearer of good tidings. The trajectory is to open the economy for business through renewed business and investor confidence, and “securing of new deals” with various partners. The government is functionalized and playing a highly active role in relation to socio-economic issues. The identities of the social actors who form the execution arm of the government are suppressed. If the ‘corporate veil’ of the new governance structure is lifted, the new dispensation narrative would amount to a façade. For instance, the presidium as citadel of power has President Mnangagwa who served as Vice-President, while current first Vice-President General (Rtd) Chiwenga was Commander of the Defence Forces and the second Vice-President Mohadi was Minister of Home Affairs in the so called old dispensation. The presidium combined with structures at various levels of governance duplicates functionaries in the besmirched old dispensation. Therefore, a critical component of the structure, the presidential preface, gives perspective to myriad issues. An appraisal of the issues brings to the fore potential challenges to social cohesion and in turn policy implementation processes. The issues are connected to the plebiscite and the nomenclature that reconfigures the new government. As Fairclough (1989) observes, at description stage, vocabulary which is essentially the choice of different words is a distinct linguistic feature. Governance discourses on labels of governments attest to the linguistic exhibition playing out at the textual analysis level.

4.2.2 Commitment to policy

There are discourses which express commitment to provisions enunciated in the policy text. They are largely lexical items which do not place stringent conditions or provide for laxity on the part of the policy implementers. There is no obligation to implement the given provisions of the policy. The implementer taking the cue from the policy formulation can dither and ignore the provisions and there will be no reprisals. One can commit to implementation or ignore given provisions. Commitment to the policy is couched in language that is patently weak thus debilitating end user’s capacity. Modality significantly contributes much in terms of discourses bereft of commitment to stated provisions of the policy text. It would not be remiss to cluster modality within the framework of discourses that are evasive to policy commitment. Findings

reveal that archetypical markers of modality in the policy text are realizable in the main at two basic levels of ‘modal verbs’ and pronoun choices. The levels are presented separately. The first level covering modal verbs playing out in the policy text are illustrated in the following Modality Analysis table.

	Low	Medium	High
Positive	can, may, could, might	will, would	shall, should, must, is/are required
Negative	do/does not, cannot, can only	will not, would not, will only	shall not

Table 4: Modality Analysis First Table

Table 4 above captures exclusively modal verbs used in the policy text. The low, medium and high variables are locations for modal verbs in terms of strength of conviction or commitment to propositions. Examples of statements from the policy text using the modal verbs, *may* and *can* extracted from the low point of scale follow respectively:

Vehicles donated or procured for various Government projects *may* be assigned to eligible officers on the same terms and conditions as those for pool vehicles (304).

And

A lot of useful equipment is lying idle due to lack of finance by farmers to repair or refurbish them, with surveys indicating that the country has more than 3000 malfunctioning tractors and related implements which *can* be revived to increase the total area under mechanization (804).

The modal verbs in the given examples illustrate and explain possibility that is optional. Indifferent or reluctant policy implementers will exploit the laxity and lack of forthrightness as potential escape clauses, opt-outs and let-outs to justify inertia or inaction. The requirements of the policy text are met in a minimalist way as such clauses are weak, diluted, less compelling thus abetting non-implementation of the erstwhile policy provisions (Skutnabb-Kangas,2006).The deontic uses of the modal verbs in question make the policy provision

permissible not obligatory. Infractions on policy delivery are not liable to sanction thereby compromising the implementation process.

On the positive upper end of the modality analysis table are located the modal verbs *must* and *should* which are used in the following examples extracted from the policy text.

Where performance is sub-par, appropriate action *must* be taken. Management must be held to account. Where it fails to account it must go (422).

And

Goods receipting *should* follow from a contract award and where advance payments are made, appropriate transactions into suspense accounts are effected. Contract deliveries *must* be consistent with contracts signed in value and quantity (468).

The positions enunciated through the deontic use of *must* and *should* are mandatory, compulsory and obligatory. Requirement as used in the policy text carries the same force and weight as the modal verbs. For instance it reads thus, “line Ministries are required to review the composition of all Boards” and “speed and institutional clarity is required to provide leadership to plan and implement”. The reader or policy implementer is compelled to adhere to positions so marked by finality as there is no avenue for let-outs, opt-outs or alternatives. The discourses are oriented towards prescriptions and injunctions for action. Implementers are obliged to act in order to ensure that stipulations are implemented as opposed to provisions enshrined in *can* and *may*. The modal verb, will, located in the mid position in typical programming orientation is futuristic and incidentally it is the most commonly used in the policy text.

Negative modal verbs indicated in Table 4 above; carry the unequivocal non-negotiable force of negation. The positions cast in the following contexts in which *cannot*, *will not* and *shall not* are forthright and decisive. The positions articulated are engraved in stone and are unequivocal, unflinching and without prevarication.

the country *cannot* continue to solely rely on importing heifers (890).

And

outside this Framework, vehicles *will not* be replaced even where the employee is assigned another portfolio within the public service (288).

And

Officers authorized to drive Government vehicles *shall not* allow any unauthorized person including a spouse or any other relative to drive a Government motor vehicle under any circumstances (302).

For clarity, the last example on Government property or pool vehicles takes a prescriptive position which categorically defines authorized users of vehicles who are the allocated or beneficiary officers who under no circumstance should extend the benefit to those around them irrespective of the closeness. Therefore, a policy implementer works on a definitive position. The rigidity does not provide for discretion which may create problems in eventualities or circumstances in which legitimate user is indisposed. The prescriptive position is immediately followed by a less compelling case enunciated thus:

Vehicles donated or procured for various Government projects may be assigned to eligible officers on the same terms and conditions as those for pool vehicles (304).

May as applied in the example serves to complicate the work of policy implementers or readers in that it casts fluid and flexible positions where it is not out rightly clear whether donated vehicles are to be assigned to eligible officers or not. It opens avenues for possible alternatives. In this event discretion is likely to be applied which may be at variance with the letter and spirit of the policy provision.

The second level of modality falls within the realm of pronouns marked as first, second and third, and the associated possessive pronouns. The following modality analysis table presents these pronouns extracted from the policy text:

	Pronoun		Possessive Pronoun
	Singular	Plural	
First Person	I, me	we, us	our, my
Second Person		You	
Third Person	one, it	them, they	their

Table 5: Modality Analysis Second Table

As noted above, in the preface or foreword, it is the incumbent President of the Republic of Zimbabwe who commissions and signs off the TSP policy text after appealing to ‘all stakeholders’ to support the implementation of socio-economic development endeavours enunciated. Apparently, it is only the preface spread over two and half pages which uses the first person pronoun in the entire policy text. In this case *I*, is used five times and there is a single *me* reference used by the President as policy document commissioning authority. Also, there is use of the possessive pronoun *my*, two times, The President unequivocally states that the credible plebiscite mandated “me to constitute” what he subsequently refers to as “my Government”. The revelation is that the Government is typically individualized and nominated, that is personified in the person of the President. The President is serving a calculated chilling message to all and sundry that he is the authority in charge. As the government is privatized, and even personalized thus, use of the collective possessive pronoun, *our*, reveals otherwise. In the same context, it says it is “our immediate task”, initiatives and programmes are required to transform “our economy”, and critical in the transformation are “our people in the Diaspora” and “our Cooperating Partners”. Therefore what can be shared are responsibilities and duties but the prized asset which is the government is deemed personal. Elsewhere in the policy text, *our* is used in reference to, “our economic development agenda” whose cornerstone is investment in human capital, and that TSP will prioritise production of additional human capital in, “our local Polytechnics, Teachers Colleges and State Universities”. Therefore collaboration and cooperation enunciated in the collective possessive pronoun falls in areas where tasks and work has to be done. Also state apparatuses can be shared but the actual government remains sacrosanct and a preserve of the incumbent President. The framing can create seeds of disharmony and revulsion among prospective implementers of the policy.

The crafting of the message gives an indication of behind the scenes pockets of resistance or dissenting voices that are to be obliterated by the first person reference so concocted. The reader or policy implementer is inevitably drawn to the elections positively described yet in reality it was a hotly contested process spilling over into the Constitutional Court for determination. Even then the verdict was still contested by the major opposition party with critical mass and gravitas to upset the applecart.

From individuality encapsulated through use of the singular pronoun and associated possessive pronoun, there is collectivity marked by the first person in its plural form. Fairclough (2001) distinguishes the inclusive 'We' which includes the addresser and addressee and the exclusive 'We' which includes the addresser and selected others but not the addressee. In the first instance what plays out is a totalizing strategy aimed at obliterating differences by depicting the audience as homogeneous. It is applied in the preface when the President appeals to "all stakeholders that we all put the Elections behind us, and collaboratively participate fully" in the socio-economic development agenda. The coercive strategy marked by the collective pronoun, *we*, assimilates people to leadership through fostering a collective approach to espoused proposition or vision. Elsewhere in the policy the following example can be used to illustrate the collective pronoun:

While the envisaged interventions are expected to lead to much higher output, *we* should strive to achieve much higher production under the New Dispensation (744).

The collective pronoun is interestingly fossilised in a context weak in resolve or commitment manifest in the use of the term 'envisaged' interventions compounded further by a potentially divisive nomenclature for the government as New Dispensation. Although on the surface the inclusive 'we' applied in the given example rallies all to collective and committed action, its reference and application is characteristically vague. The vagueness lies in that the social actors' identity remains obscure due to the generalized conception which impacts execution negatively. Another observation in the example cited there is yoking of both levels of modality through *we* as collective pronoun and *should* as modal verb. Critical issues projected will be elaborated more closely particularly in the explanation of the third level of CDA dimensional model.

The exclusive *we* pronoun can be illustrated with reference to the appeal by the President to walk the talk in fulfilling "electoral promises and commitments *we* made during the campaigns for office". Clearly, the message is directed exclusively to a selected target group including the President who promised and campaigned and not the generality that were the promised and targeted by the erstwhile campaigners, and hence, expect delivery. As a matter of fact, the "people of Zimbabwe" and "all stakeholders" to whom the President commends TSP are

duly thanked and addressed, *You*, in the only situation of the entire policy the second person pronoun is ever used in the policy text.

There is use of the third person pronoun in policy text manifest in the contexts such as, '*It* has since been privatized into a profit making entity' is in reference to the Premier Service Medical Aid society and undermining of the 'principle of medical insurance where *one* contributes monthly towards medical aid' in reference to medical institutions. There is also reference to, graduates who should be equipped with requisite skills to "empower *them* to become innovative". The following example illustrates the use of the third person pronoun, *they*:

This saw a disproportionate share of dividends and unjust wealth accrue to corrupt elements, with no demonstrable real economic activities being undertaken-biblical examples of reaping where they had not sown (512).

In the example above, *they*, refers to corrupt elements in the so called Old Dispensation. The third person pronoun delineates and addresses targeted elements, individuals or activities and this distances speaker from the discourses, in the example the reference remains vague. Besmirching the old dispensation is a problem on many fronts. The nameless and faceless individuals remain as such. It is not clear who the lampooned individuals are given that some who anchor the New Dispensation were deeply associated with the denigrated establishment. Framing discourses that promote finger pointing and shadow boxing serve to create sideshows which frustrate policy implementation endeavours. The third person possessive pronoun, *their*, specifies the subject of reference as shown in the example which follows:

Institutions of higher learning will be challenged to consider the results of the Critical Skills Audit in *their* strategic planning processes so that Faculties and Departments appropriately respond to national and industry skills gap (1611).

The example invokes in the reader or policy implementer the awareness that certain provisions in the policy text are conceptualized, appreciated and comprehended in specific contexts as opposed to the common refrain where the addressee is everyone, all stakeholders or the people of Zimbabwe in general. In deciphering the provisions, one has to be meticulous as targeted messages are fossilized in the general policy provisions to a point of being inextricably intertwined. With respect to institutions of higher learning, the issue of critical skills is said to be, *their* concern. However in subsequent reference, there is allusion to

Government facilitation of training in ‘critical skills to increase quantity, quality and relevance of *our* higher education curricula’. Literally, *their*, abandons institutions of higher learning, and *our is* integrative, collective, inclusive and a call to action. Although the possessive pronoun, *our* is all embracing as noted, it is however problematic in the sense that it provides a, “Catch all formula” that is weak in terms of commitment to policy owing to its vagueness and generalised standing which can facilitate non-compliance (Bamgbose, 1991:113).

In connected references to the institutions of higher learning, Government role becomes more categorical and assertive. It undertakes to “modernise and equip higher learning institutions to increase competencies in scientific fields” and “standardise educational qualifications”. This confirms the assertion that government is rarely back grounded but is functionalized, and plays a highly active role in relation to socio-economic issues. It is also apparent in the latter references that the role of social actors who form the execution arm of government are suppressed or back grounded. As Bamgbose (2000:112) notes the all-encompassing role of the government is something that must be appreciated, for realistically on any conceivable subject, whatever does not emanate from government, nor is sanctioned by it, does not have the required force to compel compliance. The injunction checkmates the efficacy of the bottom-up approach in policy formulation and implementation elaborated in this study above.

There is another dimension of modal verb use which generates conditional provisions which can be classified within the framework of weak policy commitment. *Can only* and *will only* respectively, illustrate the assertion in the following examples extracted from the policy text:

Any departure from either of these two directives *can only* be on the basis of prior written approval from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development. Any such departures will be considered only on the basis performance (429).

And

Furthermore, Government *will only* be issuing medium to long term securities in view of the limited fiscal space, categorized into those for liquid support, infrastructure development, and those for other purposes (77)

The examples above, demand reference to other situations or realities obtaining for implementation to be effected. There is dependence on conditions in other environments or

contexts for actualization of policy provisions which makes it cumbersome. In the case of the first example it is not only production of the written approval from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development but also meticulous verification that is required in checking performance levels or dynamics. In the second example, there is fuzziness or haziness in terms of which specific agency or department or even Ministry issues out the medium to long term securities. This is a yawning gap in policy that debilitates and confuses the policy implementer.

There are other ways in which dependence on other variables plays out in the policy text rendering it an extraneous endeavour for the reader or implementer. Take for instance the use of the verbal phrase, *hinge on* in the example below:

This will hinge on provision of innovative incentive packages, and relaxation of all restrictive visa requirements (1231).

The background relating to the given statement lies in the tourism sector where it is indicated that “aggressive marketing and rebranding of Zimbabwe” are imperative for viability purposes. What the statement calls upon is provision of innovative incentive packages which are not defined and it is also not clear who the beneficiaries of these are. It could be potential tourists or social actors involved in the marketing and rebranding initiatives or even both. There is lack of clarity and an element of ambiguity which is handled more elaborately below. Also the use of the lexical item *depend* complicates the work of implementers as it rests on aspects which are not within the purview of provision they will be working on. An example that substantiates this claim is below.

The success and sustainability of the Road Development Programme will depend on the extent to which Road Authorities are capacitated with road construction and maintenance equipment as well as skilled manpower (1545)

Elsewhere in the policy text it is observed that timely delivery of infrastructure projects “largely depends on a capable public service with the requisite skills”. Framing provisions dependent on other situations complicates implementation. As the implementer reaches out to the road authorities, thresholds of effective capacitation are not clearly spelt out. Also the notion of civil

servants with requisite skills remains fuzzy in the sense that it is expressed in general terms. Capacitation and requisites are not measurable and specific so are liable to varied interpretation. In the foreword, the President states that success of TSP will not depend on Government efforts alone, but on a coordinated collaborative multi-stakeholder approach. The allusion places into perspective the delicate nature of the programme in that it rests on pillars outside the remit of Government control. Also use of *unless* as in the following example highlights succinctly application of restrictive conditions which provide little room for manouvre to implementers:

The New Dispensation's Vision of Zimbabwe attaining upper income status by 2030 could well remain a vision *unless* key players within the State Entity sector-specifically the providers of enabling services such as electric power, water, telecommunications and road, rail and air transportation- significantly improve their performance and these utility services to the people of Zimbabwe (430).

The statements and provisions which are premised on 'dependent variables' constitute potential escape routes, let-outs or opt-outs to indifferent or reluctant implementers. Provisions which hinge on or are dependent on external circumstances are conditional formulations with restrictive conditions. In the examples provided, the stringent conditions place the implementation matrix at the discretion of road authorities and the public service.

In terms of commitment to policy implementation, the wording is weak, neutralised, less compelling and diluted in terms of forthrightness. Like in the use of *can* and *may* modal verbs explained and illustrated above, the constructions in question, are weak in terms of commitment. They are less binding as they are loaded with sanctions which leave them at the mercy of policy makers and implementers. They entrench possibilities of options technically conceived as opt-outs, let-outs or alternatives. Such possibilities are potential escape routes that in terms of application or practice can be an albatross in policy texts. The policy provisions can be ignored outright or there will be dithering as implementers blame, rightly or wrongly, circumstances beyond their control. Fraught with such flexibilities or escape routes which serve as alibi for no-implementation, a status quo position is maintained (Bamgbose, 1991). The paralysis takes one to the argument raised elsewhere in the study relating to whether crafting a policy in this manner is done consciously by policy makers to evade liability in the sense that the policy maker may be conscious of the ill-fated outcome. Suffice it to say that stringent conditions infused in policy

provide for weak commitment to policy which among other structural variables promotes confusion or reluctance in implementers.

The policy text uses the language of projections, estimates, envisaged projects, forecasts and various other discourses which are difficult to concretise at the implementation stages. The language provides for a weak conviction and forthrightness which creates an escape route for implementers. The provisions which are marked by the discourses create doubt and uncertainty in the mind of the end user of the policy.

The table below illustrates the discourses, and aggregates the number of occurrences for identified discourses.

Discourses	Frequency
Projected/projections	23
Estimated/ estimates	64
Project(s)	364
Envisaged/envisage(s)	44
Targeted/ targets/targeting	254
Forecast,/forecasting	3
Expected/expects,	55
Nearly	3
At least	14
Around (before figures)	15
About	19
Vision	64
Total	922

Table 6: Evasive Discourses

The ‘evasive’ discourses conveniently labeled by this researcher constitute an underlying principle that evades commitment to given proposition, in this case provision of the policy text. An aggregation of the discourses gives perspective to a policy with a quick sand foundation. It

is a weak foundation given to evasiveness, ironically holding provisions that should be actualized. In the table, for example, projections and projected are presented as the same discourse, a principle which applies to discourses of shared characteristics. There are a number of projects set to be rolled out for example, “quick- win projects in water, energy, water, sanitation” which are non- existent, and hence, not concrete. Commitment to a vision is not easy in that there are practically no tangibles that one can hold on to. Examples drawn from the policy substantiate the evasiveness in discourses behind policy initiatives.

In the preface, the President alludes to “envisaged” growth set to be driven by the private sector and that the people in the Diaspora are “targeted” to participate in economic transformation through skills transfer and remittances and domestic investment initiatives. In the executive summary says the TSP “targets” quick- win initiatives. The policy text stipulates:

The economy is, therefore, *expected* to surpass the initial growth *projection* of 4.5 percent in 2018 on account of more than anticipated performance across key sectors namely agriculture, mining, manufacturing, as well as services. As a result, the overall economic growth in 2018 is now *projected* at 6.3 percent (692).

In addition to the highlighted discourses, there are other examples which can be discerned from the text. There is reference to, “estimated Winter Wheat Crop Inputs Requirements ...*estimated* to cost over US\$60 million”. It is also said that in 2017, overall platinum production is “*forecast* to increase to 14.3 tons in 2018, up from 14.2 tons”. The official state text “draws its thrust from Vision 2030” envisioning a prosperous and empowered upper middle income society by the given date. The discourses , “vision”, “goals” and “agenda” used consistently in the policy pass for intangibles which at implementation phase is difficult to concretise, as one chases mirages and shadows. In terms of three ideals, it is said that, the TSP is set to “realize Vision2030, the UN Sustainable Development Goals, and the AU Agenda2063”. To illustrate further the lack of conviction various other discourses play out in the text. The highlighted discourses offer vivid examples. There is reference to “about US\$5.6 billion”, “*around* 61502 vulnerable households”, “*at least* 40000 students”, “*up to* 3 million more people”, and “*small levels* of vitamin and minerals”. In the given examples, there is no commitment to actual numbers, amounts and quantities. There is proliferation of discourses observable at the descriptive level reveal hesitant commitment thus making it difficult to concretise provisions. Forthrightness and decisiveness is

cumbersome when the reader or policy implementer is served such discourses as estimates, projections and expectations. The language is not confident enough as it is tantamount to pledges or wish lists which may or may not actualise leaving an avid executor to rely on mere hope.

4.2.3 Optimistic Discourses

A significant number of policy provisions and initiatives are apparently couched in positive or overly optimistic language. The discourses from the policy maker's point of view reflect optimism in the actualization of the provisions so marked. Realistically, one would not expect the policy maker to be indifferent or pessimistic in their policy initiatives. It is apparent then that the focus on the discourses propagating policy provisions is from the implementation process perspective. From the latter's point of view the positive inculcates a crisis of expectation. The highly positive discourses place the implementer in a difficult position in that he is not expected to fail, as failure is not an option. In practical terms though, concretizing the provisions can be a difficult proposition.

Located at the upper end of the first modality analysis table are the deontic verbs namely, *shall*, *should* and *must* which mark forthrightness and unequivocal positions. One of the provisions relates to the agro-focused Agribank's US\$100 million recapitalisation by 2020, "*should* assist it to effectively deliver on its mandate of providing agriculture funding". Farmers who benefit from funding have no option of failure as it is said that:

This *should* see farmers without equipment being able to access equipment for their field operations, hence, increasing agricultural production (811).

There is optimism through the positive use of *shall* and *should*. In this vein, it is said, 'the constitution and functioning of ZIDA (Zimbabwe Investment Development Agency) "*shall* annihilate bureaucratic tendencies", "*this should also benefit* farming of wheat by small irrigation plot holders", "*this should* grow the number of service providers", and "*there is a large unbanked market for these banks, and they should be able to create* opportunities for previously disadvantaged communities". In all the given examples, the implementer is working with anticipated outcomes or projected situations which are however crafted in ways that do

not make failure an option. In the examples the casting of optimism is in absolute terms, foregone and non-negotiable. There is no room for failure; given positions will actualize irrespective of circumstances. In the foregoing it is clear that decisions which are expressed through the deontic use of *shall*, *should* and *must* express the *mandatory* and *obligatory* positions. Viewed from a different angle, the positions smack of conviction and optimism in outcomes. The implementer is not in a position to rationalise but simply embraces and runs with the position because it works.

The use of, *will*, expresses forthrightness and conviction in the following contexts, “this will set the tone for further reforms”, “this will assist social cohesion”, and the project “*will see* the creation of communication and learning zones within campuses”, and “*will ensure* that students have free, fast and efficient access to information”, and “*will undoubtedly* provide information to enhance precision” and that the Transitional Stabilisation Programme “*will put in place* the necessary legislative and administrative reforms”. In one of the few instances *would* is used positively in the construction, “reforms at public enterprises would also see de-politicisation of Government and entities governing relationships”. In the examples using, *will* and *would* carries optimism in the policy provisions and initiatives.

The optimism is placed into perspective if one relates to the background of policy measures and interventions that have to be instituted to realize projected outcomes and Vision 2030. As explained with specific reference to the positive use of, *will* above, there are necessary administrative and legislative reforms yet to be instituted for harmonization of pieces of legislation to become a “modern omnibus” investment business and facilitation Act. The same Act which will give birth to the Zimbabwe Investment and Development Agency (ZIDA) that will integrate various fragmented institutions such as the Zimbabwe Investment Authority (ZIA) and the Zimbabwe Special Economic Zones as well as repealing and merging specific legislation relating to them. Apart from the reforms there are also ‘Bills’ such as the Companies and Other Business Entities Bill set to modernize the Companies Act and make it possible for domestic businesses to operate, which are yet to be passed in parliament. There are also some ‘amendments’ yet to be done as explained in the following provision:

Government remains ready to push forward with any further legislative amendments necessary to improve the ease of doing business environment and lower the cost of doing business (574).

The context of yet to be instituted reforms, bills, mergers and amendments juxtaposed with reference to ZIDA which “*shall* annihilate bureaucratic tendencies” prejudicial to the economy and unlock investment opportunities attest to optimism in the discourses. The implementers are expected to deliver against a background of uncertainty motivated by optimism. You plan on the basis of reforms yet to be done. Amendments, bills and mergers are not a fait accompli; they can take twists and turns. Thus the policy implementer banks on hope. Optimism and hope deriving from policy formulation are designed to inspire implementation.

