

The Media's Representation of the Content of the Inaugural Speeches and State of the Nation by João Lourenço, President of the Republic of Angola

A Representação Mediática do Conteúdo dos Discursos de Tomada de Posse e Estado da Nação de João Lourenço, Presidente da República de Angola

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ABSTRACT

Analyzing the political speeches, this article examines the media's representation of the content of the inaugural and state speeches of the Nation by João Lourenço President of the Republic of Angola. The purpose of this article is to identify how João Lourenço's speeches were represented by the media and which are the main themes of the speeches that were published in the news by the *Jornal de Angola* and the *Jornal O País*. This article was produced based on the qualitative method, the discourse analysis was done with the help of the discourse analysis technique that gave an understanding of the language and the social significance which constitute the political-social action given in João Lourenço's political speeches. The pieces were collected through clippings and followed the prerequisites of the foundation of diversity of news as per the different threads which lead the interdiscourse, which helped to understand the communication trends in the selected *corpus*. The analysis shows that the most discussed topics in the *Jornal de Angola* and the *Jornal o País*, are related to Political-Ideological values, Social Challenges, Economic Challenges and Progress, ignoring in some cases key themes that João Lourenço's government proposed to correct, such as combating corruption, impunity and nepotism. The decomposition of the speeches

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showed that the concerns that the President of the Republic of Angola, João Lourenço, presents, fall under the promotion of the Social State, the strengthening of the connection between the powers, the improvement of the quality of public information, the impetus to private enterprise and to the economy, the production of electricity and running water, inclusive and participatory governance, the promotion of freedom of the press, the control of illegal acts, the consolidation of democracy, the modernization of the Armed Forces, the enhancement of foreign ones, the implementation of local government combating corruption and impunity.

Keywords: Political Communication, Political Discourse, *Media* and Angola

RESUMO

Fazendo a análise do discurso político, este artigo examina a representação mediática do conteúdo dos discursos de tomada de posse e estado da Nação de João Lourenço Presidente da República de Angola. O objetivo deste artigo é identificar como foram representados mediaticamente os discursos de João Lourenço e quais são as principais temáticas destes discursos difundidas nas notícias veiculadas pelo *Jornal de Angola* e pelo *Jornal O País*. Produziu-se este artigo com base no método qualitativo, a análise dos discursos foi feita com a ajuda da técnica análise do discurso que permitiu perceber a linguagem e os significados sociais que constituem a ação político-social descritas nos discursos políticos de João Lourenço. As peças foram coletadas com a ajuda do *clipping* e obedeceu os pressupostos da heterogeneidade constitutiva das notícias nos diversos tipos de sequências dominadas pelo interdiscurso ajudando a compreender as tendências de comunicação constantes do *corpus* selecionado. A análise demonstra que os temas mais abordados no *Jornal de Angola* e no *Jornal o País*, estão relacionados com os valores Políticos-Ideológicos, Desafios Sociais, Desafios Económicos e Progresso, ignorando nalguns casos temas chaves que a governação de João Lourenço se propôs em corrigir, tais como o combate à corrupção, a impunidade e ao nepotismo. A decomposição dos discursos demonstrou que as preocupações que o Presidente da República de Angola, João Lourenço apresenta recaem para a promoção do Estado Social, o reforço da ligação entre os poderes, a melhoria da qualidade da informação pública, o impulso a iniciativa privada e a economia, a produção de energia elétrica e água canalizada, a governação inclusiva e participativa, a promoção da liberdade de imprensa, o controlo dos atos ilícitos, a consolidação da democracia, a modernização das Forças Armadas, o aprofundamento das externas, a implementação das autarquias locais, o combate a corrupção e a impunidade.

Palavras-chave: Comunicação Política, Discurso Político, *Media* e Angola

1. Introduction

On September 26th, 2017, João Manuel Gonçalves Lourenço was elected as the third President of the Republic of Angola, succeeding José Eduardo dos Santos, who had led Angola in an authoritative and paternalist fashion for 38 years. After taking power, João Lourenço promised a series of reforms aimed at changing the social standing of his people and transforming the country.

This analysis aims to contribute to reflection over the media's representation of the political speeches made by João Lourenço, the President of the Republic of Angola, which were disseminated by the well-known newspapers the *Jornal de Angola* and the *Jornal O País*, laying emphasis on the changes made within the structure of the Angolan government, resulting from the 2017 elections which elected a new political leader and which set out a series of actions towards changing some practices which in no way enhanced the country.

In his speeches, President João Lourenço sent messages to bring about change in the social perception of his people and to give credibility to State institutions. From these messages, we can identify the promotion of measures such as the detention of high-ranking dignitaries and State employees together with the filing of judicial proceedings, retention of funds of dubious provenance, the repatriation of funds wrongfully transferred abroad and the expulsion of illegal foreigners in police operations.

Despite the existence of various studies of political discourses, as observed by Poku (2001), these concern, in particular, situations in the East, in Asia or in the Pacific and not in Angola. Analysis of Angola is infrequent according to the academic-scientific point of view.

This article is arranged in three parts. The first is aimed at contextualizing the subjects broached, outlining the overview and the introduction. The second presents the literary review and impact and the methodological options. The third and last part describes the analysis made of President João Lourenço's political speeches and the news articles in the press analyzed with regard to the topic, presenting the results, discussing them and imparting the final considerations.