Additionally, in reference to fiscal consolidation presented as a key element of TSP, there is proliferation in the use of high sounding positive discourses highlighted in the provision enunciating the new government cited below:

This is premised on the thrust adopted by Government, to create fiscal space for financing of development, which facilitates opening the economy to business, *aggressively* attract investment, *decisively* combat corruption, *resolutely* address poverty, and *vigorously* pursue re-engagement with the international community (25)

In the example above, it is apparent that the policy text uses discourses that appeal to extreme optimism. For example, what thresholds or definitive positions are marked by ‘decisively’ combating a menace like corruption? There are no targets that can be pinned down so the lexical items hype the enthusiasm, zeal and commitment to set tasks but they cannot be concretised. Such typical provisions leave implementers or readers of the policy text in a quandary, and they are worked on halfheartedly or simply glossed over.

4.2.4 Contradiction and Inconsistency

Clustering of concepts within the policy text can be done within the contradiction and inconsistency category. The policy text pronounces an unequivocal position regarding issues of contradiction and inconsistency. It stipulates that, Zimbabwe’s business and investment climate under TSP, “will entail *consistent* application of credible and sustainable policy interventions”. Further to this, it is explicitly stated that there will be avoidance of arbitrary policy reversals and, “absence of *contradictory* policy pronouncements, and misinterpretations by different agencies

of the State”. On the surface, at description level these are noble positions and guiding principles for policy makers and implementers alike. However, in practice these are difficult propositions. Guaranteeing absence of mis-interpretations may be unrealistic. As Ricoeur (1981) posits, all interpretative activity is a dialectic process of guessing and validating and that there may be conflict of interpretations made even by the same person. McKee (2013: 67) reinforces, “Audiences and consumers make multiple or varied interpretations of texts, and often these will disagree the interpretation made by the creator of the text”. There is also the possibility of over-interpretation which can arise from production of sweeping arguments about the text itself. In this case one ends up interpreting a text by introducing one's own understanding into and onto the text. The interpretation given will in essence reflect what the interpreter hopes or feels the text should say as opposed to what it actually says. It is very unlikely that researchers working on the same text will produce the same interpretation. The implication is that the different agencies of government are likely to run in different directions armed with the same policy provisions.

The policy text acknowledges challenges arising from the multi-currency regime such as external shortage of cash for internal cash transactions and foreign exchange shortages. It posits that there is need for a new and more competitive currency. However due to low confidence in its stability and meager foreign currency reserves to support it, is destined to face challenges. The TSP says that domestic currency reforms will be premised on macro-economic fundamentals. The reforms that have to be in place before introduction of a new currency according to the policy text include, sustained macro-economic stability, generation of adequate foreign exchange reserves to anchor the local currency and enhanced business confidence. It is stated thus:

In this regard, the introduction of a local currency will, therefore, *only* be considered once the country has attained conducive macro-economic fundamentals (212).

Emphasis is placed on the word, *only*, which is an expression of conviction. The government on paper is claiming not that it will not prevaricate lest that be a contradiction. The assurance is cast even more robustly in the stipulation that confidence in the economic reforms will be nurtured through, “ implementation of coherent policies characterized by *consistency*, clarity, predictability, and not subject to arbitrary reversals”. The assurances are explicitly stated and

a meticulous implementer would be guided accordingly. However, the Government is seen renegeing through invoking command statutory instruments which essentially contradicted the principled position. On February 20, 2019, Statutory Instrument 33 of 2019 (SI 33/2019) was issued in terms of the Presidential Powers (Temporary Measures) Act, a controversial statute which permits the president to issue decrees. The statutory instrument provided for the recognition of the RTGS dollar as legal tender (although it was already in use). It also provided for the command conversion of the US dollar-denominated assets and liabilities at the fixed rate of one-to-one. On June 24, 2019, the government officially jettisoned a regime of multiple-currencies and adopted as the sole legal tender in Zimbabwe, its RTGS dollar, through Statutory Instrument 142 of 2019 (SI142/2019). The Minister of Finance and Economic Development, Mthuli Ncube was widely quoted as saying that the new currency was not a currency. There was a regime of multiple-currency alongside bond notes that operated before proclamation of SI 33/2019 based on a parity exchange rate of one to one between the bond note and the United States (USD) dollar. Then the statutory instrument formalized the introduction of the Real Time Gross Settlement (RTGS) dollar at an exchange rate of 1:2, 5 with the USD. This was to be followed by the official demonetisation of the multiple-currency regime and the retention of the RTGS dollar as the sole currency in Zimbabwe. What is perplexing to the policy implementer or readers is that changes on the currency regime which contradict or are inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the policy text have been decreed. There was even selective application of the 'decreed' policy position. In this vein, some fast – food outlets, such as Chicken Inn and Chicken Slice, pharmacies, private hospitals, government departments and parastatals, service stations such as Zuva Petroleum were allowed to charge for their goods and services in foreign currency particularly the United States Dollar. Players naturally questioned the selective application of law in the market where some charged in foreign currency, and some in local currency.

The description stage is here connecting with the interpretation in that there are evolving discourses requiring depth of focus inevitably straddling into the next level. The Reserve Bank was orienting the economy towards de-dollarisation and indications of re-dollarisation thus smack of contradiction. Yet again, with the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, in particular during the 'lockdown' in Zimbabwe, through Statutory Instrument 85 of 2020, individuals with 'free

funds' were allowed to pay for goods and services chargeable in Zimbabwe dollars, in foreign currency using the prevailing exchange rate of the day for payment in cash and/or electronically. The Reserve Bank subsequently issued Exchange control circular number, 3 of 2020, clarifying in the introductory remarks that this was part of 'interventions in response to the financial vulnerabilities caused by the Covid-19 pandemic'. Also, free funds included Diaspora remittances, funds held and paid by international organizations, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and embassies. As these shifts were happening leaked document from the Reserve Bank, titled 'De-Dollarisation Road Map' with measures to support the five year de-dollarisation strategy was deemed not official. The concern was that there seemed to be negation of the de-dollarisation strategy smacking of inconsistency again. It is largely a case of disconnect between theory and policy that confuses implementers who have at their disposal the manual served to them as TSP.

Line Ministries, departments and agencies are said to be creating challenges to the Government as they are operating in silos, hence, there is "no coherence in policy formulation and implementation". To curtail this fragmentation, and ensure delivery of reform and modernization it is recommended that:

Government needs to designate the Civil Service Commission as the apex authority to lead the planning and implementation of the public service reform agenda (366).

The proposal in the example sets to provide for the Civil Service Commission to superintend, as the apex authority, over the planning and implementation of the reforms and modernization agenda in the public service. The proposal is not consistent with the following proposal:

The Committees that will prepare strategies for ensuring that Government gets the best business decision for the various enterprises are under the auspices of the various line Ministries (400)

The line Ministries in one situation (earlier) are said to be working in silos warranting subordination to the envisaged Civil Service Commission, yet in the latter context acknowledged to be harbingers of best business decisions, and thus should work in 'liaison' with the Commission. In one breath the line Ministries are constrained and in the other they are deemed

to have capacity and should take full charge. The provisions serve to confuse the implementer who is left in a quandary as to the role of line Ministries in relation to the reform agenda, and the Commission.

Referring to the Higher and Tertiary Education sector, TSP alludes to reconfiguring of the education as an imperative in engendering relevance to the demands of the economy and markets. In explicit terms the policy text reads as follows:

The reconfiguring of the country's famed education system targets to create an inclusive structure that answers to the demands of society (1605)

Appreciation of the education is evident in the use of the lexical item, 'famed' which positively characterizes what the education system over the years represented and achieved. Yet in another provision within the same context of reconfiguring the education system in the Higher and Tertiary Education sector, the famed education is denigrated for not being inclusive and failing to make Zimbabwe a prosperous nation. Thus, it is said:

This is after years of neglect under the Old Dispensation, reversing the huge gains which had been realized in the early years of majority rule (1610).

The negligence specifically relates to education given that the preceding statement bemoans an education system which failed to catapult the nation into prosperity thus making a structural connection. However, what remains unclear and even a contradiction in terms is how years of neglect as suggested produced a famed education system. Also, it would appear the idea is to mudsling and malign the so called old dispensation. For more of the diatribe against the old dispensation the creative charge sheet compiled and illustrated in Table 3, offers guidance. Interestingly contradiction lies at the heart of nomenclature in the sense that what is being derided as Old Dispensation was the political home of the same political players now operating under the banner of New Dispensation. It is practically a case of gladiators disowning a project they nurtured and perfected. The contradiction appears at labeling, the erroneous and provocative finger pointing.

The other manifest level of contradiction relates to how, as explained in the examples on the education system, the Old Dispensation is said to have failed the system owing to lack of inclusivity. Inclusivity is a buzzword in the policy text as explained by various contexts and associations in which it is used. For example, reference to reduction of poverty is envisaged through “financial inclusion of women and youths” consistent with Zimbabwe’s obligations under the SDGs by 2030. There is also allusion to informal traders and non-compliant commuter omnibus and taxi drivers who the Government working with other stakeholders, proposes to engage to foster, “participatory and inclusive approach” in the planning and provision of appropriate infrastructure. Also, on governance reforms, the Government proposes to work with all stakeholders in the implementation of governance reforms, “inclusive of political parties”. It is indicated in the same context that acceleration of governance reforms, requires among many variables, “equity and inclusivity”. Inclusivity is manifest in other discourses used in the policy texts including, “coordinated collaborative multi-stakeholder approach” for economic reconstruction. Denigration of the so called Old Dispensation is inconsistent with thrust of the policy text which is inclusivity. What is evident are discourses that fail to galvanise all forces, new and old, for social cohesion. It is a potential textual deficit that can weigh down heavily the policy implementation process.

Reference to financing in agriculture provisions cover the specific aspect the Special Agriculture Production Initiative (SAPI) which is a support vehicle with intervention measures designed to benefit needy farmers, SAPI is said to have bailed out vulnerable farmers, as presented thus:

Support towards the Special Agriculture Initiative, which has done a lot for poor farmers, is extended beyond cropping to embrace livestock, livestock, wildlife, poultry and fisheries (719).

The support given to the poor farmers is extensive as indicated and it relates to cropping. The nature of the support given to the farmers is not clearly explained but simply presented as a *lot*. The farmers are largely beneficiaries of the land reform programme. Yet within the same context of agriculture relating to Inputs availability and farm mechanization issues, there is a provision inconsistent with the stated position which reads as follows:

Land Reform beneficiary farmers continue to lack access to farming equipment, resulting in perennial capacity challenges to conduct early land preparation, timeous harvesting of produce, and lack of on-farm storage and processing facilities (788).

The question that will bemuse a meticulous reader or implementer relates to how farmers who have been supported a lot still lack access to resources. They have been generously supported or funded yet in another context they are presented as hapless and needful. The positions are difficult to reconcile. Also using a statutory instrument as explained in relation to currency regimes could be an eloquent statement of a deficit in the policy text construction. As Fairclough (2001: 231) observes, policy discourses exhibit, “gaps and contradictions”. The TSP appears to be no exception to the observation.

4.2.5 Ambiguity and Vagueness

This cluster presents cases of ambiguity and vagueness entrenched in policy provisions and initiatives. Ambiguity which entails presentation of two or more meanings will be handled from two levels of lexical and grammatical structures. Vagueness essentially points to lack of clarity. As illustrative examples extracted from the text reveal, there is a close association between ambiguity and vagueness.

4.2.5.1 Lexical ambiguity

4.2.5.1.1 Austerity measures

The text carries lexical items that are ambiguous at the level of theory and in some instances as they play out in public discourses. Austerity measure is one such lexical item central in the policy text which remains highly ambiguous in terms of scope. In the text it is used in a positive sense as follows:

Under the New Dispensation, the first government of the Second Republic will be austerity measures aimed at addressing fiscal and debt challenges for sustained macro-economic stability and growth (224).

The positive sense derives from the fact that has been established in the study in which the New Dispensation projects an image of a savior. Although not defined in terms of form and extent, austerity measures as used will persuade one to view them positively. However, in laying the base to conceptualisation of austerity measures, the President in the preface says that success of TSP, “ will entail pain and need for sacrificing short term gains for longer term prosperity”, tantamount to sugar coating an otherwise bitter pill to swallow. Also, in the context of macro-economic stabilisation policies, indirect reference to austerity measures says that key to the National Development Agenda involves, “readiness to endure pain and sacrifice by allowing for the creation of the necessary fiscal space” critical in the development of infrastructural needs. On the same trajectory the Minister of Finance and Economic Development, Mthuli Ncube, in the 2020 budget speech bolsters support for austerity measures using a quotation from Orson Whitney which reads, “No pain that we suffer, no trial that we experience is wasted . . . , it ministers to our education and development”. The casting of austerity measures is positive and that it is a necessary evil, unavoidable path to prosperity. The scope of the endurance is not fully captured in the policy text, so the term remains fluid and opens up avenues for misconception and even negativity.

Description of austerity measures cannot escape enrichment from evolving discourses connected to it. In depth description integrates with interpretation an issue clarified on interdependence of the levels, illustrated in Figure 5 above. In this connection, we see negative sense of austerity measures reflected more closely in the framework of ESAP covered in the background to the current study. Additionally as analyst Bhoroma (2019) posits, Zimbabwe’s austerity measures covering the period from May 2019 to March 2020 were under the watchful eye of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) through a staff monitored programme. Also, they are presented as cost cutting measures meant to reduce the wage bill and increase revenue. The introduction of the 2% Intermediated Monetary Transfer (IMT) tax levied on electronic money transfer services, and privatization of state enterprises and parastatals is viewed in the same context elaborated by the analyst.

According to the policy provisions on austerity measures, it is emphasized that as part of the painful trade-off and sacrifice, that there will be targeted reductions in Budget Travel expenditures. Also, it is on record that ,there will be “strict reduction in the size of delegations to levels that are absolutely necessary including that Ministers travel without aides where there are accompanied by operational aides”. Evidently, levels that are deemed absolutely necessary remain hazy or fuzzy unless specific numbers are cited. However, the principle as presented in the letter and spirit of the provision means the government will be seized with addressing issues of huge bills for bloated entourages that visit various regional and global events, and even upkeep for several foreign missions. The measures are ambiguous in terms of conceptualisation. For example, in practice the President ostensibly on the re-engagement mission with potential investors frequently flew in hired luxurious jets across the globe which according to critics was lack of commitment to the austerity measures. The First Vice- President sought medical attention, not locally, but in the South Africa, India and China at the height of austerity measures. Parliamentarians across the political divides demanded all-terrain vehicles and hefty allowances. It gives the impression that it is the ordinary people who bear the brunt of austerity measures. So the policy implementer can be confused by the dynamics which are at variance with what is stipulated. Attribution of negativity to austerity measures is not surprising, given that for example, Zimbabwe’s civil servants were hit hard as they were taking home a salary less than Z\$582 (US\$ 50) since March, 2019 against a family basket which costs Z\$1 700 (Bhoroma, 2019). There were also persistent threats of strikes and demonstrations by civil servants in the key sectors of education and health care. Austerity measures remain ambiguous if the intensity and extent of application is not quantified lest they become a divisive instrument generating unintended consequences.

4.2.5.1.2 Budget Surplus

There is reference to potential cases of surplus cited in the text, notably budget surplus food surplus and skills surplus with the former subjected to varied interpretations. Budget surplus is a strategic discourse in the construction of the policy text whose cornerstone is stabilising the macro-economy, and the financial sector. Budget surplus discourse in an economy grappling with myriad socio-economic challenges is a potential draw card that can captivate all and sundry. It intrigues an environment experiencing austerity measures as construed in the

commonsensical but negative view elaborated above. Budget surplus is used in the text as follows:

Fiscal discipline will entail Budget surpluses in support of funding the Capital Budget (41)

The discipline identified involves cutting down unnecessary expenditures so that infrastructure investments can be enhanced. The crux of the matter though relates to conceptualisation of budget surplus. In other words, what constitutes a budget surplus given extensive debate generated around the phenomenon which potentially confuses policy implementers or readership?

Reactions to a budget surplus of ZW803.6 million by the Minister of Finance and Economic Development in the Mid- Term Fiscal Budget speech of 2019, highlight the ambiguity of budget surplus discourses. The Government in particular fiscal authorities celebrated the milestone which attested the efficacy of fiscal consolidation measures. The surplus was lauded as testimony of positive move in the socio-economic development. It was touted as a sign that the government policies were bearing fruit, so to speak. However, the budget surplus was not celebrated in other socio-economic sectors owing to a different understanding of what it entailed. For example, Kuwaza (2019; 4) quotes Business consultant, Simon Kayeruka remarking thus:

The minister seems to be obsessed with the surplus resulting from the so-called cost-cutting (and) an increase in revenue collections from both companies and the public. Surplus is a synonym for profit. The surplus in this instance however is quantitative rather than qualitative. If it was qualitative, it would at least pay for some of our challenges such as fuel and energy.

Mashakada (2019) accentuates the concerns with the submission that the budget surplus is actually a fallacy because it is reported in the local currency and that it does not make sense to have a book balance when hospitals have no drugs. Ugaro (2019) argues further that the only area performing above target, in the Mid-Term highlights in August 2019, was the budget surplus coming largely from the intermediated tax of 2%. Therefore, in the given context the budget surplus becomes meaningless, given severe shortages of essentials such as drugs in hospitals, low disposable incomes for civil servants and falling production.

As presented, surplus as a key discourse is susceptible to varied interpretation across socio-economic sectors. Potential cases of confusion can be mitigated if clear definition and scope of budget surpluses is done.

4.2.5.1.3 Command Agriculture

Command Agriculture as provided for in the policy text, is the ‘Special Agriculture Production Programme’ harmonizing government and private sector partnership in a financing model for agriculture. The term is in quotes suggesting its liability to varied interpretation. It is not surprising that in both theory and application it is ambiguous. The same programme upon further reading is presented as an Initiative as follows:

The Transitional Stabilisation Programme targets further support towards the Special Agriculture Production Initiative, coined ‘Command Agriculture’, for 2018-2020 Winter Wheat crops, as well as the 2018-2020 Summer and winter croppings (718).

Initially referred to as a programme, subsequent references characterise it as an initiative with the government proposing to reduce heavy reliance on the model by the farmers. Instead through innovative measures such as the Voucher System and engagement of private sector and commercial banks to finance agriculture, Command Agriculture evolution becomes broad based encompassing a variety of crops, livestock, wildlife, poultry and fisheries. On paper it says, SAPI popularly viewed as ‘Command Agriculture’ envisages growing involvement of private capital and financing of food security as, “Budget fiscal space is enhanced towards anchoring other developmental infrastructure projects and programmes”.

SAPI is said, as observed earlier to have “done a lot for the poor”, who as queried in the study remain needy. Note also that ‘Command Agriculture’ in both old and new models, places responsibility on the beneficiary farmer. The responsibility duplicated verbatim in provisions, 708 and 717 reads as follows:

The individual farmer will remain responsible and accountable for honouring repayment of obligations arising under extended financing liabilities (708 and 717).

‘Command Agriculture’ when conceptualized within the stated provisions suggests commandeering beneficiary farmers into a system with grave consequences. Commanding would imply not leaving activities and operations to market forces but stampeding farmers into

entrapment. It is a programme that was even misunderstood in government circles. For example former Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology, Jonathan Moyo derisively labeled it, 'Ugly Culture'. There were deep seated differences around 'Command Agriculture' which had become an instrument of division in government making it difficult for implementers and readers to think otherwise. Later, the model was to be mired in controversy owing to scandal around mismanaged funds allocated spilling into intense parliament debates. Thus we see, 'Command Agriculture' polarizing the society it hopes to serve.

Mixed views around 'Command Agriculture' derive from its connection to new farmer discourses used in the policy text. New farmers are presented in the text, as beneficiaries of the Land Reform programme. 'Command Agriculture' is according to policy provisions in the text, "a response to financing challenges" the new farmers faced, and, hence, hindering full productive utilization of the land. Therefore, they needed decisive intervention support to mitigate food security challenges and dependency on imports. TSP presents the newly resettled farmer's case as follows:

... in the interim, the new farmer would need to be incubated and learn the ropes, necessitating adoption of collaborative farming models Government and the private sector (709).

It is explicitly stated that the new farmer would need to benefit from exposure through learning by interacting with established farmers. Additionally, they would enter into strategic partnerships with small scale farmers under Anchor Farmer concept. The policy text does not delimit the scope of interim period a new farmer takes as the handholding takes place. In other words it is not clear when a new farmer blossoms and graduates into established farmer. The dependence can be perpetual, going into eternity thus becoming an unnecessary drain on the fiscus. Feelings of revulsion are evoked largely in the opposition outfits at mention of 'command economy' and new farmer discourses as beneficiaries are perceived to have been drawn from the ruling party. The policy text though states that, improved farm mechanization is needed by newly resettled farmers who can no longer rely on draught animals and human labor,' as most of the potential workers also turn out to be beneficiaries of the land reform'. The government believes that beneficiaries of the land reform, identified as new farmers were drawn across all levels of society.

A 'credible database of farmer's obligations and performance' under SAPI or Command Agriculture' under the Electronic Farmer Data Management System is to be rolled out by December, 2018... The implication is that the model is plagued by inefficiencies in terms of record keeping which opens it to abuse.

Text construction can be a useful rallying point if it utilizes neutral discourses. The discourses should avoid ambiguity and divisiveness. The Government views the discourses favourably but we have noted pockets of skepticism within the same government. Beneficiaries are likely to view the discourses favourably for selfish reasons. Implementers or readers are thrown into turmoil with discourses bereft of clarity in terms of scope such as new farmer.

4.2.5.1.4 Dialogue

The lexical item, 'dialogue' is ambiguous in the way it is playing out on the political landscape. In relation to the dialogue involving political parties, the Government says that, "it will continue to work with...and also maintain open channels for dialogue with Political Parties to ensure that Human Rights are adequately and timeously addressed". With respect to capitalization the implication is that there are specific political organizations as well human rights issues which the Government will be guided by in the dialogue process. The question that boggles the mind would be why the specific identities and issues are not given. Provision of the details would expedite dialogue processes. The text confines dialogue of political parties to human rights issues only but it does not provide details as to which political parties will be engaged. As the dialogue discourse plays out on the political landscape, it is subject to varied interpretation which makes it highly ambiguous. In this vein, the Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD) has been constituted on the basis of political parties which participated in the plebiscite of 30 July 2018. This is regardless of the number of votes harvested by respective political parties in the election. The MDC Alliance turned down the invitation to participate in the POLAD forum which resulted in the assembly of minor political parties dialoguing alongside the ruling party. The issues of Ambiguity of the term dialogue lies in that there are variations in terms of interpretation of the term. The Government believes any interested political parties which participated in the election can participate in the forum. Acting President of opposition party, Movement for Democratic

Change- Tsvangirai (MDC-T), Thokozani Khupe cited by Matendere (2020: 4) views the POLAD dialogue as follows:

POLAD is a dialogue platform for all the contestants of the 2018 presidential elections. In our 2014 congress under the leadership of Tsvangirai, congress resolved that we must do everything possible to bring the government to the negotiating table and it becomes apparent that POLAD is a response to that resolution.

The largest opposition party, Movement for Democratic Alliance (MDC) proffers a different view of the dialogue process. The party's deputy spokesperson, Clifford Hlatshwayo is quoted by Huni (2020: 6) saying:

POLAD is not a platform for meaningful dialogue because it has an agenda. If they are sincere, why do they want to be conveners themselves? "He is lost; MDC Alliance is not an extension of Zanu PF.

The variations on the understanding of critical discourses such as political dialogue give an indication of the dilemma that is likely to play out at implementation levels. We have seen how austerity measures, budget surplus, 'Command Agriculture' and dialogue are central lexical items in the policy text but owing to lack of delimitation in terms of scope, they are exposed to varied interpretation which potentially confuses implementers and readers. The ambiguity also applies at syntactic level. Some of these dominant socio-economic discourses including POLAD will be unpacked within the context of the nationalist ideology highlighted at the explanation stage.

4.2.5.2 Syntactic Ambiguity

Syntactic ambiguity also known as structural ambiguity presents two or more possible meanings within a sentence or phrase. Uncovering the true meaning relies on contextual clues. The ambiguity is even decipherable as it plays out in public discourses, potentially confusing the implementer or reader of the policy text.

The President in the foreword says that his government is the product of, "a free, fair, credible and peaceful election on 30 July 2018" The assertion is repeated in the policy text for example in the context of Political Governance and Democratisation, the policy text echoes the same sentiment in the following manner:

The conduct and conclusion of the 30 July 2018 Harmonised Elections in a *Free, Fair, Credible, Transparent, and Violent Free environment*, under the watchful eyes of regional, continental and global observers, facilitated the inculcation of the country's Democratic Principles as required by the constitution (1751).

The highlighted discourses of free, fair, credible, transparent and violent-free elections evoke varied interpretations across political divides. The Government as enunciated in the provision cited gives thumbs up to the plebiscite suggesting even further that the isolated post-Election violence event of 1 August should not be allowed to mar the progress towards peace and democracy. Also, the Mothlante Commission, constituted by the President to probe the occurrence would produce recommendations set to heal and reconcile the nation. The largest opposition party, as explained above defined the poll as failing to meet all the basic tenets highlighted and that it was manipulated culminating in the inauguration of an illegitimate President. Also, as events would play out, findings of the Mothlante Commission were not publicized thus bolstering the opposition claim of the government hand in the post-election violence. The polarization feeds into the ambiguity of the plebiscite discourse. Sincerity in text construction will enhance credibility of a policy text thus averting confusion that may arise at implementation stage.

4.2.5.3 Vagueness

Lack of clarity apparent in the examples of ambiguity illustrated is even more glaringly marked in the many cases of vagueness which are potential escape routes for non-committal implementers of policy. It is stated that in "crafting this Programme (TSP), inputs of various stakeholders" including business, labour, civil society, development partners, "and other groups were taken on board". What is apparent is that policy formulation presumably for credibility purpose claims consultation and input from cross section of the society. The vagueness lies in that the identity of the interest groups consulted remains obscure. For clarity sake a question could be raised as to who these nameless 'other groups' that were consulted are. The implementer or reader of the policy text is not working with specific individuals or groups. The same applies to the development partners who are a critical mass of exogenous factors needed to bankroll the programme in terms of financial resources and technical support. Their identities,

nature and quantum of support provided is not revealed leaving the end-users clutching at straws.

There is reference to the Revival of Cotton Production which will facilitate creation of “thousands of jobs directly and indirectly, as well as uplifting livelihoods of nearly 40 000 small holder farmers”. Suggesting that thousands of jobs will be created directly lacks clarity at two basic levels. Firstly the figure of thousands does not narrow down the focus in terms of specific numbers that can be concretised. Also, and even more profoundly, direct jobs should be related to specific areas or sectors otherwise the discourse is vague. Allusion to indirect jobs heightens the vagueness construct. Indirect jobs chain manifest in many aspects, becomes weak, loose and more obscure with every extension such that the link to source becomes farfetched. Additionally, the number of small holder farmers pontificated is bereft of clarity since it is expressed as a mere projection through the term, nearly.

The discourse of jobs referred to persistently in the policy text raises hope in a depressed economy with high unemployment levels. Jobs deliver bread and butter thus they engender buy-in to an economic programme by the hopeful. However, the discourse of jobs is replete with vagueness. Referring to the projected emergency road rehabilitation programme and construction projects, ignored for more than 20 years it is stated that, “over 260 local construction firms” have been engaged and, “4000 skilled and semi-skilled jobs being created”. The earlier example in the same context of vagueness is evasive in terms of commitment to actual figures or numbers. Although the latter provision provides a figure which breaks down composition in terms of skilled and semi-skilled, it remains patently vague as no specific figures are given. There is lack of explicitness in discourses used in the text notably, “all key stakeholders”, “all sectors of the economy”, and “consultation of all stakeholders”. Identities of the concerned parties or elements cannot be revealed as they are obscure. Also, the term stakeholders can be interpreted differently in given circumstances.

Other examples of figures presented in the policy text lack clarity as construed in their respective contexts. For instance, through the NSSA Infrastructure Development programme, Government is set to ease housing shortages by building, “more than 3000000 houses by 2018” for the low-

income bracket earners. The projected figure in terms of number is not specific with the 'more than' not helping the implementer on what actual figure is to be realized and additionally, the specification of the model houses to be constructed is suppressed. On the basis of the projected figure, there is an escape route for the implementer. On the same note of figures, Government supported by Development Partners (unnamed) envisages growth of schools and says, "The country is in need of 2000 new schools". The figure remains vague as it does not relate to how many of these schools will be at primary or secondary level. Also, the model of the projected schools is not mentioned leaving critical detail to speculation. This is salient detail as it speaks to enrolment set to obtain in the envisaged new schools whose time frame for completion remains unclear as well.

Apart from figures, vagueness can be unpacked in other discourses marked in the policy text. For example the, "Zimbabwe is Open for Business" mantra speaks to the ease of doing business initiatives through implementing measures necessary to improve the investment and business environment, "targeting domestic and Diaspora investors". The nature of the business solicited is elastic, and the identity and numbers of the local and international investors remains obscure. Such provisions are at the mercy of policy makers and they do not make policy formulation speak eloquently and directly to policy implementation. The grey areas allow policy fluctuation.

There is also reference to standardization of educational qualifications to ease movement of students from one institution to another. In this context, it is stated, "prior learning and experience will now be recognized for acceptance into institutions of higher learning". The deemed levels meriting enrolment in academic institutions indicated are left at the discretion of implementers which is potentially a recipe for confusion. The vagueness enshrined in the provision is a yawning gap that frustrates the policy text given that the implementer can be far removed from the policy maker. There is also reference to the Civil Service which is deemed too large and costly warranting shedding of excess staff. In this vein, it is proposed that retirees will be provided tools and resources, "including targeted re-skilling, re-training and re-employment programmes that match individual skills and experience with opportunities available in the market". What is puzzling owing to lack of clarity is how a bloated civil service retires then works on re-

employment programmes. Explicitness is needed as to which market is envisaged to recruit the retirees, whether it is internal or outside the civil service. The following provision lacks clarity:

It is pertinent to note that the country will also invest in a wide range of less costly projects and programmes that are strategically important, but have not been individually identified in the Transitional Stabilisation Programme, and hence, will be developed on a rolling programme within each sector (1521).

The projects and programmes are strategically important but they are not identified and it is not clear then how the rolling programme in the sectors will play out. They are yet to be developed yet they are deemed strategic. It is not clear whether there is a template suppressed but will be unveiled as the programme unfolds or practical realities will determine which suitable projects should be implemented. Also, the example attests to close connection between ambiguity and vagueness.

4.2.6 Fallacy

Fallacy is a perceived error in reasoning and in the context of writing the reader is thrust into a position that involves working out an error in someone's judgment. Fallacy forms the foundation for intense debate that can frustrate fair-minded end-users of a policy. The New Dispensation narrative claiming a break with the past appears a façade as finger prints of Old Dispensation actors are dotted all over it. Instead, perceived shortcomings of the Old Dispensation which include among many vices, "parceling out a declining cake at the expense of growing it", and lacking the, "ultimate discipline to see through implementation" of economic blue-prints. It is lampooned further for dwelling on past and historical injustices without strategizing how to push the development agenda. These allegations are the subject of intense debate and as explained above, they fly in the face of inclusivity.

The height of fallacy probably finds expression in the following provision appearing strategically at the last section of the policy text covering, implementation, monitoring and evaluation:

There was never a concerted Vision of implementing more long-term strategies that entailed pain and sacrifice, extending beyond short-term populist consumptive interventions (1787).

However, reference to post-independence economic policies, reveals, as indicated in the background to the study, the categorization of the erstwhile policies into distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies. These are strategies which are illustrated in Table1, and with specific reference to the 'pain and sacrifice' in a programme not based on the alleged short term populism oriented towards distribution tendencies, ESAP covering the period 1991 to 1995 addresses the concern. It is curious that after reference is made to previous economic blueprints, including ESAP, the policy text proceeds to engage in the fallacy discourse. Such discourse is a potential assault on the fair-minded and provokes intense debate that plays out at the expense of expeditious policy implementation. Therefore fallacy is a potential textual deficit that can bear negatively on expeditious implementation of policy.

The intratextual level reveals linguistic features that have implications for policy implementation. The discourses express the direct link advocated between policy formulation and implementation in many ways hence fortifying the linguistic variable in official document. The interdependence of the descriptive and interpretative levels has been laid by evolving discourses connected to policy implementation. The nexus confirms Janks' (1997:27) assertion that, all dimensions are interdependent and it does not matter within which analysis one begins with as they are "mutually explanatory".

4.3. Interpretation level

Meaning cannot be constrained within a single text for there is co-independence, mutual relations between texts. The interaction of texts is noticeable at production, distribution and consumption levels which incidentally define the interpretation stage of the three dimensional model of analysis. Associations between texts fall within the purview of intertextuality which is a thread in the identified pillars at the second level. These critical elements will be examined as well as intertextual issues playing out in the policy text. It is important to reiterate the view that policy makers cannot control the meanings of their texts. As Bowe et al. (1992: 22) posit, parts of the texts will be rejected, selected out, ignored, deliberately misunderstood, and interpretation is a matter of struggle as different interpretations will be in contest, as they relate to different interests, one or other interpretation will predominate.

4.3.1 Production

The TSP was developed by Government to lay the foundation set to transform Zimbabwe into a knowledge driven and industrialising upper middle income economy by 2030. It is an initiative of the so called Second Republic whose new government is referred to consistently in the policy text as the New Dispensation owing to purported, “break with the past”. Even more fundamentally, the Government is a product of a plebiscite presented in the text as, “free, fair, credible and peaceful election on 30 July 2018”. It is important to interpret circumstances around the ‘producer’ of the official state and then proceed to the text construction.

The producer of the document has issues that give meaning to the policy text, and even more fundamentally potential acceptance or rejection of the text in the market place. The Government compliments the plebiscite which it says passed the litmus test as it conducted in a tranquil environment “under the watchful eyes of regional, continental and global observers”. The claim draws into perspective a gamut of potential texts feeding into the production of the policy text. Participation and endorsement by the ‘watchful’ eyes is a potential text in the matrix. There was scrutiny by observers so in that sense the Government is implying that the electoral process was above board. The Government duly constituted is legitimate. However, the President in the foreword unequivocally says, “I am, therefore, making a strong appeal to all stakeholders that we all put the Elections behind us”. Making a strong appeal draws attention to issues suppressed and are beneath the surface. This is the purview of covert discourses that are hidden but impacting on the ‘seen’ text, and hence, the need to integrate the two levels to decipher total meaning. They constitute gaps, and “silences in the text”, (Marston, 2004:125). The silences around the plebiscite reveal a hotly disputed electoral process in which there is a critical mass, negated in the text construction but that should be galvanized to guarantee inclusivity and buy-in. The text glosses over the ‘landmine’ that is a potential Achilles heel of an effective implementation process. The plebiscite in question had two main contenders in the presidential contest namely, Emmerson Dambudzo Mhangagwa (ZANU PF) and Nelson Chamisa (MDC-Alliance). The electoral results published by the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC) were hotly contested and an object of derision from the opposition outfit. The opposition bemoaned manipulation of the electoral process in particular the counting of votes which they claimed was

rigged. In these circumstances it becomes prudent from a critical discourse point of view to use results ratified by other sources. In this case, the International Crisis Report (2018) distribution of results in the presidential race was as follows: Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa, garnered 2,460,463 votes, a figure which was over 300,000 more than his main rival Nelson Chamisa, who secured 2,147,436 votes. These figures gave Mnangagwa 50.8 per cent compared to Chamisa's 44.3 per cent, thereby averting a second round of polling by just under 38,000 votes. The other 21 presidential candidates collectively garnered less than 170,000 votes (5 per cent of the total). This outcome showed that the opposition's fragmentation is not as profound as some had predicted. The President of the Republic who commissioned the TSP economic blueprint posted a narrow victory despite his Members of Parliament candidates securing a two thirds majority. There is a critical mass that is hidden which places the winner in an invidious position in which he has to plead with the losers to rally behind him and run with his product, TSP.

Part of the silences around production relate to the legal challenge lodged by the main opposition's candidate to the inauguration of his contender to the throne. The text does not refer to the silence in question. However, in a unanimous ruling of the nine judges of Zimbabwe's Constitutional Court, Chief Justice Luke Malaba said Nelson Chamisa had failed to prove allegations of fraud during the presidential vote. The ruling thus duly declared Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa the winner of the presidential elections held on the 30th of July 2018. Thus, from the Government's point of view, there is conviction that the incumbent President's ascension to the presidency is above board given the endorsement from the highest court in the land. Also the electoral process was under glare of 'watchful' eyes of observers. The major opposition party has adamantly refused to recognize the incumbent President's 2018 election victory which they say was fraudulent. Thus in their view, the President of the Republic is 'illegitimate' because of a flawed and manipulated electoral system notwithstanding his confirmation by the top court in the country. Thus, the new government led by Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa was handicapped from inception by a legitimacy deficit trumpeted by the major opposition party.

When the President makes a 'strong appeal' he is cognizant of the existence of the sheer weight of numbers of opposition members who should be mobilized to engender socio-economic cohesion. The numbers are not presented in the policy text but when one goes beyond description which is realizable at textual analysis level to interpretation at discourse practice stage, the unseen and unsaid details emerge. While description can provide excellent insights about what is 'in' a text, what is 'absent' from a text is often just as significant (Fairclough, 1995:5). The election discourse is significant and triggers reference to other texts which include the electoral results, electoral appeal and court verdict texts. It is a chain of associations, and relationships of texts connected to the policy text that emerges. Thus, in order to understand the discourse critically several analytical traits have to be adopted. As Jabar and Yunus (2017: 359) argue, there is need to be reflective about what is said and the context of its production, including, time, circumstance, and policy context. Engaging the text through a CDA lens fortifies the linguistic variable through combining overt and covert discourses as well the circumstances and context of text production.

Governance discourses illustrated in Table 2, at description level present critical discourse around the text production, and later we will see how they model the ideological construct. At this level though, text production, as the policy text reads, falls "under the New Dispensation, the first Government of the Second Republic" hence the celebration of the stated 'governance' discourses. The specific elections which gave birth to the government are referred to as harmonized elections in the text. They are harmonized elections in that they catered for presidential, senate, legislative assembly and council elections in a single swoop. Consistent reference to the elections is meant to give credence to legitimacy of the office-bearer whose ubiquitous presence in the text is marked directly and indirectly. Directly, the incumbent President Mnangagwa's name is cited while in either indirect reference he is identified as President. The consistent reference to governance and President is meant to depict who is in control so as to put paid to the legitimacy conundrum. The policy formulation just scratches through the surface offering a tip of the iceberg as it were. In an Election particularly the presidential contest in which it is first past the post scenario, a critical mass is left dejected. An electoral contest in which the winner is given express mandate to constitute a government leaves a critical mass on the sidelines yet it is the same number that should be galvanized for social

cohesion, without compromising an incumbent's hold. It is a delicate balancing act which has to be performed dexterously.

Apart from contending with critical opposition mass on the other divide, the strong appeal has to be conceptualised within the context of internal enemies as well. Prior to the 17 November 2017, military orchestrated soft coup which culminated in the resignation of the late Robert Gabriel Mugabe as President of Zimbabwe the succession contest pitted the so called Lacoste and Generation 40 (G40) political outfits. The Lacoste outfit beholden to incumbent President Mnangagwa triumphed while G40 linked to Grace Mugabe (late former President Mugabe's wife) lost the contest. During the soft coup motion, dubbed Operation Restore Legacy, faction leader Grace Mugabe was expelled from ZANU PF. Crucially, in the Elections of 31 July 2018 to which the President requests a 'strong appeal' to be regarded as water under the bridge or a bygone phase, some principal protagonists crossed the floor to align themselves with the MDC-Alliance opposition party. Among these were former ZANU PF politburo members, Professor Jonathan Moyo and Patrick Zhuwao who openly campaigned for the opposition party's president Nelson Chamisa, and admitting in later revelations that they were involved in fundraising initiatives for the opposition leader in the harmonised elections. Other former G40 members, including Shadreck Mashayamombe and Kudakwashe Bhasikiti were even co-opted into the structures of the opposition party. Even more spectacularly, on the eve of the elections, ousted later former President Mugabe unequivocally declared his support for the opposition leader. Yet there are many whose allegiance naturally rests with those who boldly crossed the political divide, choosing to operate from within. Operating from within, they could wholesomely embrace the New Dispensation narrative or push the agenda of the Old Dispensation nicodemously.

The complexity of the internal political dynamic prompts a presidential strong appeal for cohesion. Therefore, text production is located within a precarious context. As Van Dijk (1998) observes, when we understand something it is because that something makes sense in a particular context. Even in its totality, centrality of context in a text lies in that, "The unity that it has is a unity of meaning in context, a texture that expresses the fact that it relates as a whole to the environment in which it is placed," (Halliday and Hasan, 1976:292). Accentuating the text-context dynamic, Fairclough and Wodak (1997) argue that discourse is not produced without

context and cannot be understood without taking context into consideration for utterances are only meaningful if we consider their use in a specific set of circumstances and situation. The President is therefore not oblivious to the sheer weight of numbers that can potentially scuttle social cohesion. What boggles the mind though is how at a delicate phase where the official state text should close ranks, champion collaborative participation and inclusivity, besmirches the Old Dispensation. Refer to the purported deficiencies of the old government, illustrated in the condensed and creative charge sheet, proffered at description level in Table 2 above.

The actual production formulation or production is fraught with fuzziness and vagueness encapsulated in some of the provisions. For instance, it is stated as follows:

In crafting this Programme, inputs of various stakeholders, who include business, labour, civil society, developmental partners, and other groups were taken on board (3).

Lack of precision lies in failure to identify the various stakeholders as well as the sectors alluded to. The other groups that were consulted but cannot be named brings into question the legitimacy of the process. The legitimacy issue is further compounded by the reality that the opposition which constitutes a critical mass is not part of consultative processes at least in explicit terms. Configuring the given reality in the context of nameless stakeholders and other groups said to have been taken on board serves to deepen the mystery. Instead, the major opposition party crafted and launched a counter economic blue-print dubbed, Roadmap to Economic Recovery, Legitimacy, Openness and Democracy (RELOAD) policy document. In practice there are competing policy texts in the market place which implies there is fragmented commitment to the official state text. The fragmentation flies in the face of a homogeneous shared vision which should anchor and propel the state official text.

‘Development Partners’ is a term that is used consistently in the policy in reference to supportive role, interventions and valuable contributions they will render across socio-economic sectors. The development partners who are not specified though are reported to have helped in crafting the policy through contributions that are not specified as well. Their identity remains obscure yet their contribution is profound. What confuses the situation even more is that there is also reference to cooperating partners who are identified in one context as including, “senior management of the IMF, World Bank, the African Development Bank (AFDB) as well as bilateral

partners constituting major shareholding in the AFDB, World Bank and IMF". Development partners who the policy text shies from unmasking are said to be offering "complementary support to various Government programmes and projects". They remain a vague construct in the mould of discourses covered within the same frame at the description level. Also, it is reported that development partners will be enlisted to meet some funding requirements for agriculture and they will be communicated through the normal diplomatic channels and other protocols. It would appear there is convergence of development partners and cooperating partners roles but this is largely speculative. If the two references are compatible one might plausibly suggest that the World Bank and IMF, for example, were involved in the formulation of TSP as intimated in some of the revealed cooperating partner's identities. The absences in the given policy text will attest to the improbability of the World Bank and IMF institutions finding each other on policy text formulation given the documented frosty relations with the Western nations owing to what in ZIMASSET, the preceding policy to TSP, "continued existence of illegal sanctions, subversive activities and external interferences from hostile countries". Also, the TSP refers to re-engagement drive designed to expedite "removal of sanctions and normalization of economic and political relations". It is imperative to specify and clearly distinguish the terms to avert the mix-up that potentially confuses implementers and readers with regard to the status of the development partners and cooperating partners.

Text production is connected to other discourses which complicates the work of end-users. The "formulation of the Programme also took into account the United Nations Sustainable Goals (SDGS)". The goals are designed to eradicate poverty. As a matter of fact, Zimbabwe has committed to the implementation of all the seventeen goals operational from 2016 to 2030. In essence what it means is that the policy text has to be read in conjunction with the SDGS, and such an onerous task complicates implementation. For example, within the framework of Basic Education, there is allusion to the Education Sector Strategic Plan which gives emphasis to addressing inequities and ensuring inclusive socio-economic development. In this vein, the policy stance dovetails with Sustainable Development Goal 4 which posits, "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote life-long learning opportunities for all". Also, in the context of Health provision, the National Health Strategy proposes to deliver quality health service to all Zimbabweans in line with Sustainable Development Goal 3 which strives to,

“Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all age groups”. In all there are seventeen Sustainable Development Goals which are individually cited in the production of the policy text. All the goals are itemized in Annexure 2. Production of the text contains the intertextual thread which is elaborated more closely below.

Additionally, connection with other discourses in the production of the policy text is illustrated in the acknowledgement proffered. TSP “acknowledges policy reform initiatives” and policy pronouncements by the President, “starting from his Inaugural Address on 24 November 2017, as well as the National Budget Statement outlined to Parliament on 7 December 2017”. Efficacy in policy implementation entails familiarization with inaugural address and national budget statement to locate clear perspective and vision driven by the policy text. In line with the tradition involved in the production of previous economic blueprints, the President superintends the text and the discourses that the incumbent President espouses naturally resonate and enrich it. For example in the immediate preceding policy, ZIMASSET, it reads:

post 31st July 2013, Harmonised Election, there is urgent need to put in place an economic blueprint, that is guided by the ZANU PF Manifesto and the Presidential Vision as encapsulated in His Excellency, the President’s Inauguration Speech delivered on 22 August 2013’.

In terms of procedures involved in the production processes the TSP fulfills the motions observed in the previous text. Part of the procedures involves enunciation of the presidential vision as well as commissioning of the official state text by the incumbent President. There are specific variations though which will be explained and illustrated more closely within the context of ideological shifts covered in level three of the dimensional model.

Aggregation of issues around production which include, overt and covert variables fossilized in circumstances around the text formulation, and connection to various discourses to which it should be read in conjunction with serve as potential alibi to non-implementability of the policy.

4.3.2. Distribution and Consumption

Focusing CDA lenses on distribution of the policy text reveals that what is addressed lucidly is the ‘who’ question but negation of the ‘how’ question leaving it to speculation yet it is the latter

that engenders buy-in. The President in the preface locates who needs to run with the economic blue print. Accordingly, “everyone has a responsibility in this economic endeavour”. He proceeds to identify academia, faith based and civil society organizations, embracing their grassroots structures and advocacy initiatives and the media as critical agents in complementing Government in “dissemination of information and general citizenry awareness”. Although responsibility for distribution has the collaborative participation and all stakeholder flavor, it should be noted that the ‘who’ aspect is expressed in general terms. On media, as an example, questions for clarification could be: Is it the privately owned or state controlled or both media, mandated with distribution? The question is profound at least in historical terms where the Zimpapers stable, specifically the state controlled newspaper, The Herald website carried a direct link to the ZIMASSET policy text. Such a link promoting text distribution was glaringly missing in the privately owned tabloids and newspapers. The implementer cannot latch onto the useful information which is glaringly missing in the policy text. The useful information is part of the hidden information that has to be extracted. This leaves room to conjecture or there will be inaccessibility of the critical document which after its tenure is consigned to archives. The search for leads into requisite information complicates the work of end users who would then be forced to grapple with more texts. Connections between texts implied here are elaborated more closely within the realm of intertextuality in 4.3.3 below.

While the ‘who’ aspect complicates the distribution dynamic owing to fuzziness, the ‘how’ aspect potentially leaves the reader groping in the dark if not clutching at straws. It is not clear the form in which the policy text will be distributed, that is, as hard or soft copies. What can be inferred is the soft copy avenue given references to an envisaged digital economy said to offer “immense opportunity for growth to the entire economy”. There is additional reference to ICT touted for “revolutionising global business and offering multiple products and services”. What reinforces further the case for an internet economy and subsequent online distribution of copies relates to reconfiguring of Community Information Centres. The centres are presented as Government strategy to, “promote universal access to broadband services to local communities, including schools”. The provision states further that; the centres will “benefit remote areas where there is no mobile internet coverage”. Also, using the Universal Services Fund, the Postal and Telecommunications Regulatory Authority (POTRAZ) has “rolled out over 146 community

information centres throughout the country”. However, there is variation on the number under specifically the section on compendium for infrastructure projects to be implemented under TSP. In the latter section, it is explicitly stated that “250 centres already set up”. The variation presents a dilemma to the end-users who is left in a state of confusion regarding which of the two figures is authentic.

Distributing the policy text using internet based platforms is fraught with a myriad of challenges which can frustrate buy-in. Some of the challenges cited in provisions of the policy text which include, “ training in computer usage, and digital literacy”, fluctuating “mobile data and internet charges” and development of telecommunications infrastructure in remote areas that are sparsely populated and located in difficult geographical environments meaning low returns for investments for service providers. The Government says it is, “intensifying efforts to bring internet connectivity to every household country wide” in line with the 2030 Vision. Intensifying efforts cannot be concretised owing to its fluidity. This can be understood alongside ‘evasive discourses’ presented in Table 6 at description level.