2. Political Communication and Political Speeches

According to Norris (2000), political communication is an interactive process relating to the transmission of information between politicians, the media and the public. From various possible definitions, political communication can be characterized as "the exchange and comparison of matters of public-political interest which the political system produces, media channels and the public" (Mazzoleni, 2010, p. 36). Mutsvairo and Karam (2018), which consider that in an academic field, Political Communication is not only centered upon the political relationship between politicians, the media and the public, but upon all the forms of communication used by politicians and other political agents with a view to achieving specific objectives.

As observed by Espírito Santo (2011) the different presidential speeches reveal themselves to be sufficiently rich and diverse for reflection on the objectives, the values, the symbols and the patterns of communication underlying the political

message of the President of the Republic. It is with this in mind, as refers Cardina (2016), that presidential speeches should be analyzed. With this as a basis, Van Dijk (2002) considers that the processing of political information is frequently a form of unraveling of the speech, because much political action and participation come to be through discourse and communication.

Political communication has changed dramatically over the last few decades (Serrano, 2010). From being a communication based upon interpersonal relationships between politicians and journalists, it has become a professional and specialized process of strategic communication, participated in by different groups of people who wish to influence the flow of the news. Since political discourse is a component of political communication, Reyes-Rodríguez (2008) perceives the concept of political discourse as being the whole of a relatively autonomous communication produced orally by a politician in front of an audience, whose objective is merely to persuade, to transmit information or to entertain.

In relation to the media's representation of political speeches, Ahmed and Matthes (2016), consider that the stories and images in the media supply resources (symbols) through which we compile a culture, in the measure of the way that means of communication to the masses articulate values, ideologies and leading social developments, and those characteristics frequently lead to the publication of the ideas and facts in the media. According to Espírito Santo (2008), the basic functions of political discourse are intrinsically linked and can reveal several important aspects, starting with the molds for realization of party-political strategies.

Despite studies on political speeches having historically been begun in the 60s in the United States of America, as an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary field, in Angola they only started to emerge over the last two decades of the 20th century (Mutsvairo & Karam, 2018).

The researcher Okoro (2013) justifies this delay in the development of studies on political discourse with the decades of civil war and corruption which culminated in a series of economic and financial exploitation, which the media could not expose, discuss or disseminate.

For Mutsvairo and Karam (2018), at the base of this delay was also the diversity factor, not just in relation to culture, religion and geographical area, but also to political, cultural and communication infrastructures.

Regarding the nature of political speeches, Cardina (2016) considers that it is more to do with reiterating symbolic moments or foundational narratives, than with the shaping of historiographic arguments. Political discourse is, consequently, a part of the interactive process of transmission of information to the media and to the public (Mutsvairo and Karam, 2004). In clarifying the nature

of political discourse, Koussouhon and Dossoumou (2015) assert, that in political discourse, the final goal is to highlight how the President codifies the meaning of his communication in order to get across his presidential and political ideologies and the aims of his administration, so as to be able to assess the national reality and, ultimately, broach the different types of problems the country is afflicted with.

The main argument formulated, starting with the concept of political communication as operationalized above, is based, in the first place, on the notion that political discourse is an integral part of political communication and that mastering it aided the perception of the articulation between the media and the broadcasting of João Lourenço's messages transformed into political actions by the government of Angola.

Having concluded the theoretical review, let us continue to the characterization of the Republic of Angola.

3. Geopolitical and Socio-economical Characterization of Angola.

The Republic of Angola (henceforth Angola) is located in the eastern part of southern Africa. With the globalization of economies over the last two decades, there has been a growth in political relations and economic strategies. Meanwhile, with regard to Angola, the political system still presents serious challenges, because the country continues to be politically unstable and economically unsustainable (Okoro 2013).

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Angola (CRA), at article 2, the Republic of Angola is a Democratic State based on the Rule of Law, which has as its foundations popular sovereignty, the supremacy of the Constitution and the law, the separation of powers and interdependence of functions, national unity, plurality of expression and of political organization, and a representative and participatory democracy. Angola is a unitary State which respects, within its organization, the principles of autonomy for local authorities and of administrative deconcentration and decentralization, within the terms of the Constitution and the law (article 8, CRA).

Regarding the organization of the executive power, the President of the Republic is the Head of State, the Head of the Power Executive and the Commander-in-Chief of the Angolan Armed Forces, and has authority over the power executive, aided by a Vice-President, Ministers of State and Ministers (article 108, CRA).

Within its vast territory, Angola has resources which could make it potentially very rich, especially with regard to the oil and diamonds for which it is commonly known. Despite this, it is a country with a population which in the majority has a

poor lifestyle, caused by the reflection of the fragility of a State possessing natural resources but with worrying levels of corruption. According to the Corruption Perceptions Index 2018, Angola comes 165th out of 180 countries.

Data from the National Institute of Statistics (INE) estimates the Angolan population to be around 30,175,553 inhabitants, of which 14,219,652 are over 18, in 2019. Angola has a rate of unemployment estimated at around 20%. From the INE again, in 2018 the Economic Climate continued to be below the average and the Economic Situation continues to be unfavorable. According to the Enquiry into the Well-Being of the Population (IBEP 2008/09), principal production came from agriculture and fishing (the leading sector). Alongside these centuries-old activities, Jauhari (2018) affirms, that at the beginning of the 21st century, many African countries opened the way to economic growth. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) cites the following countries as having achieved this: Rwanda, Mozambique, Nigeria, Chad, Ethiopia and Angola.

According to Pearce, Péclard and Oliveira (2018), after the victory of the government of President José Eduardo dos Santos in 2002 against the rebels of the UNITA, Angola increased its oil production, going from just over one million barrels a day to around two million, between 2002 and 2008. With the price of this raw material increasing from 20 to 147 dollars, the GDP of Angola grew ten times between 2002 and 2013, which made it the third leading economy of sub-Saharan Africa, with an income of around 121 billion US dollars per year.