How the policy text will be distributed remains a grey area prone to conjecture and speculation which could have been addressed in text construction to engender buy-in by stakeholders particularly communities who should run with it. The ‘how’ question around distribution speaks to procedures and measures which should be categorically and consciously spelt out to facilitate implementation. Negation of implementation procedures ensures policy remains only in blueprint (Webb, 2004). There is no clear position on whose responsibility it is to disseminate information to the key stakeholders, and even more fundamentally in what form and language the policy is set to touch base with communities. This is a linguistic gap that could have been closed in text construction to mitigate assumptions and speculative tendencies around it. In the same market place, competing economic blueprints from the Government and the major opposition are in circulation. The official state text can have competitive advantage if such yawning gaps serving as alibi for non-implementation are closed. What is playing out is that, Government develops TSP, proposes, “prompt tracking of implementation, and institution of corrective measures” to ensure it stays on course but does not explain how and in what form

the policy reaches intended destinations. As Chijioke (1987) would say, it is a situation akin to government without a definite plan of actions.

Consumption issues are closely connected to distribution. Circulation and penetration of discourses determine ways in which targeted audiences receive and utilize the attendant messages. Government programmes resonate with the rural more than urban communities if electoral outcomes are closely analysed. The plebiscite of 31 July 2018 offers perspective to the claim. Also, there are more constituencies and people in the rural communities than in the urban areas. Owing to partisan predisposition, consumption of the official state text in urban context is likely to be low, while the rural communities bedeviled by widespread lack of internet connectivity, garner subdued uptake. In essence, the consumption of the text is likely to be low, a feat which is exacerbated by the use of English, as the language of the policy text. For accessibility, particularly in rural communities where many people are domiciled, it would be prudent to use indigenous languages of their preferences. The reality is that not many people access the document in its original structure in which English is the medium for the economic policy. Inevitably the consumer has to grapple with and process technical terms from the field of economics used in the policy document such as “inflation”, “macro-economic fundamentals” and “financial markets” and “fiscal deficits”. Consumption of the text in the current linguistic study entailed familiarization with economic issues which were useful in illustrating the textual analysis. Cultural dynamics come to the fore when working with a document ‘alien’ to one’s world view. Bauer et al. (2014: 22) argues that the author (policy maker) writes the text for a model reader who is coherently able to decode “the missing links according to their cognitive capacities, lived experiences and cultural conventions”. In support of cultural dynamic, it can be emphasised that texts are marked by the culture participants in a communicative act given that each text is located in a specific social environment and situation.

Addressing the ‘how’ question could have been useful in laying bare procedures and processes. When writing for the model reader, it is imperative to minimize technical terms. Instead it may be necessary for effective communication purposes to construct a policy text in plain English and where it is unavoidable to use technical terms then there has to be provision in the text for definitions of such terms. Even then, translating the policy text into other languages is fraught

with challenges which take one to varied interpretations apparent across end users and within the individual users. Tied to consumption is a poor reading culture even in a highly literate society like Zimbabwe. The document is therefore likely to be consigned to archives where it will be relevant to researchers, but failing to be of any use to implementers during its tenure defined as, October 2018 to December 2020. In the words of Bamgbose (2000) the policy documents and pronouncements will pass for archival material only to be quoted by scholars who write on policy. The hidden issues likely to militate against the policy text revolve around partisan grandstanding in which the opposition is likely to be indifferent and even hostile to what they would perceive an initiative from an 'illegitimate' Government. The policy as noted is carrying an albatross around its neck which predisposes it to confusion among users and even non-implementation.

Production, distribution and consumption aspects of the policy texts reveal interconnections with other texts. As Fairclough (1992) posits, policies are layered on top of one another to create cohesive collections of policy, and that studying production, distribution and consumption of the text is tied to context. Relating the text to context is useful in discerning meaning. The context of text production is viewed by scholars as leading to an ever evolving construal of the policy. Bowe et al., (1992: 21) argue that policy texts "have to be read in relation to the time and particular site of their production", and they also reiterate the importance of engaging with intertextuality, paying attention to how the texts are interacting with other policy texts. The layering of texts which makes deciphering of texts a complex engagement as noted, falls within the realm of intertextuality which plays out in the policy document in various ways.

4.3.3. Intertextuality

There are potential complications in working with the policy document in terms of how it is constructed. The implementer or reader grapples with information that is presented in a given text, and the historical and futuristic discourses to which it is connected. There are retrospective and prospective linkages in the policy texts place extra demands on processing. It is explicitly stated that, "Zimbabwe has never been short of Blueprints of National Economic Strategies, Development Plans and Programmes". What then immediately follows is a list of the economic blueprints preceding TSP which include the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), Short Term Economic Stabilisation Programme (STERP) and ZIMASSET. The

historical connection is deepened by references to perceived shortcomings of the previous economic blueprints which as explained include lack of ultimate discipline to see through implementation. Echoes and reverberations of preceding policies are heard in the current policy text which gives credence to the argument that texts in whatever form do not exist and operate as islands. The erstwhile retrospective linkage which is a matter of intertextuality is explained succinctly by Fairclough's (2003:17) assertions that, texts draw upon, incorporate, recontextualise and "dialogue with other texts". In the construction of the current policy, text reference to previous 'failed' economic blueprints can be interpreted as a double edged sword. Firstly the policy maker is making an acknowledgement that TSP is located in the family of economic blueprints. To this extent it is part of that tradition. The other interpretation that can be deciphered is that the current official state policy is unique and better poised to deliver on the implementation matrix as it is conscious of the attendant shortcomings of previous documentation. The implementer of the policy has work cut out for him; it involves among other responsibilities the onerous task of rummaging through archival material relating to preceding economic blueprints (illustrated in Table 1). Even more insightfully, the implementer is implored to look at these policies negatively but when it comes to TSP the message is clear, see no evil, and perhaps speak no evil about it as well. However, the other interpretation discerned from association of the current policy with preceding economic blueprints is that of skepticism. In this case some will say the policy, given the negative tradition, it is destined to fail notwithstanding the platitudes bestowed on it by Government.

The policy text does not only draw from similarly oriented economic programmes and plans but also from other policies preceding it and are concurrently in circulation with it, notably the national Constitution. The Constitution is referred to consistently in the policy text. As a matter of record there are 34 direct references to the Constitution of Zimbabwe which attests to its primacy as source in the formulation of TSP. For example, in reference to expenditure on By- Elections there is a provision from the policy text which stipulates that, '*Section 158 (3) of the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No.20) Act, 2013*' provides for the conduct of By-Elections to Parliament and Local Authorities within 90 days after a vacancy occurs. Another example pertains the Civil Service Commission duly explained as an arm of the Executive created in terms of, '*Section 202 of the Constitution*' that is operationalised through the '*Public Service Act*

(*Chapter 16:04*)'. Evidently, the highlighted discourses are drawn from the Constitution that is in operation at the same time and within the same context as TSP.

The borrowings constitute, “snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo and so forth”, (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999:199). So the text is populated and constituted by the snatches from the Constitution which are in the form of specific sections, chapters and clauses. The composition passes for “otherness and varying degrees of our own ness” and these words often carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework and accentuate, (Bakhtini, 1986:89). Processing the policy text calls on meticulous verification of details which involves cross checking with the Constitution to mitigate litigation which inevitably emasculates implementation initiatives. The due diligence naturally compounds the work of implementers. This is an issue that can also be conceptualized within the framework of lack of absoluteness in terms of interpretation of discourses, and legal issues are not an exception. The mantra in discourses, as explained above, is that ‘no interpretation is final’. So investing so much in constitutional matters, as apparent in the construction of the official state text, warrants investment in attendant legal challenges which can be the nemesis of any implementation matrices. These are issues around snatches from the Constitution which play out on the surface. There are in CDA lens deep issues connected to the Constitution which are potential fault lines. In essence a policy document sustains life on the basis of linkages with a sea of texts around it. Since no policy is an island, it is susceptible to reverberations of other texts it responds to and maybe in circulation with it. As Ball (1993: 46) posits, “sometimes when we focus analytically on one policy or on one text we forget that other policies and texts are in circulation and the enactment of one may inhibit or contradict or influence the possibility of the enactment of others”.

The Constitution from which policy text draws extensively is seemingly handicapped by many concerning issues playing out in national discourses, which have potential grave consequences for TSP implementation. The Constitution touted as a home grown people driven initiative came into vogue during the tenure of the Government of National Unity in 2013. Since then it has suffered innumerable ‘battering’ owing to amendments served at the behest of the ruling party’s

two thirds majority in the legislative assembly. Also there is the alignment of statutes to the Constitution notably the Public Order and Security Act (POSA), the Citizens Act and Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA). The policy text provision explicitly states that, “The alignment of the remaining statutes to the Constitution will be completed over the next twelve months”. As it turns out twelve months have lapsed but there are certain statutes which despite the assurance, are yet to be aligned to the Constitution. A clear example relates to the devolution of governmental powers and responsibilities to the Provincial, Metropolitan Councils and Local Authorities. The slow pace of alignment statutes casts the Constitution in bad light. Even more controversial and damaging is the Constitutional Court verdict around the hotly contested plebiscite explained above. The opposition steadfastly refused to embrace the constitutional verdict and maintains the incumbent President is ‘illegitimate’. In April 2020, the Supreme Court declared the ascendancy of Nelson Chamisa to leadership of the MDC-Alliance was declared ‘unconstitutional’ thus making him an ‘illegitimate’ president of the opposition party. The red flag raised over the opposition leader relates to irregularities in the circumstances in which he became the leader of the MDC-T political outfit after the death of founding leader, Morgan Tsvangirai. The political outfit alongside a coalition of other opposition parties constituted the MDC- Alliance. The latter Constitutional verdict has triggered events that are still unfolding but the opposition in particular bemoans a judiciary which they perceive to be politically compromised. They trade accusations to the effect that there is a state capture of the judiciary due to verdicts that have not been favourable to their political party. They feel hard done by the Constitution which they believe has been used to delegitimise the opposition leader. The Constitution which should be a rallying point has become an instrument of division, and by associating and drawing extensively from it, the policy text is contaminated through association.

The snatches and incidences of constitutional fragments in the policy text, compromise it in terms of perception. The negativity on Constitution potentially rubs onto the policy text as an associate thus complicating the work of implementers who in any case require buy-in, collaborative participation and inclusivity. Thus the linguistic variable pursued beneath surface issues, cracks potential fissures in policy, laying bare the fatal discourse connections. Ball (1993:46) amplifies the significance of paying attention to intertextuality when he submits thus, “sometimes when we focus analytically on one policy or on one text we forget that other policies and texts are in

circulation and the enactment of one may inhibit or contradict or influence the possibility of the enactment of others”. The submission corroborates the possibility of toxic relations in discourses which as noted can be applied to the Constitution and TSP.

Apart from the retrospective linkages explained mainly in terms of preceding economic blue prints and the Constitution which coincidentally is in concurrent circulation with the policy text, there is a prospective orientation largely explained in terms of Vision, goals and agenda. TSP runs with a screaming ‘reforms agenda’ headlined, “Towards a Prosperous and Empowered Upper Middle Income Society by 2030” which makes it futuristic in orientation. The presidential foreword foregrounds the orientation when he appeals, “transform our economy to realise, Vision 2030, the UN (United Nations) Sustainable Development Goals and, the AU (African Union) Agenda 2063”. There are 52 direct references to Vision 2030 thrusts which include recognition of “good governance as the bed-rock for a new democratic and developmental Zimbabwe” and commitment to “job opportunities and high quality of life for its citizens”. The references constitute the Vision 2030 text which TSP draws from for sustenance. The SDGs, to which the policy text connects, are essentially a global development agenda running from 2016 to 2030, meant to eradicate poverty. Zimbabwe has committed to the implementation of all the 17 goals listed in annexure 2. The AU agenda 2063 goals are presented in Annexure 3. The goals and agenda constitute individual texts which are long term in orientation. Such texts are explained in terms of what, Bakhtini (1986) refers to as texts that they anticipate and in a chain of speech communication they are anticipated utterances of the next speakers. The reader or policy implementer consolidates the given information in the text and connects with prospective texts to decipher clear meaning. As Bazerman (1994) notes, texts often refer to or somehow depend for their meaning on other texts. The engagement with other texts can be tedious and cumbersome owing to different styles and traditions of presentation.

On the surface, connecting the policy to texts it anticipates in the form of visions, goals and agendas entail more work in interpreting policies. However, greater challenge lies in penetrating beneath the surface of the discourses. There is the issue of poverty pervasive in the Zimbabwean communities referred to in collocations such as, “poverty reduction”, “eradicate poverty”, “resolutely address poverty”, “poverty alleviation”, “escape poverty trap”, “abject

poverty” and “languishing in poverty”. The descriptions of poverty in the given associations raise an awareness of the plight and vulnerability in the communities served by the policy text. The presidential appeal in the foreword corroborates existence of poverty with allusion to, “underlying challenges arising from economic fragility, joblessness, inequality and poverty”. Additionally, there is reference to the Presidential Vulnerable Household Inputs Scheme set to, “provide grain inputs targeting over 2 million vulnerable households with maize and small grains”. The Government commits to the realization of Sustainable Development Goals 1 and 2 which aspire to “End poverty in all its forms everywhere” and “End hunger, achieve food security, and improve nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture”, respectively. Juxtaposing Goals 1 and 2 and Vision 2030 which envisages attainment of an upper middle income status in poor communities is like a pie in the sky. It is difficult to engender buy-in to a long term goal and vision in poverty stricken communities. There are also glaring inequalities in society as noted above in the context of austerity measures. Negative discourses around ‘Command Agriculture’ in which misappropriation of funding designed to alleviate poverty have played out engender skepticism around efficacy of long term goals and visions. Tapping discourses from visions and goals in an environment of abject poverty is akin to chasing a mirage. The Presidential banter of, “2030 ndinenge ndichipo” meaning in 2030 he would still be alive, and in charge had cynics making a meal of it berating the notion of contemplating long term political survival when the present circumstances are laden with strife. Also, poverty may have been couched in various descriptions but it remains unclear what personal circumstances are classified as constituting poverty. In other words, the question that will be interpreted variously relates to what is poverty.

TSP exploits a dimension of intertextuality which connects internal and potential external texts which is a feat that complicates interpretation. In this case, what is ‘said’ in a text is always said against the background of what is ‘unsaid’- what is made explicit is grounded in what is left implicit (Fairclough, 2003:17). There is inside information, set to link with sources or texts which may not be readily available in some cases yet they are implied. There is, for example, reference to Infrastructure priority projects where a compendium of projects with a comprehensive list of infrastructure projects identified for implementation under TSP. The priority projects are in the areas of energy, water and sanitation, transport and communication, environment protection and reclamation, health, education, housing, ICT and Irrigation development. These are projects

clearly identified and elaborated for access to the implementer. However, in the same context there is reference to *other projects* not individually identified but which the country will invest in. They are a, “wide range of less costly projects and programmes that are strategically important but have not been individually identified in the Transitional Stabilisation Programme”. There is a text with useful information that is privy to the policy maker but not immediately accessible to the implementer. Another example pertains to tracking the performance of TSP against baselines and targets. It reads, “A Comprehensive Matrix of Policies, Projects and Programmes to be undertaken, as well as attendant results to be achieved under the Programme period will be developed”. What is revealed instead is a preliminary matrix of policies, projects and programmes. Also, production of the comprehensive text does not have a specific date meaning the user can wait for months if not years on end to engage comprehensively with the policy text. What remains unclear also are the guidelines and benchmarks for determining what will be interpreted as a comprehensive matrix. In the absence of that it is possible to work with a subjective document.

Connecting current policy to texts yet to be developed notwithstanding their usefulness is also evident in ZIMASSET economic policy succeeded by TSP. For example the former modeled around four clusters spelt out that during implementation, “each cluster will be required to develop a comprehensive implementation matrix which will incorporate other critical targets, which have not been captured in the document”. As noted there is pontification on critical targets which are privy to the policy makers and the reader banks on trust that these will be made available when needed.

Circulars also have to be consulted in some situations during the implementation stages. With respect to the use of Government operational vehicles by public officers, Circular Number 5 of 2011 will guide measures enforcing strict adherence to regulations curbing misuse of Government vehicles. Also, there is reference to a prescribed formula on accessing fuel from government pool as well as terms and conditions applicable to vehicles donated and procured for various Government projects. Provisions for these are outlined in Cabinet/ Treasury Circulars which are not readily accessible as they are specialized texts. There are many of these circulars prompting due diligence in identifying one with provisions applying to the

situation. Engaging numerous circulars requires patience, perseverance and due diligence if the search for the appropriate text with desired stipulations is to be guaranteed. Useful information is suppressed in terms of how the circulars will be accessed, and from which relevant ministry, department or agency, and in what form. The question of form, which is fundamental relates to the issue of hard and soft copy. Specific instructions for their implementation through the circulars in hard copy form passes through many ranks before they reach the intended destination. Tied to this is the reality that circulars are interpreted differently, may even reach the implementer late or even get lost along the bureaucratic channels of communication in Government. There are chances for some destinations to experience black-outs while some receive the circulars in time but subject it to wrong interpretation culminating in unintended consequences. Consequently, circulars in this regard are not the best alternative in connecting the policy maker and implementer. Using the soft copy route as the policy text acknowledges that, 'Government is intensifying efforts to bring internet connectivity to every household countrywide' in view of the reality that, there are 'remote areas that suffer poor network connectivity'. Therefore the soft copy avenue is not ideal in the prevailing circumstances. The implementer is thrust in a quandary given the fact that the policy document is not a one stop shop where you would expect all useful services and products to be stored.

Close review of the provisions picks a thread of migration from specific circulars to the ones that are general in orientation. There is a schedule of offences including driving a Government vehicle without a valid certificate of competence, and the penalties that will be meted. It is indicated that all Government vehicles are to be used in line with 'provisions of relevant Circulars'. There is a transition from a specific circular to relevant Circulars which is general. Interpretation of relevance in a sea of text circulars varies and what poses greater challenges is reconciling the provisions of relevant Circulars with the policy text. Assuming from that sea of texts surrounding the policy document, there are two with provisions speaking to the issue at hand, efficient utilization of the Public Service Vehicle fleet, which provision would take precedence and why?. Specifying the circulars and provisions that are applicable go a long way in mitigating varied interpretations, and confusion that may arise at implementation stages. Specifying circulars and applicable stipulations will make them user-friendly as a point of reference. As some researchers have noted, some texts (circulars) are very transparent while

others are more or less opaque to particular interpreters, interpretation is sometimes unproblematic but sometimes complex and highly reflexive invoking conscious thoughts about what is meant or why something has been structured in the manner it reads.

Interpretation which is critical at the discourse practice level is complicated when other texts supporting the policy apart from circulars are analysed. It is recorded that a Commission of Inquiry into insurance and pension values was constituted to address concerns of policy holders and pension scheme members. The Insurance and Pensions Commission (IPEC) drawing on findings and recommendations of the commissions, “is strengthening its *supervisory policies, frameworks, manuals and guidelines*”. Although the highlighted texts are essential, they are non-existent and there are no stipulated timelines when they will be circulated. Also, the People’s Own Savings Bank (POSB) has similar-oriented texts which are not time framed. POSB under TSP will engage a strategic partner to assist in its capitalisation. However, the strategic partner can only be engaged when restructuring *guidelines* are crafted. Even before they are crafted there is need to constitute a Technical Committee that will drive the process for engagement of a strategic partner. It is stated that membership of the committee will be drawn from parent Ministry of Finance and Economic Development, Office of President and Cabinet, Attorney General’s Office, Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, The State Enterprises Restructuring Authority and POSB. However, it remains unclear when the composition of the technical committee will be done as well as its size.

There is a possibility of the existence of texts lying somewhere with the relevant information or if non-existent, it means there is need to generate a text with the requisite information so that the implementer has sufficient guidance. Additionally, one notices the ‘loose’ use of the term technical committee. For instance we have a technical committee composed of focal persons from line ministries which identifies “gaps in the implementation of policies, programmes and projects and make appropriate recommendations”. Yet again, there are other technical committees in other institutions notably Agribank where its brief entails ‘overseeing and managing the bringing in of a strategic partner’. There are even more technical committees for state enterprises and parastatals which in some instances as revealed in Table D. State Enterprises and Parastatals earmarked for mergers are yet to be formed. With technical committees dotted all over the institutions and one superintending implementation at a higher

level due diligence has to be applied in determining active committees and operational ones in specific policy implementation situations. In the case of POSB, after composition of membership from constituencies cited, it is said the Technical Committee will superintend over the many areas including, “preparation of Transaction Information Memorandum and Prospectus by the Technical Committee and Financial & Legal Advisors”. It is not clear which technical committee is operational here. It would require reference to a text that clarifies the area so that there is generic interpretation. Clarification on technical committee is required alongside time frames for production of the requisite *memorandum* and *prospectus* lest implementation initiative is weighed down heavily.

In the family of texts not yet developed but serving as a support structure to TSP are some enabling legislative Acts. The texts are a support structure in the sense that the policy draws from these for sustenance. In intertextual terms the policy is constructed on the basis of anticipated texts which are currently non-existent at least in practical terms. An example is that of legal reforms around the ease of doing business narrative where it is stated that, ‘promulgation of the enabling legislative Acts’, will be initiated with the Government ensuring that all *laws, regulations, administrative guidelines* and *policies* on investment are enacted procedurally. The legislative Acts in conjunction with the highlighted are examples of texts not yet developed and time framed but are critical in the implementation matrix.

In the same context of enhancing the ease of doing business mantra, there are a number of Bills that have to be developed. These include the NSSA (National Social Security Authority) Amendment Bill and Manpower Planning and Development Amendment Bill both of which are said to be ‘waiting for principles to be approved by Cabinet’. The crafting of the policy text is such that it flights obstacles in the face of implementation. In this Bills which will activate processes to facilitate ease of doing business are yet to be developed and the period for which this is to be accomplished is not provided. To compound the problem it is the Cabinet which should provide the principles and guidelines. Also, the Cabinet can approve or disapprove the principles, herein lies potential paralysis in the policy. As an implementer you are thrust in a situation where you are expected to deliver but with tied hands as there are some processes that are beyond your control which should trigger the initiative. Given that there are no specific

timeframes when the input from external sources should materialise then there is likely to be indifference on the part of the implementation drivers. Clear guidelines and procedures will expedite the implementation process, a feat which is glaringly missing in the yet to be developed Bills set to propel the ease of doing business initiative.

There are some Acts, though, that have been promulgated into law for the ease of doing business drive. These are cited as the Public Entities Corporate Governance Act of 11 May 2018 and the Insolvency Act of 25 June 2018. In other contexts examples of texts yet to be developed include *collateral registry regulations* by the Reserve Bank meant to facilitate access to finance by marginalized segments including Small to Medium Enterprises (SMEs), women and youth. Also, the Civil Service Commission is yet to develop a *remuneration framework* that will establish a standardized remuneration baseline for all employees so that discrepancies in the conditions of service for civil servants are eliminated. The provision is silent on timelines for the production and adoption of the critical document, leaving the process to speculation. The same framework for executive management at State Entities is 'ongoing and will be brought to Cabinet in due course'. Due course is not specific enough to be concretised so it is possible for the status quo persisting owing to inertia as there is no urgency and specificity in the task of generating the desired text. Lack of traction is likely to be experienced in the work on *cooperation procedures* meant to spell out rules for engagement with development partners and define roles and responsibilities of stakeholders. The text which the policy uses as support structure for sustenance among a sea of texts surrounding it is yet to be formulated and the implementer does not know when it will be accessible. State Entities are expected to convene annual general meetings and submit detailed annual reports to Parliament. Additionally, it is stated that *audited financial statement* "must be produced and submitted on time". Concretising the concept of 'on time' is difficult as it is fluid and can be interpreted variously which can result in lack of coherence between policy formulation and implementation.

Other examples of texts which the policy connects with through prospective orientation or anticipation include *strategic plans* and performance management *contracts* which in the case of State Entities "must be in place by 31 December 2018". The texts have not yet been developed but there is a deadline in which they should be produced. Development *plans* though are not

time framed. The development plans are in line with the Government devolution thrust in which more governance and administrative powers are delegated to provincial councils and local authorities. In connection with theoretical underpinning of the study, it is explicitly stated that:

Provincial economic development *plans* will be characterised by extensive *bottom-up* consultations at the Village/Ward, District and Provincial levels. The consultations should include the private sector and Development partners who are key in resource mobilisation and deployment in the planning process (502).

Although the provision resonates with theoretical grounding of the study it is the text, *plans*, which for lack of specific time frame in production and adoption terms, places actualisation of these in a difficult situation. Interpretation of the development plans at the grassroots level for which it is anchored can be a difficult proposition in addition to lack of procedures involved in the consultations. *Audit reports* and *audit results* fall into the category of texts yet to be developed but from which the policy sustains a life.

There is also the case of the 100 Days Rapid Results Initiative (RRI) methodology which is a text covering implementation framework, monitoring and evaluation of aspects of the Programme which is mentioned but not readily available. It is not clearly spelt out how the implementer will access the document so that it is applied. Apart from that, it remains unclear whether the instrument is applicable to all situations. The policy text opens room to many questions whose answers probably warrant generation of support texts which unfortunately can be the subject of misinterpretation.

The sea of texts surrounding the policy however includes implementation matrices and annexures whose full details are presented in the descriptive level of the three dimensional model. The texts facilitate easy access to information that is useful at the implementation stage. The policy document as noted is largely connected to texts which pose challenges for interpretation and subsequent implementation of the policies. There is a quick sand foundation on which the policy is anchored which makes it delicately poised to crumble. The weakness deriving from sources of sustenance in the form of texts feeding into it, predispose it to misinterpretation and lack of traction which decreases chances of effective implementation. Table 7 below which is on intertextual connections playing out in the policy covered in this

section, identifies and describes some of these texts with the view to bolster the argument around interpretation and implementation.

Text Description	Examples from TSP
Retrospective orientation	Inaugural address 24 Nov.2017, National Budget Statement 7 Dec 2017, Inputs from various stakeholders. Election results
Prospective orientation (Long term)	Vision 2030, SDGs, AU Agenda 2063
Not produced yet & no timelines	cooperation procedures, audited financial statements, relevant circulars, comprehensive matrix, supervisory policies, manuals, evaluation framework,prospectus,memorandum, other projects, restructuring and administrative guidelines, investment policies, audited reports and results, legislative Acts, NSSA Amendment and Manpower Planning Development Amendment Bills
Not produced yet but scheduled	strategic plans & management contracts (31 December 2018), 100 Days Rapid Results Initiative (RRI) methodology
Co-circulation	Constitution
Available	implementation matrices, Public Entities and Corporate Governance Acts, Circular Number 5, 2011.Preliminary matrix

Table 7: Intertextual Linkages

The table above captures texts to which the policy is connected and the examples cited relate only to the sea of words and texts referred to directly. The table does not profess to capture all the texts connected to the policy as it is certainly not a practical and realistic engagement owing to numerous examples playing out in the text. Also, the categorization has potential overlaps in some of the texts. The retrospective orientation category is modeled specifically on the basis of texts that were used in formulating the policy. These texts are not attached to the policy but they have to be sourced from somewhere not specified which is reality that inevitably debilitates authentication and verification of provisions enshrined in the policy. In the case of texts relating to stakeholder’s input, there is lack of clarity on who exactly falls in this matrix and where the texts whether oral or written can be sourced. On the Election results, one has to be privy to the legitimate but hotly contested text in the custody of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission (ZEC).

Ironically, the policy strives to “harmonise various scattered legislative pieces” through the creation of a, “One Stop Investment Service Centre” envisaged to attract investors. By the same token there are scattered texts speaking to the policy, notably the retrospective oriented sources, that could be packaged into an omnibus vehicle, a one-stop shop facility, readily accessible for expeditious implementation of policy. Literally the one-stop shop facility allows one to buy everything he/she wants under one roof. Fragmented texts toss those concerned to and fro in search of the bits and pieces that need to be gathered to obtain a complete picture. Even then the texts are interpreted differently, get lost or may not be able to reach their intended destinations. Custodians of the texts are located in different organizations with different traditions and practices so engagement with them in pursuit of requisite documentation can be a stressful, nightmarish and in some instances a wild goose chase.

Pursuit of the scattered documents can turn out to be a fruitless venture as online sources are not accessible to many lacking connectivity among many other issues. The same applies to hard copies whose nemesis lies in prohibitive costs associated with production of copies of the texts. In the absence of verifiable documentation, it is exclusively the interpretation or even misinterpretation of the policy makers that gains currency carries the day as the implementer’s voice is relegated to obscurity. In reality though no interpretation is final so a policy maker should allow for authentication of documentation serving as support structure to the policy document unless it is destined for undiscerning implementers. The category of long term oriented texts to which the policy relates consistently covers the aspired vision, goals and agenda. These documents with a long term prospective orientation connect with the policy as they articulate aspirations that are certain not to resonate with communities currently gripped by severe socio-economic challenges. The Presidential Vulnerable Households Input scheme targeting, “over 2million vulnerable households” is an indication of poverty stricken communities which are not easy to galvanise for social cohesion. While the consolidated Vision 2030 text is not readily available, there are instead fragmented bits and pieces of it scattered in the policy document. In other words, the text is non-existent in a composite form; it can only be gleaned from the fragments that call on a discerning mind to construct. As for the SDGs and AU Agenda 2063 which appear in the annexures 2 and 3 respectively, they are uniquely disposed in the sense

that although they are available they are long term in orientation so they cannot be consigned to the category catering for texts that are merely available.

There is also a category of many texts consistently drawn from the policy on the basis that they will be developed later. They are not existent but are needed in various sectors but the major handicap is that the critical sources are not scheduled in terms of specific timelines in which they are to be in vogue. The oversight is akin to paralysis infusion in policy as it diminishes effective implementation processes. It is typical blurred forward looking with no certainty as procedure is flawed. The next category of texts not yet developed but has scheduled time frames are a slight improvement on the certainty balance as conviction is reposed in the given deadlines. The category of co-circulation is the preserve of the Constitution, a living document co-existing with the policy text. The Constitution cited extensively sustains and anchors the policy as attested by various provisions around socio-economic issues. Naturally, the Constitution is not sacrosanct and there will always be contestations and varying interpretations that can be further challenged and contested. The connection it forges with the policy is exposed by discourses playing out on the political landscape around the hotly contested plebiscite and the constitutional court verdict among many issues. The policy makes consistent reference to the Constitution which is beset with challenges threatening the way in which the policy is construed, perceived, interpreted and subsequently implemented. Available texts include those attached to the policy and others that can be sourced for use when needed.

The sea of texts and words surrounding the policy sustain it in various ways but they pose challenges around interpretation and subsequent implementation. Intertextuality thread in production, distribution and consumption areas of the discursive practices cracks the overt and covert issues in policy. As intertextuality informs, there is no text that can be interpreted and produce meaning in isolation. The association with other texts breathes life and meaning in a text. Pollock (1998:37) citing Kristina accentuates the view that texts present a unified meaning in combination with the social text. As such, as the author argues, texts have no unity or unified meaning on their own; instead they are thoroughly connected to on-going cultural and social processes.

More of the covert issues play out in ideological shifts and power dynamics bearing on policy, and are within the purview of socio-cultural practice. The dynamics further deepen appreciation; conceptualization and comprehension of potential seeds of failure embedded and entrenched in the official state text.

4.4.0 Explanation level

At the level of socio-cultural practice focus is primarily on the deep non-transparent issues connected to the text. The three levels of analysis are not mutually exclusive but they are inextricably intertwined. We will see how 'governance discourses' illustrated in Table 2 at description levels lay basis to consummation of ideology as the hidden feature in the text. More specifically, it is the nationalist ideology that resonates with the governance discourses among other features gleaned in the policy text. Focus is not on ideological construct as an end in itself but how its framing and propagation bears on potential end user of the policy. This allows for progressive analysis, through the given levels, describing, interpreting and explaining closely how the complexity that builds up relates with potential end user or reader of the policy. Insights on socio-cultural practices, concept of ideology and shifts lay basis to consummation of the nationalist ideology.

Social practice is all about the recurrence of chains of action over and over again in similar ways, kinds of situations and involving the same kinds of people. The social practice consequently begin to exert control over the people who carry them out so that it becomes an expectation, standard and operating principle of some sort in the way things are done. The expectations lay basis to world views and belief systems which nourish ideological issues in society. The belief systems enunciate particular social formations, instruments of power, and institutional frames within which particular sets of ideas are promulgated (Blommaert, 2005: 161). The policy has selected and organised syntactic forms whose content structure project ideological dispositions of particular areas of socio-economic and political life. We will see how the nationalist ideology has been modeled as an instrument, in the words of van Dijk (1995:18), to control, through the minds of members, the social reproduction of the society and representation of their identity, tasks, goals, norms, values, positions and resources.

Attempting to define the term ideology is not easy. As Blommaert (2005: 158) acknowledges:

...few terms are as badly served by scholarship as the term ideology, and as soon as anyone enters the field of ideology studies, he or she finds him/herself in a morass of contradictory definitions, widely varying approaches to ideology, and huge controversies over terms, phenomena, or modes of analysis.

There are specific ideologies attributed to individuals or schools, notably Marxism, Maoism and Mobutuism. There are some ideologies which relate to particular positions within a political system such as conservatism, progressivism and classism which in the main characterize actors who adhere to them. Ideology in the sense of the positions articulated stand for partisan views and opinions, and they encapsulate a particular bias characterizing specific social formations with specific interests. Other scholars emphasise that ideology cannot be attributed to one particular actor and is not located in one particular site (such as a political party or a government), but that it penetrates the whole fabric of societies or communities and results in normalised, naturalised patterns of thought and behaviour.

An ideology can also be viewed as a distillation of normal perceptions of the world views and naturalised activities holding social relations and power structures, and the patterns of power that reinforce the common sense (Foucault, 1975: Barthes, 1957). Blommaert (2005) cites capitalism as an example of an ideology in that it is seen as the overall system in which contemporary societies develop, and that it is a prototype of such ideological processes which have become so natural and normal as a frame of reference for thought and behavior. Yet some scholars view ideology along socio-political, socio-economic or socio-cultural system of ideas and principles applicable in a polity. In the matrix you would have say democracy, socialism and chauvinism, respectively, as ideologies. There is certainly a morass of varied perspectives and interpretations of ideology thrown around in discourses.

In the mix, the study presents a strong case for the nationalist ideology which is informed by discourses speaking of nation building. The text proclaims a paradigm shift, which entails a break with the past and reconfiguration of a purported 'new nation state' under the New Dispensation narrative. The nationalist ideology propagates a shared world view anchored on unity,

assimilation tendencies which entail marginalization and exclusion of people and ideas that do not fit into the model. The discourses around the nationalist model among other intricacies encapsulate partisan views and opinions and participation on global stages with other nation states. The speaker (or writer) expresses ideological content in texts and so does the linguistic form of the text (Dellinger, 1995). The policy text is loaded with the overt and covert discourses that project ideological dispositions which have implications for the implementation of the policy. The background to this study offers insights into ideological shifts marked in the post-independence policy texts which are illustrated in Table 1 above.

4.4.1 Nationalist Ideology

The background to the study succinctly captures economic blueprints in post-independence Zimbabwe around three broad phases of distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies. Table 1, illustrates date of launch and the period covered by each of these economic blue prints before the TSP. It has been indicated that at the dawn of independence there was euphoria and exuberance that gripped the nation. The newly emerging nation state that had ostensibly dismantled colonial structures readily embraced the socialist ideology. The socialist orientation was a natural connection given the objective reality that the capitalist structure had been dismantled with support rendered in the main by the socialist and communist governments. The ideological thrust as explained resonated with the expectations of the nationals who had invested and sacrificed in the protracted liberation project. While inclination was on the social path in the first decade, redistributive policies were pivoted on a trajectory to revive economic pillars where lip service had been paid as the social services thrust ensued. As implied, this phase served a wake- up call to the nationals that the 'honeymoon of freebies' had to make way for sustainable economic initiatives premised on capitalist ideology. We have seen how in this phase, for example ESAP as an economic policy, owing to suffering that visited the people during its tenure, had cynics nickname it 'Economic Suffering of the African People'. Inevitably, with the ideological shift marked in the text entailing pain, sacrifice and perseverance, there was bound to be revulsion and dissenting voices. In reality though as highlighted in the background, we see how governance is all about text and in this case it is the text that is carrying ideological dispositions. Focus was on economic revival as social services were curtailed in the sustained ESAP project which as noted involved austerity measures which engendered pain and suffering. Given the

austerity measures and the long term vision encapsulated, one identifies insincerity and duplicity on the part of the 'new government' when it stipulates in the TSP that:

There was never a concerted Vision of implementing more longer-term strategies that entailed pain and sacrifice, extending beyond short- term populist consumptive interventions (1787).

Contrary to the assertion that the preoccupation prior to the TSP is populist and lacking long term strategy, ESAP and even Vision 2020 covering the period 1992 to 2020 reveal otherwise. Therefore the Vision has always been there as well as attendant sacrifices unleashed by economic policies.

As noted the economy progressively went on a downward spiral. One of the factors that contributed to the economic decline has been cited as the unbudgeted 1997 doling out of \$50 000 gratuities in the local Zimbabwe currency to each of the more than 50 000 war veterans of the liberation struggle. There was also the fast track land reform programme targeting productive land for redistribution to landless blacks. This was followed by the withdrawal of funding by the IMF which propelled the government into a panic stricken mode marked by a phase of rolling out unpredictable policies. Part of the panic emanated from the emergence of the opposition political party, MDC as a competitor of note on the political landscape.

The text in the third phase, as noted in the background, is driven more by expediency as opposed to clear planning as policy makers exhibited an implement first, and legislate later orientation. There was political competition threatening to upstage the ruling party in a period the economy was on a tailspin. The socio-economic order stabilized with the onset of the Government of National Unity in which the social and economic ministries were under the opposition and ruling parties, respectively.

The harmonized elections of 31st July 2013 were overwhelmingly won by the ruling party. There was polarisation in the society along political lines. Relations with the Western world were frosty owing to their alleged support for the opposition, and the sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe. In the case of sanctions, ZIMASSET text says:

Zimbabwe experienced a deteriorating economic and social environment since 2000 that was caused by illegal economic sanctions imposed by the Western countries.

The same text claims further that it was the policy of empowering its people through the:

Land Reform Programme which resulted in Britain and its allies imposing illegal economic sanctions on the country after year 2000.

In essence we have perceived threats to ruling party in a society searching cohesion. The circumstances and realities inform the pursuit of the nationalist ideology. As Friedrich (1965) observes, nationalism is a complex term with many different facets, interpretations and usages. Also, he acknowledges that nationalism and ideology are commonly used words, very broad and abstract, always misunderstood and misapplied by theorists and laymen alike. Given the background of lack of social cohesion and complexities around concepts, nationalist ideology will be presented in this study as a world view or a belief system of a group that holds the people and nation together. In this case there is a prescription of certain kind of action that puts the nation and its people at the forefront of concern. Associated with this view is the belief that each nation is a natural unit and the basis for the organization of any socio-economic and political activity. What are pivoted are the overarching values and goals that anchor the polity. Therefore in the extended third phase of regulatory policies in which interrogation of the nationalist ideology and nationhood imperatives are topical, one easily locates ZIMASSET and TSP policy texts.

As the immediate predecessor to the TSP it is imperative to see how the nationalist ideology plays out in ZIMASSET. The focus enlightens framing of nationalist discourses and recurrent issues fossilized, downplayed, and even denigrated in the TSP. The current policy text short lived the vision of its predecessor consequently consigning the programme into the archives. The successor policy draws significantly from ZIMASSET by way of implicit references and purported avoidance of potential areas of convergence which makes diligent readership question the logic of dismantling the structure (dumping ZIMASSET) yet in reality its core values are still projected in the new order.

ZIMASSET premises the nationalist ideology on outright partisan basis. It is stated in the policy that Zimbabwe has enjoyed peace and stability which is a conducive environment for socio-economic growth and development. In the Election of 31st July 2013, it is explicitly stated that

the ruling party, ZANU PF, posted a “landslide victory” and this places the burden of the socio-economic and political agenda in the hands of the winner as principal actor. The policy stipulates:

As the country moves forward , post the 31st July 2013 Harmonised Election, there is urgent need to put in place an economic blueprint that is guided by the ZANU PF Manifesto and the Presidential Vision as encapsulated in His Excellency the President’s Inauguration Speech delivered on 22 August 2013.

To bolster the partisan dynamic, ZIMASSET audaciously refers to implementation of the plan as informed by, “ZANU PF central committee report to the 13th National Peoples’ Conference of 2012 which gave birth to the ZANUPF Manifesto”.

Also, ZIMASSET can afford to extol virtues of freedom fighters interred at the “national heroes’ acre” which even requires an “extension”. In the TSP objective conditions, reference to such an institution is almost a taboo because of the weak glue that holds the pieces together. For example, the dominant opposition party has always bemoaned appropriation of the national shrine by the ruling party. The Government through ZIMASSET says unequivocally that as victors in the elections, they can build the nation and inspire the national vision on partisan grounds. In the grand scheme of things, given the obliteration of the opposition in the elections, what needs to be guarded jealously is, “the country’s hard won Independence and maintain peace and security that will guarantee Zimbabwe’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, economic growth and prosperity”.

It is apparent that in framing this nationalist ideology, the Government felt threatened more by the ‘outsider’ than the ‘insiders’ as they had express mandate tucked in the bag. The exhibition of forthrightness, conviction, and the brazenness is manifest for the ruling party is emboldened by the landslide victory. It is a luxury that the current policy can ill afford owing to lack of ‘landslide victory’ flaunted by ZIMASSET. As the latter policy makes definitive marks in print through ‘seen’ text, the current thrives more on implicitness, and the ‘underworld’ to project almost similar discourses hence the need to crack beneath the surface using CDA lens. The context of the TSP, amplified at the interpretation level of the multidimensional model, explains why on the critical nationalist discourses, it is low key, subdued tone and even mute. Even as legitimate winner of the poll, the TSP gropes for internal and external support. The question that lingers

relates to how the policy text models the nationalist ideology and potential gaps conspicuous therein that can foil implementation.

The entry point to the TSP as a reforms agenda is through as explained, in the textual structure at description level, the logo with the running motto 'Unity. Freedom. Work'. Anchoring that motto or the core values driving the national agenda is the nation Zimbabwe marked in bold print succinctly placing the reforms agenda encapsulated therein. The overarching primacy of unity is marked by being fore grounded in the set of the three values, and its pervasiveness in direct and indirect references in the policy text. The message so implied is that unity is critical in driving the nationalist ideology. Directly and unequivocally, in the policy text it says there is need for, "promotion of Unity across the country and healing wounds of the past". Indirectly, there is a proliferation of terms which embody the notion of unity, evident in the text. At description level of the operational three dimensional model, *inclusive* and *inclusivity* are terms which feature prominently in this matrix, through associations and connections to various socio-economic and political issues dotted in the text. The message seems to be that it is unity that is a catalyst in solidifying the dynamic link between man and his government.

In the absence of unity it would be difficult to forge cohesion that can torpedo threats to the polity. In the same context of cohesion can be located as noted, the President's "strong appeal" to all but the aggrieved and sore losers to put "Elections behind us" and "collaboratively participate fully" in the reconstruction of the economy. The hotly contested plebiscite the President refers to, potentially threatens the fabric of the society. The attempt is to assimilate all and sundry to the national project. Divisions along partisan lines negate social cohesion and consequently the espoused nationalist ideology, and hence, the presidential plea. The body politic was evidently dealt a blow by the contestations around the electoral process. Even after the Constitutional court verdict in favour of the ruling party presidential candidate, there was resentment and the opposition party's refrain and default position is that the incumbent President is 'illegitimate'. In a turn of events the Supreme Court in April 2020, invalidated MDC-Alliance, Nelson Chamisa's ascension to the leadership position as it was fraught with irregularities making him 'illegitimate'. Chamisa had railroaded MDC-T structures to appoint him acting president ahead of other co-vice presidents Thokozani Khupe and Elias Mudzuri. The perception among the opposition

members remains that the judiciary is politically compromised and that the court is being deployed to destroy the party. Part of the concern is that the judgment was delivered nicodemously during the lockdown. These are issues playing out behind the scenes but which impact negatively on the envisaged social cohesion.

The critical mass which potentially remains embittered as illustrated at interpretation level, is huge, a feat compounded by pockets of dissenting voices from G40 elements within, and outside in the rank and file of the major opposition party. There is also the configuration of factions within a political party which coalesce around perceived, prospective or ambitious contenders to the throne. The perceived factions in the ruling party pitted the President in one camp and the first Vice-President who was instrumental in the soft coup which saw the demise of the so called First Republic in the other. Therefore the strong appeal for cohesion set to drive the nationalist ideology is warranted in these circumstances.

Unity is one of the pillars anchoring the 2030 Vision which the policy text stabilizes. TSP provides that the aspirations of the Vision are anchored by values and objectives inclusive of, “Peace and National Unity” for it is unity that implicitly drives the “broad based participation in national and socio-economic development programmes”. Unity and peaceful co-existence are presented as the panacea to the realization of nationalist ideology for it fosters “social cohesion, central to moving the nation towards an Empowered and Prosperous Upper Middle Income Society”. In framing the nationalist ideology, the policy maker is using unity as bait to entice a divided society. The approach smacks of subtle assimilation and hegemonic tendencies towards a Government sanctioned project. Subtle reference and benefits of unity to nationalist ideology are fossilized in the following provision:

The Programme also acknowledges National Cohesion as a necessary condition for a peaceful and developing new Zimbabwe, entailing departure from the past omissions and commissions, peaceful co-existence of various segments of the society, including people of diverse political views (1764).

The provision is loaded in that it underscores centrality of convergence as a prerequisite to the new Zimbabwe but also providing for unity in diversity. There are shortcomings from the past which through finding each in harmonious engagement will develop the new Zimbabwe. Reference to new Zimbabwe underscores paradigm shift in which the trajectory reexamines,

repackages and rebrands the governance structure. The claim of a new Zimbabwe is embodied in the phrase “break with the past “under the auspices of the New Dispensation. The Government is claiming a new identity which will enable it to advance the nationalist ideology. The Government is therefore presenting a catalogue of national interests for the emerging new nation state that is being reconfigured. The New Dispensation ushered in with the demise of the late President Robert Mugabe’s government duly constituted the Second Republic after securing the mandate in the hotly disputed plebiscite of 2018. Mataire (2018:6) offers perspective to consummation of similar oriented governments when he asserts that, historically, Nigeria, France, Spain and Ghana offer examples of countries that “historically ushered in epochs that were given the nomenclature of a Second Republic”. President Cyril Ramaphosa, who served as Deputy President under Jacob Zuma, spoke of a ‘new dawn’ for South Africa and the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC has been in power though since 1994’s democratic elections but the incoming President was talking of ‘new confidence’ and a ‘new hope’ in the ANC government.

In Zimbabwe the ‘new nation state’ projects a new image across the socio-economic political structures as highlighted in the policy text. For example in the process of economic reconstruction which the presidential foreword extols, envisages exhibition of a new culture modeled within the framework of “Getting Zimbabwe to Work”. The implication is that the country had drifted into slumber so it needs reawakening, and, “central to getting Zimbabwe back to undertaking real business activities that create tangible wealth and employment”. So genuine hard ‘work’ pivoted on, “zero tolerance to corruption” abysmally neglected by the so called Old Dispensation (as creative charge sheet, Table 3 reveals), defines the new dawn. On the political landscape, the new culture involves enhancement of the, “political governance and democratization” spaces. Democracy is set to involve reforming, “Zimbabwe’s electoral systems and processes”. Also, the new government will, “strive to abide by the dictum that no one is above the law and the law should protect everyone”, and this will thrive in a new environment of, “servant leadership”. The leadership in this sense endeavours to listen, embrace and engage

citizens in an interactive manner. In essence freedom as one of the core values will be nurtured in the new culture of tolerance, freedom of speech and association.

The nationalist ideology is also premised on a pedestal of a community of nations in which Zimbabwe is an active member. In this connection, “business and investor confidence is being renewed” under the Zimbabwe is open for business mantra. To this extent the TSP will work on reforms that will entail, not only a broad based citizenry participation in socio-economic issues but also, “re-engagement with the global community will be complemented by governance reforms ushered in by the New Dispensation from November 2017”. Although re-engagement with erstwhile hostile nations may appeal to readers or implementers of the policy, it is the inadvertent celebration of the New Dispensation achievements that will be objectionable given that within the new government there are some with affinity for the bygone era. The praise singing unwittingly rubs potential adherents in the wrong way, so to speak. Be that as it may, the New Dispensation puts it on record in the policy text that collaborations with cooperating partners would include, “recent pointers set out in the US legislation, the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA), as well as the road map towards Zimbabwe resuming membership to the Commonwealth”. Thus ‘new nation state’ targets removal of sanctions notably ZIDERA and rejoining the Commonwealth as part of subscription to the community of nations drive. The framing of the nationalist ideology can be illustrated and explained by many initiatives and proposed reforms within the socio-economic and political structures. Thus the policy text in presenting the nationalist ideology sets a programme of action, explains socio-economic political conditions and accomplishes this within the framework of a new national identity given as New Dispensation. However, there are overt and covert issues around the ideology with implications for actualization of the policy text driving the erstwhile ideology.

Framing the nationalist ideology underpinned by the ‘new nation state’, that is, new Zimbabwe claim is simplistic. Credibility of the new dawn claim is questionable given that it is the same ruling party manned by the same state machinery in the New Dispensation. Excluding the late former President and targeted senior members of the ill-fated old government but elevating key

members of that establishment including former Vice- President into the presidium of the so called new government is a façade. It is a case of old wine in 'new' wine skins scenario which makes it difficult to sustain and fathom the New Dispensation claim. There are even more deep seated issues around the configuration. Part of the complexity lies in the presidential foreword of the policy text wherein the President says his mandate derives from the 30th July 2018 elections which allowed “me to constitute its first Government” and subsequently refers to, “my Government” mission to re-engage the world.