As advocated by Gaio (2017), in the period after the civil war, the transnational capital became more and more relevant in the program for national reconstruction, which accentuated the government's autonomy cherished by the Government of President dos Santos and is how Angola managed, in the end, to finance the program for reconstruction without having to submit to the neo-liberal government requirements attributed to the Official Development Aid body (ODA).

With reference to the economic system, Ferreira and Oliveira (2018) consider that the financial and banking sectors increased greatly in less than a decade, placing them as one of the leaders in Africa driven by the great search for oil. The banks became crucial in coordinating interaction with the international system, which was approved by President Eduardo dos Santos, in order for the domestic program of the consolidated oligarchy of the MPLA leading elite to come into being.

As regards media outlets, Martins (2016) considers that Angola exists in a restricted environment for the media, which includes the intimidation and imprisonment of journalists who cover sensitive matters, such as the protests against the government of President Eduardo dos Santos, or corruption at the heart of government. Cunha and Araújo (2018) describe this situation as a result of the authoritarian political system, which was in power, meaning that the country could

not have a sufficiently independent press to investigate and disseminate occurrences to any extent.

In the Press Freedom Status chapter, the 2017 report by Freedom House, which analyzed the Freedom of the Press in Angola, the country was labeled as *Not Free*, placing it 73rd out of 100 countries, taking into consideration in equal measure the political, economic and legal environment. The country was given some scores, but no narrative report with regard to the situation with the press.

In its world classification of 2019, the Reporters Without Borders organization placed Angola at 109 out of 180 countries, with a score of 34.96. This score is due to the fact that the traditional media still continued to be under the control of the government, and the four television channels, seventeen radio stations and the newspapers are mostly under the control or under the influence of the government and of the party in power. Only Rádio Eclésia and a handful of individual internet websites transmit critical and independent information. The exorbitant costs of radio and television licenses constitute an obstacle to diversification.

It is within this compliance that Joffe (2014, p. 3) proposes that the government should adjust its relationship with the media. Relations between the media and Angolan State figures have always been protected, especially those with journalists in the service of the State, who work to actively promote the party in power (Mutsvairo & Karam, 2018, p. 5).

Having characterized the Republic of Angola, let us describe the process of political transition.

4. Political Transition in Angola

After the announcement in 2016 by the ex-President of the Republic of Angola, José Eduardo dos Santos, during a meeting with the central committee of the MPLA, the governing party of Angola which would cede its place to the then minister of National Defense, João Lourenço, as a candidate with a new mandate as President of the Republic, great expectations were created as to the manner of re-launching the foundations for the prosperity of the country, as there was a possibility of constructing a new model for development which would benefit every citizen. Discussion began over the details of the political system of the country, which had been under an authoritarian regime since the 1979 proclamation of independence.

The country was on the brink of collapse, caused by the heavy dependence on oil (Stevenson, 2018). Prices fell to below 50 USD per barrel, which, combined with production which was fixed at only about 1.5 million barrels per day, pushed government revenue down and the economy went into a steep dive. The devaluation of the exchange rate and high inflation (42% in 2016) forced countless businesses to close their doors and caused many foreign investors to leave Angola.

This entire situation arose, according to Gaio (2017), because the government of President Eduardo dos Santos maintained an atypical governing autonomy, and was known for this posture by international institutions. The government drove the process of privatization of state companies without public tenders and under direct negotiations with selected buyers. This action played a negative role in the creation of the construction of the market, as the beneficiaries of these privatizations were the agents and allies who represented a strategic value for the regime, as Ferreira (1999) notes. Everything would convert into an intense struggle to overcome an entrenched political regime, which imitated activities of a genuinely functioning system, but which was actually hollow and subject to the same dictates (Faria, 2013).

Considering the affirmations of Santos (2017), the government did not have a strong political opponent, nor a plausible alternative for the party doctrine. It is for this, according to Faria (2013), that post-war Angolan politics and public life showed waves of oppression and resistance, and he cites, as an example, the protests against the government of President Eduardo dos Santos and his party which occurred in a climate of fear and repression. The scenario described caused some concern with regard to the successor of President Eduardo dos Santos, even though President João Lourenço aspired to a more efficient government (Pearce, Péclard, & Oliveira, 2018). Meanwhile, there was no evidence that he was capable of reconfiguring the political economy in a way to affect the interests of his electorate (Oliveira, 2018).

It was within a context of political and economic adversity that on August 23rd 2017, the representatives of the National Assembly, the President and the Vice-President of the Republic were all elected simultaneously (n.1, article 109, CRA).

Describing a certain pessimism regarding the new term of government, Stevenson (2018) considers that despite the speeches of President João Lourenço focusing the attention of his citizens on the necessity of bringing corruption to a halt and rescuing essential State values, the President cannot act in line with these, as it would challenge the legacy of his predecessor.

This study is founded upon the Theory of Social and Media Representations, through which the media, based on interpersonal, institutional and communication aspects, focuses on the determination of the representations as well as on thought on the construction of a social reality (Jodelet, 2001).

For this theory, the importance of the media resides in the constitution of the social representations, which fall into three aspects: the vector of transmission of the language, which is the bearer of the representations; the structural and formal processes of social thought and influence, consensus, dissent, discussion and production of representations which, supported by social resolve, are pertinent to col-

lective life, just as with the Theory of Political Action, which uses media news instrumentally, namely, by objectively subjecting itself to certain political interests.