Personal references are tantamount to personalizing the Government and even more profoundly it is a chilling reminder to all and sundry as to which authority figure is in charge. When the President claims that, “our immediate task is walking the talk with regards to fulfilling the electoral promises and commitments we made during campaigns for office”. The second person pronoun, *we*, and possessive pronoun, *our*, are exclusively denoting the President and cast that sought the electoral mandate and triumphed. This can be contrasted with the, *we*, and, *us*, embedded in the solemn plea, “a strong appeal to all stakeholders that we all put the elections behind us”. The President uses a totalizing strategy which obliterates differences in that it regards the society as homogeneous. He tactfully acts as the mouth piece of all people in society by ensuring that nobody is left on the margins or fringes. This, according to Fairclough (2001), is an inclusive ‘we’, which assimilates people to leadership. The collective pronoun bonds the audience, which is priceless in politics. From an ideological point of view, the attempt is to make the society run in unison with his vision. The official state text is evidently carrying a certain ideological meaning that is forced upon the reader through the use of the collective pronoun ‘we’, which is serving as a coercive strategy designed to foster a collective approach to his proposition or vision. It is also a subtle attempt to foster national integration.

In committing the policy text the President becomes even more forthright in presenting the authority figure in charge of Government. He says, “I, therefore, commend”, “I, urge all” and “I thank you”. It is apparent in the latter that the second person pronoun, *you*, is an exclusive pronoun as it is targeted at the audience who are recipients of the gratitude bestowed by the generous donor, the President. He is adroitly placating the audience who in equal measure may reciprocate the gesture and run with his vision. The personal references and ubiquitous

presidential footprints dotted in the policy text as shown in the ‘governance discourses’ illustrated in Table 2 at the description level, eloquently tell the story of who is in charge of the government’s nationalist ideology. Further to this from evolving discourses playing out in the highly politically charged society a chilling reminder to those questioning the legitimacy of the incumbent President Mnangagwa is served by interim youth leader of ZANU PF, Tendai Chirau who says:

These calls are ill-conceived, regrettable and selectively ignorant of the fact that it is only Zanu PF as led by Cde E. D. Mnangagwa that has a mandate to lead the Government of Zimbabwe and any attempts to change that are tantamount to the usurpation of the will of the people of Zimbabwe as expressed through the ballots cast in July 2018 and affirmed by the Constitutional Court of Zimbabwe.

What is playing out here is a case of evolving discourses albeit on partisan grounds, combining forces with the ‘presences’ in the text to buttress effective charge and legitimacy of the incumbent President. It is partisan grandstanding exhibited by the ruling party youth leader. The grassroots structures or communities are expected to have emotional attachment with the magnanimous “Presidential Vulnerable Households Input Scheme...targeting over 2million vulnerable households”. The policy document will be kept on course in terms of tracking implementation courtesy of the, “Presidential Electronic Dashboard”. The President’s invisible hand is connected to a wide array of issues in the policy. Also, the pieces of legislation to be passed merged and Bills to be enacted into law alluded to at interpretation level, need the presidential assent to be operationalised as Acts. Therefore the President’s power in driving the national agenda in implicit terms is phenomenal. Directly, the late former President Mugabe is referred to 3 times directly, once by name at point of entry to ZIMASSET in the preface as he commissions the document and twice as His Excellency, the President. Compare with 7 time direct references of President Mnangagwa (5 by explicit name, Mnangagwa and 2 as His Excellency, the President) which tells a story of pervasiveness and assertiveness in the policy text. The indelible marks the latter makes in the policy are profound in terms of controlling the nationalist ideology. Once again it is a reminder to those in doubt, and they are many, that he is in charge of the Government. The discourses also confirm the notion that texts are sites of struggle for dominance, and legitimation. The question that lingers though relates to the efficacy of advancing a hidden personal agenda in a policy text designed to garner social cohesion. Whether the strategy pays dividends or not is the question that critical analysts see for what it is, a potential gimmick.

The new Government and President interface takes an insightful dimension in TSP discourses notably, “Zimbabwe is Open for Business” mantra. The discourse as explained pivots the re-engagement drive set to promote national interests in the global community. The policy text clearly and unequivocally says that ease of doing business in the new government is imperative as it is, “consistent with His Excellency President Mnangangwa’s mantra that *Zimbabwe is Open for Business*”. The mantra is cast as the brain child of the incumbent President. In referring to the reform framework for specifically the Cold Storage Commission it is alleged that there is interest, “both domestic as well foreign investors attracted by the New Dispensation’s mantra, *Zimbabwe is Open for Business*”. The mantra is now cast as a New Dispensation initiative. In essence one sees conflation of the President and New Dispensation. In other words the discourse plays out the connection between the authority figure and new government. It is not only pervasiveness of presidential tentacles manifest in the policy text but compatibility of the new Government and President, they are the same entity. Given the supremacy of the government enshrined in the stipulation, “all Zimbabweans mandated to subordinate their power and will to the guidance of the laws made and enforced”, one could deduce implicit pronouncement of presidential hegemonic rule in society. A critical reader or implementer, fortified by detective work is bound to find the policy text objectionable. A red flag can be raised on how it takes the political contest to the text, and how it conflates the new government and presidency. Endorsement of the policy text is tantamount to endorsing the government and the President in equal measure.

Unity as a lynchpin of the nationalist ideology is fraught with ‘seen’ and ‘unseen’ issues that potentially debilitate the policy. In one breath there is consistent reference to the need for national cohesion yet in the other there is vitriolic attack on perceived sloppiness of Old Dispensation. The spirited and not so strategic attack of enemies who maybe within the ruling party, on the sidelines having been frozen out of new government or have found a new home in the opposition rank and file is patently divisive. The charge sheet improvised in this study captures a litany of the allegations against the old government. The new government is projecting a holier than thou image of saints and saviours. Glaringly missing in the policy is specific identity of the enemies leaving room to speculation and confusion. Identifying the

elements though realistically difficult, is necessary given the fuzziness of the label. Reincarnation of the old in the so called new government entails tainting the image of the current establishment as well.

Denigration of the old government is likely to produce unintended consequences in the sense that social cohesion needed for actualisation of the policy initiatives may not be realised. The probable boomerang effect speaks to negation of thoughtful analysis in crafting a policy with hurtful and hateful provisions. There is an attempt to hoodwink the gullible with the deliberative rhetoric. The other issue around unity as a pillar to the nationalist ideology pertains, “devolution of governmental powers and responsibilities to Provincial and Metropolitan Councils and Local Authorities”. In letter and spirit though the policy text says, “Zimbabwe remains a unitary State”. Commitment to devolution maybe halfhearted given the snail’s pace witnessed in the enactment of legislation giving effect to devolution of governmental powers but there is conviction in preserving the unitary governance structure. It would appear devolution is an attempt to bring the Government closer to the people and stem the tide of the opposition in specifically urban councils. The policy text seems to suggest that local authorities are bedeviled by innumerable challenges notably failure to, “enforce by-laws” and being a “drawback through widespread inefficiencies”. At face value it is just a legitimate characterization by Government as an interested party in governance and welfare of the citizenry. Detective work using CDA lenses reveals that the parentage of local authorities lies in the major opposition party. Chamisa cited by Matenga (2020:2) claims, “We control 28 out of 32 urban councils and he (President) lost in 2018. He cannot decimate us...He must leave the MDC alone”. Highlighting inefficiencies in local authorities can be construed as a subtle and calculated attack on the opposition party. The ruling party has consistently accused the opposition party of failing to deliver in local authorities they run, but the opposition party has continuously shifted the blame on Zanu PF, accusing the governing party of interference. The mantra has been ‘it is all because of Zanu Pf meddling’ that service delivery is poor. As Wodak and Meyer (2001) posit, texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance.

The two critical constituencies that should prop the nationalist ideology are fighting behind the scenes threatening to derail nationalist integration. The fights require extraction as they are beneath the surface including the information suppressed by the Government about its indebtedness and liabilities to the local authorities. Instead Government blames other players for bankrupting urban councils claiming, “Local authorities are owed large amounts of money with businesses and residents now owing the City of Harare in excess of US\$750 million”. The policy text also conveniently overlooks the documented narrative of incessant Government interference in the running of local authorities mainly on perceived inflated budgets. In this vein failure to approve budgets has incapacitated local authorities culminating in poor service delivery. Given the complexity, would Government celebrate success stories of local authorities which have the opposition parentage? Similarly it would be folly to expect an MDC-Alliance fanatic to rejoice at success of the TSP as it prejudices chances of taking over the mantle as ruling party. In any case the opposition is a political competitor with an alternative economic blueprint named, RELOAD. Celebrating a competitor’s achievements in a high stakes game like politics where it is a zero-sum game would certainly be anachronistic. The objective reality gives perspective to the force threatening the nationalist ideology, and subsequent effective implementation of the policy. Things happen the way they do owing to overt and covert issues playing out around ideological dispositions. A plausible claim in the circumstances would be that:

What is ‘said’ in a text is always said against the background of what is ‘unsaid’ – what is made explicit is always grounded in what is left implicit. Assumptions can be made concerning the ‘unsaid’, (Fairclough, 2003:17).

There are undercurrents in discourses, transparent and hidden which threaten fabric in society. As noted, national cohesion will promote unity in diversity across political lines. The giant step towards finding each between political parties for convergence is bolstered in the policy text. It stipulates that:

Government will continue to work with Civil Society and International Organisations and also open channels for dialogue with Political Parties to ensure that Human Rights concerns are adequately and timeously addressed. (1760).

The stipulation creates the scope for dialogue of political parties which has since given birth to the Political Actors Dialogue (POLAD) as a platform for the 2018 plebiscite presidential candidates. It is not a power sharing dialogue but a platform where opposition political actors are allowed to interface with the President, Ministers and government departments to offer

advice. While the invitation remains open to all the presidential hopefuls and their respective parties only the ruling party and a few political parties, the MDC-Alliance has spurned the offer. The major opposition party maintains that there has to be a dialogue between the ruling party and their political outfit only under the auspices of a neutral mediator. It disparagingly regards participating political parties as appendages of the ruling party railroaded to sanitise and legitimize a defective electoral process. The ruling party insists that the opposition party should come to the party on equal terms with the rest and even regards the dialogue as a success. Toxic politics threatens to plunge the nationalist ideology in turmoil. The policy text fails to define the scope, parameters and guidelines of the envisaged dialogue hence the misconceptions on application. The elections which the presidential foreword appeals to be regarded as bygone rears its head in political gymnastics threatening derailment of the ideology.

4.5 Conclusion

In this detailed chapter which is conveniently presented as a continuous block owing to the intertwined aspect of the three levels of the model analysis, there are multiple overt and covert discourses with potential grave implications for implementation processes of the TSP policy text. At textual analysis level an open coding system for the apparent intratextual discourses involved clustering concepts into categories, and ultimate themes which capture discourses creatively labelled. The discourses in the main relate to issues of conviction, commitment and forthrightness in provisions of the policy text. At the discourse practice level largely viewed in terms of intertextuality, texts in co-circulation and connecting retrospectively and prospectively with the TSP present issues of complexity which have implications for policy implementation processes. Fluidity in terms interpretation of discourses has implications for implementation of policy. Finally the framing of the nationalist ideology explained at the third level of the three step model viewed in terms of evolving discourses inclusive of the POLAD platform bears heavily on policy implementation initiatives. An aggregation of overt and covert discourses discernible at the three levels presents a strong case for connecting policy formulation and implementation. The next chapter presents a discussion of the major findings of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion of the major discourses covered across the three levels of text analysis, discourse and socio-cultural practices. The discussion opens with reference to the deployment of CDA across the three levels of the dimensional model of discourse analysis. The other areas of focus relate to the specific discourses at each of the levels of focus starting from description, then interpretation and explanation. As consistently argued in this research, the levels are interdependent thus making it imperative to regard them as a continuous block. The contentious issue that remains largely speculative relates to the motivation on the part of authorities or policy makers in crafting policies with potential 'deficits' that bear on implementation processes.

5.2 Discussion

There are intriguing discussion points that can be raised in this research. One of these relates to the efficacy of employing detective work in tracking the linguistic variable in a policy text. The levels of description, interpretation and explanation are inextricably intertwined. They overlap and depend on each other in providing for a critical and thoughtful analysis of texts. When analyzing evolving discourses as noted with the contentious dialogue, Elections, austerity measures and national constitution among many issues delimiting the scope of respective levels is difficult. An in depth description easily spills over into interpretation and explanation.

The boundaries of the levels are porous which can invite decimation of the artificial divides. Yet the mutual supportiveness of the levels can be viewed as a point of strength in the sense of providing greater intensity on text as both the overt and covert discourses fall within purview. Convergence of the three pronged dimension on a complete text provides for greater intensity on linguistic patterns that are cumulatively frequent and representing powerful discourses. Navigating the levels using the three step model across the intratextual, intertextual and ideological provides an extended out- reach in terms of scope. It is a position that counters Widdowson's (2004: 149) scathing criticism that CDA involves "cherry picking" from text "fragments which are discontinuous". It is the intensity and cross cutting capacity across socio-

economic and political discourses in a complete policy text that counters the argument around fragmented analysis. The analysis is not small scale and fragmented. It is a text that is a unified whole, functioning as a unit with respect to both structure and its environment. The text falls within the remit of what Halliday and Hasan (1976: 292) helpfully posit as, “The unity that it has is a unity of meaning in context, a texture that expresses the fact that it relates as a whole to the environment in which it is placed”. The three pronged convergence offers a general application that can be used to describe, interpret, analyse or critique social life reflected in text, power imbalances, social inequities, and illuminating ways in which dominant forces in society construct versions of reality that favour their interests (Van Dijk, 2003). The view puts paid to the talking point on the suitability of the model in cracking issues in the official state text.

At description level we discern contentious discourses which have been configured in the main within the scope of ambiguity. An example of such discourse is the Command Agriculture programme. As noted the programme is designed to capacitate farmers with various support systems including inputs. On paper it is a noble initiative which should be supported by all given that Zimbabwe is largely an agro-based economy. There are however hidden issues connected to the programme which makes it difficult to sell the noble initiative. Part of the reason lies in that the beneficiaries of the land reform programme are associated with the ruling party which gives the perception that it is partisan. Therefore the critical opposition mass on the fringes, malcontents and detractors have largely been skeptical of the Command Agriculture programme. Playing out in the public domain is a scandal programme as noted in deliberations of the parliament portfolio committee on Public Accounts. The committee plays oversight role on financial affairs and accounts of government departments, state owned enterprises, and all departments funded from public funds. The programme was then the subject of Investigations into disappearance of some US\$3 billion misappropriated during the course of the programme incepted in 2016. There was no record of how the funds released by treasury to the programme were used. There was no documentation so the disappearance could not be accounted through the laid down systems. Authorities were clueless on how the funding was used.

The murkiness was not helped by explanation proffered by Ministry of Information permanent secretary, Nick Mangwana who said that Command Agriculture was a ‘special project’ not run

through any line ministry. We have seen how the programme deemed the brainchild of the incumbent President during his tenure as Vice- President in charge of social and economic ministries had criticisms from members at cabinet level within the same government. The Public Accounts committee leader, Tendai Biti was scathing in his criticism of the scandal ridden programme. He said it was the President's baby and as such it is remiss to expect him to address its attendant scandal and opacity as it was tantamount to expecting a mosquito to cure malaria. Therefore there are issues, more specifically negative discourses associated with a programme which the government professes to be noble. A mammoth programme which is the lynchpin of an agro based economy requires explicitness in terms of how it will be rolled out. The negativity attached to the programme spilling into public discourses heightens pessimism which confuses implementers. This makes the case for sharpening of the linguistic variable imperative. Procedures around roll- over of the programme should be enunciated closely.

Application of austerity measures which are at the centre of the TSP as a reforms agenda like the contentious Command Agriculture make a strong case for use of explicit language and procedures in a policy text. The stipulation that full implementation of the programme, "will entail pain and need for sacrificing short term gains for longer term prosperity" without succinctly explaining procedures and mechanics confuses implementation process. It would be very difficult to galvanise cohesion when conflicting signals are noticeable at a time austerity of measures. For example, red flags were being raised around issues anathema to austerity which include, buying luxury vehicles for members of parliament, flights in luxury jets by President on re-engagement drive, twin cab vehicles for chiefs, external medical service for government leaders, notably first Vice President Chiwenga, bloated cabinet and second house of parliament (senate) serving no discernible purpose.

It is in the language to explain the scope of austerity measures so that there is buy-in. Instead, austerity measures were hitting Zimbabwe's civil servants hard, as there were persistent threats of strikes and demonstrations. This was coming against the background of government footing huge bills for bloated entourages visiting regional and global events, hotel allowances and upkeep for several foreign missions. The government maintained that its austerity measures

were yielding positive results. The treasury department even recorded budget surplus of Z\$ 804 million between January and June 2019. The issue of budget surplus was however highly controversial as indicated at description level in that it was reported in local currency. Also it was difficult to fathom a budget surplus when education and health sectors were in paralysis owing to strikes for better remuneration. The fallacy of the budget surplus is given perspective by the following demands by the then striking doctors:

If they could pay their employees a salary of, for example, US\$500 in October 2018, then what civil servants are demanding is the same salary today. Yet, in order to receive the same value in Zimbabwe dollars, it needs to be at the prevailing interbank exchange rate of US\$1: \$15, which makes it \$7 500. However, if the same employee is currently being given \$1 000, then it means the employer has deprived him or her of \$6 500. As such, who has stolen from who? Who has wronged who? Thus, if there is anyone who should be taken to the Labour Court for breaching a contract, should it not be the employer? (Mbofana, 2019: 4).

Haggling over discourses in the policy can be mitigated when there is clarity on the use of what can be presented as strategic discourse in the policy. In the absence of explicitness there will be endless debate between the policy maker on one side and the end user on the other. The same dilemma applies to other salient discourses, notably the New Dispensation narrative and the dialogue which have been succinctly explained within the context of the nationalist ideology. With New Dispensation narrative, the Government is convinced it has to rebrand and 'break with the past', and hopes that the re-imaging would serve as bait to make people assimilate to espoused ideology. The Government as noted in the creative charge sheet, illustrated in Table 3, delivers devastating blows on the so called Old Dispensation. Discussion points around the narrative relates to lack of clarity on the identity of the denigrated old government. It is a structure without characters. If the old government is unmasked, the new narrative would be exposed for a façade, and as cynics call it, a "new deception". This may be so in terms reincarnation the old participants in a new project, anchored on the same political culture and habits. The language fails to delineate the scope of the rebranding and more specifically pronouncing identities. Failure to give identities of who should participate in dialogue leaves the initiative at the mercy of implementers who will interpret it differently and conveniently too.

Discourses presented as 'evasive' are illustrated in Table 6. The policy maker shies from committing to actual figures and numbers. The motivation could be lack of control on variables

influencing the projected numbers. While an argument can be made that when the size of figures is high it becomes difficult to work with concrete figures it is however lack of explicitness that presents an escape route for noncommittal or reluctant policy implementers. In any case figures cannot be thumb sucked; they should be informed by objective realities. When one presents a consolidated figure running into thousands, one should be in a position to disaggregate and account for the parts that constitute the whole. The 'evasive' discourses are many and the proliferation of the discourses raises concern not only about the quantum of uncertainty and elasticity in the text but also the underlying principle driving the discourses. If the policy maker cannot commit himself to a provision in the policy text why should they expect implementers not to do likewise? The evasion becomes an interesting talking point if considered alongside vagueness. Lack of clarity can be a strategy on the part of the policy maker to insulate himself from liability. When formulating the policy it is said as noted that there was widespread consultation of various stakeholders as well as 'other groups were taken on board'. The groups have no identity; they are operating under an anonymous banner. The policy maker is being tactful covering himself in the event of attacks for not consulting extensively. They can always use the fuzziness as a defence mechanism. Questions are bound to be raised around the openness, engagement and participatory levels in the formulation of the policy text. The policy maker is insulated from the anticipated criticisms which have potential credibility implications for the economic blueprint. As a safeguard to this the policy makers claims intense contribution from the various stakeholders will make cynics and the skeptical feel they are if they were not consulted they are part of the minority, and hence, should rally behind the majority. They are likely to introspect and be wary of the futility of not being in the mainstream. It is very debatable that there were intensive contributions from various stakeholders. Makova (2019:4) emphasizes forthrightly, "This is very debatable as no consultations were made among any of the stakeholders claimed and as such regrettable". Relating the policy text to the context brings into perspective the dimension of the critical opposition mass which has adamantly refused to close ranks with the ruling party for social cohesion. The opposition has not only trumpeted the illegitimacy card against the incumbent President but also spurned overtures to participate in the POLAD platform. The Government could be playing a 'mind game' in which they are spiting the major opposition with the possible taunting, 'although you as opposition are on the sidelines, we have more stakeholders on our side'. Consultations may have been done but they are

conveniently inflated to garner political mileage in the competitive market place. The bottom line remains that by being fuzzy at policy formulation level it spills over into the implementation where nothing concrete materializes. A practical example of vagueness can be illustrated with the critical discourse of jobs.

The jobs creation mantra resonates with socio-economic structures, as it is jobs that can combat poverty and deliver food and shelter. The discourses around jobs help unpack vagueness and serves as the launch pad to intricacies around interpretation. Interpretation of discourses is certainly an eminent discussion point. As a premise it can be reiterated that there is no interpretation that is final in the CDA conception. The fluidity makes it difficult to point any inadequacies involving interpretation of discourses, and this can complicate implementation process. The street level bureaucrats presented by Birkland (2001) as implementers of policy in the top-down model, are assumed to have good knowledge and capacity to deliver but they can have issues grappling with interpretation. This is so because at interpretation there is tolerance for variation which provides an escape route which can be abused by policy makers and can be confusing to end users and readers. For instance, in the policy text, there is a projected creation of “thousands of jobs directly and indirectly” in agriculture’s cotton production sector, revival of Zisco-steel is set to create an estimated, “3000 and 20000 in both direct and indirect jobs”, and the Coke Oven Plant is destined to create “over 500 jobs”. The heart of the matter lies in conceptualization of a job. What a job entails is a puzzle, difficult to untangle as varied interpretations are noted. The complexity can be illustrated with the envisaged creation of about 2, 2 million jobs during the tenure of ZIMASSET (predecessor to the TSP). At a Southern African Political and Economic Series (SAPES) discussion forum, panelist, Psychology Maziwisa then deputy director of information in the ruling party, commenting on the delivery of the jobs had this to say:

Okay, can I run through this very quickly, 2, 2 million jobs, yes we promised that. But you see what people tend to forget, and I want to say this on record and I hope it’s the last time we are saying this as Zanu-PF, we did not say we were going to create 2, 2 million formal jobs. We said we were going to create 2, 2 million jobs and when you define what a job is, it includes casual jobs. So for example, you can use the word job in this way, ‘I gave him a job to wash my clothes’. And that sentence is grammatically correct. We have created millions of jobs in the informal sector. In

fact, we have exceeded the 2, 2 million jobs. We are now, at the last count, including the informal jobs at over three million jobs (Sundog, 2017:5).

The ruling party representative presents a complex interpretation of a job which includes informal and casual jobs. As a matter of fact any form of engagement, whether once-off or structured, involving payment is deemed a job. This confuses policy implementation even more given that casual jobs as presented offer no record at all. In political rhetoric style the representative even suggests that the projected target has been exceeded. He became an instant source of ridicule something which reportedly never happened to then Vice President Emmerson Mnangagwa who two months earlier said Government had actually surpassed that target of 2.2 million jobs but did not receive brickbats and widespread ridicule. He said:

We have surpassed that. Look at the jobs created across the industries and those created through Command Agriculture, they are more than two million jobs and we will be creating more (Sundog, 2017:5).

What plays out is an intriguing case of two similar interpretations emanating from different sources and eliciting different responses. The variation is explained in terms of source wherein it would appear the more superior the source the more acceptable the interpretation.

The issue of source in interpretation of discourses warrants caution on the part of implementers. The ruling party as source of information will tell the reader or end user of policy that the poll is above and that it was conducted under the watchful eyes of local, regional and international observers. In other words the poll was thoroughly scrutinized by neutrals who endorsed its freeness and fairness. Additionally, the Constitutional Court verdict which handed down victory to the incumbent President makes Government legitimate. The opposition source provides a different interpretation peddling the narrative of a politically compromised and captured judiciary thereby trumpet the illegitimacy mantra. Reconciling the polarized points of view is not easy and shows antagonistic forces threatening cohesion. Interpretation of policy discourses is viewed on a partisan basis and beyond the text there is grandstanding in accordance with given positions. For instance, in a developing story,

MDC-Alliance Members of Parliament, took a stand to indefinitely 'disengage' from all parliamentary business in protest over the expulsion of four senior party officials who were serving legislators. Recall of the MPs was a culmination of a protracted leadership row between MDC alliance leader Nelson Chamisa and ex-party vice president Thokozani Khupe. Khupe won a court battle to lead the factious opposition to an extra-ordinary congress within three months to replace late founding president Morgan Tsvangirai. The grandstanding is ample testimony to lack of convergence in the interpretation of discourses. We see interpretation informed by the cap an interpreter is wearing. It is the intangible dog fights happening behind the scenes which must be combined with what is given in the text that should be combined to have a holistic picture. The visible is just a tip of the iceberg as illustrated in Figure 1 above.

The source or partisan dynamic in interpretation of discourses is amplified by director of information of the ruling party Tafadzwa Mugwadi cited by Matenga (2020: 2) remarking thus:

The progress that we have registered thus far is unmatched to the past...the national dialogue process and the relaxation of some aspects of sanction shows that indeed, we are on course....we however take note of challenges we have faced along the way, chief among them sanctions, climate change and a weaponised opposition grouping that has always been desperate to reverse the significant gains by way of bastardising the nation's image globally through spreading falsehoods.

The partisan interpretation of discourses is proffered against the background of the opposition denigration of the Government's alleged compromised judiciary and dialogue platform to which the ruling party instead offers a contrary view. The question that cannot be easily answered relates to which interpretation takes precedence. The ruling runs with a version at variance with that of the opposition. A distinct possibility is that at implementation levels 'street level bureaucrats' will proffer partisan interpretation. This will create paralysis and sometimes policies will be implemented not in the spirit in which they were intended. In such circumstances lack of rigidity poses grave challenges to policy implementation. It is not easy to determine which interpretation takes primacy over the other, and this is likely to culminate in endless debate around provisions of the policy which will to the detriment of expeditious implementation of the same. Also, as Blommaert (2005) argues, it is possible by way of interpretation to wrong the right text, and going beyond the limits of allowed interpretation. Thus across the levels of analysis, given their mutual dependence and interconnection, interpretation of discourses can

turn out to be a huge elephant in the matrix. At the explanation level, the purported 'new government' championing nationalist ideology narrative is also plagued by interpretation conundrum. The talking point as noted relates to appropriateness of the new identity, New Dispensation. What is it that makes the project new given reincarnation of old structures in the purported new government? The fuzziness of interpretation can be a bone of contention among policy implementers.

The discussion around interpretation and how it impacts policy is in essence an acknowledgement of the centrality of the linguistic variable in discourses around texts. The policy maker is not delimiting the scope for interpretation of discourses, and in so doing a case is being made on how the language through effective textualisation could capacitate the text and serve the situation better. Pursuit of the linguistic variable does not entail down playing or negation of exogenous factors in explaining policy implementation. The exogenous factors include resources in particular funding of the policy, knowledge and skills, public support, political will and commitment of implementing agencies and officials. The argument is that all these variables are critical but they are couched in transparent and hidden language. Unpacking this language gives an indication of what in reality is behind each of the variables. It will be then possible to discern for example inconsistency and contradiction or forthrightness and conviction to provision. Therefore the linguistic variable in anchoring and driving each of those variables is at a high pedestal. For example funding that is required in various sectors for effective implementation of the programme is couched in language that is not robustly explicit. Take the case of Agribank which for purposes of effectively delivering on its mandate of providing agriculture funding needs envisages, "raising its capital to US\$100million by 2020". In the example the importance of funding as an economic variable in actualisation of policy cannot be overemphasised. Language in which the economic variable is couched falls short in explaining how the capital will be raised and specific dates when the process will be initiated and when it ends. Vision 2030 is said to be premised on full and efficient utilisation of land and in this vein there is need for, "sustainable funding of agriculture".

The economic variable is also traceable in the re-engagement drive explained above where in TSP, "estimates indicate requirements of over US\$ 2 billion in lines of credit to kick start

investment activity in various sub sectors of manufacturing”. Being flaunted are colossal amounts of money needed for policy implementation to gain traction in the identified sector. However, the figures being thrown around are not only estimates but how they will be raised and over what period remains speculative. This is the same context in which the TSP acknowledges the “readiness of Development Partners to complement Government efforts towards meeting some of the funding requirements for provision of agricultural inputs”, should be understood. Funding is without doubt a prerequisite for policy implementation but when the provision simply says its ‘some’ of the requirements without specifying the quantum then its liable to varied interpretation which confuses implementers. The issue of development partners whose identities are not revealed has been queried in the same context where there seems to be lack of clarity between these and cooperative partners. There is also annexure 1 which as noted focuses on Trends in Per Income Growth which presents figures from 2010 to 2030 under technical headings inclusive of nominal and real Gross Domestic Product (GDP), inflation, population and GDP growth trends which complicates the technically (economically) challenged reader or implementer. However the figures help in unpacking the economic trends and this makes a strong case for the economic variable in policy implementation. The same applies to the ‘compendium of infrastructure projects’ identified for implementation under TSP. The compendium describes specific projects, their scope, location, responsible entity, milestones to 2020, technical assistance required, source of funding, *estimated* total cost, and 2019 and 2020 *proposed* allocations. It is the proposed amounts for each infrastructure project that among other issues highlights centrality of the economic variable. In many of the examples cited here, it is clear economist can make a strong case for funding as a critical aspect of policy implementation.

The linguistic variable is not dismissing the economic narrative in its entirety. The narrative is being downplayed on the basis that couched in ‘bad writing’ its impact is diluted. In the immediate example of a compendium of infrastructure projects it is very difficult to concretise estimates and proposals enunciated without clear time frames. Table 6 on ‘evasive discourses’ reveals the extent to which this language of projections and associated discourses is pervasive in the policy text. Pushing the economic variable which negates how sustainable funding will be realised, procedures involved in raising the needed capital, specific time frames when execution of individual programmes are initiated and concluded and quantum of agricultural inputs that will

be availed by unnamed development partners, complicates the work of implementers. It is riddled with a series of roadblocks, and typifies what Chijioke (1987:5) equates to a government without a definite plan of action being like a traveller without a destination who may cover many kilometres and yet not be able to say where he is going or how far he has gone. It is the lack of specific procedures and figures manifest in discourses such as “access to new loans” “funding requirements” “ensuring timely and adequate funding” that attest to embarking on a journey without a specific direction. It is a journey for which the intended destination is known (2030 Vision) but the direction is unclear. The direction requires sign posting for ease of access, and this is the role accomplished by the linguistic variable. The primacy of language in equal measure can be replicated in the other variables where discussion around critical discourses falling short over clarity has been amplified.

Proliferation of discourses of various shades including contradictions and inconsistencies, vagueness and complexity raises the stakes for lack of motivation to implement. The overt or presences in the text, combined with the covert issues that are cynically ‘subversive’ serve as crevices and cracks in policy predisposing it to fluctuation, especially in its implementation. Van Meter and Van Horn (1975:464) argue that policy-makers intentionally foster “ambiguities and contradictions” which predispose the policy to non-implementation ability. Schiffman (2006:45) amplifies thus, “The authorities want it to fail and have planned for it to fail by setting unrealistic goals”. The implication in the views of the scholars suggests that the deficits are fossilized in the text by design and not default. Are official state texts destined to fail, regardless of different circumstances and contexts? There are some policies that succeed and some that fail. The question around motivation remains largely speculative and conjectural.

5.3 Conclusion

At the description level the ‘seen’ or transparent discourses with a potential bearing on policy implementation have been clustered around structural features where the issues of complexity and density play out. The other clusters include commitment to provision in which forthrightness and conviction is located, optimistic discourses, contradiction and inconsistency, ambiguity, vagueness and fallacy. The interpretation level related the text to context within the realm of intertextuality. The meta-data that is the extra-textual information associated with each text

provides additional information about the text, their sources and circumstances of their production, beyond their textual content (Benoit and Herzog, 2015). The interpretation of the extra textual information has ignited debate which spills over into the nationalist discourses at explanation level. At each of the levels there are issues 'inside' and 'outside' the text which have implications for policy implementation. The discussion points revolve around appropriateness of the three step model of analysis which is marked by co-independence and interrelatedness. Interpretation has been explained as a complex issue in consummation of discourses. It has also been established that whether fossilization of crevices and cracks in text is by design or default remains speculative. The next chapter presents a summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

In the main the study has examined the potential linguistic gap between the TSP text and implementation of the policy using CDA as both and method. The evolving economic policy carries weighty overt discourses discernible at the descriptive stage which are potentially 'textual deficits' that debilitate actualization of the policy initiatives, interventions and provisions. Part of the baggage of the policy text comprises intricate covert discourses, extracted through complex thinking at the interpretation and explanation stages, which have grave implications for implementation of the policy. An integration of the overt and covert discourses presents a case for the direct connection between policy formulation and implementation illustrated in figure 4 above. Accordingly, there is ample scope to regard the linguistic variable as a critical factor in explaining the gap between the policy and potential implementation dynamics of it. Exploration of intratextual aspects of Zimbabwe's TSP policy document using the CDA method caters for the first objective of the study which insightfully triggers overt discourses that predispose the policy to implementation challenges. Reflective thinking reveals that even positive language use places end-users of the policy in an invidious position in which there are high expectations for delivery irrespective of prevailing circumstances. The language use whether positively or negatively disposed bears heavily on the attendant actualization of the given policy. Given the explanation and the view that other possible variables inclusive of socio-economic and cultural considerations are couched in language, centrality of language in explaining the gap between policy and implementation cannot be overemphasised. The language use as explained is part of the strategy invoked by the policy makers and authorities in the crafting of the policy wherein enunciation of dominant socio-economic issues employs language with implications for delivery of the policy. The linguistic strategies are apparent, subtle and hidden but what remains contentious is the motivation for use of such strategies. There the question as to whether invoking of the strategy in which there is entrenchment of 'textual deficits' in the policy text is by design or default on the part of the policy maker remains unanswered. The objective's thrust of 'what' the linguistic strategy entails has been unraveled while 'why' the strategy is employed remains conjectural. The third objective relating to an investigation of the extent to which Zimbabwe's TSP is constituted and constitutes varied dominant socio-economic discourses

inclusive of elections, austerity measures dialogue, budget surplus provides insights into topical issues playing out in the public domain which are liable varied interpretations that confuse the policy implementer. The interpretations of the discourses that are largely evolving provide scope to direct connection between the policy and its implementation dynamics. The interpretation of these discourses in CDA conception is not absolute. It is this diversity that potentially places implementation in paralysis. Finally the last objective critiques the extent to which ideological shifts potentially influence effective implementation of Zimbabwe's economic blueprint. An appraisal of post-independence Zimbabwe's economic policies culminates in the nationalist ideology whose lynchpins are unity, work and freedom. The foremost pillar of unity contains issues that militate against social cohesion, a feat that potentially paralyses implementation of the policy. Such issues include the New Dispensation mantra whose nemesis lies in denigration of the so called Old dispensation as illustrated in the creatively packaged by this researcher as the ' Old dispensation charge sheet' in Table 3 above. As revealed in the study, the objectives dotted t around the three stages of description, interpretation and explanation, enlighten apparent and hidden textual issues that potentially debilitate actualization of the policy document.

In this chapter there is presentation of a summary of the findings of the study, and the conclusions and recommendations of the study. The findings, conclusions and recommendations are discussed against the theory adopted in the study and the reviewed literature. The summary of findings will be discussed within the framework of Norman Fairclough's Three Dimensional Model which offers three levels of analysis, namely text analysis, discourse and socio-cultural practice. These levels translate to description, interpretation and explanation, respectively. The results and findings will be discussed in the sequential order of the levels presented in the study, and they will illuminate possible overt and covert discourses that predispose the TSP to implementation challenges. Discussion of the major conclusions drawn from findings will be related to objectives of the study, and they will cover the interrelated levels of the three step model of analysis. The recommendations will provide the scope for potential remedy and research.

6.2 Summary

The TSP is an economic policy strategy that contains a set of reforms and interventions designed to stabilize Zimbabwe's economy over the period October 2018 to December 2020. It draws its policy thrust from Vision 2030's aspiration of a prosperous and empowered upper middle income society by the given date. Appreciation, conceptualization and comprehension of discourses predisposing the policy text to potential implementation challenges are done within CDA framework. Deployment of CDA using specifically the three dimensional model of analysis uncovers, reveals and discloses overt and covert issues of a text as illustrated in Figure1. This involves combining the explicit and implicit in view of critical discourse analysis conception that what is given in a text rests upon the 'unsaid' assumptions, so part of the analysis of texts is to identify what is assumed (Fairclough, 2003:11). More clearly, the overt issues consist of the official, explicitly stated written policies as opposed to the unofficial, implicit and unwritten text. It can be emphasised that the overt and covert discourses are historical and are understood clearly with close reference to context. Delineating the scope of the presences and absences in text is not fool proof as leakages manifest as a result of evolving discourses whose in depth description involves incursions into other the interpretation and explanation levels. In that event the delineation is artificial.

6.2.1 Description

Textual analysis at the description level reveals discourses of various shades but with grave implications for the implementation of the policy. The textual structure for ease of access and reference has provisions which are numbered. There are matrices and annexures which call for references outside and beyond the main text. This can be explained in terms of density and complexity. The main text is by no means a one stop shop where all required services and products (documents) are accessed. The incumbent President commissions the policy text which he uses as a call to collective, inclusive and committed action for economic reconstruction. The tasks and economy is in presidential scheme 'ours' and 'we' have a role to redress challenges arising from economic fragility but it is 'my Government'. Thus the government in the latter reference is individualized and personified in the name of the President. In other references we also witness conflation of the President, and the so called new government, New Dispensation. 'Governance

discourses' illustrated succinctly in Table 2 show the extent to which presidential footprints are dotted all over the text. As New Dispensation narrative is bestowed with platitudes, a contrast is made with spirited denigration of the so called Old Dispensation whose purported shortcomings and misdeeds are creatively illustrated as charge sheet in Table 3. It is a catalogue of the alleged wrongdoings perpetrated by the old government which ironically was the political home of protagonists in the celebrated new project masquerading as New Dispensation.

At the level of description there are various discourses lacking forthrightness and conviction, notably the conveniently labeled 'evasive discourses' whose commitment to given provisions lacks conviction and concretisation of actual numbers and figures is not possible, and hence, they provide escape route to both policy maker and implementer. The quantum and pervasiveness of the 'evasive discourses' illustrated in Table 6; tell the story of uncertainty, doubt and lack of conviction in encapsulated provisions. Commitment to provisions is discerned in archetypical markers of modality which include the 'modal verbs' ,*can, will, may, must, would* and *should*, illustrated in the first modality analysis Table 4 above. For example, *can* and *may* engender optional positions as opposed to mandatory and compulsory positions carried by provisions marked by *must* and *should*. Incidentally the latter pair can be fossilized into discourses to enhance optimism. In this the end user or reader is given the confidence that provisions so enshrined are tenable. However, they can be construed as stringent conditions which constrain and stifle creativity. The optimism is enlivened by the case of *reforms, mergers, bills* and *amendments* not yet in place but for which planning is already done. In other words the policy is banking on what is not yet in place and by the same token expects the implementer to do likewise. The message from the text is that the end user of the policy should thrive on hope otherwise there are no guarantees that the desired situation will materialise.

There is contradiction and inconsistency evident in the policy texts. A definitive position is made to the effect that there will not be policy reversals so that confidence is reposed in the market. For example, with regards to the domestic currency the government was quite specific that a local currency would only be introduced after macro-economic fundamentals are put in

place. Instead there were statutory instruments flying above the policy text, decreeing changes to the contrary. Implementers were left clutching at straws. The policy shifts are noted in situations where some players in the market were allowed to charge for services and products in foreign while the rest were compelled to use the local currency. Licensing some players to sell in foreign currency though deemed good for fuel supply sends conflicting signals by authorities. The signals are conflicting in the sense that the government was at the time fixated on de-dollarisation, so they were now indicating right but turning left. The authorities insisted that allowing use of free funds, that is, foreign currency at the disposal of individuals, for payment of certain services and products should not be misconstrued as going back to dollarization. Instead it was viewed rather as common good for the country to promote the inflow of free funds from the Diaspora and necessary to buttress the confidence that is needed under the de-dollarisation process.

There is also ambiguity in the discourses which is noticeable at lexical and syntactic levels. Critical discourses used to illustrate lexical ambiguity are budget surplus, command agriculture, dialogue and austerity whose centrality is manifest in public discourses. In describing the evolving discourses what was playing out in the public domain deepened the scope of each of these. Suffice it to say though that these are central discourses in the policy but poorly served in terms of procedures and mechanics of implementation which inevitably complicates matters for end users. There are different understandings of each of these discourses whose description spills into interpretation. At syntactic level the government's positive view of the elections does not cohere with what is playing out in the public domain where a critical opposition mass trumpets the 'illegitimacy' card in the face of the incumbent President. The text is in harmony with top-down theoretical model, presenting a position which it hopes will resonate with socio-economic structures. The text uses many discourses which are patently vague, notably "all key stakeholders", "all sectors of the economy", and "consultation of all stakeholders". In all these instances the specific Identities are not provided. They remain anonymous, unmasked in the banner conveniently used by the policy maker. An arguable case of fallacy completes the discourses at the description level. In the case, the government claims the previous dispensation was deficient in that there was "never concerted Vision of implementing long term strategies" that entailed pain and suffering, instead they offered "short term consumptive interventions". It

is a loaded allegation which is not only a fallacy but patently vague. It is a fallacy in that there are previous policies notably ESAP which entailed pain and suffering and by no means smacking of populism. The vagueness lies in that short term and long term strategies are not clear in terms of scope. An aggregation of the discourses, extracted directly from the text, help in examining envisaged the direct link between policy formulation and implementation illustrated in Figure 4 above. The link dovetails with the TSP's concern that, "there is no coherence in policy formulation and implementation".

6.2.2 Interpretation

In summation, the second level of analysis connects the text with the context. There are texts in co-circulation, and some in retrospective and prospective linkages with the main text. The meta data, essentially extra textual information sustains the life of the main text. Therefore no text is an island in that it contains reverberations or echoes of other texts, and this view falls within the realm of intertextuality. There is the intertextual thread in production, distribution and consumption issues of the policy text, and hence, frames an objective of the study around it. At the production or text construction purview, associations with other texts are observable. For instance the policy text claims that in crafting the programme, "inputs of various stakeholders" who include business, labour, civil society and "other groups were taken on board". The consultations imply application of the hybrid theoretical model in policy formulation. Also, the constituencies consulted provided texts which gave life to the main text. For instance, 'other groups taken on board', who are anonymous unveiled texts which were, used in the construction the policy text. Also the policy text is indebted to the President "starting from his Inaugural Address on 24 November 2017, as well as the National Budget Statement outlined to Parliament on 7December 2017". These texts from the incumbent President draw attention and require that effective implementation familiarizes with them. The 'who' crafted policy is laid out as the 'how' question addressing the distribution and consumption of the text remains a grey area.

There are a number of texts 'hovering' around the policy texts which are illustrated in Table 4 above. In there is description of text types which include those with retrospective and prospective orientation, texts not yet produced with no timelines, texts not yet produced but scheduled, texts

in co-circulation and those readily available. The examples of each text are provided. The diversity of the texts attest to extraneous demands placed on the implementer of policy. At this level it is also clear that the main text is placed in the context of its production which includes the time, circumstances and the policy context. When the President makes a strong appeal to “put the Elections behind us” we are also alerted to the concept of text layering in which what is said rests upon the unsaid. There are other texts connected to the Elections manual which are implied and to understand their import you locate the given text in context. It is only then that that it becomes apparent that the Government which produced the policy text is a product of a hotly contested plebiscite. The point that can be amplified is that the ‘present’ connects with the ‘absent’. Interpretation within CDA is never absolute or final. It is flexibility with implications for implementers of policy. Interpretation of provisions of the policy text which sustains life from multiple texts is liable to multiple interpretations not only from multiple implementers, but also from an individual.

6.2.3 Explanation

Ideology which is defined variously is the focal point in this section. There is a call for collective and committed action to the text which is premised on nation building under the New Dispensation narrative. There is claim of a paradigm shift as the new government purportedly makes a “break with the past” or governance structures reminiscent of the overthrown government of the late former President Robert Mugabe. The New Dispensation hype and prevalence in the text is illustrated succinctly in the ‘Governance discourses’ in Table 2 above. Celebration of the ‘new government’ juxtaposed with denigration of the ‘old government” points in the direction of nation building under the banner of nationalist ideology. It is an ideology purporting to garner social cohesion, assimilate all under unitary governance structure and re-engagement for equal participation on the global stage. The President’s role in the nation building crusade is evident in the ubiquitous presence, directly and indirectly, in the policy text. The second Modality Analysis Table 5 above, at the description level, reveals how the President asserts control of what he calls “my Government” and that he has been mandated by the election outcome to take charge of government business. From the given table, we decipher the ‘catch all formula’ used the possessive pronoun, *our*, as a totalizing strategy structure that obliterates differences for assimilation to national project. Unity is a lynchpin of the nationalist ideology and there will be, ““promotion of Unity across the country”. Inclusivity is a recurrent feature in the

text clamouring for social cohesion. Beneath the surface, we discern not only critical opposition mass but potential internal malcontents in the new government with allegiance to the dislodged government. Given the perplexing reality, it is then surprising that the text unleashes a spirited self-defeating vitriol on the old dispensation for perceived sloppiness. Dialogue whose scope and parameters are not spelt out lucidly receives varied interpretations. The critical opposition mass has snubbed participation in the POLAD forum as it remains fixated on 'illegitimacy' of the incumbent and perceived flawed electoral system which would make participation in the forum tantamount to sanitizing and endorsing the poll outcome.

The text is evidently a site of struggle for power as we note the Government attacking local authorities for inefficiency. The local authorities are under the jurisdiction of the major opposition party. A comparison is also made between ZIMASSET and the TSP on ideological construct. The former coming against the background of a landslide victory by ruling party felt threatened more by 'outsiders' than 'insiders'. The TSP thrives more on implicitness, and hence, the subtle attacks on the opposition through local authorities. CDA lens penetrate the transparent and hidden issues connected to the envisaged nationalist ideology explaining how they pose grave challenges to implementation. Discourses play out the way they do owing to construction of the text and its attendant ideology.

In summation, one picks intratextual features at description, metadata complexities at interpretation and ideological dispositions at explanation which when aggregated present an alibi for the policy text's predisposition to non-implementability.

6.3 Conclusions

Significant conclusions are drawn from the case study research. It is apparent that economic policies have been rolled out regularly in post-independence Zimbabwe conveniently categorized into distributive, redistributive and regulatory policies. It is arguably in the extended third phase of the regulatory policies where we locate the TSP presented as a reforms agenda anchoring Vision 2030 designed to transform the economy into a prosperous upper middle income by the given date. The TSP brings to the fore the view that governance is text in the sense that socio-economic issues informing a government's direction finds expression in text. A text, more clearly in a written form, is therefore an indispensable instrument of governance. This

feat becomes even more profound when the weight of a text is subjected to a critical discourse analysis which reveals that the 'seen' is basically a tip of the iceberg. In other words what a text carries is loaded when viewed within CDA framework as the 'seen' and 'unseen' baggage becomes apparent. It is this 'baggage' that can be used to speak directly to implementation as illustrated in Figure 4 of the adapted policy making process. Creativity is marked by examination of the direct link between policy formulation and implementation, and complex thinking is engendered through application of a framework of analysis that does not only use the visible but also the implied discourses.

The transparent and hidden discourses constitute a formidable linguistic instrument located at a high level pedestal in a mix of variables that are individually and collectively deployed to explain the gap between intentions of a policy and its achievement at implementation stages. Exploration of the linguistic variable in the policy text lays bare concerns around effective textualisation conceived in the main as potential gaps, cracks and crevices and textual deficits. On the basis of the given focus, the TSP is potentially a problematic text with grave implications for policy implementation processes. It has to be emphasized that the instances of ineffective textualisation are not tantamount to generation of prescriptive statements about a policy text; instead the deficits are seen from a positive perspective in which they serve as ingredients in development of effective communicative acts. The linguistic evidence generated in the text help in forging the link between policy formulation and implementation. If one studies conditions such as aphasia and slips of the tongue, as Coulthard (1994) helpfully explains, it becomes a critical step in gathering useful evidence for how language is ordered in the brain. In the same way inadequate textualisation lays the basis towards consummation of successful textualisation. With the positive view of the research establishment it is incumbent to follow through the findings of the study and ascertain significant conclusions that can be proffered.