For Traquina (2007), this theory defends the position of the news being a systematic distortion at the service of political interests of certain specific social figures, who use it for the projection of their vision of the world and of society.

Having reviewed political communication, political discourse, having characterized the Republic of Angola and having analyzed political transition in Angola, with a view to proceeding with our objectives, we present herewith the methodological options.

5. Methodological Options

This article was based on the qualitative method, with which, as Bryman (2012, p. 30) confirms, an alternative to orthodox positivity can be denoted. This allowed for the article to be structured on the media's representation of the content of the inaugural and State of the Nation speeches by João Lourenço. For this, a general objective and two research topics were defined.

The general objective of this study is to identify how the first two speeches of President João Lourenço were represented in the media, and what were the principal themes of the speeches broached by the *Jornal de Angola* and the *Jornal O País*. Specifically, the objective of this study is to describe the themes most touched on in João Lourenço's speeches at the investiture ceremony as President of the Republic, and in his first speech to the nation, as well as to evaluate the media's representation of the content of these speeches.

In order to construct this article, two research topics (RT) were identified:

- ♦ RT1 – What are the themes most touched upon in the speeches of João Lourenço?
- ♦ RT2 – How did the media represent the content of the speech made by João Lourenço at his investiture as President of the Republic and of his first speech to the nation?

In the study and the ordering of the speeches, we were aided by technical discourse analysis, which assisted in the perception of the language, reflecting the social significance which formed the catalyzing factor of the socio-political action in order to achieve the established objectives (Fonseca & Ferreira, 2016). Based on the technique described by Fonseca and Ferreira (2015), the speeches of João Lourenço, President of the Republic of Angola were unraveled, being categorized by theme in order to understand the social effect. The themes identified, were those which seemed to us to create particular interest in the relationship between

language and power, reflected in the promises and concerns derived from the opaque structural relationships, as well as from the transparent ones of dominance, discrimination, power and control manifested in their language.

The collation of data was done based on research and bibliographical and document analysis. With the aid of the clippings manual, the news about the speeches being analyzed was compiled from the online archives of the *Jornal de Angola* and the *Jornal o País* published in the period between September 27th through October 1st 2017 and between October 16th through 21st 2017.

In the first period between September 27th through October 1st 2017, seventeen news articles were identified in the *Jornal de Angola* and one in the *Jornal o País* (it should be understood that in that year, the *Jornal o País* was still a weekly publication, becoming a daily one from the start of João Lourenço's mandate). The articles referred to are in relation to the Investiture speech of João Lourenço as President of the Republic.

Regarding the second period from October 16th through 21st 2017, twenty articles were identified in the *Jornal de Angola* and eighteen in the *Jornal o País*, relating to the First Message to the Nation.

As Espírito Santo (2006) observes, this analysis obeys the assumption of a constitutional diversity of the speeches, based on different types of threads dominated by the interdiscourse. With this, we mean to demonstrate the trends of constant communication within the selected *corpus*.

In short, twenty articles were identified from the *Jornal de Angola*, which varied from between 1,000 and 1,500 words, nine reports with between 1,500 and 2,300 words, and six notes with between 400 and 500 words. With regard to the *Jornal o País*, eight articles were identified with between 1,000 and 1,500 words, two reports with 3,300 words each, and three notes: two with 200 words and one with 150 words. Having described the analysis techniques of the study, we now move on to present our results.

The *Jornal de Angola* is the property of the State, edited by *Edições Novembro – E. P.*, and the *Jornal o País* is owned by the private Angolan Media Nova Group, which has been active in Social Communication since 2008.

According to data from the 2nd edition of the Media and Advertising Yearbook of Angola, *Marktest Angola*, published in 2019, the press category is led by the *Jornal de Angola* with 3.7%. The *Jornal o País* with 1.3% is in third place, behind the *Jornal dos Desportos* edited by *Edições Novembro*.

6. Characterization of the Speeches

In relation to the themes most touched upon in João Lourenço's speeches, they can be divided into four categories: Progress, Political-Ideological Values, Social

Challenges and Economic Challenges. The speech was made at the investiture ceremony as President of the Republic on September 27th 2017, in the Republic of Angola Square in Luanda. It lasted 48 minutes and 30 seconds and was broadcast live by two national television channels, *Televisão Pública de Angola (TPA)* and *TV Zimbo* (private).

It was also transmitted live by the main radio stations, in particular by the state radio station (*Rádio Nacional de Angola*) throughout the entire country. The press was represented by the dailies in the analysis (the *Jornal de Angola* and the *Jornal o País*) and by *Semanários Expansão*, *Novo Jornal*, *Jornal Angolense*, *Jornal Economico*, *Jornal Expresso*, *Jornal O Crime*, *Folha 8* and the only weekly edition published outside of Luanda, the *Correio do Sul*, also published the speech. The internet also published and disseminated the contents of the speech, in particular the following websites: *Angola 24 Horas*, *Maka Angola*, *Guardião*, *Angonoticias*, *Sapo Angola* and the *Portal de Angola*. The only news agency in the country, *Ang-pop*, also published the speech.

In his first solemn message on the State of the Nation, given on October 16th 2017, President João Lourenço spoke for 58 minutes and 15 seconds. The content was divulged in the same way as for his earlier speech.

7. Overview of the leading themes of the speeches.

As regards the media's dissemination of the content of the investiture speeches of João Lourenço as President of the Republic, and his first solemn message on the State of the Nation, a selection of empirical data was collated and subsequently identified, being grouped into categories according to their similarities.

The tables below show excerpts of the investiture and first message to the nation speeches, which illustrate the categories defined above.

TABLE 1. Overview of the Investiture Speech

PROGRESS	CATEGORIES		
	POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL VALUES	SOCIAL CHALLENGES	ECONOMIC CHALLENGES
Promotion of the Social State	Reinforcing the ties between State powers	Improving the quality of public information	Stimulus to private initiatives for the creation of businesses
Production and distribution of electric energy	Inclusive and participatory government	Promotion, dissemination and creation of more newspapers, radio and television	Control of illicit dealings in the financial and banking sector
Production and distribution of piped water	Consolidation of multi-party democracy	Increase diversity and freedom of expression	Incentivize credit to the economy
Modernization of the Armed Forces	Deepening of bilateral and multilateral relations	Promotion of women	Creation of a military and defense industry
	Implementation of local authorities	Investment in infrastructure and public transport	
	Combating Corruption and Impunity		
	Promotion of Justice		
	Promotion through merit, professionalism, transparency and diligence		
	Reform of public services		

Source: in-house.

In the table above, the principal concerns identified by President João Lourenço have been summarized, and they demonstrate the non-existence of relations and ties between various sectors of the State, a government without the participation of the those being governed, a weak democracy, a preferential relationship with many countries round the world, absence of local power, limitations to the right of expression and communication, weaknesses in public transport systems, in the economy, in public accounts and even in the areas of defense and security.

In his speech, President João Lourenço identifies the main problems which the country is struggling with. In his first solemn message on the State of the Nation, summarized in the table below, he demonstrates how he intends to resolve those problems.

TABLE 2. Overview of the Message on the State of the Nation

CATEGORIES		
POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL VALUES	SOCIAL CHALLENGES	ECONOMIC CHALLENGES
Making a country which is independent, free, unites, is at peace and reconciled	Promotion of Transparency in contracting public services	Eradication of the difficult economic times the country is living through
Reinforcement of the democratic system	Guaranteeing the Freedom of Religion, Belief and Cults and the Expansion of museums	Adoption of tax incentives for businesses
Implementation of Local Authorities	Improving the education system	Stabilizing the macroeconomy of the country
Committing to a swifter judicial system for the resolution of conflicts in the areas of administration, economy and finance	Improving the quality of Public Health Services	Promotion of agriculture, and the manufacturing and food industries.
Improving the areas of Defense and security	Supporting those areas responsible for combating corruption and economic and financial crimes	Revitalizing the steel industry, building, telecommunications and IT

Source: in-house.

In table number two, João Lourenço shows with which actions he will overcome the problems identified in table number one. He identifies as principal actions the implementation of local governments, the reinforcement and improvement of the justice system to make it swifter and fairer, the promotion of good government and the transparency of public actions, guaranteeing fundamental liberties, improving education and health, the diversification of the economy and the development of agriculture.

Having analyzed the messages of the political speeches of João Lourenço, we move on to present the main news articles with which the media represented these speeches.

8. Analysis of news articles

Beginning with the investiture speech and the first solemn message on the State of the Nation, we have some representations divided into four categories, as follows: Progress, Political-Ideological Values, Social Challenges and Economic Challenges, which allowed for fifty-three news articles to be collated from the online archives of the *Jornal de Angola* and the *Jornal o País*, grouped in the following tables:

TABLE 3. Progress, Economic and Social Challenges

CATEGORIES			
PROGRESS, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHALLENGES			
State Reform, essential for excellent service for citizens	Public social communication set towards serving the interests of society	Coalition speaks of high expectations	Forum of Town Councils closes with stronger boost for decentralization of local power
The war against impunity has started	Debate regarding local governments is amongst priorities	Executive commits to good management	PGR (Attorney-General of the Republic) opens investigation and "SIC (Criminal Investigation Service) makes strong commitment against corruption
President wants to halt importation of processed products	Businessman motivated by speech	Russian Deputy Prime Minister praises business relations with Angola	Diagnosis of the Health sector
Far-reaching speech confirms promises	Cross-sectional speech	Isabel dos Santos speaks of a special moment	Change is of utmost importance

Source: in-house.

The articles in the preceding table describe, through their headlines, the coverage of the main political actions in relation to the challenges that the President faces with development, the economy and the social problems identified in the speeches, with headlines such as State Reform, combating impunity and corruption, an end to imported processed products, social communication set towards serving the public, high expectations, town councils forum set on decentralizing the country, a diagnostic of the health sector or the Attorney-General of the Republic and the Criminal Investigation Service making a strong commitment to combat corruption.

TABLE 4. Political-Ideological Values

CATEGORIES			
POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL VALUES			
Angola and Madagascar commit to re-launching bilateral cooperation	Angola and Zambia take a unified position on Zimbabwe	Angolans in Portugal rejoice with João Lourenço	Head of State exonerates Diakité
Head of State dissolves GRECIMA (Cabinet for Revitalization and Execution of Institutional Communication)	Head of State nominates Cabinet members	Congo will lead with the Great Lakes	Assessors of the Vice-President Inducted
USA highlights the current reforms in Angola	Congratulations to politicians	Congratulations from Raúl Castro to his opposite number	Government inducted today
A Government to win	Socialist group greets the President	João Lourenço gives audiences to politicians	João Lourenço promises to be President for all Angolans
Member of civil society praises PR for the fight against corruption	MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) approves the list	MPLA defends free and thorough information	Opposition misses investiture
Friendly countries open to strengthening cooperation	Police and secret military with new responsibilities	Police expel hundreds of foreigners	PR exonerates chief of military intelligence services
President of the Republic	President of the Republic on his way to South Africa to strengthen cooperation	President of the Republic exonerates Commander-General of National Police	"President of the Republic speaks of the State of the Nation"
President expresses solidarity with Portugal	President of the Republic speaks of the State of the Nation	President expresses solidarity with Portugal	President expects commitment
President receives Samakuva	Promises are excessive	Rebellion in the RDC (Democratic Republic of Congo) heightens fear	Region strengthens support for the RDC
Region strengthens fight against the rebels of the RDC			

Source: in-house.