Exploration of the transparent, that is, intratextual features of the policy text reveals and discloses a variety of discourses that provide meaningful insights into the direct connection between policy formulation and the intended outcomes and achievements. The discourses play out at the descriptive level of the three dimensional model. The discourses are not necessarily

negative in the sense of exhibiting fatal flaws that debilitate the policy. Instead the discourses can be viewed as a linguistic strategy employed by the policy maker to inculcate forthrightness and conviction to provisions enshrined in the policy text. The overt discourses are in sync with the objective that relates to exploration of intratextual features.

Findings reveal that at textual level there are revelations to the effect that the policy text is not a one stop shop where all the requisite information appears in a consolidated form. Useful information needed for conceptualisation and comprehension of provisions of the economic policies is scattered, appearing as annexures, matrices and even circulars outside the main text. If this reality is juxtaposed with the case reforms, mergers, bills and amendments yet to be promulgated but which meant to guide the implementation process, a story of potential roadblock in the work of the end users is given perspective. In the latter case of documentation that is not readily available the policy maker is overly optimistic that the initiatives which are not necessarily within the control of the Government are expected to fall in place at convenient times so that they serve desired purpose at material times during the tenure of the policy. The optimism plays out in the use of positive language which does make failure an option. We have depicted how the second modality analysis schedule configures, *shall*, *should* and *must* carry the formidable weight in the sense of driving a mandatory and obligatory provision. The condition that is projected is unequivocal and stringent making the work of the implementer a straitjacket. The implication is that conditions, circumstances and context in which the implementation processes are rolled out are constant, in reality though there is room for fluidity. Thus precise directives do not leave room for implementers to exercise discretion and flexibility where and when the need arises. Crafting a policy in terms of stringent conditions stifles creativity and be a handicap to innovative implementers. The work is cut out for the implementer, and this can be contrasted with optional provisions encapsulated by the modal verbs, *can* and *may*. The conclusion that can be easily drawn is that the policy maker is deploying a linguistic strategy, consciously or unconsciously which categorises provisions into binding and optional positions. Planning on the basis of non-existent documentation in the form of specifically amendments to the national Constitution tickle the fancy of a critical eye in the sense that it gives away the machinations of the Government which through the express two thirds majority in the legislative assembly bestowed by the electoral process, will railroad necessary amendments. The amendments are

just an example of texts which connect and sustain the life of the main text captured succinctly within the realm of intertextual analysis illustrated in Table 4. A deduction that can be inferred from the textual linkages is that the boundaries intimated by the levels are collapsible. The description is providing for the amendments as a marker of optimism connects with texts echoing other texts performing various functions and the latter aspect spills into the interpretative level.

The other dynamic attendant with texts relates to limitations in terms of negation of specific and time framed schedules. The linguistic variable articulates the need encapsulated in texts that are to be developed but falls short in pronouncements of timelines which is left at the mercy of implementers. They have to search for additional supportive documentation which does not only make engagement with the text cumbersome but also renders it prone to the complicated world interpretation. It is a complicated endeavour in the sense that it is open to diversity which potentially fragments implementation processes. In the given circumstances, the argument that gains traction is that many of the variables that impact implementation can be regulated through a well-crafted policy. It is a view, corroborated by Birkland's (2001) observation that policy creators need to learn how to better 'structure policies', and how to better 'advocate for policies'. The fore grounded submission resonates with configuration of linguistic variable in the discourse around policy implementation.

Overt discourses exhibit concerning linguistic features from the point of view of implementation. Exploration of the intratextual features reveals what the researcher categorises as 'evasive discourses'. They are evasive in the sense that the policy maker does not commit to actual figures and numbers, instead leaves the implementer to grapple with estimates, projections, forecasts and envisaged positions. The concern has been, if the projected figures are not thumb sucked it should be easy to commit to actual numbers. There is a method that has been deployed to arrive at figures which should allow for disaggregation so that specifics are noted. When one sees the pervasiveness of the 'evasive discourses' in text construction it gives the perspective of uncertainty and doubt in the world view of the policy maker. The lack of forthrightness and conviction is heightened by the extensive use of qualified statements transmitted by discourses, notably, *hinge on* and *depend*. Crafting the policy on the basis of dependent variables that are beyond the control of policy makers complicates implementation processes. It is proliferation of

the discourses in the text that potentially seals the fate of the policy in terms of attainment of its deliverables. The discourses attest to weak commitment to provisions of the policy.

Commitment to policy that is weak is exacerbated by cases of ambiguity and vagueness. Socio-economic discourses, arguably the pillars of the policy text owing to their cross sectional appeal as noted in evolving discourses, are largely ambiguous. The discourses that have been used to illustrate cross cutting appeal are specifically, austerity measures, budget surplus, command agriculture and dialogue. The discourses as they play out in the public domain have given rise to different interpretations. The authorities proffer interpretations at variance with potential users of the policy. Location of the stumbling block rests in language which falls short in terms of explicitness and delimiting the scope of central discourses which as noted can generate conflict which militates against social cohesion. It is language that can unlock the puzzle, and the same applies to grey areas picked around lack of clarity around procedures and processes at distribution and consumption of the text. In the latter, the 'how' question lacks motivation yet it should serve as guide to the implementer of policy. The situation is compounded by cases of inconsistencies and contradictions revolving in the main around the local currency regime. The policy in explicit terms says confidence in the economy will be inculcated through pursuit of "coherent policies characterised by consistency, clarity, predictability". Nevertheless, statutory instruments have been used to issue decrees marking policy shifts. At text construction, provision for their use could be made through articulation of special circumstances so that confidence in the manual is reposed. It is difficult for the policy deliverables to be realised if text construction fossilises discourses that debilitate its provisions, consciously or unconsciously. The discourses are in reality an albatross which predispose the policy to non-implementation. The inconsistencies, incoherencies and contradictions in policy documents can lead to confusion among policy implementers. They contribute to fluctuation in the policy especially at implementation processes. The result is that the policy remains only in blueprint.

Policy formulation without clarity on implementation procedures, protocols and processes sustains status quo. As some scholars argue, it attests to lack of political will (Webb, 2004; Bamgbose, 1991). The necessary measures guiding implementation need to be clearly spelt out. From a critical perspective what is discernible is deployment of a linguistic strategy that

absolves the policy maker from commitment to provisions that may not be realistically and practically achievable. The policy maker does not claim in explicit terms that the intended deliverables are not feasible but leaves the inference at the mercy of speculation which can be insurance against liability in the event of paralysis at implementation. Should the provisions actualise, the policy maker, in a typical case of having one's cake and eating it too, claims credit for effective textualisation. The conclusion that can be drawn around effectiveness of the linguistic strategy as an objective remains speculative. While the strategy playing out can be illustrated and explained, the motivation is conjectural.

The TSP as a text constitutes and is constituted by prevailing socio-economic discourses in the Zimbabwean society, and it is an objective reality which aligns with an objective of the study. It is an economic policy document that at the point of entry is the Government of Zimbabwe logo with inscriptions of unity, freedom and work, and this defines the context or society of application. Also it confirms the assertion that Government is rarely back grounded but configured in such a way that it plays a highly active role in relation to socio-economic issues. Various discourses giving rise to constitution of the Government become apparent. These include the Elections which had a hotly contested outcome culminating in tussles spilling over into the public domain threatening social cohesion and by extension effective implementation of the policy. There is the role of the incumbent President who owing to contestation around the plebiscite makes a "strong appeal" to let the elections be a bygone era so that there is social cohesion that will work on the dominant discourse of "economic reconstruction". The economic reconstruction will be derived from unity, freedom and work, and hence, the location of the variables as rallying points in the Zimbabwean society. The 'governance discourses' illustrated in Table 2, are part of the dominant discourses that the text constitutes. They can be viewed as the lynchpin of the Government which we have noted is responsible for crafting the policy albeit in consultation with various stakeholders and unnamed groups in the society. There is a sense in which the consultative process is in sync with the hybrid theoretical model. However, suppression of identities of social actors consulted but remaining anonymous is a possible linguistic strategy designed to entice social actors who are on the fringes or are fence sitting to close rank and participate in the mainstream.

There is also conflation of the President and New Dispensation which can be a miscalculation in text construction in the detractor of the incumbent President as a person spills over into the Government and subsequently the policy text. The spirited diatribe against the so called Old Dispensation is yet another miscalculation given the mantra for unity, inclusivity and social cohesion. Apart from the 'governance discourses' the text constitutes dominant socio-economic discourses notably, budget surplus, dialogue, austerity measures and command agriculture which have been interpreted variously. The discourses as they play out in the public domain reveal a disconnect between the policy and intended deliverables at least from the point of view of potential implementers. The fuzziness around key discourses driving the policy text speaks to the premise of text construction as a gap between policy and implementation. The complexity becomes even more apparent when viewed in CDA terms where the policy text is regarded as a layer of other texts. There are various other texts which sustain life of the main text as reflected in Table 7, helpfully illustrate the connections. From these texts are socio-economic discourses, for instance, national Constitution which play out in the public domain. There is more to the text than what is seen as it is just a tip of the iceberg. In essence it means the work of the implementer becomes even more cumbersome, a feat that is complicated further by interpretation of the discourses. What the text actually says can be subjected to over interpretation which entails reflections on what the user or implementer hopes or feels it should say. In that event fragmented analysis of the text constituting and constituted by socio-economic discourses ensues. Also, it is not possible to produce a definitive, absolute and authoritative interpretation in the realm of social research. Thus interpretation is a matter of struggle as there will always be different interpretations that will be in contest motivated by different interests and backgrounds.

At the level explanation a number of conclusions can be drawn around how the ideological issues find expression in policy text. The background of ideological shifts marked in distributive, redistributive and regulatory economic policies in post-independence Zimbabwe is likely to generate confidence issues around the efficacy the current policy. It is a background defined by failed economic policies that are illustrated in Table 1 above. The TSP in the New Dispensation configuration claims a radical break, a paradigm shift from the Old Dispensation which superintended over the entirety of post-independence policies. The textual composition of TSP projects this 'ideological shift' which has been explained in terms of nation building around

nationalist ideology. The seismic shift is marked by the grand entry of a 'new nation state' with purported set ethos and value system. The shift is encapsulated in the denigration of the Old Dispensation whose misdeeds are captured in the charge sheet illustrated in Table 3. The conclusion that can be drawn is that the purported shift raises questions around the self-defeating tirade given the need to galvanise for social cohesion. In practical terms though, it is difficult to distinguish old and new, given that the old governance structures have reincarnated and are masquerading as a new establishment in the same government. What puzzles the implementer relates to absence of specific identities of people in old government to be held liable for the concocted misdeeds. An implementer will need to rely on texts outside the main to have a clear understanding of such intricacies.

The ideological construct is not only patently vague but divisive in its premise. In the purported formulation of the ideology there are traces of power tussles in the text which threaten the fabric. As revealed in the research the President asserts control through the "my government" reference which escalates to conflation of President and New Dispensation epitomised by the Zimbabwe is Open for Business mantra. Against the background of behind the scenes contestation around an electoral outcome, a critical opposition mass is unlikely to embrace cohesion modelled around not only the principle but also the principal behind it. Text construction should be alive to the circumstances and context lest the envisaged shift suffers stillbirth. The extent of the presidential 'footprints' in the text and more fundamentally in driving the purported paradigm shift is succinctly illustrated in Table 2 above, and further perspective to this is buttressed through comparison with the predecessors imprints in the ZIMASSET text. It becomes apparent that there is a tussle for dominance, legitimacy and supremacy playing out in the text. There is awareness of ghosts lurking in the shadows. The contestation is decipherable through CDA inspired research which provides for penetration beneath the surface to untangle the hidden as Figure 1 illustrates. Textual composition combined with the absences and evolving discourses explains how the ideological construct is a potential nemesis of effective implementation of the given policy.

Administrative competence of any government is judged on the basis of evidence of formulating policies that are effectively implemented. The policies should be able to bridge the gap between

the intention of a policy and the actual achievement of the policy. Thus a judicious policy maker takes the issue policy implementation seriously at the formulation stage. Policy implementers viewed in literature as 'street level bureaucrats' are expected to run with the policy in the sense of implementing it. They can run with it if it has clearly defined goals, procedures and policy tools. The levels which describe, interpret and explain should be able to provide guidance to the policy maker design with a model implementer of the policy. An implementer who goes beyond the 'seen' infer the implicit and explain why things happen the way they do.

The three step model of analysis' fluidity lies in the interconnection of the levels and elasticity in interpretation of textual features. The implementation of policies is far removed from the policy makers, and it becomes imperative to allow for creativity through avoidance of stringent conditions at formulation stage. Precise directives do not leave room for implementers to exercise discretion when the need arises. The provisions should be transmitted in clear language which gives adequate information. The expression should be able to say exactly what they mean to expedite the work of implementers. If there is inadequate information, as noted with lexical ambiguity, a misunderstanding may arise on the part of the prospective implementers who may be confused as to what exactly are required of them. The concern is also apparent at distribution and consumption aspects of interpretation level where motivation of the 'how' question is patently weak.

The study has explained predisposition of an economic policy to implementability. It is apparent that policies have been rolled out regularly in post-independence Zimbabwe but these have fallen short on deliverables or the desired results. It is undeniable that in order to explain the implementation gap, various factors can be proffered but a strong case has been made for the linguistic variable. The variable lays effective communication in a policy text. Part of the effectiveness entails presentation of clear strategies, implementation strategies, clear time frames and intended outcomes. The linguistic variable explains the implementation gap in terms of policy itself motivated by the rationale that seeds of failure are entrenched in the policy. In presenting a strong case for the variable the study is alive to the existence of other variables that can be proffered to explain implementation gap. However, the variables are dependent on effective communication for them to gain currency and traction. For instance, the policy text

presents a case for the economic variable through allusion to funding requirements for various policy initiatives and programmes. There is reference to sustainable funding of agriculture and that farmers will be allowed to have access to funding from financial institutions.

It is undeniable that funding is imperative if the sector which is a critical pillar of the economy is to be viable and play a part in the realisation of the 2030 Vision. However, the economic variable, more specifically funding is couched in language that lacks explicitness. It is not clear which financial institutions will avail the funding, and the quantum of the funding, identity of beneficiaries and timelines remain grey areas. As noted the “Zimbabwe is Open for Business” mantra is an acknowledgment of the strategic importance of the economic variable. The mantra appeals to prospective investors to play a part in the economic reconstruction through investments in various sectors of the economy. The initiative is supported by re-engagement drive which involves migration from international isolation which has made it difficult to “access international capital”. Becoming part of the international community will make it possible to access foreign currency that local financial institutions require to settle international obligations. As noted in the discussion the issues intimated are germane to the actualization of some provisions of the policy text which are explained within the frame of the economic variable. However, the linguistic variable within CDA realm unpacks the economic issues beyond the surface to explain why things are the way they are. In this case penetrating deep into issues will involve grappling with questions around why relations are frosty and chances for finding each with international partners. Critical analysis will help in conceptualization of issues at play and subsequently inform whether prospects for the international capital are likely to materialize or not. The conclusion that can be drawn is that there is the ‘invisible’ linguistic variable in the economic factor and by inference in each of the variables. We have seen how the political variable is deeply entrenched notwithstanding the glossing in the text of otherwise the critical electoral and dialogue discourses. The elections are in the scheme of the text, a bygone era, yet in reality they are connected to other texts such as constitutionalism, judiciary role, critical opposition mass and the legitimacy card.

The political template becomes meaningful if interrogated beneath the surface. It would appear the text’s premise on the political issue is tantamount to papering over the cracks. The same

conclusion can be made in relation to the dialogue issue configured within POLAD forum which due to lack of clarity in terms of scope and procedure has been interpreted along partisan lines. The other political issues relate to reconfiguration of the government as a New Dispensation yet political culture from the 'abandoned' old government subsists. Also the political dynamic finds expression in the denigrated Old Dispensation which critical analysis depicts as anti-social cohesion. The examples reveal how the political template pans out and its grave implications for policy implementation. Political will on the part of government is also critical in explaining the implementation gap. Various intratextual features amounting to textual deficits have been unearthed coupled with procedural flaws around the imperceptibly motivated 'how' question at interpretation, and immersion of the policy with the linguistic culture of the polity at the explanation level. An aggregation of cracks and crevices, and the 'hidden agenda' prompts the question regarding the intention of authorities in formulating the policy. It has been argued by scholars that deficits, unrealistic goals and sinister agendas are fossilized in policy by design and not by default by authorities who want it to fail. In other words, the deficits are a conscious handiwork of authorities lacking political will, instead are hypocritical in that they make the provisions of the policy non-implementable. However on the basis of what is provided in the text by way of the 'seen' and 'implicit' the motivation remains speculative. Engagement of policy makers, which is outside the purview of this textual analysis, will reveal more on world views of authorities. The other factors around the implementation gap include, policy maker's motivation, the environment in which the policy has been made, termination of a policy once there is a change in government and effective communication between the target beneficiaries and the implementers of policy programmes. It is also crucial that policy decisions at formulation and implementation levels should be based on sound evidence. The sound evidence comes in handy at particularly the interpretation where proneness to subjectivism is potential high owing to fluidity.

Although there are variables and characteristics of implementation processes that operate around and outside the policy and its stipulation, these can be regulated through well-written policies. Close attention to language at policy formulation lays the base for effective implementation of a public policy, as it ensures that orders to implement policies are delivered in a clear, accurate and consistent manner. This is not a protest study, nor is the study written

begrudgingly against bad writing per se. It is in actual fact a study that connects policy and implementation. The issue at stake here relates to signals and direction on the basis of what is inside and outside the text that connects the policy with the implementer. There is alibi in the form of apparent and hidden discourses in the policy text which have grave challenges for implementation of the policy. Discourses which on the surface appear positive for instance those framed around text structure and optimistic discourses themes on close analysis reflect complexity, density and demands serving to complicate implementation processes. It therefore in language that ingredients of policy paralysis are decipherable.

The conclusions drawn from the study invalidate the first hypothesis of this research which posits that the TSP policy text is a consolidated and complete policy document which enunciates in profound and comprehensive ways salient socio-economic and political issues. It has been proven that across all the levels in model of analysis deployed on the text there are gaps between the policy formulation and implementation processes. At description level evidence can be drawn from overt discourses that lack forthrightness and conviction thus leaving the provisions and initiatives of the policy at the mess or discretion of the implementer or end user. At the second level of analysis presented in the model as interpretation Intertextuality lays bare the incompleteness of the policy text. In this case there are supportive documents in co-circulation as well as in retrospective and prospective linkages with the policy text for the implementer to have complete appreciation, conceptualization and comprehension of the TSP. In this vein the policy text is not a one stop shop where you would expect all useful services and products to be stored. It has been revealed that there are annexures, matrices and other critical documents which in some instances are yet to be produced that but have to be used in conjunction with the policy text which is time framed. In view of this reality it would be apt to disprove the first hypothesis on the basis that the policy text sustains its life from other texts which as noted creates challenges at interpretation level. The gaps play out even at explanation level where for instance the POLAD forum of political parties haggles over composition matters arising from lack of clarity in provisions of the text. Ultimately lack of completeness in the policy text as explained threatens the envisaged social cohesion and subsequently effective implementation of the policy. The conclusion drawn in reference to the first hypothesis though offers a glimpse into how the linguistic variable plays out in the

connection between policy and formulation. Although the TSP has been studied in its entirety and not as a text fragment the conclusion suggests that interdependence of a text with other texts not necessarily of shared characteristics makes it 'incomplete' in some respects.

Finally the second hypothesis of the study postulating that the policy text is well formulated, accessible and executable in line with the letter and spirit of the policy provisions and initiatives. Conclusions that are drawn from the study disprove in significant ways the assumption that no deviations at implementation stages given the clear standard operating procedures spelt out in the policy text. At text analysis level we have seen how the government as the custodian of the official state text exhibits inconsistencies with specific regard to currency regimes and proliferation of statutory instruments that are not provided for in the policy text. It would appear there is authority that operates above the given provisions that conveniently directs implementation process. The policy text though does not prepare and inform the implementer that certain procedures and actions are served by the authorities or policy outside the given manual. Contestations around critical discourses such as austerity measures, command agriculture, budget surplus and conceptualisation of the Old and New dispensation mantra attest to questions around effective formulation of the policy document. Evolving events playing out around provisions of the policy text disprove as noted in various ways the second hypothesis generated in the study.

The assumptions made in the study evidently fall short in significant ways. Policy makers and authorities should however pay due diligence to the linguistic variable in the formulation of policies to enhance effective implementation processes.

6.4 Recommendations

The study of the TSP which is an official state text serving as an economic policy anchoring the 2030 Vision envisaging a prosperous and empowered upper middle income society, reveals findings across the interrelated levels of the three dimensional model that have profound implications on effective implementation processes. Based on the findings, I propose the following recommendations:

1. As an overarching policy document governing the country's socio-economic activities it is important that its formulation should exhibit high quality information which can be enhanced through consultation of a variety of sources including expert knowledge of local and national trends, and international best practices.
2. There is need for familiarization and evaluation of previous economic policies as they reflect shared characteristics which can be used as the basis to strengthen the policy text's initiatives and programmes. There are enduring lessons around feasibility and possible challenges that are derived from previous documentation that can be used creatively to engender good quality policy making.
3. There is need for genuine consultation, coordination and collaboration among stakeholders from, and within, the top-down, bottom-up and hybrid models to engender buy-in that will translate to successful implementation of economic policies. If the a policy emanates from government rather than from the target groups which is exclusive top-down model the target beneficiaries are not allowed to contribute to the formulation of the policies that affect their lives. Involvement of target groups through a participatory system, whereby policy makers plan with the people rather than for the people in meeting their felt needs fosters buy-in, commitment and social cohesion. An all-embracing consultative process will also mitigate conflict that is likely to arise owing to varied interpretation that plays out at the expense of implementation.
4. The strategic importance of explicitly written policy texts that among other variables are factual, accurate, consistent, procedurally motivated and negating nefarious hidden agendas cannot be overemphasised. It is the well written policies that will articulate exogenous variables including social, economic and political factors. Although these factors are critical they are dependent on the language they are couched in. This elevates the linguistic variable to a high pedestal in the consummation of variables impacting the implementation gap.
5. There should be a culture of continuity in policy even if the government is constituted or collapses unless it is established it is not practical and useful to the people it is designed to serve. The ego problem of policy makers who seemingly crave to 'make a name' for themselves through discarding the baby and bath tub culminates in lack of continuity. Instead of abandoning running programmes and initiatives and consigning them to the

dustbin of history where it become archival material, it may be prudent to continue with the existing policies with a few changes given that it is practically a government that changes but administration is continuous. Continuity will eliminate the spirit of competition in which the current policy maker in trying to outdo the predecessor incoherently plays the blame game.

6. Focus on a single case research area is a potential limitation of this study in terms of generalisability, transferability and replication of findings to policies of shared characteristics. More cases lay the basis of richer and more nuanced interpretations. Comparative studies of policies of shared characteristics offers scope to researchers keen on multiple case research areas. However, handling multiple cases results in less rigour and intensity at all levels, particularly data collection and analysis. As argued elsewhere in this study, 'the more cases an individual studies, the less depth in any single case'.
7. A potential limitation of the study relates to exclusive concentration on textual issues of a policy text thus downplaying other factors inclusive of social, economic and political variables. As consistently argued in this study while other variables are pivotal in explaining the gap between a policy and its intended outcomes and deliverables the primacy of the linguistic variable lies in that it couches the other variables. It is in any case a focused study exploring apparent and latent discourses in a selected policy. Other researches can be done though around the other variables in relation to economic policies or public policies in general.
8. Further research should be done on the hidden and complex issue of ideology in the post-independence economic policies in Zimbabwe. Ideology in this study has been examined in terms of how the construct is modeled in the purported New Dispensation era and how that bears on the implementation process. It is clear that ideology in the study has been 'constrained' thus opening scope for further exploration of elusive concept in policy texts with shared characteristics and in the same general context, chronologically or geographically.
9. In the light of gaps between policy formulation and implementation, the policy maker has been placed on the spot in a bid to explain the motivation for the lacunae. Whether fossilization of the deficits is by design or default remains speculative. A critical discourse

analysis study owing to its multimethodical and multitheoretical orientation can be deployed in a research that engages the policy maker variable to solve the cryptic puzzle in public policy making process.

Finally in closing it is important to note that a well-crafted policy makes it possible for policy makers and authorities to turn the tables by placing the implementers on the spot. In the circumstances it would then be plausible to make the following insightful remarks about public policy:

Implementation is the nemesis of designers, it conjures images of plans gone awry wrong and of social carpenters and masons who fail to build to specifications and thereby distort the beautiful blue prints for progress which were handed to them. It provokes memories of 'good' ideas that did not work and places the blame on the second (second-class) member of the policy and administration team (Honadle 1979:6).

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