Regarding the Political-Ideological Values, the news summarized in table number four essentially show his first foreign visits, travelling to those countries he considers strategic, the dismissals and nominations for the constitution of a new government, and the strengthening of relations with countries friendly to Angola.

In the annex we include a table showing the frequency of news output, starting with excerpts of President João Lourenço's speeches which were printed in the following news items, reports and notes from the period analyzed, from September 27th through October 1st 2017 and from October 16th through 21st 2017.

With its focus centered on the Political-Ideological category, the value of governance was portrayed with news proposing the creation of local governments. The values relating to impunity appear as news. International cooperation is predominant with eight articles on Africa, followed by the values of Governance with seven articles in which aspects relating to an appeal for good governance, the dismissals and nominations of members of the government, the elimination and privatization of public companies play a central part.

The values for change were portrayed in two articles, with emphasis on the expectations of the political parties, accolades, reviews and an appeal for dialogue with the leaders of the opposition. Also in the news were figures for the Intelligence and the Armed Forces, with an article regarding the exoneration of their leaders. Impunity, one of João Lourenço's main themes, is covered by one article. The reaction of civil society to João Lourenço's speech also made the news in one article. The opposition is portrayed in one article in the news. No clear representation was verified regarding economic amounts or of the development of the speech.

The values of governance appear in thirteen articles, in which emphasis continues to be given to the matter of nominations and dismissals of members of the government, in particular of the heads of the military and the security. International cooperation stands out with five articles. The concerns of opposition parties also made the news with five articles. Social values were referred to in one article which highlighted the start of police operations in the fight against illegal immigration and one article about the values relating to change. Values regarding Justice were also in the news with four articles. The need for local government to be set up was in two articles. Impunity was covered in three articles. The categories of diversity, health and the fight against illegal immigration were each covered in one article. As regards economic challenges, an article stands out in the *Jornal o País*, which related to the values of national production and a halt to importing basic essentials. Values regarding corruption, the main theme of João Lourenço's governance, do not appear in the second period.

In specifically formulating as matters for research which are the themes most touched upon in João Lourenço's speeches (RT₁), it is to be understood that the component of the speeches is centered upon the political and ideological, social, economic and developmental coverage.

It is from this that the analysis of the speeches gives rise to the understanding that the President of Angola, João Lourenço, is concerned with promoting the Social State, with strengthening the ties between the powers, improving the quality of public information, boosting private initiatives and the economy, producing more electrical energy and water, promoting an inclusive and participatory government, freedom of the press, suppressing illegal actions, consolidating democracy, modernization of the Armed Forces, broadening bilateral and multilateral relations and implementing local government.

The analysis further demonstrates that he wants to bring these assignments to fruition, combating corruption, impunity and nepotism. For this, João Lourenço uses the news in the media to unravel the speeches and publish them in different articles reaching the maximum number of people. In acting this way, he makes them aware and gives body to his aspirations, as, so Espírito Santo (2008) clarifies, the presidential speeches reveal themselves to be rich and diversified in reflecting the values, symbols and patterns of communication implicit to the political objectives.

The news articles during the period under analysis, were collated from clippings in the online archives of the *Jornal de Angola* and the *Jornal o País*: fifty-three articles were written and published based on the speeches of President João Lourenço, nine of which are under the category of Progress, three under Economic Challenges, five under Social Challenges and thirty-six under Political-Ideological Values.

Due to the situation to which Santos (2017) and Faria (2013) refer, few articles were published affirming that the government did not have strong political opposition, nor a plausible alternative of a neutral and non-partisan press. Post-war politics and public life showed waves of oppression and resistance, which did not facilitate the work of journalists, giving rise to a certain concern regarding the publication of topics which came across as new and which went against the habitual practices of the party in power.

The way in which the two speeches (RT₂) were represented by the media, makes us feel there were certain constraints, as observes Martins (2016, p.266), when mention was made of the restrictive environment in the way the media in Angola functioned during the rule of the previous President of the Republic, due to there being intimidation and arrests of journalists who covered sensitive subjects.

In this manner, the scenario was not a favorable one for an expressive representation of the message in the speeches of João Lourenço, caused by concerns deriving from previous scenarios.

Where the two newspapers give space to the topics of the speeches, they do so under self-censorship. There is hardly any mention of the campaign themes for the election to government of the President (combating corruption, nepotism and impunity).

As for the representations of the speeches to expound the initial ideas of the elected President, it was decided to use only news, reports and notes, in order to escape the influence of journalistic analysis of matters which seemed even to be regarding the structural organization of the country.

Two newspapers were studied as being those which carry weight in the construction of opinions and, as such, defend the theory of social and media representations because of their publications being based on interpersonal, institutional and communication aspects, which focus on the determination of the representations as well as of thought on the social construction of Angola (Jodelet, 2001).

Having presented the results of the analysis of the political speeches of João Lourenço and its media representation in the *Jornais de Angola* and the *Pais* newspapers, discussion of the results follows.

9. Discussion of the Results

At this juncture, we discuss the results concerning the content of the first two speeches of João Lourenço, the media's representation and the main topics broached in the news by the *Jornal de Angola* and the *Jornal O País*. Considering that the act of governance derives from a given political context that the State intends to correct or maintain, we note from the results under analysis, that Angola is a country where political-administrative organization was considerably influenced by those moments which were considered as obstacles to development, derived from the process of decolonization, from civil war and from economic and social crises. These situations, according to Gaio (2017), describe as atypical the way in which the government of President José Eduardo dos Santos remained in power for 38 years. It was because of this that President João Lourenço identified the problems summarized in the Political-Ideological, Economic, Social and Development Values, as factors that he intends to transform into actions in order to achieve the aim of change.

The actions described above precluded the application of the rights and duties which embody the common well-being, and constructed a management model with an aim that was not that of the pursuit of the common good. For Santos (2017), this occurred because the government did not have any strong political opposition,

nor a plausible partisan loyalty. Faria (2013, p.293), goes even further and justifies what occurred as being down to the fact that post-war politics and public life were found to have waves of oppression and resistance. Regarding corruption, for example, the previous regime had conducted the process of privatization of state companies without public tenders and by negotiating directly with selected suppliers. A practice which Ferreira (1999) considers played a negative role in the birth of the construction of the market economy, those benefitting from these privatizations being the agents and allies who represented a strategic value for the regime.

As Oliveira (2018, p.1) observes, João Lourenço aspires to a more efficient governance, capable of overhauling the economy, politics and the social state and correcting past habits. Through the media, João Lourenço brings his ambitions to the attention of the wider public. By the Theory of Political Action, politicians use the media as a tool, in order to give value to their political interests. In the same way as Traquina (2007) justifies, in considering that the news regarding the discursive promises are published systematically, the President uses the media to disseminate his political interests for the projection of his vision for society.

The analysis of the speeches seems to show that in practice, the country has problems connected with its structural organization, leading to the necessity of creating the conditions for the reform of the State. The realization of the right of expression and of information, the impulse for economic development and the improvement of social conditions, could allow João Lourenço, who is behind the institution of these principles, to replace these damaging practices.

Cardina (2016) and Mutsvairo and Karam (2004), corroborate these principles. At the same time, they acknowledge that it is not easy to achieve such intentions, since the resolution of the problems outlined becomes more the reiteration of exemplary and symbolic moments, or of foundational narratives, and the Angolan situation has not facilitated the implementation of these actions.

Discussion of the results gives rise to the following final considerations.

10. Final Considerations

Analysis of the political speeches of João Lourenço demonstrates how the President of the Republic ideologically broaches the principal matters which afflict the Nation, translated into a message towards rescuing the frayed political image of the MPLA (the party in power), which was essentially associated with the bad management of the former government, led by ex-President José Eduardo dos Santos, and reflects that the state in which the country finds itself came about through a series of deeds by people of his own party, little or not at all committed to popular aspirations.

The message established a political priority, which apart from changing the social way of being, is to politically, economically and socially reform the country, through combating the main defects which afflict the nation, such as: corruption, impunity and nepotism, and in this way regain the resources wrongly taken from the public purse.

To reinforce with frameworks, technical and material methods, those institutions which directly get involved with combating corruption such as: the office of the Attorney-General of the Republic and the General Inspectorate of the State, both of which the President demands be more active.

Fighting impunity is being achieved by bringing legal proceedings against leading figures close to the former President of the Republic, until then considered as being above the law.

In the media's representation of the content of the speeches published by the *Jornal de Angola* and by the *Jornal o País*, a cross-sectional reflection by the Head of State stands out on the main problems raised, embodied in the political correction of the actions of the government, in the resolution of the social and economic problems, with a view to creating conditions for the sustained development of the country. There is a variation in the way the themes are broached. However, the two newspapers essentially drew from the sort of reporting for coverage of discursive concerns.

The texts which in media terms represent the messages of President João Lourenço, make aware and mobilize people towards a change in behavior, this much is clear, beginning with the symbolic values used to promote the socio-political intention of the President, which demonstrate the manner in which he proposes to govern the country and how he assesses the reality of the problems which affect the people.

The first difficulty encountered in the course of the investigation was the collation of the articles for media content analysis, due to the inconsistencies of the digital archives of the newspapers analyzed. The second difficulty was to do with the access to studies on political communication with regard to the Angolan situation. This difficulty does not frustrate, however, the intentions of the investigator in carrying out the job of analyzing this matter relating to the fact of wanting to see the projection of the practice of political communication in Angola.

Dealing with the revealing and representative role of the media, future investigations will be able to focus more on the analysis of the media's representation of the political speeches of the President of the Republic of Angola, in order to get a better knowledge of the projected political actions and to make a contribution to studies on political communication in Angola.

ANNEX 1**TABLE 1.** Overview of the Political-Ideological Publications

DATE	SOURCE	POLITICAL-IDEOLOGICAL REASONS								
		LOCAL GOVERNMENTS	CHANGE	JUSTICE	INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION	STATE REFORM	DEMOCRACY	GOVERNANCE	ARMED FORCES INTELLIGENCE	OPPOSITION
WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 27TH THROUGH OCTOBER 1ST 2017										
27/09/17	J. A.		2		2	1				1
28/09/17	J. A.	1			1					
29/09/17	J. A.	1			1			3	1	
30/09/17	J. A.							1		
WEEK OF OCTOBER 16TH THROUGH 21ST 2017										
16/10/17	J. A.							1		
17/10/17	J. A.	2						1		3
18/10/17	J. A.				1			1		
19/10/17	J. A.							1		1
20/10/17	J. A.					1			1	
21/10/17	J. A.				2	1				
WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 27TH THROUGH OCTOBER 1ST 2017										
27/09/17	O. P.									
28/09/17	O. P.									
29/09/17	O. P.									
30/09/17	O. P.	1								
WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 27TH THROUGH OCTOBER 1ST 2017										
27/09/17	O. P.					1	1		1	
28/09/17	O. P.			1	1			1		
29/09/17	O. P.			1	1			2		
30/09/17	O. P.				1			1		
01/10/17	O. P.							3		

TABLE 2. Overview of Social and Economic Publications

DATE	SOURCE	SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REASONS						
		CIVIL SOCIETY	CORRUPTION	DIVERSITY	HEALTH	IMPUNITY	MIGRATION	ECONOMY
WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 27TH THROUGH OCTOBER 1ST 2017								
27/09/17	J. A.	1						
28/09/17	J. A.							
29/09/17	J. A.					1		
30/09/17	J. A.							
WEEK OF OCTOBER 16TH THROUGH 21ST 2017								
16/10/17	J. A.							
17/10/17	J. A.							
18/10/17	J. A.			1	1			
19/10/17	J. A.							
20/10/17	J. A.							
21/10/17	J. A.						1	
WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 27TH THROUGH OCTOBER 1ST 2017								
27/09/17	O. P.							
28/09/17	O. P.							
29/09/17	O. P.							
30/09/17	O. P.							
WEEK OF SEPTEMBER 27TH THROUGH OCTOBER 1ST 2017								
27/09/17	O. P.	1				2		
28/09/17	O. P.							
29/09/17	O. P.							
30/09/17	O. P.							
01/10/17	O. P.							

Source: In-house, adapted from the Research of Espírito Santo (2006) on the political message in the presidential election campaign: analysis of the content of the slogans between 1976 and 2006.

Abbreviations: J. A. – *Jornal de Angola*; O. P. – *O País*.

ANNEX 2

List of News Clippings

- Jornal de Angola. (September 27th 2017). Angolans in Portugal rejoice with João Lourenço. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 27th 2017). João Lourenço promises to be the President of all Angolans. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 27th 2017). Isabel dos Santos speaks of a special moment. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 27th 2017). João Lourenço gives audiences to politicians. Consulted on March 13th 2019 em <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 27th 2017). João Lourenço promises to be the President of all Angolans. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 27th 2017). Opposition misses investiture. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 27th 2017). Friendly countries open to strengthening cooperation. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 27th 2017). President of the Republic. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 28th 2017). Head of State nominates Cabinet members. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 29th 2017). Socialist group greets the President. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (September 30th 2017). Government inducted today. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 1st 2017). President expects commitment. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 17th 2017). President of the Republic speaks of the State of the Nation. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 17th 2017). Head of State dissolves GRECIMA. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 17th 2017). Coalition speaks of high expectations. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 17th 2017). Debate regarding local authorities is amongst priorities. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 17th 2017). Far-reaching speech confirms promises. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 17th 2017). Cross-sectional speech. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 17th 2017). Change is of the utmost importance. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.

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- Jornal de Angola. (October 17th 2017). Promises are “excessive”. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 17th 2017). Executive commits to good management. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 18th 2017). A Government to win. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 18th 2017). MPLA approves the list. Accessed on March 13th 2019 em <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 18th 2017). Congo will lead with the Great Lakes. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 18th 2017). MPLA defends free and thorough information. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 18th 2017). Head of State exonerates Diakité. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 18th 2017). Diagnosis of the Health sector. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 19th 2017). Assessors of the Vice-President inducted. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 19th 2017). Businessman motivated by speech. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 19th 2017). President expresses solidarity with Portugal. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 19th 2017). President receives Samakuva. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 20th 2017). President expresses solidarity with Portugal. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 21st 2017). PGR opens investigation. Accessed on March 13th 2019 em <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 21st 2017). Police expel hundreds of foreigners. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal de Angola. (October 21st 2017). Rebellion in the RDC heightens fear. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <<http://jornaldeangola.sapo.ao>>.
- Jornal O País. (October 16th 2017). Angola and Madagáscar commit to re-launching bilateral cooperation. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.
- Jornal O País. (October 16th 2017). Forum of Town Councils closes with stronger boost for decentralization of local power. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.
- Jornal O País. (October 16th 2017). Public social communication set towards serving the interests of society. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.
- Jornal O País. (October 17th 2017). President wants to halt importation of processed products. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.

- Jornal O País. (October 18th 2017). Angola and Zambia take a unified position on Zimbabwe. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.
- Jornal O País. (October 18th 2017). The “war against impunity” has started. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.
- Jornal O País. (October 20th 2017). PR exonerates chief of military intelligence services. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.
- Jornal O País. (October 21st 2017). Member of civil society praises PR for the fight against corruption. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.
- Jornal O País. (October 23rd 2017). President of the Republic on his way to South Africa to strengthen cooperation. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.
- Jornal O País. (October 25th 2017). Police and Secret Military with New Responsibilities. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.
- Jornal O País. (October 26th 2017). “State Reform – essential for excellent service for citizens”. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>
- Jornal O País. (October 27th 2017). State Reform – essential for excellent service for citizens. Consulted on March 13th 2019 in <www.opais.co.ao>.

